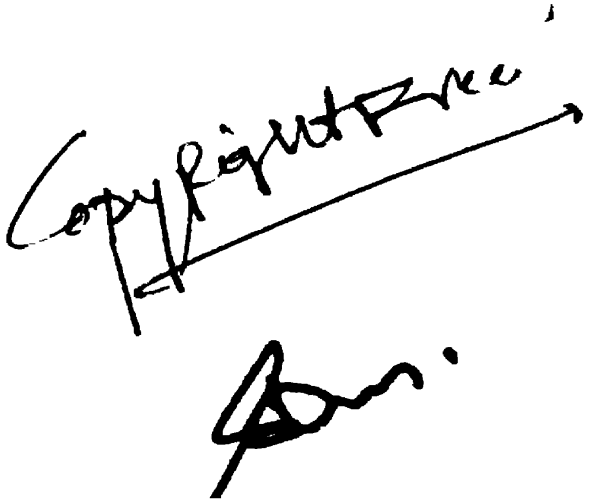


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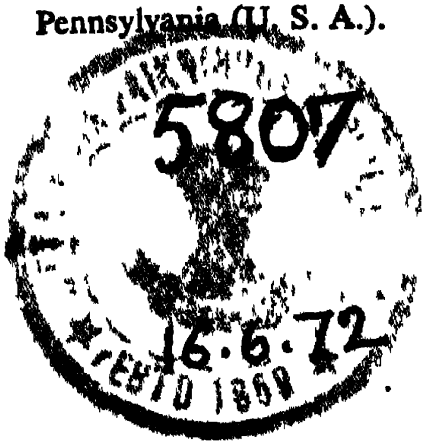
By

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In Loving Memory of

PRIYABALA

And of Our Happy Life in Dacca

Where this History

Was First Planned

PREFACE

It is a well-known fact that though the ancient Indians excelled in almost all the departments of literature, there was one important exception, namely, History. With the solitary exception of *Rājatarañgiṇī*, a history of Kāshmīr written by Kalhaṇa in the twelfth century A. D., no other book in Sanskrit or in any language derived from it, deserves the name of History. Some of the Purāṇas give a brief account of the ancient ruling dynasties, and there are a few local chronicles like those of Nepāl and Gujarāt, but they are hardly more than mere lists of kings and dynasties. So far as ancient Bengal is concerned, there is no book even of this type, not to speak of any regular history. The extent of our ignorance regarding the history of ancient Bengal may be judged from the first attempt to write one by Mrityunjay Śarmā, a Paṇḍit of the Fort William College, Calcutta. His book *Rāja-taraṅga* or *Rājāvali*, published in 1808, is nothing but a string of fables woven round a number of historical, mythical and imaginary names, and it will suffice to indicate its nature when it is stated that Ballālasena is described as sitting on the throne of Delhi.

With the progress of our knowledge in the nineteenth century regarding the history of ancient India, the idea of writing a proper history of this great sub-continent, and, separately, of the various geographical or linguistic units comprised in it, dawned upon the minds of scholars, both Indian and European. The early successful attempts in this direction were made, among others, by R. C. Dutt (*A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, 1889), R. G. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*, 1895), and J. F. Fleet (*The Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, 1896). The twentieth century, which opened with the publication of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, gave a great impetus to the writing of the critical history of ancient India, as a whole, or of its various regions.

The first idea of writing a history of ancient Bengal on modern scientific lines may be traced back to 1912, when Lord Carmichael, the first Governor of the newly created Presidency of Bengal, took the initiative in the matter, and invited MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī to prepare a scheme ; but nothing came out of it. A similar attempt was made a few years later at the instance of *Rājā* Prafulla Nath Tagore of Calcutta. He undertook to bear the entire financial burden of the project.

and requested Mr. R. D. Banerji and a few others, including myself, to undertake it. But this attempt also proved equally abortive.

The failure of these two successive attempts were not, however, without some fruitful results. Almost immediately after the first, Ramaprasad Chanda published *Gauḍarājamālā* in 1319 B.S. (1913 A.D.), and shortly after the second, R. D. Banerji published his *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, Part I (1321 B.S.). But these two individual works, highly valuable though they were, did not remove, and rather accentuated, the need of a comprehensive political and cultural history of ancient Bengal written by the joint efforts of specialists in different branches of the subject. For, it may be noted that the two books mentioned above dealt only with the political history.

The first successful attempt in this direction was made by the University of Dacca. In 1935 it sanctioned the plan to publish a history of Bengal in three volumes, covering, respectively, the political and cultural history during the Hindu, Muslim and British periods. I was appointed the Editor of the first volume, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, of the second. The first volume dealing with both political and cultural history was completed and sent to the press during my period of office as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca, and published in 1943, a few months after my retirement from that post. Only the political history of the Muslim period, edited by Sir Jadunath, was published as Vol. II.

The History of Bengal, Vol. I, edited by me and published by the Dacca University in 1943, may claim to be the first comprehensive political and cultural history of Bengal written jointly by a number of specialists. The book was very well received by scholars and all the published copies were sold out within three or four years. Unfortunately, no attempt was made by the University of Dacca for a long time to bring out a new edition. This was, no doubt, primarily due to the political upheaval caused by the creation of Pakistan. For nearly twenty years or more, the book was out of print and not easily available, but the demand for it was so great that second-hand copy of the book is known to have been sold in the Calcutta market for Rs. 120, Rs. 100 more than the original price.

Some years ago I received a letter from the Registrar, Dacca University, asking for my help and co-operation in re-printing the book. I cannot trace the correspondence, but to the best of my recollection I wrote back saying that as many years have elapsed since its publication and many new facts of history have come to light, the

book requires a thorough revision, and it may even be necessary to re-write some parts. In any case I agreed to edit the revised edition, but pointed out that it would possibly involve a small expenditure by way of paying remuneration to the writers, both old and new (in place of those who died). To this letter I never received any reply. I was approached by many publishers in Calcutta to bring out a revised new edition of the book, but I did not agree, for reasons I need not discuss here.

About four or five years ago I was informed that the University of Dacca has published a reprint of *The History of Bengal,* Vol. I, edited by me. I could hardly believe it as I had not got any reply to my letter, and expected to receive, if not any formal intimation of their decision to publish it, at least a complimentary copy of the book when published. Nevertheless, I wrote to the Registrar who informed me that a reprint was published. Since then I tried to secure a copy of the reprinted book just to get an idea of the changes, if any, introduced in it. Not only was no copy available in India, but the publishers in Calcutta failed to obtain copies for sale even on pre-payment of the price. An enterprising publisher, who had been repeatedly requesting me to publish a revised edition, somehow got hold of a copy (through the kind help of an American friend) and brought it to me. I was surprised to find that though many parts of the book had become obsolete and many facts and views stated therein had proved to be quite wrong or required a great deal of modification, the new book was literally a reprint of the old one, line by line and page by page, without any alteration even of a single punctuation (except what was done by the printer's devil).

Far greater was my surprise when I read in the "Preface to the Second Impression" (the only addition to the original Vol. I) the following remarks by the Secretary, History of Bengal Publication Committee (originally founded in connection with the first edition, of which I was the Chairman for five years and a half till my retirement) :

"It is gratifying to note that the volumes (edited by me and Sir Jadunath Sarkar) were well received by scholars and within a few years of their publication, all copies were sold off. As there was still a great demand for the books, the History of Bengal Publication Committee of the University which has been functioning since its inception with occasional changes in constitution and structure, adopted at a meeting held on 29-4-61 a comprehensive plan to reprint the existing first and second volumes.....Accordingly the original

contributors of the first volume were approached with a request to revise their own chapters. To the regret of the History of Bengal Publication Committee it was found that two of the contributors had already been carried away by the cruel hand of death and the response from the others was not quite encouraging. It was felt by the Committee that if they were to wait for the revision of the volume, its publication would have to be postponed for an indefinite period. It was, therefore, decided at a meeting held on 19-9-61, to reprint Volume I of the History without revision."

I myself wrote more than a third of the entire volume, but I do not recollect having ever refused to revise the chapters. The only other contributor, who wrote at least one whole chapter and is still alive, is Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. On inquiry from him and a few others who wrote parts of a chapter, I learnt that they had not received any request to revise their chapters. In any case it was quite clear to me from the above remarks that there was no chance of a revised edition of *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, being ever published by the University of Dacca. That would mean a considerable diminution in the value of the literary work to which I devoted more than five years of my life. The least that I could do to make my past endeavours at least partially fruitful was to write an up-to-date history of ancient Bengal on the lines I laid down for *The History of Bengal* Vol. I, edited by me and published in 1943. Of course, at the fag end of my life I could not venture to make an effort to publish, along with the help of other scholars, a co-operative work of the same type. So it would be an individual work, and though helped to a large extent by the older work, the heavy responsibility for this one would be entirely mine.

All the chapters in this book are written by me with the exception of Chapter XI—Language and Literature—in which I have incorporated with slight additions and alterations, two articles written by Dr. S. K. De and published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 1-23 and Vol. II, pp. 264-282, which were also reproduced *verbatim* in *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I published by the University of Dacca. I have also freely reproduced my own writings in that book which cover more than one-third and nearly half of it, of course with suitable modifications, involving considerable additions and alterations necessitated by the discovery of new data. Besides these I have derived considerable help from that book and sometimes quoted long passages from it, but always with due acknowledgements.

I may add that three chapters in the old book written by me also

contain small portions or sections written by others. Of these Chapter IX on Administration, corresponding to Chapter X of the old book, has been completely re-written by me and there is nothing in it not written by me. Some portions of the Chapters XII (Society) and XIV (Bengalis Outside Bengal), corresponding to Chapters XV and XVII of the old book were written by my old pupil, Dr. D. C. Ganguly, who is dead, and Dr. R. C. Hazra. But neither Dr. Hazra nor I can locate those portions now. Dr. Hazra has permitted me to reproduce the whole chapter including his portions with such changes as may be necessary, and I hereby acknowledge my indebtedness to both of them.

It has not been possible to include in this volume all the illustrations used in the old book. For many of these were, and I believe still are,* in the museums at Dacca and Rajshahi and other places in East Pakistan to which I have no access, and so they are not available to me.

As many of my old writings have been incorporated in this work, the same abbreviations have been used though there have been several additions.

I may now notice some special features in this volume as compared with the old one. The account of the pre-historic period has been changed almost beyond recognition by utilising the results of the excavations at the pre-historic sites on the Ajay river, such as Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi and the neighbouring sites. The knowledge of political history as well as of art and geography of ancient Bengal has been enlarged and enriched by excavations at many sites during the last thirty years such as Berā Chāmpā and Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā, and the new data have been fully utilised, probably for the first time in any historical text on ancient Bengal. As a result many views propounded in *The History of Bengal* Vol. I published by the Dacca University, including those held by me, had to be considerably modified and the history of many new kings and the true chronology and genealogy of some kings and royal dynasties have been furnished for the first time. To cite only a few examples, the history of the kings of the Chandra Dynasty (pp. 199-206) and the Deva Dynasty (pp. 275-278) may be said to have been practically re-written, and many new kings and old dynasties have come into prominence. Thus it has been shown that the first imperial expansion of the kingdom of Bengal did not begin in Śaśāṅka's

* This was written before the massacre and devastation in East Bengal (now called Bangla Desh) perpetrated by the forces of Pakistan (March, April, May, 1971). Nobody here knows now whether the institutions still exist.

time as has been supposed so long, but its foundations were laid by Gopachandra whose proper place in the history of ancient Bengal has been determined after a prolonged controversy extending over more than sixty years. The problem of Lakshmanasena Era has also been solved after an acrimonious controversy of more than half a century. Many new images have been noticed in the Chapter on Art and a new section has been added on the terracottas. The discovery of several new temples and dated images has profoundly modified the old views on the evolution of architecture and sculpture. The bibliography has been brought up to date.

A separate list of inscriptions found in Bengal has been added in order to facilitate reference to those mentioned in the text. As each of these is indicated by the serial number in the text itself it has been possible to reduce the number of footnotes by eliminating those which contained reference to the inscriptions only. Another innovation has been introduced by transferring the footnotes to the end of the chapter instead of giving them at the bottom of each page.

This book would probably have never been written but for the persistence of the young publisher Sri Gour Kishore Mukherjee, whose constant *tagids* at last induced me to take up this work at the fag end of my life. I am not sure whether I should thank him for this, for the writing of such a book, unaided, at the age of eighty-three, has proved to be an arduous task, and I am painfully conscious of its many shortcomings for which I can only crave the indulgence of my readers. Two more volumes of this series bringing the history down to 1947 are in contemplation.

I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to Sri Sailendra Kumar Sen, of G. Bharadwaj & Co., who has gone through the proofs very carefully and not unoften drawn my attention to errors which escaped my notice. I am also thankful to the authorities of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, and to Sri Amiya Kumar Banerjee, I. A. S. for supplying me photographs of temples and sculptures for the illustration of this book, and to the authorities of the Kali press which has printed the book very speedily and with great care.

JUNE, 1971
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  Figures 1-10,17,20,28-31,33,35-38,40-48,50-56,58,60,69, 70,71.

Indian Museum, Calcutta. :
Figures 11,12,15,16,25-27,32,34,39,49,57,67,68,72.

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CONTENTS

Abbreviations	XIX
System of Transliteration	XXVI
List of Maps	XXVI
List of Inscriptions	XXVII
Additions	XXXVII
List of Illustrations	XL

Page

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

I.	The Connotation of Bengal	1
II.	Physical Features	2
III.	Territorial Divisions	
	1. Gauḍa	6
	2. Vaṅga	8
	3. Samataṭa	8
	4. Harikela	9
	5. Chandradvīpa	9
	6. Vaṅgāla	10
	7. Pauṇḍra and Varendrī	12
	8. Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā	13
	9. Uttara Rāḍhā-Maṇḍala	13
	10. Tāmralipta	14
	Footnotes	15

CHAPTER II

PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

I.	Origin of the Bengalis	17
II.	Pre-Aryan Civilisation in Bengal	21
III.	Aryan Immigration to Bengal	25
	Footnotes	32

Page

CHAPTER III

EARLY HISTORY

I.	Original Home of the Guptas	35
II.	Bengal Under the Imperial Guptas	38
III.	Independent Kingdoms in Bengal	41
IV.	The Kingdoms of Samataṭa or Vaṅga	42
V.	Rise of Gauḍa	44
VI.	Śaśāṅka	49
	Appendix—Śaśāṅka	58
	Footnotes	64

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION AFTER ŚAŚĀṄKA

I.	Kingdom of Gauḍa	71
II.	Kingdom of Vaṅga	77
	Appendix I.—Relations of Tibet with India ..	83
	Appendix II.—The Evidence of *Gauḍa-vaho* ..	86
	Footnotes	88

CHAPTER V

THE PĀLAS

I.	The Origin and Early History of the Pālas ..	94
II.	The Pāla Empire	
	1. Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.)	101
	2. Devapāla (c. 810-850 A.D.)	111
III.	The Decline and Fall of the Empire	119
IV.	Restoration under Mahīpāla (c. 988-1038 A.D.) ..	131
V.	Break-up of the Pāla Kingdom	137
VI.	Disintegration and Temporary Revival	142
	1. Mahīpāla II (1072-75)	142
	2. Varendrī under the Kaivarta Chiefs ..	144
	3. The Reign of Rāmapāla	146

		Page
VII.	The End of the Pāla Rule	155
	Appendix I.—The Chronology of the Pāla Kings	161
	Appendix II.—Lāmā Tāranātha's Account of Bengal	166
	Appendix III.—Relationship between Devapāla and Vigrahapāla	170
	Appendix IV.—King Rājyapāla of the Kamboja Family	172
	Footnotes	174

Chapter VI

MINOR INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS DURING PĀLA PERIOD

I.	The Chandras	199
II.	The Varmans	206
III.	The Rāṇakas of Eastern Bihar	212
	Footnotes	213

Chapter VII

THE SENAS

I.	The Origin of the Sena Kings	219
II.	The Sena Kings	
	Vijayasena (c. 1095-1158)	223
	Vallālasena (c. 1158-1179)	228
	Lakshmaṇasena (c. 1179-1207)	231
III.	The Successors of Lakshmaṇasena	236
	Appendix I.—The Chronology of the Sena Kings	241
	Lakshmaṇasena Era	243
	Appendix II.—The Successors of Lakshmaṇasena	249
	Appendix III.—Vallāla-charita	251
	Appendix IV.—Muslim Invasion of Bengal during the Reign of Lakshmaṇasena ..	254
	Appendix V.—Traditional Accounts of the Later Sena Kings of Bengal	260
	Appendix VI.—The Capital of the Sena Kings ..	262
	Footnotes	264

Page

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR RULING DYNASTIES DURING THE SENA PERIOD

I. The Deva Dynasty 275
II. The Kingdom of Paṭṭikerā 278
III. The Kingdom of Pīṭhī 280
IV. The Minor Gupta Dynasty 282
Footnotes 284

CHAPTER IX

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

I. Pre-Gupta Period 286
II. Gupta Period 287
III. Period of Vaṅga as an Independent State after the End of Gupta Rule (c. 550-750) 299
IV. Pāla Administration 303
1. Central—Civil—General 309
2. Central—Military 315
3. Provincial and Local 317
4. Miscellaneous 317
V. Administration of Chandras, Varmans and Senas .. 318
Appendix—List of Officials (A, B, C, D) .. 322
Footnotes 329

CHAPTER X

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

I. Rural Economy 332
II. Urban Economy 339
III. Crafts and Industries 341
A—Textile Industry 341
B.—Other Industries 342
IV. Trade and Commerce 343
Footnotes 348

Page

CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

I. Sanskrit Literature
  1. Growth and Development of Sanskrit Literature 350
  2. Sanskrit Texts Attributed to Bengali Authors .. 353
  3. Sanskrit Texts Written by the Bengalis
    A.—Kāvyas 355
    B.—Logic and Philosophy 362
    C.—Mīmāṁsā and Dharmaśāstra .. 364
    D.—Grammar and Lexicon 372
    E.—Medical Literature 373
    F.—Astronomy and Astrology .. 377
II. Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 377
III. Vernacular Literature 391
Appendix I.—Was Śrīharsha, author of the *Naishadha-charita*, a Bengali? .. 395
Footnotes 399

CHAPTER XII

SOCIETY

I. Aryanisation of Bengal 413
II. The Castes and Sub-Castes 415
III. The Brāhmaṇas 427
  (*a*) Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas .. 428
  (*b*) Vaidika Brāhmaṇas 429
  (*c*) Other Classes of Brāhmaṇas 430
IV. Non-Brāhmaṇa Castes
  1. Karaṇa-Kāyasthas 432
  2. Vaidya-Ambashṭhas 435
  3. The Kaivarta-Māhishyas 437
  4. Low Castes 438
V. Socio-Religious Rites, Ceremonies and Festivals .. 440
VI. Life of the People 454
  1. General Nature 454
  2. Position of Women 455

		Page
3.	Food and Drink	457
4.	Dress and Ornaments	460
5.	Games and Pastimes	462
6.	Conveyance	463
7.	Luxury and Immorality	464
VII.	A Nation in Making	466
	Appendix I.—The Kulaji or Genealogical Literature	
	1. The Kulaji Texts	469
	2. King Ādiśūra and origin of the Bengali Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas	471
	3. Division of the Brāhmanas into different sects	472
	(*a*) Rāḍhīya and Vārendra ..	473
	(*b*) Vaidika Brāhmaṇas ..	474
	(*c*) Śākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas ..	475
	(*d*) Kulīnism	475
	(*e*) General Conclusion ..	477
	Appendix II.—Gāṁis of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas	480
	Appendix III.—Funeral Rites and Ceremonies ..	482
	Appendix IV.—Date and Provenance of the Bṛihad-dharma Purāṇa and the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa	
	1. Bṛihad-dharma Purāṇa ..	486
	2. Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa ..	490
	Footnotes	491

Chapter XIII

RELIGION

Part I.—Religious Systems		505
I.	Brāhmaṇical Religion	505
II.	Sects of Brāhmanical Religion	509
	A.—Vaishṇavism	509
	B.—Śaivism	516
	C.—Minor Religious Sects	518

		Page
III.	Jainism	520
IV.	Buddhism	522
V.	General Review	532

Part II.—Iconography

I.	Introduction	537
II.	Images of Vishṇu Cult	538
III.	Śaiva Images	543
IV.	Images of Sūrya	554
V.	Images of Miscellaneous Brāhmanical Deities ..	556
VI.	Jaina Images	558
VII.	Buddhist Images	560
	Appendix I.—Meaning of the Technical Terms ..	568
	Appendix II.—The Upapurāṇas	573
	Footnotes	576

CHAPTER XIV

BENGALIS OUTSIDE BENGAL

I.	Activities of Bengalis Outside India	581
II.	Activities of Bengalis in India Outside Bengal ..	580
	Footnotes	608

CHAPTER XV

ART

A. ARCHITECTURE

I.	Introduction	603
II.	Stūpa	605
III.	Monastery	609
IV.	Temples	612
	1. Ruins of Temples	612
	2. Pāhārpur Temple	613
	3. Other Temples	616
V.	Miscellaneous	621

Page

B. Sculpture and Painting

I. Introduction 623
II. Images
1. Pre-Gupta 623
2. Gupta Style 625
III. Sculptures at Pāhārpur 628
IV. Sculptures of the Pāla and Sena Periods .. 634
1. Introduction 634
2. General Features 634
3. Stages of Evolution
(*a*) Introduction 636
(*b*) Ninth Century 638
(*c*) Tenth Century 638
(*d*) Eleventh Century 639
(*e*) Twelfth Century 641
4. Terracottas 643
(*a*) Dress 650
(*b*) Different Types of Men 651
(*c*) Amusements and Entertainments .. 651
(*d*) Religious Ideas 652
(*e*) Animal World 652
V. Painting 653
Footnotes 657

Bibliography 661
Index 668

ABBREVIATIONS

ABI. (*ABORI*)—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

AGI.—Ancient Geography of India by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

Ain.—Ain-i-Akbari (if reference is to Persian text, the word "text" is added ; if to Blochmann and Jarret's translation, "trans." is added).

Ait. Ar.—Aitareya Āraṇyaka.

AJV.—Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes.—Vol. III, Orientalia. Published by Calcutta University.

An. SS.—Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.

AR.—See *RA.*

ARIE.—Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.

AS.—Archaeological Survey Reports of the different Circles. (The initial letter of the Circle is added within ordinary brackets).

AS.-Burma.—Archaeological Survey Report, Burma.

ASC.—Archaeological Survey Reports, by Sir A. Cunningham.

ASI.—Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.

ASM.—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Auf.-Cat.—Catalogus Catalogorum by T. Aufrecht, Leipzig 1891.

Banerjea-*Icon.*—Development of Hindu Iconography by J. N. Banerjea, Calcutta University 1941.

BCL.-Cat.—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Baroda Central Library.

Beal-*Life.*—The Life of Hiuen Tsang by the Shaman Hwui Li. Tr. by S. Beal. London 1911.

Beal-*Records.*—Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World. Tr. from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang by S. Beal. London, 1906.

BEFEO.—Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi.

Belv.—Lectures on Vedānta by S. K. Belvalkar.

Belv.-*Phil.*—History of Indian Philosophy by S. K. Belvalkar.

Belv.-*Systems.*—Systems of Sanskrit Grammar by S. K. Belvalkar.

Ben.-SS.—Benares Sanskrit Series.

BG.—Bombay Gazetteer.

BGD.—Bauddha Gān O Dohā (in Bengali)—Ed. by MM. Haraprasad Sastri, VSP, 1323 (B. S.).

B. GS.-Cat.—Catalogue of Mss. in Gujarat, Sindh etc., by G. Bühler.

Bhandarkar-*List.*—A List of Inscriptions of Northern India (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX to XXIII).

Bhandarkar-*Rep.*—Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

Bhatt.-*Cat.*—Catalogue of Sculptures in the Dacca Museum by N. K. Bhattasali.

BI.—Bāngālār Itihāsa, Part I, 2nd ed., (in Bengali) by R. D. Banerji.

Bibl. Ind.—Bibliotheca Indica. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Bod.-Cat.—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Oxford, 1905.

Br. Dh. P.—Bṛihaddharma Purāṇam (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1897).

BSOS.—Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

BSS.—Bombay Sanskrit Series.

Bu-ston.—History of Buddhism by Bu-ston. Tr. E. Obermiller. Heidelberg, 1932.

Cal. SS.—Calcutta Sanskrit Series.

CCBM.—Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, London.

CCIM.—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Chatterji-*Lang.*—The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language by Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Calcutta University, 1926.

CHI.—Cambridge History of India.

CII.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III by J. F. Fleet.

Classical Accounts.—The Classical Accounts of India by R. C. Majumdar. Calcutta, 1960.

Cordier-*Cat.*—Catalogue du fonde Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale by P. Cordier. Paris 1908.

CP.—Copper-plate (s).

CS.—Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

DB.—Dāyabhāga of Jīmutavāhana (Pages refer to the English tr. by H. T. Colebrooke).

De-*Poetics.*—Sanskrit Poetics by S. K. De.

DG.-Phill.—History of Indian Philosophy by S. N. Dasgupta.

DHNI.—Dynastic History of Northern India by H. C. Ray.

DOT.—Dacca University Oriental Texts Series.

DR.—Dacca Review.

DUS.—Dacca University Studies.

EC.—Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. & D.—The History of Muhammadan India as told by its own Historians. Ed. Elliot and Dowson.

Edelst.—Edelsteinmine by A. Grünwedel. Petrograd, 1914.

Egg.-*Cat.*—Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office, London, by J. Eggeling. London, 1887.

EHB.—Early History of Bengal by F. J. Monahan.

EHBP.—The Early History of Bengal by Pramode Lal Paul. Calcutta 1939.

EHBR.—The Early History of Bengal by R. C. Majumdar. Dacca University 1924.

EHI.—The Early History of India by V. A. Smith.

EI.—Epigraphia Indica.

EIS MS.—Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture by R. D. Banerji. Delhi 1933.

Ep. Carn.—Epigraphia Carnatica.

Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.

ERE.—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Fa-hien.—A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms. by Fa-hien, Tr. J. Legge. Oxford, 1886.

Foucher-*Icon.*—Etudes sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde d'apres des documents nouveaux, par A. Foucher. Paris 1900.

Gait.—A History of Assam by Sir Edward Gait.

GL.—Gauḍalekhamālā (in Bengali) by Akshaya Kumar Maitreya.

GOS.—Gaekwad Oriental Series.

GP.—Gurjara-Pratīhāras by R. C. Majumdar (published in *JL.* X).

GR.—Gauḍarājamālā (in Bengali) by Ramaprasad Chanda.

GV.—Gauḍavaho of Vākpatirāja. Ed. S. P. Pandit.

HB.—History of Bengal, Vol. I, published by the University of Dacca, 1943.

HB.-II.—Do. Vol. II.

HC.—Harsha-Charita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

HCIP.—The History and Culture of the Indian People—Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

HC. Tr.—English tr. of *HC.* by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas.

H.Dh.K.—History of Dharmasāstra by MM. P. V. Kane. 7 Vols.—Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (1930-1962).

HK.—History of Kāmarupa by K. L. Barua.

HNI.—History of North-Eastern India by Radhagovinda Basak, Second Ed., Calcutta, 1967.

HSL.—Haraprasada-saṁvardhana-lekhamālā (in Bengali). Published by *VSP.*

HSLC.—A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period, by S. N. Das Gupta and S. K. De. Calcutta University, 1947.

Hunter.—Statistical Account of Bengal by W. W. Hunter, 20 Vols.

IA.—Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

IB.—Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar.

IC.—Indian Culture, Calcutta.

IHI.—An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text, by K. P. Jayaswal.

IHQ.—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

IMC.—see *CCIM.*

IMP.—Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, by V. Rangacharya.

Ind. Arch.—Indian Archaeology, A Review (Archaeological Survey of India).

IP.—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow by Sarat Chandra Das.

I-tsing.—A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing. Tr. by J. Takakusu.

JA.—Journal Asiatique, Paris.

JAHRS.—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

JAOS.—Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.

JARS.—Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati.

JAS.—Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

JASB.—Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

JBORS.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

JBRAS. (JBo. Br. RAS).—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

JBTS.—Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society, London.

JGIS.—Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta.

JIH.—Journal of Indian History, Madras and Travancore.

JISOA.—Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

JL.—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.

JOR.—Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

JRAS.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.

JRASBL.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Third Series, Letters, Calcutta.

Kam. Sas.—Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī (in Bengali), by Padmanath Bhattacharya.

Kav.-*Bibl.*—History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeshika Literature, by Gopinath Kaviraj.

Keith-*Drama.*—Sanskrit Drama, by Sir A. B. Keith.

Keith-*Lit.*—History of Sanskrit Literature, by Sir A. B. Keith.

KS.—Kashmir Sanskrit Texts, Allahabad.

KV.—Kāla-viveka of Jīmūtavāhana (Bibl. Ind.).

Levi-*Nepal.*—Le Népal, by Sylvain Levi.

Lüders-*List.*—A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions other than those of Asoka, by Heinrich Lüders (Appendix to *Ep. Ind.* X.).

MASB.—Memoirs of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

M. Cat.—Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in Madras Government Oriental Library.

Mitra-*Nepal.*—Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, by Rajendra Lal Mitra. Calcutta, 1882.

Mitra-*Notices.*—Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rajendra Lal Mitra.

MMK.—Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa. Ed. T. Ganapati Sastri. (J) after the abbreviation, denotes the text edited by K. P. Jayaswal in *IHI.*

Nach. Gott.—Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen, Philolog.-histor. Klasse.

Nalanda—Excavations at Nālandā (*ASM*).

Nasiri.—Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī. Tr. by H. Raverty.

NIA.—New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

NSP. Nirṇaya-sāgara Press.

Num. Suppl.—Numismatic Supplement to *JASB.*

OHRJ.—Orissa Historical Research Journal.

Orissa.—Orissa, by R. D. Banerji,

OTF.—Oriental Translation Fund (of *RAS.*).

OZ.—Ostasiatishche Zeitschrift, Berlin and Leipzig.

Pag Sam Jon Zang.—Pag Sam Jon Zang of Sumpā Mkhan-Po Yese Pal Jor. Ed. Sarat Chandra Das. Calcutta, 1908.

Paharpar.—Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal, by K. N. Dikshit, (*ASM.* No. 55).

PB.—Pālas of Bengal, by R. D. Banerji (*MASB.* Vol. V).

PCB.—K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume.

PHAI.—Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

PIHC.—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

Proc. ASB.—Proceedings of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal.

PRP.—Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. Ed. Girish Chandra Vidyāratna. Published by *VRS.*

PSC.—Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress.

PTOC.—Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.

RA. (*AR.*).—The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times by A. S. Altekar.

Rao-Icon.—Elements of Hindu Iconography, by T. A. Gopinath Rao.

RC.—Rāmacharita of Sandhyākara Nandī.

RC.[1]—Rāmacharita. Ed. Haraprasad Sastri (*MASB.* v).

RC.[2]—Rāmacharita. Ed. R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerji. Published by *VRS.*

RC.[3]—RC.[1] revised by R. G. Basak, Calcutta, 1969.

Renn.—Bengal Atlas by J. Rennell.

Rep.—Report.

R. Phil.—History of Indian Philosophy by Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

RT.—Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. (Tr. indicates translation by Stein).

Saraswati-*Sculpture.*—Early Sculpture of Bengal, by Sarasi Kumar Saraswati. 2nd Ed., Calcutta, 1962.

Sastri-*Cat.*—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Collection under the care of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. By MM. Haraprasad Sastri.

SBE.—Sacred Books of the East Series, Harvard.

Sel. Ins.—Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, Ed. D. C. Sircar. Calcutta University, 1965.

SIA.—Studies in Indian Antiquities, by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

SII.—South Indian Inscriptions.

SPP.—Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā (in Bengali), Calcutta.

SPS.—Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat Series, Calcutta.

Sumpā.—see Pag Sam Jon Zang.

Takakusu-*I-tsing.*—*see* I-tsing.

Tantras.—Studies in the Tantras, by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi.

Tar.—Tāranātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien. German tr. by A. Schiefner.

Tar.-*Ges.*—see Tar.

TCM.—Triennial Catalogue of Madras Government Manuscript Library for 1919-22.

TK.—History of Kanauj, by R. S. Tripathi.

TSS.—Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Upapurāṇa.—Studies in the Upapurāṇas by Dr. R. C. Hazra (Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1963).

V. Cat.—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by H. D. Velankar.

Ven. P.—Venkateśvara Press.

VJI.—Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa, Rājanya-kāṇḍa (in Bengali), by Nagendra-nath Vasu.

VP.—Śrīvānī-vilāsa Press.

VRS.—Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

VRS. M.—Monograph of the *VRS.*

VSP.—Vangīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

VSP.-Cat.—Handbook to the Sculptures in the *VSP.* Museum, by Manomohan Ganguly. (This abbreviation has also been used in Ch. IX as indicating *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.* in *VSP.*).

VSS.—Vizianagram Sanskrit Series.

Watters.—On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, by T. Watters. London, 1904.

Wint.-*Gesch.*—Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, by M. Winternitz. Leipzig, 1909, 1920

Wint.-*Lit.*—History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz (English tr. of *Wint. Gesch*). Calcutta University, 1927.

WZKM.—Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlāndes, Vienna.

ZDMG.—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft, Leipzig.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS :

a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛi, e, ai, o, au

CONSONANTS :

k, kh, g, gh, ṅ

ch, chh, j, jh, ñ

ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ

t, th, d, dh, n

p, ph, b, bh, m

y, r, l, v, ś, sh, s, h

Anusvāra = ṁ

Visarga = ḥ

Chandravindu = m̐

LIST OF MAPS

1. Map of Bengal drawn by Van Den Broucke in A.D. 1660.
2. Political Divisions of Ancient Bengal.
3. Modern Bengal (Before 1947).

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

The following abbreviations have been used.

CP.—Copper-Plate.
I.—Image.
M.—Metal.
P.—Pillar.
S.—Stone.
Sel. Ins.—*Select Inscriptions*, by Dr. D. C. Sircar (2nd Ed. 1965).
G. E.—Gupta Era.
V. S.—Vikrama Samvat.

A. PRE-PĀLA PERIOD

Serial No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
1-A.		S		Mahāsthān	*Sel. Ins.* 79 ; *EI.* XXI. 85 ; *IHQ* 1934, p. 57
1.		S. P.	Samudragupta	Allahabad	*Sel. Ins.* 262 ; *CII.* 6.
2.		Iron P.	Chandra	Meharauli	Do.* 283 ; *CII.* 141 ; *JAHRS*, X. 86 ; *JRASBL*, V. 407.
3.		Rock	Chandravarman	Susunia	Do. 351 ; *EI.* XII. 317 ; XIII. 133.
4.	113 G. E.	CP	Kumāragupta	Dhanāidaha	Do. 287 ; *EI.* XVII. 347.
5.	128 ,,	,,	Do.	Baigrām	Do. 355 ; *EI.* XXI. 78
6.	124 ,,	,,	Do.	Dāmodarpur	Do. 290 ; *EI.* XV. 130
7.	128 ,,	,,	Do.	Do.	Do. 292 ; *EI.* XV. 133

* 'Do'—in this column refers to *Sel. Ins.*

A (Continued)

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
8.	163 G. E.	,,	Budhagupta	Damodarpur	*Sel. Ins.* 332 ; *EI.* XV. 135
9.		,,	Do.	Do.	Do. 336 ; *EI.* XV. 138
10.	224 ,,	,,		Do.	Do. 346 ; *FI.* XV. 142
11.	120 ,,	,,		Kalaikuri	Do. 352; *EI.* XXXI. 57; *IHQ.* XIX. 12.
12.	159 ,,	,,		Pāhārpur	Do. 359 ; *EI.* XX. 61.
13.	169 ,,	,,		Nandapur	Do. 382.
14.	188 ,,	,,	Vainyagupta	Gunaighar	Do. 340; *IHQ.* VI. 53.
15.		Seal	Do.	Nālandā	*IHQ*, XIX. 275. *MASI*, No. 66, p. 67.
16.	589 V. S.	S	Yaśodharman	Mandasor	*Sel. Ins.* 411 ; *CII.* 152 ; *IA.* XVIII. 220 ; XX. 118.
17.	1	CP	Gopachandra	Jayrāmpur	Do.* 530 ; *OHRJ.* XI. 206 ; *ARIE.* 1964-5, p. 2.
18.	18	,,	Do.	Faridpur	Do. 370 ; *IA.* 1910, p. 204.
19.	33 (or 3)	,,	Do.	Mallasārul	Do. 372 ; *EI.* XXIII. 159.
20.	3	,,	Dharmāditya	Faridpur	Do. 363 ; *IA.* 1910, p. 195.
21.		,,	Do.	Do.	Do. 367 ; *IA.* 1910, p. 200.
22.	7	,,	Samāchāradeva	Do.	Unpublished.
23.	14	,,	Do.	Ghugrahāti	*EI.* XVIII, 74.
24.		Seal	Do.	Nālandā	*MASI*, No. 66, p. 31.
25.	234 (?)	R	Bhūtivarman	Baḍagangā	*Sel. Ins.* 384 ; *EI.* XXVII. 18.
26.		CP	Bhāskaravarman	Doobi	*Journal of Assam Research Society*, Vol. XI. 33, XII. 16; *EI.* XXX. 287; *IA.* XXVI. 242.

* 'Do'—in this column refers to *Sel. Ins.*

A (Continued)

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
27.		CP	Bhāskaravarman	Nidhanpur	*EI.* XII. 65 ; XIX. 115 ; *Kāmarūpa-Sāsanāvali* by P. Bhattacharya, p. 1 ff.
28.	611 (V. S.)	S	Iśānavarman	Hārāhā	*Sel. Ins.* 385 ; *EI.* XIV. 115 ; *JRASBL.* XI (1945), p. 67.
29-30.		CP	Śaśāṅka	Midnapore	*JRASBL.* XI. 1.
31.		,,	Do.	Ganjam	*EI.* VI. 144.
32.		,,	Jayanāga	Vappaghoshavaṭa	*EI.* XVIII, 60 ; XIX, 286 ; *ABORI.* XIX. 81.
33-4.	79 (?)	,,	Devakhaḍga	Āshrafpur	*MASB*, I. 85 ; *JPASB.* N. S. XIX, 375 *HNI.* 254.
35.		Metal Image	Do.	Daulbāḍi	*EI.* XVII. 357.
36.	X44	CP	Lokanātha	Tippera	*EI.* XV. 301. *IHQ*, XXIII, 232.
37.		,,	Śrīdharaṇa Rāta	Kailan	*HIQ.* XXIII. 221.
38.		,,	Maruṇḍanātha	Kalapur	K. Gupta, *Copper-plates of Sylhet*, p. 68.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

B. PĀLA PERIOD

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
1.	26	S	Dharmapāla	Bodh-Gayā	*JASB*, N. S. IV 101 ; *GL*. 29.
2.	32	CP	Do.	Khālimpur	*EI*. IV. 243 ; *GL*. 9.
3.		S	Do.	Nālandā	*Nalanda*, 85.
4.		CP	Do.	Do.	Do. 84, *EI*. XXIII. 290.
5.	3	MI	Devapāla	Nālandā	*Nalanda*, 87.
6.	9	I	Do.	Kurkihār	*JBORS*. XXVI. 251.
7.	25	I	Do.	Hilsa	*JBORS*. X. 33 ; *Nalanda*, 87.
8.	33	CP	Do.	Monghyr	*EI*. XVIII. 304 ; *GL*. 33.
9.	39 or 35	,,	Do.	Nālandā	Do. XVII, 318 ; V. R. S. Monograph No. 1, *JRASB. L.* VII. 215.
10.		S	Do.	Ghosrawa	*IA*. XVII. 307 ; *GL*. 45.
11.		Votive	Do.	Nālandā	*Nalanda*, 88.
12.		S	Do.	(Asutosh Museum)	*ARIE*. 1949-50, p. 8.
12-A.		I	Do.	Nālandā	*Nalanda*, p. 88.
13.	3	I	Vigrahapāla I (or Śūrapāla I)	Bihar	*JASB*. N. S. IV. 108 ; *PB*. 57 ; *JRASBL*. IV. 390.
14.		I	Do.	Sāranāth	*ASI*, 1907-8. 75.
15.	5	S	Do.	Rajauna	*IHQ*. XXIX. 301.

B (Continued)

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
16.	7	Temple	Nārāyaṇapāla	Gayā	*PB.* 60 ; *EI.* XXXV, 225.
17.	9	S	Do.	(Indian Museum)	*PB.* 61-2.
18.	17	CP	Do.	Bhāgalpur	*IA.* XV. 304 ; *GL.* 55.
19.	54	I	Do.	Bihar	*IA.* XLVII, 110 ; *SPP.* (1328 B. S.), p. 169.
20.		P	Do.	Bādāl	*EI.* II. 160 ; *GL.* 70.
21.	13	S	Rājyapāla	Monghyr	*Patna University Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 49.
22.	24	P	Do.	Nālandā	*IA.* XLVII. 111 ; *JRASBL.* VX. 7.
23.	28	I	Do.	Kurkihār	*JBORS.* XXVI. 246.
24.	31	I	Do.	Do.	*JBORS.* XXVI. 250.
25.	32 (or 31)	I	Do.	Do.	Do. Do. 247.
26.	32	I	Do.	Do.	Do. Do. 248.
27.		S	Do.	Bhāturiyā	*EI.* XXXIII. 150.
28.	1	I	Gopāla II	Nālandā	*JASB.*, N. S. IV. 105 ; *GL.* 86.
29.	1		Do.	Mandhuk (Tippera)	*IHQ.* XXVIII. 55.
30.	6	CP	Do.	Jājilpārā	*JAS.* XVII. 137 ; *Bhāratavarsha*, 1344 (B. S.), Part I, p. 264.
31.		I	Do.	Bodh-Gayā	*JASB.* N. S. IV. 105 ; *GL.* 88.
32.	3 (2 ?)	I	Vigrahapāla II	Kurkihār	*JBORS.* XXVI. 37, 240.
33.	8	Terracotta	Do.		Do. 37.
34.	19	I	Do (II or III)	Kurkihār	Do. 36, 239.
35.	19	I	Do. (II or III)	Do.	Do. 37, 240.
36.	1083 (V.S.)	I	Mahīpāla I	Sārnāth	*IA.* XIV. 139 ; *JASB.* 1906, p. 445 ; *GL.* 104.
37.	3	I	Do.	Baghaura	*EI.* XVII. 355.
38.	4	I	Do.	Nārāyaṇpur	*IC.* IX. 121.

B (Continued)

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
39.	5	CP	Māhīpāla	Belwā	*EI.* XXIX. I ; *SPP.* Vol. 54, 41 ; *JASL.* XVII. 117.
40.	9	,,	Mahīpāla	Bāṇgarh	*EI.* XIV. 324 ; *GL.* 91.
41.	11	S	Do.	Nālandā	*JASB.* N. S. IV. 106 ; *GL.* 101.
42.	11	I	Do.	Bodh-Gayā	*PB.* 75.
43.	31 (21 ?)	I	Do.	Kurkihār	*JBORS.* XXVI. 245.
44.	48	I	Do.	Imādpur	*IA.* XIV. 165 ; *JRASBL.* VII. 218 ; XVI. 247.
45.		I	Do.	Tetrawan	*ASC.* I. 39 ; III, 123, No. 11.
46.	15	Temple	Nayapāla	Gayā	*EI.* XXXVI. 84 ; *GL.* 110.
47.	15	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do. 86.
48.	13	I	Do.	Valgudar	*EI.* XXVIII. 137.
49.	5	Temple	Vigrahapāla III	Gayā	*EI.* XXXVI. 89 ; *PB.* 81.
50.	12	CP	Do.	Āmgāchhi	*EI.* XV. 293 ; *GL.* 121.
51.	13	I	Do.	Bihar	*PB.* 112.
52.	17	CP	Do.	Bangāon (Bhagalpur)	*IHQ.* XXVIII. 54, f. n. 16 ; *EI.* XXIX. 48.
53.	24	I	Do. (II or III)	Naulagaḍh	*JBRS.* XXXVII. Part III, p. 1.
54.	11	CP	Do.	Belwā	*EI.* XXIX. 9 ; *JASL.* XVII. 117.
55	3	I	Rāmapāla	Tetrawan	*JASB.* N. S. IV. 109 ; *PB.* 93 ; *JRASBL* IV. 390
56.	14	S	Do.	Monghyr Dt.	*ARIE.* 1949-50, p. 8.
57.	26	I	Do.	Armā	Do. 1960-1, p. 17.
58.	37	S	Do.	Monghyr	Do. 1949-50, p. 8.
59.	42	I	Do.	Chaṇḍimau	*PB.* 93-4.
60.	53	Ms. Colophon	Do.		*Indo-Asian Culture*, January, 1969, p. 61.
61.		S	Do.	(Asutosh Museum)	*ARIE.* 1949-50, p. 8.

B (Continued)

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
62.	14	I	Gopāla II (or III ?)	Rājibpur	*IHQ.* XVII. 217 ; *ASI.* 1936-7, p. 130 ; *JRASBL.* VII. 216.
62-A.		S	Do.	Nimdīghi	*IHQ.*XVII.207 ;*PB.*102 ; *EI.* XXXV.228.
63.	1201 (V.S.)	I	Madanapāla	Nongaḍh	*EI.* XXXVI. 41.
64.	1083 (Śaka) 18 (regnal)	I	Madanpala	Valgudar	*EI.* XXVIII. 145.
65.	3	I	Do.	Bihar	*ASC.* III. 124, No. 6.
66.	8	CP	Do.	Manhali	*JASB.* LXIX. 68 ; *GL.* 147.
67.	14	I	Do.	Jaynagar	*ASC.* III. 125 ; *JRASBL.* VII. 216.
68.	14	P	Do.	Armā	*EI.* XXXVI. 42.
69.	1232 (V.S.)	S	Govindapāla	Gayā	*PB.* 109.
70.	(1178 A.D.)	S	Do.		*ASC.* XV. 155.
71.	35	I	Palapāla	Jaynagar	*JBORS.* XIV. 496 ; XV. 649 ; *IHQ.* VI. 164 ; *Indian Arehaeology.* 1953-4, p. 14.
72.	32	I	Yaśaḥpāla	Lai	*Ind. Arch.* 1953-4, p. 14.
73A.	15	I	Mahendrapāla	Mahisantosh	*EI.* XXXVII (not XXXVI as wrongly printed in f.n. 120-a on p. 182), pp. 204-8.
73.		CP	Bhavadeva	Asiatic Society	*JASL.* XVII (1951), 83.
74.		,,	Kāntideva	Chittagong	*EI.* XXVI. 313.
75.	5	,,	Śrīchandra	Paschimbhāg (Sylhet)	*Indian Museum Bulletin*, January, 1967, p. 7 ; *Copper-plates of Sylhet* by K. Gupta, p. 81.
76.	44 (46)	,,	Do.	Madanpur	*EI.* XXVIII, 51, 337.
77.		,,	Do.	Rāmpāl	*EI.* XII. 136 ; *IB.* 1.
78.		,,	Do.	Kedārpur	*EI.* XVII. 188 ; *IB.* 10.
79.		,,	Do.	Dhulla	*EI.* XXXIII. 134.

B (Continued)

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
80.		,,	Do.	Edilpur	*EI.* XVII. 189.
81.	24	,,	Kalyāṇachandra	Dacca	*PIHC.* 23, Part I, p. 36.
82.	18	I	Laḍahachandra	Bhārella	*EI.* XVII. 349.
83.		CP	Do.	Maināmatī	*PIHC.* 23, Part I, p. 36.
84.		CP	Do.	Do.	Do.
85.		CP	Govindachandra	Maināmatī	*PIHC*, 23, Part I, p. 36
86.	12	I	Do.	Kulkudi	*EI.* XXVII. 24 ; XXVIII. 339.
87.	23	I	Do.	Vetkā	*EI.* XXVII. 26.
88.	5	CP	Bhojavarman	Belāva	*EI.* XII. 37 ; *IB.* 14.
89.		,,	Harivarman	Sāmantasār	*EI.* XXX. 255.
90.		Temple	Do. (Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva)	Bhuvaneśwar	*EI.* VI. 88 ; *IB.* 25.
91.		CP	Sāmalavarman	Vajrayogini	*EI* XXX 259
92.	13	,,	Nayapāla	Irdā	*EI.* XXII. 150 ; XXIV. 43.
93.		P	Kuñjaraghaṭāvarsha	Bāṇgarh (Dinajpur)	*JASB.* N. S. VII. 619; *PB.* 68; *Vaṅgavāṇī*, 1330 (B S.), p. 216.
94.	4	CP	Vaidyadeva	Kamauli	*EI.* II. 350 ; *GL.* 127.
95.		Temple	Yakshapāla	Gayā	*EI.* XXXVI. 92 ; *PB.* 96 ; *IA.* XVI. 63.
96.		I	Paritosha (?)	Gayā	*PB.* 82-3., *EI.* XXXVI. 88.
97.	35	CP	Iśvaraghosha	Rāmganj	*IB.* 149.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

C. SENA PERIOD

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
1.	62	CP	Vijayasena	Barrackpur	*EI.* XV. 278 ; *IB.* 57.
2.		S	Do.	Deopārā	*EI.* I. 305 ; *IB.* 42.
3.		I	Do.	Pāikore	*ASI.* 1921-2, p. 78 ; *IB.* 168.
4.	9	Copper I	Vallālasena	Sanokhar	*EI.* XXX. 78 ; *IHQ.* XXX. 212.
5.		CP	Do.	Naihāti	*EI.* XIV. 156 ; *IB.* 68.
6.	2	,,	Lakshmaṇasena	Govindapur	*IB.* 92.
7.	2 (3)	,,	Do.	Tarpandighi	*EI.* XII. 6.
8.	2 (3)	,,	Do.	Sundarban	*IB.* 169.
9.	3	,,	Do.	Anulia	*IB.* 81.
10.	3	I	Do.	Dacca	*JASB.* (1913), 289 ; *IB.* 116.
11.	6	CP	Do.	Saktipur	*EI.* XXI. 211.
12.	27	,,	Do.	Bhowal	*EI.* XXVI. 1.
13.		,,	Do.	Madhainagar	*JASB.* (1909), 467 ; *IB.* 106.
14.	3	,,	Keśavasena or Viśvarūpasena	Edilpur	*JASB.* N. S. X, p. 99 ; *IB.* 118 ; *EI.* XXXIII. 320 ; *Ind. Arch.* 1953-4, p. 14.
15.	14	,,	Viśvarūpasena	Madanpāḍā	*EI.* XXXIII, 315 ; *IB.* 132.
16.		,,	Do.	Madhyapāḍā (Sāhitya Parishat)	*IHQ.* II. 77 ; *IB.* 140 ; *IHQ.* IV. p. 760.

C (Continued)

Sl. No.	Date	Material	Name of the King	Locality	Reference
17.	1156 (Śaka)	CP	Dāmodaradeva	Mehār	*EI.* XXVII. 182 ; XXX. 51.
18.	1158 ,,	,,	Do.	Sobhārāmpur	*EI.* XXX. 184.
19.	1165 ,,	,,	Do.	Chittagong	*IB.* 158.
20.		,,	Daśarathadeva	Ādāvāḍī	*IB.* 181 ; *Bhāratavarsha*, 1332 (B S.), Part I, p. 78.
21.		,,	Do.	Pākāmoḍā	*Itihāsa*, VIII, 1364-65 (B. S.), p. 160.
22.	4151 (Kali Era)	,,	Govinda-Keśavadeva	Bhāṭerā	*EI.* XXIX. 277 ; *Copper-Plates of Sylhet*, K. Gupta p. 153.
23.	17	,,	Iśānadeva	Do.	*Proc. ASB.* 1880, 141. K. Gupta, *Copper-Plates of Sylhet*, p. 184.
24.	1118 (Śaka)	,,	Ḍommanapāla	Rakshā-Kālī (Sundarban)	*Journal of Assam Society*, Vol. VI, No. 1; *JASBL* VI. 73, *EI.* XXVII, 119 ; XXX. 42.
25.	1141 (Śaka) 17th Regnal year	,,	Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva	Maināmatī	*IHQ.* IX. 282.

ADDITIONS

I. The view expressed on p. 43, lines 12-13, that Gopachandra preceded Dharmāditya is now perhaps definitely proved by the following statement in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1964-65 (p. 2), with reference to the Jayarampur CP. (Inscription No. A. 17) mentioned on p. 42.

"The record states that king Gopachandra was the son of Dhanachandra by his wife Giridevī. While Dhanachandra does not bear any royal title his son Gopachandra is described as "one raised to supremacy by the people."

This point has been fully discussed by me in a short communication read at the monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, held on 5th April, 1971, and published in the Journal of the Society.

II. P. 371, Add the following as a separate paragraph after line 15.

In an article, 'A Pre-Sāyana Vedic Commentator of Bengal', written by Pandit Durgāmohan Bhattāchārya and published in *Our Heritage, Bulletin of the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta*, No. I, Part II, July-December, 1953, the accuracy of some generally accepted statements about Halāyudha has been challenged.

Two of these are mentioned below :

1. "Misled by the printed reading, *tasyābhūd Ujjvalā gṛihiṇī*, many scholars have taken Ujjvalā as the name of Halāyudha's mother, but the line in question in all the manuscripts consulted by me is to be read as *tasyābhūd yajvano gṛihiṇī*, which simply indicates that Halāyudha's mother was a consort of a sacrifier."
2. "Again, the wrong reading *prāptā mahāmātyatā*, introduced in the printed text, is responsible for the incorrect assertion that Halāyudha had once held the post of the Chief Minister of king Lakshmaṇasena. The overwhelming evidence of the Mss. in this case supports the reading *prāptā mahāpātratā*, suggesting that the great scholar had only become a worthy recipient of favour from the king." (p. 142).

Anything from the pen of an erudite scholar like Durgāmohan Bhattāchārya deserves serious consideration, but it may be pointed out that if we accept his reading both the statements become colourless.

As Halāyudh's father is described as an erudite Paṇḍit and Halāyudha held high offices under the king, there is no point in saying that the former's wife was the consort of a sacrificer and the latter received favours from the king.

More importance attaches to two other statements :

3. "Besides mentioning here (*Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, v. 12) his last occupation as *Dharmādhikāra*, Halāyudha styles himself, in different places of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, *Dharmādhyaksha*, *Mahādharmādhyaksha*, *Dharmādhikṛita*,.....All these expressions in their contexts appear to have referred to an office connected with certain religious affairs of the State, and not to the post of a judge as is generally believed. " (p. 148).

This view is supported by citing other authorities.

4. "A MS. of another Bhāshya bearing Halāyudha's name in its introductory stanza has recently come to my notice. It is a commentary on the *Pāraskara-gṛihyasūtra* belonging to the Vājasaneya Yajurveda." (p. 160).

This discovery adds one more work to the list of Halāyudha's works. Pandit Durgāmohan Bhattāchārya has also cited various evidences to prove the great popularity and high appreciation of the works of Halāyudha throughout India for several centuries after his death.

III. P. 555.—Add the following as a separate paragraph after line 16.

A dated Sūrya image has been discovered at Mahisantosh in Dinajpur Dt. and is now in the Archaeological Directorate of W. Bengal. A short inscription on the pedestal records that this image of Adityabhaṭṭāraka was set up in the 15th regnal year of Mahendrapāla (Pratīhāra, see p. 122 and p. 182 f.n. 120 a), i.e., about A. D. 900. Apart from some specialities in its plastic representation, it is of great interest from iconographic point of view. Three figures are engraved vertically on the right and the left side of the central image of the deity (the upper part of the top figure on the left being broken). He stands on a high pedestal of two stories, with the figure of Aruṇa on the upper and that of a kneeling devotee on the lower, below which are depicted the seven horses. The topmost figure on the right side of the central image of the main deity seems to represent a divinity holding an object like a flask or basket with his two hands and standing on a tortoise. He has been identified by Dr. S. C. Mukherji with Vidhātāpurusha or Brahmā (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 1, January, 1967, pp.

44-5). But Mr. D. K. Chakravarty identifies him with Kaśyapa, "an old God-Creator mentioned in the *Suparṇādhyāya* of the Brāhmaṇas and also in the *Mahābhārata*, I. 16." He has traced back this old God-Creator revealed as the tortoise-man Kaśyapa to pre-Aryan mythology and also associated him with the cult of Dharma-pujā (worship of Dharma) prevalent in Rāḍhā (W. Bengal), on the strength of the statement by Dr. S. K. Chatterji that "the word Dharma has been derived from some Austro-Asiatic word of the Kol-Muṇḍā family meaning tortoise." These and many other hypotheses are discussed (*JIH*, XLVII, Part I, 1969, pp. 155-158). For Dharma-pūjā, cf. p. 532.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS*

1. Begunia Temple, (Barakar)
2. Begunia Temples, (Barakar)
3. Chaturmukha Liṅga (Gaur)
4. Begunia Temple (Barakar)
5. Siddheśvara Temple (Bankura)
6. Jaṭār Deul (Sundarbans)
7. Banda Temple (Purulia)
8. Banda Temple (Purulia)
9. Narasiṁha (Telkupi, Purulia)
10. Para Temple (Purulia)
11. Devī (Bogra)
12. Bronze Miniature Temple (Jhewari,)
13. Dhyānī-Buddha, (Bereya, Nadia)
14. Manasā, (Kankurshing, W. Dinajpur)
15. Sūrya (Ekdala)
16. Abhichāra Vishṇu (Chaitanpur)
17. Pārśvanāth (Bankura)
18. Inscribed Navaratna Panel (Bāngarh)
19. Channel-spouted bowl, black-and-red ware (Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhib
20. Curry Stone with pestle (Pāhārpur)
21. Apsarā (Chandraketugarh)
22. Human Head (Terracotta, Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi)
23. Inscribed Image of Varāha Avatār
24. Sūrya, (Sitalkuchi, Cooch Behar)
25. Brahmā-Vishṇu (North Bengal)
26. Umā-Maheśvara (North Bengal)
27. Bronze Vishṇu (Rangpur)
28. Two archers fighting (Pāhārpur)
29. Head of Bodhisatva ,,
30. Bedecked Lady ,,
31. Inscribed Stone Image of Kuvera ,,
31A. Inscription on Fig 31.
32. Pillar (Handial)
33. Śabara Male and Female Warriors ,,
34. Dancing Gaṇeśa (North Bengal)

*All the localities are situated in ancient Bengal (West Bengal and Bāngl Desh, formerly known as East Pakistan.)

35. Sūrya (Gauḍa)
36. Main Mound (Pāhārpur)
37. Manuscript on a Tripod (Pāhārpur)
38. Door-keeper (Pāhārpur)
39. Bronze Manasā
40. Agni (Pāhārpur)
41. Yama (Pāhārpur)
42. Bṛihaspati (Pāhārpur)
43. Man playing on *mṛidaṇga*, Terracotta (Pāhārpur)
44. Man playing on *vīṇā* (Pāhārpur)
45. Indra (Pāhārpur)
46. Dancing Girl (Pāhārpur)
47. Yamuṇā (Pāhārpur)
48. Śiva (Pāhārpur)
49. Kāmadeva
50. Man playing on kettledrum (Pāhārpur)
51. Vishṇu—(Telkupi)
52. Kṛishṇa killing Dhenuka (Pāhārpur)
53. Man playing cymbals ,,
54. Warrior holding sword and shield ,,
55. Buddha (Gauḍa)
56. Man carrying loaded poles on shoulder, Terracotta Plaques (Pāhārpur)
57. Mahishamardinī (Manbhum)
58. Millstones (Pāhārpur)
58A. Millstones ,,
59. Terracotta Female Figure (Bāngarh)
60. Gaṇeśa (Pāhārpur)
61. Marīchī, (Satakhaṇḍa, W. Dinajpur)
62. Sūrya, (Kushmandi, W. Dinajpur)
63. Torso of a Devī, (Pakbirra, Purulia)
64. Gaṅgā (Bhadrasila, W. Dinajpur)
65. Agni (Patharpunja, W. Dinajpur)
66. Kārtikeya (Kushmandi, W. Dinajpur)
67. Khasarpaṇa (Chowrapara)
68. Mother & Child (Gangārāmpur)
69. Amorous Couple (Pāhārpur)
70. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa (?) (Pāhārpur)
71. Dancing Gaṇeśa and Girl (Ādinā Mosque, Pandua, Dt. Hooghly)
72. Kārtikeya (North Bengal)

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CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

I. The Connotation of Bengal

The first problem that faces one in writing the history of 'Bengal' is to define the territory comprised within this geographical name. The difficulty arises from the following facts :

1. The Province in British India, called Bengal, was not known by this name (i.e., its Indian equivalent) before the Muslim conquest of this territory.
2. In pre-Muslim period there was no common name for the whole Province, though Gauḍa, which originally formed only a part of it, was sometimes used to denote the whole or a considerable portion of it. Even in the nineteenth century a Bengali poet referred to his native land as Gauḍa.
3. Vaṅga was originally the name of the south-eastern part of the Province, but its boundaries were not well-defined, and other geographical names such as Samataṭa, Harikela, Vaṅgāla, were used for different parts, if not the whole, of it at different times during the pre-Muslim period. This will be discussed in detail in Section III.
4. The English name, Bengal, and its Portuguese form, Bengala, were both derived, not from Vaṅga, as is generally supposed, but from Vaṅgāla which the Muslim rulers adopted as the name of the Province.

In view of the above circumstances it would perhaps be safer, and certainly more convenient, to take Bengal, whose history forms the theme of this volume, as denoting the territory where the Bengali language is spoken today, though it comprises not only the Indian State of West Bengal and the whole of East Pakistan, but also some Bengali-speaking tracts included in the Indian States of Bihar and Assam, and the Indian Union Territory of Tripurā.

II. Physical Features

The readers are familiar with the present physical features of Bengal as defined above. But during the period dealt with in this volume, i.e., from the earliest time up to the end of the 12th century A.D., the river-system, which forms the most characteristic physical feature of Bengal, must have been very different, at different times, from what it is now, and these changes had considerable effect upon the history and importance of some regions and localities. Though we have no definite knowledge of the exact courses of the rivers during the period, we may form some idea of them from the great changes that took place, in subsequent times, in the courses of the principal rivers, as noted below.

The present course of the Ganges, after it has swept in a curve round the spurs and slopes of the Rajmahal Hills, is very different from what it was before the sixteenth century. In those days it flowed further north and east and the city of Gauḍa was probably on its right bank. There has been more than one shifting towards the south and west before the Ganges reached its present course, and the dry beds of some of its old channels can still be traced.

About twenty-five miles to the south of ancient Gauḍa the Ganges divides itself into two branches, the Bhāgīrathī, of which the lower portion is called the Hooghly, running almost due south, and the Padmā flowing in a south-easterly direction. To-day the enormous volume of the waters of the Ganges is carried mainly by the Padmā, while the upper part of the Bhāgīrathī has shrunk to a very shallow stream. But formerly the Bhāgīrathī was in all probability the more important channel of the Ganges. It is difficult to determine when the great change took place, but there is hardly any doubt that by the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. the Padmā already ranked as the main stream of the Ganges.

One important evidence adduced in favour of the view that the Bhāgīrathī was the principal stream of the Ganges in ancient times, is the great sanctity attached to it by the Hindus. The mighty Padmā causes havoc and creates terror, but is not looked upon with great veneration, nor does it claim any traditional religious sanctity.

The earlier course of the lower Ganges, as it rushed down the channel of the Bhāgīrathī, was somewhat different from what it is to-day. Small rivulets from the west like the Bansloi, the Mor, and

the Ajay fell into it after it had broken off from the parent river, as now, but at Triveṇī (near Hooghly) it branched off into three streams. These were the Sarasvatī flowing south-west past Sātgāon (Saptagrāma), the Yamunā (Jumna) running its course south-east down its present bed, and the Bhāgīrathī proper, the middle off-shoot, gliding south down the present Hooghly channel up to Calcutta and then through the Ādi-Gaṅgā (Tolly's Nulla) past Kalighat, Baruïpur, and Magra to the sea. There are reasons to believe that the Sarasvatī flowed into an estuary near modern Tamluk and received not only the waters of the Rupnārāyan and the Dāmodar but those of many smaller streams issuing from the hills of the Santal Parganas. Some time after the eighth century A.D. the port of Tamluk lost its importance on account of the silting up of the mouth of the Sarasvatī and the consequent shifting of its course. Its place was eventually taken up by Saptagrāma or Sātgāon, higher up the river, which figures as the Muslim capital of South-western Bengal in the fourteenth century A.D. In the sixteenth century the main waters of the Bhāgīrathī began to flow through the Hooghly channel. Sātgāon was ruined, and first Hooghly, then Calcutta, took its place. The upper Sarasvatī to-day is a dead river, but the Bhāgīrathī or the Hooghly has deserted the old Ādi-Gaṅgā channel and flows through the lower course of the Sarasvatī below Sankrail.

The course of the Padmā has also considerably changed during the last four centuries. It is difficult to trace accurately its various channels, but the probability is that it at first flowed past Rāmpur Boāliā through the Chalan Bil (or Jhil), the Dhaleswarī, and the Buḍigaṅgā rivers past Dacca into the Meghnā estuary. In the eighteenth century the lower course of the Padmā lay much further to the south. The river flowed through the districts of Faridpur and Bākarganj, and joined the Meghnā estuary just above the island of Dakshin Shāhbāzpur, about 25 miles due south of Chāndpur. Rājnagar, the famous city of Rājā Rājavallabha, was then on its left bank, and hard by this city ran the river Kāligaṅgā connecting the Padmā with the Meghnā river. About the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., the main volume of the waters of the Padmā flowed through this channel, which came to be known as the Kīrtināśā. Gradually the Padmā adopted its present course.

In addition to the two main streams, the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā, the waters of the Ganges reach the sea through numerous

other branches thrown off by the latter. Two of these, the Jalaṅgī and the Māthābhāṅgā flow into the Bhāgīrathī and swell the waters of its lower channel, the Hooghly. Many other old branches like the Bhairab and the Kumār are now dying rivers and their place has been taken by the Madhumatī and the Ārialkhān.

The Padmā is joined in its lower course by the Brahmaputra and the Meghnā, and the combined rivers form the mighty Meghnā estuary. At present the main volume of the waters of the Brahmaputra rolls down the Jamunā which meets the Padmā near Goalundo. But the old course of the Brahmaputra was very different: after tracing a curve round the Garo Hills on the west it took a south-eastern course near Dewanganj, and passing by Jamalpur (near which the Jhināi branched off from it), Mymensing, and the neighbourhood of the Madhupur Jungle in the district of Mymensing, it flowed through the eastern part of the Dacca district, and having thrown off a branch, called Lakshmyā, passed by Nāngalband to the south-west of Sonārgāon and fell into the Dhaleswarī. The Lakshmyā ran almost parallel to the main course, and passing by Narayanganj met the Dhaleswarī a little to the west of its junction with the main stream of the Brahmaputra. This course of the Brahmaputra was already deserted in the eighteenth century when it flowed further east and joined the Meghnā near Bhairab-bazar in the Mymensing district. But, as in the case of the Ganges, religious sanctity still attaches to the older course, and even to-day thousands of pilgrims take their bath at the muddy pools near Nāngalband. But the easternmost channel, too, soon dwindled into an insignificant stream. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Jamunā river increased in importance, and since about 1850 A.D. it has become the main channel of the Brahmaputra.

Of the numerous rivers in Northern Bengal that flowed into the Ganges or the Brahmaputra, a few deserve special mention as having changed their courses considerably in comparatively recent times. The river Tistā at first ran due south from Jalpaiguri in three channels, namely, the Karatoyā to the east, the Punarbhavā (Purnabhabā) to the west, and the Ātrāi in the centre. This perhaps accounts for its name *Trisrotā* (possessed of three streams) which has been shortened or corrupted into Tistā. Of these the Punarbhavā emptied itself into the Mahānandā. The Ātrāi, passing through a vast marshy area known as the Chalan Bil (Jhil), joined the Karatoyā, and the united stream fell into the Padmā near

Jafarganj. The Karatoyā was once a large and sacred river and we have still a *Karatoyā-māhātmya* which bears testimony to its sanctity. On its banks stood the city of Puṇḍravardhana whose antiquity reaches back to the Maurya period. The dwindling Karatoyā still flows by the ruins of this ancient city at Mahāsthāngarh in the Bogra district, and forms a fixed landmark in the shifting sands of the fluvial history of this province.

As regards the Tistā, the parent stream of the three famous rivers of Northern Bengal, Hunter calls attention to the fact that in the destructive floods of 1787 A.D., it suddenly forsook its old channel and rushing south-east ran into the Brahmaputra. There are, however, reasons to believe that the bed to which the mighty torrent turned on this occasion is an old one which had been deserted in ages long gone by. The sudden change in the course of the Tistā in 1787 A.D. was originally regarded by many as having caused the Brahmaputra to sweep through the Jamunā channel, but this view no longer finds general acceptance.

The change in the course of the river Kosī (Kauśikī) is perhaps, more remarkable than even that of the Tistā. This river which now flows through the district of Purnea and unites its waters with the Ganges at a point much higher up than Rājmahal, originally ran eastward and fell into the Brahmaputra. The channel of the Kosī must have, therefore, been steadily shifting towards the west right across the whole breadth of Northern Bengal. There was a time when the Kosī and the Mahānandā joined the Karatoyā, and formed a sort of ethnic boundary line between the civilised people on the south, and the Kochs, Kirātas *etc.*, on the north.

It would appear from what has been stated above that great changes have taken place in the courses of some of the important rivers in Bengal during the last four or five hundred years. Though positive evidence is lacking, we must presume the possibility of similar changes in the remoter past. It is to be regretted that we have no knowledge of their nature and extent. In any case we must bear in mind that during the period with which this volume deals the courses of the rivers in Bengal were probably somewhat different not only from those of the present time, but even from those in the recent past of which we have more definite knowledge. This point must not be lost sight of in discussing any geographical question concerning ancient Bengal on the basis of the position of the rivers.

The frequent changes in the courses of rivers have been responsible for the ruin of many old places, at times by washing them off, and more often by making them unhealthy and inaccessible. Reference has already been made to Tāmralipti and Saptagrāma. It is believed that the shifting of the beds of the Kosī river gave rise to the swamps and floods that contributed to the ruin of the city of Gauḍa. The capricious Padmā has swept away so many cities and villages within living memory, that we can well imagine the devastating effect of this and other rivers on the province of Bengal. In addition to the frequent shiftings of courses, the vast deposit of silt by the rivers in the deltaic region, between the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā, has been a potent instrument in changing its physical aspect to a considerable extent. For the deposit of silt constantly raises the level of land in some areas and makes the other regions comparatively lower and water-logged. The vast Sunderban area in the delta offers an intriguing problem. Many hold the view that the Sunderbans had once been a populous tract but were depopulated by the ravages of nature and the depredations of marauding peoples like the Maghs and the Portuguese. Reference to the Khāḍī-*vishaya* or-*maṇḍala*, a flourishing district in the Sena period which, in later ages, became part of the dense forest, and to the country between the Biskhālī and Rābanābād which was depopulated by the Maghs, may be recalled in this connection. Epigraphic evidence proves that the marshy area called Koṭālipāḍā, near Gopalganj in the district of Faridpur, was once a thriving seat of civilisation and possibly a centre of sea-borne trade and commerce. The change in the condition of the interior of the districts of Jessore and Khulna in recent times also well illustrates what might have taken place on a much larger scale during the preceding centuries.[1]

III. Territorial Divisions

1. Gauḍa

The precise location of the ancient city of Gauḍa as well as of the kingdom which bore this name is not known. A city of Gauḍapura is mentioned by Pāṇini, and Gauḍa, as the name of a country, occurs in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and other ancient Sanskrit texts. It is stated in an inscription of the middle of the sixth century A.D. (A. 28)

that the Maukhari King Īśānavarman forced the Gauḍas to seek refuge in the sea. This seems to indicate that Gauḍa probably extended up to the sea-coast.[1a] On the other hand, in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, written about the same time, the Gauḍa territory is distinguished from Pauṇḍra (North Bengal) and Tāmraliptika (in Midnapore District) as well as from Vaṅga and Samataṭa (South-east Bengal). Gauḍa and Vaṅga are sometimes used side by side.

Śaśāṅka, the powerful ruler of Gauḍa, had his capital at Karṇa-Suvarṇa, the ruins of which have been recently discovered at Rājbāriḍāngā (near the modern Railway Station Chiruti), six miles south-west of Berhampur, headquarters of the Murshidabad district. This location of Gauḍa is indicated in the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* which defines Gauḍa as a territory lying to the north of Burdwan and south of the Padmā. The *Kathāsarit Sāgara* refers to the city of Bardhamāna in Gauḍa.[1b]

Regarding the connection of Gauḍa with Rāḍhā evidence seems to be discrepant. In the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* [2] of Krishṇa Miśra (eleventh or twelfth century A.D.), the Gauḍa-*rāshṭra* is said to have included Rāḍhā (or Rāḍhāpurī) and Bhūriśreshṭhika, identified with Bhursut on the banks of the Dāmodar in the Hooghly-Howrah districts. But the Managoli inscription [3] of the Yādava king Jaitugi I distinguishes Lāla (Rāḍhā) from Gaula (Gauḍa).

According to Jaina writers [4] of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Gauḍa included Lakshmaṇāvatī in the present Malda district. If the commentator of the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana is to be believed, it extended southward as far as Kaliṅga.[5] It may be noted in this connection that the *Śaktisaṅgama-tantra*,[6] a late mediaeval work, extends the country from Vaṅga (Central and Eastern Bengal) to Bhuvaneśa (Orissa). The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* [7] (twelfth century) uses the term in a very extended sense. We find in this work the expression *Pañcha-Gauḍa* which in some texts is taken to embrace, besides Gauḍa proper, the countries known as Sārasvata (Eastern Punjab), Kānyakubja (Gangetic Doab), Mithilā (North Bihar) and Utkala (Northern Orissa).[8] This is reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla. But there is no early warrant for the use of the term Gauḍa in this wide sense.

In the early Muslim period the name Gauḍa came to be applied to the city of Lakshmaṇāvatī in the Malda district.

The Pāla kings are referred to as Vaṅgapati (Lord of Vaṅga) and Gauḍeśvara (Lord of Gauḍa), and the Sena kings whose original seat

of authority was in Rāḍha, also styled themselves as Gauḍeśvara. Henceforth Gauḍa and Vaṅga seem to be interchangeable names for Bengal as a whole—such as we find even to-day.

2. VAṄGA

As will be noted later, Vaṅga, as the name of a people and region, is probably referred to in the *Aitureya Āraṇyaka*, and certainly in the Dharmasūtras, as lying beyond the zone of Aryan culture. The great poet Kālidāsa places the Vaṅgas amidst the streams of the Ganges.[9] In some Jaina texts [10] the region to the west of the Bhāgīrathī, such as Tamluk, is included in Vaṅga, but the two are often referred to as distinct. Vaṅga proper was generally restricted to the eastern part of the Gangetic delta, though a part of it was distinguished as far back as sixth century A.D. as Upavaṅga,[11] which, according to the *Digvijaya-prakāśa* (c. 1600 A.D.), included Jessore.[12] On the other hand, according to some writers, Vaṅga included some territory to the east of the Brahmaputra, such as Sylhet.[13]

3. SAMATAṬA

This territory finds mention in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (A. 1) and later records. Its exact limits in the Gupta age are not known. The *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*,[14] a work of the sixth century A.D., distinguishes it from Vaṅga. The narrative in the record of Hiuen Tsang in the next century describes it as a low and a moist country on the sea-side that lay to the south of Kāmarūpa (in Assam). It was more than three thousand *li* i.e., about 500 British miles in circuit and its capital was about twenty *li* i.e., about 3½ miles in circuit. If the identification of Rājabhaṭa, king of Samataṭa, mentioned by Far Eastern travellers, with Rājarājabhaṭṭa of the Ashrafpur Plates be correct, then it is possible that in the seventh century A.D., Samataṭa had a royal residence at Karmānta.[15] This place has been identified with Baḍkāmtā in the district of Tippera, situated twelve miles west of Comilla. The connection of Samataṭa with the Tippera district in later ages is clearly established by the Baghaura inscription (A.37) of the time of Mahīpāla, and the Mehar copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva (C. 17), dated 1234 A.D. Hiuen Tsang's description suggests that in his time it may have included within its political boundaries a part of Central Bengal in addition to

Tippera. A descriptive label attached to a picture of Lokanātha in a certain illustrated manuscript places Champitalā in the Tippera district in Samataṭa.[16]

4. Harikela

Since the seventh century A.D. we find reference to a country called Harikela. According to I-tsing it was the eastern limit of Eastern India.[17] This is supported by the poet Rājaśekhara who, in his *Karpūra-mañjarī* (9th century) refers to the girls of Harikeli as belonging to the east.[18] As will be noted later, the Chandra kings ruled over Harikela in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

The exact location of Harikela has, however, proved to be a difficult problem. The lexicographer Hemachandra and the *Yādava-prakāśa*[19] identify Harikeli (evidently a variant of Harikela) with Vaṅga,[20] but the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* [21] mentions Harikela, Vaṅga and Samataṭa as distinct localities, while the *Dākārṇava* mentions Harikela, along with Khāḍi, Rāḍha, Vaṅgāla (all in Bengal) among the 64 *pīṭhas* or sacred places. Some Chinese authority applies the name to the coastland between Samataṭa and Orissa. But as Dr. P. C. Chakravarti has shown, this view is certainly wrong and Harikela must be located far into the interior of Bengal.[22]

More definite information is supplied by some medieval manuscripts. According to the lexicon named *Rūpachintāmaṇi*, completed in 1515 Śaka, Harikela is said to be the name of Śrīhaṭṭa, and the same statement occurs in *Kalpadru-kosha*, with the variant Harikeli for Harikela. In the *Rudrāksha-māhātmya* section of the Smṛiti work named *Kṛityasāra* is cited a verse from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* containing the name Harikola, and in a note the author says that Harikola is Śrīhaṭṭadeśa.[23]

It would be quite reasonable to conclude from the above discussion that Harikela primarily denoted the region now known as Sylhet, though its boundaries and political status as an independent country underwent changes in the course of centuries.

5. Chandradvīpa

Chandradvīpa is mentioned in the Rāmpāl copper-plate inscription (B. 77) as the name of the territory ruled over by Trailokyachandra

(tenth or eleventh century A.D.). The famous Tārā image of Chandradvīpa is illustrated in a manuscript dated 1015 A.D.[24] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was the name of a small principality in the district of Bākarganj of which the capital was at first at Kachuā and subsequently removed to Mādhavpāśā.[25] It is identified with the *pargana* of Bāglā (Bāklā) in the *sarkar* of the same name mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.[26]

It has been suggested that the name Chandradvīpa was derived from the Chandra royal family mentioned above. But N. N. Das Gupta opposed it and held that "the traditional founder of this place, which was originally an island (*dvīpa*), is Chandragomin".[27] Dr. P. C. Bagchi held the view that Matsyendranāth lived in Chandradvīpa and the "entire coastal region including the island of Sandwip was once known as Chandradvīpa." He evidently regarded Sandwip as a derivative of Chandradvīpa, but the two are mentioned as separate units by Buddhagupta.[28] Later, after an elaborate discussion on Chandradvīpa, Dr. Bagchi observed : "Chandradvīpa was not so definite a geographical name as we are accustomed to think. Like many other names it had been carried to distant lands by the ancient colonisers and was in use in widely separated regions from the coastal region of Bengal to the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China and from Insulindia to Madagascar."[29]

The Madhyapāḍā inscription of Viśvarūpasena (C. 16) mentions two interesting place-names. These are "Bāṅgālabaḍā" and "-ndradvīpa". The last name has been restored by different scholars as Kandradvīpa, Indradvīpa and Chandradvīpa. The reading Chandradvīpa is supported by the fact that the territory in question included Ghāgharakāṭṭī-*pāṭaka*. As is well-known, Ghāghar is the name of a stream that flowed past Phullaśrī in north-west Bākarganj in the days of the poet Vijayagupta (fifteenth century A.D.). It exists to the present day.

Bāṅgālabaḍā stood to the south of Rāmasiddhi-*pāṭaka* (B. 16) which has been identified with a place in Gaurnadi in the Bākarganj district.[30] The name can scarcely be dissociated from Vaṅgāla-deśa mentioned in epigraphic and literary records.

6. VAṄGĀLA

A vast literature has grown up on the antiquity, origin and exact location of Vaṅgāla to which it is impossible to refer in detail. Only

some salient facts known from authentic sources are stated below :

Many of the theories about Vaṅgāla are based on the assumption that the name first came into use at the time of the Chandra kings of Bengal who ruled in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Dr. D. C. Sircar even went so far as to say that "the name Vaṅgāla can hardly be expected in any record earlier than the rise of the Chandras in the tenth century A.D."[31] But it is now known that the great Pāla king Dharmapāla was mentioned as king of Vaṅgāla in the Nesarika Grant of his contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, dated 727 Śaka (805 A.D.).[32] Beginning from this early period, if not earlier still, this name was quite well-known and occurs in literary and epigraphic records, in and outside Bengal, and, not unoften, along with Vaṅga, in the eleventh, twelfth and later centuries.[33] Its popularity and currency in the 16th century are proved by the detailed account of the Tibetan Lāmā Tāranātha to which reference will be made later in connection with the history of the Pālas. The same thing is proved by the fact that Vaṅgāla in the form Bangālah was the name adopted by the Muslim rulers since the twelfth century and the Portuguese name 'Bengala', and the English 'Bengal', were derived from Vaṅgāla and not the Sanskritized popular name Vaṅga.

The name Vaṅgāla might have been derived from Vaṅga as Upavaṅga undoubtedly was, perhaps to denote a separate unit of Vaṅga. Abu-'l-Fazl says :

"The original name of Bangālah was *Bang*. Its former rulers raised mounds ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *āl*. From this suffix, the name Bangālah took its rise and currency."[34]

Whatever may be the value of this story, Abu-'l-Fazl's view that Bangālah was identical with Vaṅga is almost certainly wrong, and the general view that the two names originally denoted separate geographical units [35] must be accepted until the contrary view is established on unimpeachable authority.

In support of Abu-'l-Fazl's explanation of the name Bangālah it may be pointed out that all available evidence indicates that the Vaṅgāla country comprised the low-lying flats of the Gangetic delta where such *bundhs* or *āl*-s were in use. In a book of the Maynāmatī-Gopīchānd legend a pointed reference is made to the Vāṅgālas with long beards coming from *Bhāṭi*.[36] Now, *Bhāṭi*, which literally means "downstream", "land of the ebb-tide", is the name given

to the low-lying flats of the Gangetic delta that border on the great estuaries. Tāranātha refers to "Bāṭi" as an island realm near the mouth of the Ganges, and the name Bhāṭi is still used to denote the Sundarban region of the districts of Barisal and Khulna. The derivation of the name Vaṅgāla by Abu-'l-Fazl (Vaṅga-*āl*, from *āli* "dike") therefore supports its identification with that part of Vaṅga (not the whole as stated by Abu-'l-Fazl) intersected by *khāls* and creeks and abounding in dikes and bridges that was known as Bhāṭi in the days of Akbar and Tāranātha. Tāranātha places Bhaṅgala in Eastern India along with Kāmrup, Tripurā and Assam, and also distinguishes it from Varendra and Rāḍhā. It may be further noted that Tāranātha refers to a king Govichandra of Bhaṅgala, and in another work mentions Chāṭigrāma, i. e., Chittagong as the capital of Gopichandra, or at least quite close to it. There is hardly any doubt that both the names denote the same person, and in that case, the capital of Bhaṅgala is to be located in this region.[37] Tāranātha's Bhaṅgala, and therefore Vaṅgāla, may thus be reasonably located in the southern part of East Bengal to the east of the Meghna river. It is of some interest to note that the name and memory of Vaṅgāla was preserved even at the beginning of the present century (and perhaps even today) in the nickname *Bāṅgāl* by which the people of West Bengal referred with sneering contempt to the people hailing from East Bengal.

It may be noted that the early Portuguese travellers such as Gastaldi (1561 A.D.) also located Bengala in the region indicated above. Caesar Frederick, the Venetian merchant (1563 to 1581), says. : "This island is called Sondiva (Sandvīp), belonging to the kingdom of Bengala....". Du Jarric wrote in 1599 : "This country of Bengala, which comprises about two hundred leagues of sea-coast....".[38]

In conclusion it may be stated that some modern writers derive the name Vaṅgāla from Vaṅgālaya (i. e., Vaṅga+*ālaya* or home of Vaṅga)[39] which does not appear very probable or reasonable.

7. Puṇḍra and Varendrī

Mention has already been made of the Puṇḍras, a people known to later Vedic texts and the Great Epic. The *Digvijaya* section of the *Mahābhārata* places them to the east of Monghyr and associates them with the prince who ruled on the banks of the Kosī. This accords with the evidence of Gupta epigraphs and the records of the

Chinese writers which agree in placing the territory of the Puṇḍras —then styled Puṇḍravardhana—in North Bengal.

Varendrī or Varendrī-*maṇḍala* was the metropolitan district of the Puṇḍravardhana territory, as the city of Pauṇḍravardhana-*pura*—the Puṇḍra-*nagara* of an old Brāhmī inscription—was situated within its area. The form Varendra(-ī)-maṇḍala occurs in the Talcher Grant of Gayāḍatuṅgadeva[40] and the *Kavi-praśasti* of the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī. The latter definitely locates it between the Ganges and the Karatoyā. Its inclusion within Puṇḍravardhana is proved by the Silimpur, Tarpandighi and Madhainagar inscriptions. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* mentions Bārind as a wing of the territory of Lakhnawati on the eastern side of the Ganges. The evidence of Indian literature and inscriptions proves that it included considerable portions of the present Bogra, Rajshahi and Dinajpur districts.

8. Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā

This part of Rāḍhā is mentioned in the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muñja (981 A.D.) and in other literary texts and inscriptions.[41] According to these records Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā included Bhūriśrishṭi or Bhūriśreshṭhika (modern Bhursut) and Navagrāma in the Howrah and Hooghly districts, as well as Dāmunyā (to the west of the Dāmodar) in the Burdwan district. It is clear from this that the territory in question embraced considerable portions of Western Bengal lying between the Ajay and the Dāmodar rivers. The southern boundary may have reached the Rupnārāyan and the western boundary may have extended beyond the Dāmodar far into the Arambagh sub-division. Tradition, however, recorded in the *Digvijaya-prakāśa*, restricts Rāḍhā to the territory lying north of the Dāmodar (*Dāmodar-ottare bhāge....Rāḍhadeśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ*).[42] Closely connected with Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā as a territory subject to the same ruling family (Śūra) was Apara-Mandāra, perhaps identical with Ma(n)dāran in the Arambagh sub-division of Hooghly.

9. Uttara Rāḍhā-Maṇḍala

Uttara-Rāḍhā is known from the Indian Museum Plates[43] of the Gaṅga year 308 which possibly falls in the ninth century A.D. This district is also known from the Belāva and Naihāti Grants. The last mentioned record includes it within the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. But in

the time of Lakshmaṇasena it formed part of the Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*.

Among places mentioned in inscriptions as being situated in Uttara-Rāḍhā, Siddhalagrāma has been identified with Siddhangram in the Birbhum district, and Vāllahiṭṭhā with Bāluṭiyā on the northern borders of the Burdwan district. The Śaktipur Grant (C. 11) of Lakshmaṇasena suggests that the *maṇḍala* of Uttara-Rāḍhā also embraced villages in the Kandi sub-division of Murshidabad.

The river Ajay is usually regarded as constituting the boundary line between north and south Rāḍhā. But the inclusion of a part of the Katwa sub-division within Uttara-Rāḍhā may imply that at times the Khari, rather than the Ajay, separated northern Rāḍhā-from southern Rāḍhā. As to the northern limits of the Uttara-Rāḍhā *maṇḍala*, it is interesting to note that the Jaina *Prajñāpanā* knows Koṭīvarsha or Bāngarh in the Dinajpur district as a city in Rāḍhā. The *Chandraprabhā* of Bharata Mallika refers to a part of Rāḍhā which lay north of the Ganges (*Uttara-Gaṅgā-Rāḍhām*).[44] It is, however, clear from contemporary inscriptions and the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*[45] that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Ganges formed the boundary between "Ral and the city of Lakhan-or" on the one hand, and "Barind and the city of Diw-kot on the other."

10. Tāmralipta (-lipti) or Damalipta

Tāmralipta is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Digvijaya* section of the *Sabhāparvan* it is distinguished not only from territories known to have been situated in Northern, Eastern and Central Bengal, but also from Suhma. On the other hand, in later ages Tāmralipti is represented as having formed a part of Vaṅga in the time of the Jaina *Prajñāpanā*, and of Suhma in the days of Daṇḍin, the author of the *Daśakumāra-charita*. The core of the territory lay in the modern Midnapore district and its capital has been identified with Tamalites of Ptolemy, the modern Tamluk. In the days of Hiuen Tsang it lay over 900 *li*, that is about 150 miles, from Samataṭa and was about 1400 *li* (about 233 miles) in circuit. "The land was low and moist," forming a bay where land and water communication met.

Footnotes

[1] For a full discussion, with references to authorities, of the changes in the courses of rivers, cf. *Physical Features of Ancient Bengal* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 341-364) and *The Changing Face of Bengal—a Study in Riverine Economy* by Dr. Radhakamal Mookerjee (published by the University of Calcutta). Reference may also be made to W. W. Hunter's *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, C. R. Wilson's *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I. 128 ff, address on *The Waterways in East Bengal*, at the Rotary Club, Dacca, by J. W. E. Berry (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 15-6-38, p. 10) and *JASB.* 1895, pp. 1-24 ; also cf. S. C. Majumdar, *Rivers of the Bangal Delta*, 1941, and N.K. Bhattasali, *Antiquity of the Lower Ganges and its Courses* (*Science and Culture*, VII. 233-39).

[1a] This is also supported by the Gurgi Inscription of the 11th century A.D. (*EI.* XXII, 135) which makes a similar statement.

[1b] Tawney's Translation, p. 204.

[2] Act. II ; *IHQ.* 1928, p. 239 ; *Bhāratavarsha*, 1338 (B.S.), Śrāvaṇa, p. 239.

[3] *EI.* v. 29 ; cf. also *Jyotishatatvam* quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, pp. 1159-1160 (under *Rāḍhaka*). The *Digvijaya-prakāśa* places Rāḍha-deśa to the west of Gauḍa (*Vasumatī*, 1340, Māgha, p. 610).

[4] *JASB.* 1908, p. 281.

[5] Benares edition, p. 295. The commentator wrote in the thirteenth century (Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 469).

[6] 'Gauḍa' in the *Śabdakalpadruma.*

[7] IV. 469.

[8] *Skanda Purāṇa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* (under "Gauḍa").

[9] *Raghuvaṁśa;* IV. 36.

[10] *IA.* 1891, p. 375.

[11] *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, XIV. 8.

[12] S. Mitra, *Yaśohar-Khulnār Itihāsa.* pp. 4, 132.

[13] *Vaṅgā Lohityāt pūrveṇa* (*Jayamaṅgalā* of Yaśodhara, Benares Edition, pp. 294-5 ; *Vaṅgāstu Harikeliyāh.* (Hemachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, Bhumikāṇḍa*). *EHBP*, I. p. IV.

[14] XIV, 6-8.

[15] See *infra.*

[16] Foucher, *Icon.*, 102, Pl. IV. 3 ; *Bhatt. Cat.*, p. 12.

[17] I-tsing, XLVI.

[18] Konow and Lanman's Edition and Translation (HOS), pp. 226-7.

[19] *Bhŭmikāṇḍa.*

[20] *IHQ*, XIX. 220.

[21] Ed. by Ganapati Sastri, 22nd *Paṭala*, pp. 232-3.

[22] *IC*, XII, pp. 88 ff.

[23] For the references in the Mss. cf. *EHBP*, Vol. I, pp. III-IV. *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 6-7.

[24] Foucher, *Icon.* 135-37 ; *Bhatt, Cat.* 12 ff.

[25] H. Beveridge, *The District of Bakarganj*, 72 ff,.

[26] Ibid, 70 ; Ain, II. 123, 134.

[27] *IC*, II. 151.

[28] *IC*, I. 724.

[29] *Bhārata Kaumudī*, Part I, pp. 53-4.

[30] For *Vaḍā*-house, see *IHQ*, 1939, p. 140. For a different view cf. *IC*, II, p. 759.

[31] *IHQ*. XXIII, 63.

[32] *JRASBL*. XXII, 134 ; *EI*. XXXIV, 123-40.

[33] Tirumalai Rock Ins. of Rājendra Chola (11th century) ; Ablur Ins.* (*EI*.V, 257) and Mysore Ins.* (*EC*. V. Part I, Cn. 179, p. 202) both of the 12th cent. ; and other South Indian Inscriptions (*EC*. VI. Cm. 137 ; VII. 119 ; IX. Bn. 96) ; *Hammīra Mahākāvya** (14th cent.).
Vaṇgāla is mentioned in the Goharwa Plate of Karṇarāja (*EI*. XI, 142). *Ḍākārṇava** (12th century ?), Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka** (959 A.D.) ; Nalanda Ins. of Vipula-śrīmitra(*EI*. XXI, 98). Bhusuka's verse in *Charyā-charya-viniśchaya* mentions both Vaṅgāla and Vaṅgāli (*Bauddha Gān O Dohā*,Ed. by H. P. Sāstrī, p. 73. For the date of the text, cf. Chapter XII). Kings of Burma were also called kings of Vaṅgāla (Yule, *Marco Polo*, II. pp. 98, 114 ff.). *Deśāvali-vivṛiti*, probably composed is the 17th century, describes Vaṅgāla-deśa as a tract in the vicinity of forest and sea (H. P. Sastri, ***Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal***, Vol. IV, p. 54),

[34] *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II. 120.

[35] This view is based on the fact that in many literary and epigraphical records (marked with asterisk in foot-note 33) Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are mentioned together, indicating that they were separate geographical units. Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, ***Studies in Indian Antiquities***, p. 189. Dr. D. C. Ganguly maintains that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla were identical (*IHQ*. XIX, p. 297 f.n. 1).

[36] *JASB*. 1878, p. 150.

[37] *IHQ*. XVI, 219-38. cf. Appendix III to Chapter VI.

[38] *JASB*, 1913, p. 437. For references by the Portuguese to Bengal, cf. *IHQ*. XXII, 282-5.

[39] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 11.

[40] *JASB, N. S.*, XII. 293.

[41] *EI*, XXIII. 105 ; *JASB*, 1912, p. 341 ; Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd Ed.) p. 72 ; *IC*. I, 502 ; *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, Act. II. *Kavikaṅkaṇa- Chaṇḍī*, Calcutta University Edition, Part I, p. 20.

[42] *Vasumatī*, 1340 (B. S.), *Māgha*, p. 610.

[43] *EI*, XXIII. 74.

[44] P. 44.

[45] I, 584-6.

CHAPTER II

PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD

1. Origin of the Bengalis

History of a land begins, properly speaking, with the formation of human society therein. This period differs in different countries and even in different regions of India. The earliest evidence of human settlements everywhere is furnished by the stone tools they have left behind.

Pre-historic stone implements—both Palaeolithic and Microlithic—have been discovered in various parts of West Bengal, along with twenty-two Microlithic industrial sites in the districts of Midnapur, Bankura and Burdwan. Highly polished Neolithic celts of a later date have also been found in West Bengal. All these have close affinity with the prehistoric tools from other archaeological sites both in India and abroad.[1] But it is difficult to determine, even approximately, the time when people using them first settled in Bengal. It might have taken place ten thousand years (or even more) ago.

The anthropologists tell us that the original settlers in Bengal were not descended from the Aryans, and they are now represented by the primitive peoples known as Kola, Śabara, Pulinda, Hāḍi, Ḍom, Chaṇḍāla etc. Linguistic evidence shows that they all belonged to the same stock, which is called Nishāda by some and Austric or Austro-Asiatic by others. They belonged to the Neolithic age.

At a subsequent age, peoples of two other ethnic stocks settled in Bengal, whose language was, respectively, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman.

A new race of people who conquered the land and dominated over all these primitive peoples, are the forefathers of the high-class Hindus of Bengal, and were different from the Aryans. This conclusion of anthropologists is based on the fact that whereas the Hindus in the area dominated by the Aryans are Dolicho-cephalic, the Hindus in Bengal are Brachy-cephalic. Some scholars hold the view that the upper class Hindus in Bengal are descendants of the *Homo-Alpinus* inhabitants of Pamir and Taklamakan regions. But this is not agreed to by all.

Although no reliable evidence is available in respect of ancient times, Professor P. C. Mahalanobis has thrown interesting light on

this question by a detailed analysis of the anthropometric data regarding thirty modern typical castes of Northern India, including seven from Bengal, *viz.* Brāhmaṇa, Kāyastha, Sadgopa, Kaivarta, Rājbansī, Pod and Bāgdi. Some of his general conclusions may be stated as follows[2] :

1. The Bengal Brāhmaṇas resemble the other Bengal castes far more closely than they (the Brāhmaṇas) resemble castes outside Bengal, including the Brāhmaṇas.

2. There is a close association between resemblance with the Brāhmaṇas and social status of a caste in Bengal. In other words, the proposition "the higher the social status the greater is the resemblance with the Bengal Brāhmaṇas" is almost literally true.

3. The Kāyasthas, Sadgopas and Kaivartas are typical indigenous castes of Bengal.

4. The Kāyasthas show great resemblance with all the Bengal castes, particularly with the "middle castes" (Sadgopas, Kaivartas and Pods) of Bengal. There is very little difference between the Sadgopas and the Kāyasthas on the whole.

5. The Kaivartas show as much intermixture within Bengal as Kāyasthas and Sadgopas, but less affinity with upper castes and greater resemblance with lower castes.

6. The Bengal Brāhmaṇas stand out prominently as the only caste in Bengal which shows definite evidence of resemblance with the Punjab and also a substantial amount of resemblance with "upper castes" outside Bengal. They do not appear to have intermixed appreciably with eastern tribes and are practically free from racial contact with the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur.

7. The Kāyasthas, the Sadgopas and the Kaivartas show the same amount of moderate resemblance with Bihar, but do not show any resemblance with the Punjab. Resemblance with the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur is not appreciable. Indications of such intermixture increase as we go down the social scale, being very large, for example, in the cases of the Bāgdis and the Pods.

It is unfortunate that Professor Mahalanobis, in making the analysis of race-mixture in Bengal, could take into consideration only a limited number of castes. In view of this and the insufficiency of accurate anthropometric data available in this country, it would not perhaps be safe to admit, without reserve, the truth of all the general observations made by him. But if, subject to this caution,

we provisionally accept them as working hypotheses, we may draw some important inferences and find corroboration for others.[3]

The information concerning the Brāhmaṇas is of great interest. Their resemblance with upper castes outside Bengal is easily explained by the constant immigration of the latter into Bengal and their growing dislike of inter-marriage and inter-dining as will be noted in chapter XIV. At the same time the fact that these Brāhmaṇas resemble the other castes of Bengal far more closely than they (the Brāhmaṇas) resemble the castes, including Brāhmaṇas, of other parts of India, proves that they were also mainly indigenous people of Bengal, were never isolated from the other castes, and did not strictly observe the rules against inter-dining and inter-marriage, which were evidently of slow growth and never fully operative in ancient times.

But by far the most interesting result of the analysis of Professor Mahalanobis is that it demonstrates the homogeneity of the upper castes of Bengal, who formed a distinct entity among the peoples of India. Their moderate resemblance with the Biharis is the inevitable consequence of close association between Bengal and Bihar due to political reasons and geographical contiguity. It may, therefore, be presumed from the result of the analysis, that the upper classes of Bengal formed a distinct racial unit, which underwent only very slight changes in historic times by contact with the aboriginal tribes surrounding them and the immigrants from Upper India. This is true also of the Brāhmaṇas, subject to what has been said above. For according to anthropometric tests the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal "are more closely related to their non-Brāhmaṇa neighbours than to the Brāhmaṇas of Midland."[4]

We may thus postulate an ethnically distinct race in Bengal which formed the background of a social and political entity in historic times. As to the origin of this race, opinions, as usual, widely differ. Without entering into minute anthropological discussions, it will suffice to state here the more important views on this subject. Anthropologists generally agree that the Bengalis "originally came of an ethnic stock that was different from the stock from which the Vedic Aryans originated." This view rests upon a comparative study of the shape of the skulls. For while "long heads" preponderate in all ranks of society in the provinces that now represent the ancient Vedic Aryandom, there is a preponderance of "medium and round heads" in Bengal.[5] Sir Herbert Risley, to whom belongs the credit for the first scientific investigation of the origin of the Indian

peoples, traced the round-headed element among the Bengalis to Dravidian and Mongoloid admixture.[6] The late Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, who was the first to oppose Risley's theory of the Mongolo-Dravidian origin of the Bengalis, derived them from the *Homo-Alpinus* type, a very brachy-cephalic population of Aryan or Indo-European speech living in the pre-historic period in the Pamirs and the Taklamakan desert. Mr. Chanda was of opinion that when immigrants of the *Homo-Alpinus* type entered India, they found the middle portion of the Gangetic plain in possession of the Vedic Āryas, and therefore found their way to the lower Gangetic plain across the tableland of Central India.[7]

Risley's view that the Bengali was an alloy of the Mongolian and Dravidian races held the ground for a long time, but does not now find favour among the anthropologists who have pointed out serious defects in his classification of Indian races, methods of collecting data and deriving inferences from them.[8] But while Mr. Chanda's view about the non-Mongolic character of the Bengalis is now generally accepted, his theory that the brachy-cephalic (broad-headed) people of Bengal originated from the *Homo-Alpinus* type is not accepted by all. Dr. B. S. Guha, one of the latest writers on the subject, has criticised it and put forward a new theory of his own. Referring to the views of Mr. Chanda, Dr. Guha observes :

"The presence of broad-headed skulls in the early strata of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa would seem however to militate against this supposition. Recent discoveries.....have definitely shown the existence of brachy-cephalic types in South Arabia, of which the "Omani" displayed Armenoid affinities which according to Keith must have come from Persia and Baluchistan. There seems no reason to think that the Indian Brachy-cephals with definite Armenoid affinities resembling the "Omani" had a different origin. That it was not Mongoloid would seem to be quite clear from both the character of the Indus Valley skulls and the values of the C. R. L's. (Coefficient of Racial Likeness) discussed before."[9]

Mr. H. C. Chakladar personally measured a large number of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of Calcutta and Muchis of Birbhum. From an analysis of the anthropometric data thus collected by him he finds that beside the Alpine element which is strong in both, and more so in the Brāhmaṇa than in the Muchi, the Mediterranean element is present in both, but more prominent in the Muchi than in the Brāhmaṇa. From this he infers the existence of a predominant

Alpine type and of an appreciable Mediterranean or Brown Race type among the Bengalis.[10]

The scope of the present work does not allow us to pursue the subject any further. Nor is it necessary to do so. For the sole foundation of these bold and far-reaching conclusions is the anthropomorphic test, the scientific basis of which has not yet been generally conceded.[11] We must, therefore, admit that we cannot yet satisfactorily solve the problem of the origin of the Bengalis. But there has been a rude shock to our complacent belief, held without question for a long time, that the Brāhmaṇas and other high castes of Bengal were descended from the Aryan invaders who imposed their culture and political rule upon primitive barbarian tribes.[12]

2. Pre-Aryan Civilisation in Bengal

We know very little of the degree and the nature of the civilisation possessed by the pre-Aryan population of Bengal, and much less of the contribution of each of the racial elements to the common stock of the civilisation developed on the soil of Bengal. But in this respect we may postulate for Bengal what has generally been accepted for the rest of India. It is now generally held that the foundations of civilisation of India—its village-life based on agriculture—were laid by the Nishādas or Austric-speaking peoples, and the same was also probably true of Bengal.

The available information regarding the culture of these peoples is thus summed up by Dr. S. K. Chatterji :

"The Austric tribes of India appear to have belonged to more than one group of the Austro-Asiatic section—to the Kol, to the Khasi, and to the Mon-Khmer groups. They were in the neolithic stage of culture and perhaps in India they learned the use of copper and iron. They brought with them a primitive system of agriculture in which a digging stick (**lag, lang, *ling*—various forms of an old word **lak*) was employed to till the hill-side. Terrace cultivation of rice on hills and plains cultivation of the same grain were in all likelihood introduced by them. They brought, as the names from their language would suggest, the cultivation of the coconut (*nārikela*), the plantain (*kadala*), the betel vine (*tāmbula*), the betel-nut (*guvāka*), probably also turmeric (*haridrā*) and ginger (*śṛiṅgavera*), and some vegetables like the brinjal (*vātiṅgana*) and the pumpkin (*alābu*). They appear not to have been cattle-breeders—they had no use for milk, but they were probably the first people to tame the elephant, and to domesticate the fowl. The habit of counting by twenties in some parts of North India (cf. Hindi *koḍi*, Bengali *kuḍi*, 'score, twenty' from the Austric) appears to be the relic of an Austro-Asiatic

habit. The later Hindu practice of computing time by days of the moon (*tithis*) seems also to be Austric in origin."[13]

The Alpine race which succeeded the Nishādas and forms the main element in the composition of the present Bengalis, other than the tribes mentioned above, possessed a higher degree of civilisation. Without being dogmatic in a matter for the investigation of which sufficient reliable data are not available, we may regard the following as a fairly reasonable statement of the nature and degree of civilisation possessed by the Bengalis before they came into contact with the Vedic Aryans.

"The ideas of *karma* and transmigration, the practice of *yoga*, the religious and philosophical ideas centring round the conception of the divinity as Śiva and Devī and as Vishṇu, the Hindu ritual of *pūjā* as opposed to the Vedic ritual of *homa*,—all these and much more in Hindu religion and thought would appear to be non-Aryan in origin; a great deal of Purāṇic and epic myth, legend and semi-history is pre-Aryan ; much of our material culture and social and other usages, *e. g.*, the cultivation of some of our most important plants like rice and some vegetables and fruits like the tamarind and the coconut, *etc.*, the use of the betel-leaf in Hindu life and Hindu ritual, most of our popular religion, most of our folk crafts, our nautical crafts, our distinctive Hindu dress (the *dhotī* and the *sāḍī*), our marriage ritual in some parts of India with the use of the vermilion and turmeric—and many other things—would appear to be legacy from our pre-Aryan ancestors.[14]

This is practically all that was known or guessed of the pre-Aryan peoples of Bengal until about ten years ago. Archaeological discoveries during the sixties have furnished evidence of a comparatively much higher degree of civilisation in certain parts of Bengal even at such a remote period as the beginning of the first millenniun B.C., perhaps even earlier, and in any case long before the settlement of the Aryans which was hitherto regarded as the beginning of higher culture and civilisation in Bengal.

These discoveries are results of excavations carried on during 1962-5 at 'Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi' in the valley of the river Ajay (near Bolpur) in the Burdwan District, and in several other sites on the Ajay Kunur, and Kopai rivers.[15]

The results of the excavations have been summed up as follows : "The excavations at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi have revealed that the Bengalis of those days were capable of building well-planned towns with pavements and streets. They lived in citadels and houses built of unfired clay reinforced with reeds and having plastered walls and

floors of beaten peletty laterite. They knew the use of copper. Agriculture and trade was the mainstay of their economy. They cultivated rice and other crops. They kept domestic animals and livestock, and also turned out fine potteries. They buried their dead in an east-west orientation, and their religion mainly centred round the worship of the mother goddess."[16] The potteries they used consisted of "bowls, shallow bowls, basins, channel-spouted bowls or basins (in black-and-red ware, often painted in the inside in white or cream),trumpet or tulip-shaped vases often perforated at the bottom (in black-and-red ware), inverted helmet-shaped flower-pots or deep bowls with a flaring rim (also in black-and-red ware), dishes-on-stand, bowls-on-stand (generally in red ware sometimes painted and sometimes in black-slipped ware), perforated vases or bowls, thick storage jars, ordinary jars and *loṭās* (generally in red ware), high-necked jars with a flaring rim and funnel-shaped narrow mouth (in black-and-red ware and black-slipped wares), lids and dishes....

"Regarding house-plans of this period it may be observed that they lived in rectangular-to-square or round houses or huts framed with thick wooden or bamboo-posts around which were put reeds plastered with mud both from inside and outside. Sometimes, the roof-tiles were made of terracottas. Floors of these huts or houses were either made of rammed *moorum* or lateritic pellets or of terracotta nodules or of clay mixed with cowdung (cf. Central Indian sites) or were plastered with lime. The people of Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi probably ate rice, and the dietary seems to have included in some cases the meats of 'Nilgai', deer and pig (evidence from almost all the levels) besides fishes. The animals were also domesticated by the people. In all, thirteen burials of three different classes, viz. extended, fractional or secondary and urn-burial, were found."[17]

It has been suggested that the Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi represents the ruins of a trading township. The people "carried on trade not only with the interior regions of India, but also with the countries overseas. They were predominantly a sea-faring people, and in ships made by themselves they could traverse the seven seas of the world. The discoveries at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi (2,000 B.C.) show that they had most intimate trade relations with Crete and other countries of the Mediterranean world.

"The principal commodities of commerce that they carried in their boats to distant lands of the world were spices, cotton fabrics, ivory, gold and silver, copper and perhaps diamond. Sugar also was likely

to have loomed large in their trade, for in later times it figured prominently in Bengal trade.

"That the people of Bengal of those days carried on a flourishing trade with the people of Crete is attested by an abundant number of finds at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi and also elsewhere in the estuarine Bengal. The most exciting among the finds are a seal and a clay label both inscribed with signs of Cretan Linear A symbols....Indeed, Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi is not the only place which had a settlement of the Cretans. Such settlements of the Cretans and of the Egyptians too there must have been also in the Midnapur and the 24 Parganas districts of West Bengal. Thus Tamluk in the Midnapur district has yielded vases of Egyptian and Cretan types. Sealings and potteries revealing certain Egyptian and Cretan traits have also been recovered from Harinarayanpur and Chandraketugarh in the 24 Parganas of West Bengal."[18]

"The excavations at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi have revealed the existence of a Copper Age civilisation in eastern India which had once a close relation with chalcolithic civilisation of Central India and Rajasthan as illuminated by a comparison of cultural assemblages of these regions (p. 30). During the excavation of 1964 it was decisively proved that iron was known and probably smelted at this site side by side with the use of copper and microliths in Period III in a chronological horizon around 1000 B.C. (p. 31).....The seal and engraving, conclusively reveal that there was once a method of writing of sharp linear pattern in the Ajay Valley somewhere in the 2nd millennium B.C. (p. 28).... A careful study of all these relics originally revealed that the chalcolithic habitation at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi which might have begun in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C. continued to flourish inspite of recognisable changes down to the beginning of 1st millennium B.C. Recently, a Radio-Carbon analysis of an excavated charcoal sample from the Cemetery level of Period II of Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi as conducted by Dr. Shyamadas Chatterjee, Head of the Department of Physics, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, has confirmed the expectation by dating the chalcolithic phase to B.C. 1012 ± 120. It is obvious that Period I belonged to earlier times."[19]

The above account is based on the official statements of the Archaeological Directorate of West Bengal. It is, however, necessary to point out that the archaeological discoveries in Bengal, mentioned above, have not yet been properly studied by the outside experts or specialists in this field, and as such the historical value of many state-

ments, particularly about the dates, relationship with the Cretans, and knowledge of the art of writing must be regarded as very uncertain.

3. Aryan immigration to Bengal

The theory, stated above, of the non-Aryan origin of the Bengalis is supported by the Vedic literature. It is significant that there is no reference to Bengal in the Saṁhitā of the *Rigveda*. Further, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 13-18) refers to the Puṇḍras as Dasyus, and the *Aitareya Araṇyaka*[20] refers to *Vaṅgāvagadhā* in contemptuous terms. Assuming that the Puṇḍras lived in North Bengal and *Vaṅgāvagadhā* really means Vaṅgas and Magadhas, it is quite clear that Bengal was outside the zone of Aryan culture even in the later Vedic period. The state of things was not very different even in the Sūtra period. The *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (I, 1, 2, 13-15) prescribes a penance for those who visit, among other countries, Puṇḍra and Vaṅga representing North and East Bengal.

It is interesting to note that even the Jaina Sūtras represent the people of Rāḍhā as uncultured and almost savage. The *Achāraṅga Sūtra* contains a fine Prakrit ballad, where it is related that Mahāvīra wandered for some time as a naked mendicant in Lāḍha, of which Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi were apparently two divisions. Lāḍha is described as a pathless country (*duchchara*). The rude natives of the place generally maltreated the ascetics. When they saw the ascetics, they called up their dogs by the cry of "*Chuchchu*" and set them upon the *samanas*. It was difficult to travel in Lāḍha. It is said that many recluses lived in Vajjabhumi where they were bitten by the dogs and cruelly treated in a hundred other ways. Some of the recluses carried bamboo staves in order to keep off the dogs.[21]

It is evident from the above that the Aryans regarded the peoples whom they met in Bengal as barbarous, showing in this respect the same spirit displayed by the Greeks and Romans. But the examples of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and many other sites in the Indus valley leave no doubt that some of the peoples living in this region possessed a high degree of material culture and may even be said to have excelled the Aryans in this respect. The same thing was probably also true of the people in Eastern India, of whom they knew very little. In any case there is no doubt that there was a highly developed culture in Bengal before the Aryan settlement as has been stated above (pp. 23-24).

There is, however, equally little doubt that the Aryan settlements in Bengal on a large scale profoundly affected its culture, and the gradual Aryanisation forms the chief point of interest in the subsequent history of this region. It is not possible to trace the progress of this Aryanisation stage by stage, and only a general idea may be formed from a study of the post-Vedic literature.

While the *Rāmāyaṇa* includes Vaṅga as a part of Daśaratha's empire,[22] and the stock list of the Eastern peoples given in the Purāṇas include Suhma (West Bengal), Vaṅga and Puṇḍra, not much is said about any of these, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* describes the Suhmas as a sinful tribe along with the Kirātas, Yavanas and Khasas. But some Buddhist and Jaina texts indicate the gradual expansion of Aryan culture in Bengal.

While the Jaina *Āchāraṅga Sūtra* describes the people of Rāḍhā at the time of Mahāvīra as barbarous, the Jaina *Prajñāpanā* includes the Vaṅgas and Lāḍhas in the list of Aryan peoples.[23]

The *Divyāvadāna* records a tradition which shows that the Nirgrantha or Jaina religion was established in Puṇḍra or North Bengal in the time of Aśoka. It is said that the lay followers (*upāsaka*) of Jainism in the city of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) had painted a picture representing Buddha falling at the feet of Jina, and on hearing this Aśoka massacred 18,000 Ājīvikas of Puṇḍravardhana on a single day.[24] It is difficult to put much faith in such a story except as the echo of a tradition that Jainism flourished in Bengal at the time of Aśoka in third century B.C.

This view is strengthened by the statement in the *Kalpa Sūtra* that Godāsa, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, founded a school named after him Godāsa-gaṇa. In the course of time it had four *Śākhās* or branches of which three were known as Tāmraliptika, Koṭivarshīya, and Puṇḍravardhanīya, named after three very well-known places in ancient Bengal, viz., Tāmralipti (Tamluk in Western Bengal or Rāḍhā), Koṭivarsha and Puṇḍravardhana, both in Northern Bengal. The nomenclatures leave no doubt about strong Jaina influence both in north, west and south Bengal. A Mathura Inscription of about second century A.D. refers to a Jaina monk of Rāḍha.[25] The story in the *Divyāvadāna*, mentioned above, shows that Buddhism also was flourishing in Puṇḍra.

According to the well known legend of Māthava in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[26], the Aryan progress towards the east was stopped at the

Sadānīrā (probably Gaṇḍakī) river, and for a long time the region to the east of it was beyond the pale of Aryan culture.

The first definite evidence of the further progress of Aryan settlement towards the east is furnished by the *Mahābhārata*.

The change in the cultural and political atmosphere is broadly indicated by the long account it gives of Magadha as a great power in India. This region was contemptibly referred to in the *Aitareya Araṇyaka* as well as in the later *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*. But we find a detailed account of the power and prestige of this kingdom under Jarāsandha, from which it appears that he was an Aryan king or at least had Aryan connection and culture. He had defeated numerous Kshatriya rulers, and many Kshatriyas, including the Yādavas and Bhojas, fled in terror from their homes towards the west. The Yavana ruler Bhagadatta was submissive, and Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva, ruler of Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and the Kirātas sought for his protection.

The great Epic refers to Bengal as divided into a number of States, nine of which are specifically named. It describes victorious campaigns undertaken by Karṇa, Kṛishṇa, and Bhīmasena in these parts of India. Karṇa is said to have vanquished the Suhmas, the Puṇḍras, and the Vaṅgas, and constituted Vaṅga and Aṅga into one *vishaya* of which he was the *Adhyaksha* or ruler. Kṛishṇa defeated both the Vaṅgas and the Pauṇḍras. His wrath was specially directed towards the "false" Vāsudeva, lord of the Pauṇḍras, who is said to have united Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, and Kirāta into a powerful kingdom, and entered into an alliance with Jarāsandha of Magadha. Before he met his doom at the hands of Kṛishṇa, Pauṇḍraka-Vāsudeva had to suffer humiliation at the hands of the Pāṇḍu princes. Bhīmasena, in the course of his eastern campaign, subdued all the local princes of Bengal including Samudrasena, his son Chandrasena, and the great lord of the Puṇḍras himself. In many respects Pauṇḍraka-Vāsudeva was a remarkable figure, and may be looked upon as the epic precursor of the Gauḍa conquerors of the seventh and eighth centuries. In the end both the Vaṅgas and the Pauṇḍras had to bring tribute to the court of Yudhishṭhira.

While suffering much at the hands of conquerors from upper India, the Bengal kings availed themselves of opportunities to wreak vengeance on their tormentors. They took part in the internecine strife of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus, and appear in the battle books of the *Mahābhārata* as allies of Duryodhana. The

Bhīshma-parvan gives a thrilling account of a lively encounter between a scion of the Pāṇḍus and the "mighty ruler of the Vaṅgas" :

"Beholding that lance levelled at Duryodhana, the lord of the Vaṅgas quickly arrived on the scene with his elephant that towered like a mountain. He covered the Kuru king's chariot with the body of the animal. Ghaṭotkacha, with eyes reddened with rage, flung his upraised missile at the beast. Struck with the dart the elephant bled profusely and fell down dead. The rider quickly jumped down from the falling animal."

and Duryodhana rushed to his rescue.

The *Mahābhārata* also refers to the places of pilgrimage in Bengal. The Gaṅgā-Sāgara-Saṅgama, i.e., the estuary of the Ganges in South Bengal, is referred to both in connection with the legend of Bhagīratha, and the pilgrimage of Yudhishṭhira. Among the holy rivers are included the Lauhitya, the Karatoyā and the Gaṅgā. It is said that in old days the Lauhitya was made a sacred place through the influence of Rāma. Anyone who goes there gets large quantities of gold. Visit to the Karatoyā after three days' fast produces the same merit as an Aśvamedha sacrifice. One who bathes in the Gaṅgā (Ganges) from its western bank after three days' fast is freed from all sins (Vana Parva 33, 2-5).

These references indicate that the Aryans had a much more intimate knowledge of, and closer contact with, Bengal than in the days of the Dharma-sūtras ; also that there were powerful States and religious sanctuaries, venerated by the Aryans, in Bengal. This offers a striking contrast to the contemptuous references in earlier records.

Certain legends indicate the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan blood in the royal families. The most striking instance is the story of Rishi Dīrghatamas who begot on the queen of Asura king Bali five sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga, who founded the five States named after them.

The lands of the despised Puṇḍras and Vaṅgas were now not only the seats of powerful kings but also flourishing centres of Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical religion.

All these significant changes must have been brought about between the ages represented by the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* and the *Mahābhārata*. The date of the former may be put roughly about the fifth century B.C. It is more difficult to assign any such precise date to the *Mahābhārata* the text of which grew in volumes by repeated

additions extending over centuries. Nevertheless, there are good grounds to believe that the great Epic assumed its present form in or some time before the fourth century A.D. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the first stage of Aryanisation of Eastern India took place between 4th century B.C. and 4th century A.D.

The evidence of the *Manu-Smṛiti* or *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* is very significant in this connection. While early Dharmasūtras and grammatical treatises confine the land of the Aryans to the upper Ganges Valley, the author of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* extends it from the western to the eastern sea. It should, however, be noted that the law-giver brands the Pauṇḍras as degraded Kshatriyas, and classes them with Dravidians, Scythians, Chinese and other outlandish peoples.

If we remember that the composition of the *Manu-Smṛiti* may be placed between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. it supports the above dating, representing, as it does, a half way house between the ages of *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* and the *Mahābhārata.*

It is interesting to note that while the Pali *Vinaya Piṭaka* places the eastern frontier of Āryāvarta at Rājmahal, its later version, the *Sanskrit Vinaya Piṭaka*, locates it in the Puṇḍra country further east.

The references in the *Mahābhārata* and other sacred literature mentioned above seem to indicate that the Aryan culture spread from Magadha to Puṇḍra (North Bengal), Vaṅga (South Bengal), and Suhma (West Bengal). It appears that at the time of Alexander's invasion in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., Magadha had yielded its place of supremacy to Vaṅga. The Greek and Latin writers refer to two nations, the Prasii (Prasioi) and the Gangaridai (*Var.* Gandaridai) who ruled over nearly the whole of North India from the river Beas in the Punjab to the eastern frontier of India beyond the Ganges. The classical writers, however, did not possess a very accurate idea of the exact location of the Gangaridai and their relationship with the Prasioi who had their capital at Pāṭaliputra. Diodorus, for example, says in one passage that the "Ganges which is 30 stades broad, flows from north to south forming the boundary towards the east of the tribe of the Gandaridai." This would imply that the Gandaridai were the inhabitants of Rāḍhā. But according to other writers, such as Curtius, Plutarch and Solinus, the two nations, the Gangaridai and the Prasii, dwelt on the further bank of the Ganges, i.e., the eastern bank. Diodorus himself, in another passage, says the same thing. In a third passage Diodorus says that the region where the Gandaridai lived "is separated from further India by the greatest river in these parts for it

has a breadth of 30 stadia." These different statements have been reconciled by supposing that by the Ganges the classical writers meant the easternmost branch of the Ganges (the Padmā) rather than the westernmost (Bhāgīrathī or Hooghly). But the specific statement in the first passage that the river runs from north to south exactly describes the course of the second rather than the first. Evidently, the classical writers had a vague notion of the geography of this region and we shall not be justified in concluding from their varying descriptions that the Gangaridai lived in Rāḍhā. There is, however, no doubt that Bengal was the homeland of the Gangaridai.

Similar uncertainty prevails as to the position of the Gangaridai *vis a vis* the Prasioi. The Greek writer, Curtius, for example, refers to them as two nations under one king, but immediately after makes statements which indicate a united realm and not a dual monarchy. Diodorus also speaks of them as forming one nation whose king was Xandrames, and the people over whom he ruled is further on represented simply as the Gandaridai.

Although these confused statements cannot lead to any definite conclusion, it is certain that the Gangaridai were a very powerful nation and either formed a dual monarchy with Prasioi, or were otherwise closely associated with them on equal terms, if not as the senior partner or more important member of the co-operative undertaking against Alexander. According to the classical writers the Prasioi-Gangaridai army which assembled to resist Alexander consisted of 200,000 infantry, 8000 chariots and 80,000 horse, and Alexander's army had to beat retreat before this imposing array of force.[27]

Thus the end of the fourth century B.C. marks a fixed point in the expansion of Aryan culture in Eastern India. Aryanised Bengal and Bihar formed the strongest political power in the whole of India. The hegemony of completely and partly Aryanised kingdoms of Northern India, first under Magadha (South Bihar) and then of both Magadha and Bengal, could not fail to Aryanise these eastern regions to a very considerable extent. That Bengal like Magadha, had imbibed many elements of Aryan culture can hardly be doubted and may be demonstrated by positive evidence. An inscription written in Prākrit in the Brāhmī alphabet of the third century B.C. has been found in the site of the old Puṇḍranagara now represented by the ruins at Mahāsthān in Bogra District (East Pakistan). An image found at Silua in the Noakhali District (East Pakistan) also bears an inscription written, apparently in Prākrit, in the Brāhmī script of about

second century B.C. The Susunia rock inscription in Bankura District, West Bengal, written in Sanskrit and in Brāhmī letters of the 4th century A.D. refers to some donation to God Vishṇu.

Thus even before the establishment of Gupta supremacy Bengal had already developed into a stronghold of Aryan culture. After the Gupta age there is abundant evidence to show that the whole of West Bengal and East Pakistan excluding its hilly region in the North had been completely Aryanised; so much so, that the problem now is to find out the pre-Aryan elements in the culture of this region.

Before dealing with the history of the Gupta period reference may be made to the legend of Vijaya. According to the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon a prince named Sīhabāhu, who inherited the kingdom of Vaṅga from a maternal ancestor, renounced his claims in favour of a relation, and built a new city in the kingdom of Lāla which came to be known as Sīhapura. The new metropolis has been identified by some with Sihor in Kāthiāwār, and the territory in which it lay, with Lāṭa. But Kāthiāwār was known in ancient times as Surāshṭra, and not as Lāṭa. The close association with Vaṅga suggests that Lāla of the Pāli chronicles is Lāḍha of the Jaina *Sūtras* and Rāḍhā of Sanskrit records. There is a place in Rāḍhā known as Singur which is taken by some to represent the Simhapura of the Island Chronicles.[28]

The eldest son of Sīhabāhu was Vijaya. The prince incurred the displeasure of his father and his people by his evil ways, and had to go into exile. With his followers he sailed in a ship to Sopara, north of Bombay. But the violence of his attendants alienated the people of the locality. The prince had to embark again, and eventually "landed in Laṅkā, in the region called Tambapanni." The date assigned by the Ceylonese tradition to the arrival of Vijaya and his "lion-men" (Sīhalas) in the island is the year of the *Parinirvāṇa* according to the reckoning of Ceylon (544 B.C.). But it is difficult to say how far this date can be relied upon[29] or what amount of historical truth is contained in the story. It may be based upon some genuine tradition relating to the early political relations between Bengal and Ceylon, or may be simply an echo of the later colonial enterprises emanating from Bengal to the over-sea territories towards the south and the south-east.

Footnotes

[1] Dr. A. K. Sur, *Prehistory and Beginnings of Civilization in Bengal*, pp. 1, 2. For a general account of the stone tools, cf.

S. R. Das, *Stone Tools—History and Origins*, Calcutta, 1968.

S. N. Chakravarti, *An Outline of the Stone Age in India. JRASB(L)*, X, pp. 81-98.

Foote, *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities, Notes on Their Ages and Distribution*, 1916.

[2] *JASB*. N. S. XXIII, pp. 301-33.

[3] More anthropometric data regarding the Brāhmaṇas and other castes in Bengal have been collected since Prof. Mahalanobis wrote. They are, however, very meagre, and generally support his conclusions.

[4] R. P. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 162. As noted above, the same view is maintained by Prof. Mahalanobis. It is also supported by Mr. H. C. Chakladar's analysis of the anthropometric data regarding the Brāhmaṇas and the Muchis of Bengal (Presidential Address, Anthropological Section. *PSC*. XXIII. 359-90), mentioned later.

[5] There is also difference of language among these two groups. Chanda, *op. cit*. 59 ; Chakladar, *op. cit*. 374.

[6] Risley, (i) *The People of India* ; (ii) *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*.

[7] Chanda, *op. cit*. 74-75. Hoernle first started the theory of two distinct Aryan immigrations, the Vedic Aryans inhabiting the Eastern Panjab, North Rājputāna and western part of U. P., while the second group formed a ring round them in Gujarāt, Central India, South Bihar, Bengal *etc*. (for a detailed exposition of the theory of two distinct waves of Aryan immigration into India, on which Chanda's theory is based, cf. *ibid*. 37 ff.). But according to Hoernle's theory, adopted by Grierson, Giuffrida-Ruggeri, Dixon, Hutton and others, the Indo-Aryans of the Outer countries came earlier, and the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest wave of immigration. Mr. Chakladar not only endorses this view but maintains further that the Outer group of Aryans, who came first, originated the early Vedic culture represented in the *Saṁhitās*. Later he says, the long-headed branch of the Indo-Europeans drove the more cultured round-heads towards the south and east, and gradually absorbed the Vedic culture of the earlier settlers. They wrote the Brāhmaṇa texts, and subsequent Vedic culture developed and flourished in their hands (*op. cit*. 375).

[8] B. S. Guha, *Report on the Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III. pp. XXXIX, LXIII ; Porter, *ibid*. Vol. V, Part I, pp. 432 ff. ; Chakladar, *op. cit*. 362.

[9] B. S. Guha, *op. cit*., pp LXX-LXXI.

[10] Chakladar, *op. cit*., pp. 367-68. The Alpine and the Mediterranean are two racial components of what was formerly called Dravidian, the use of which as an ethnic name is now generally discarded by anthropologists. The two earlier racial elements of the so-called Dravidians are named Veddaic and Muṇḍā, and the presence of both in Bengal is admitted by Chakladar (*op. cit*. 365).

[11] Eminent authorities have expressed the view that 'physical type depends far more on environment than on race', and that 'neither cephalic nor nasal index is of much use in determining race'. Further difficulty is caused by the fact "that physical anthropologists cannot agree upon any principles of skull measurement" (cf. Chanda, *op. cit.* 62-63). As an example of this difficulty, we may mention that while Porter (*op. cit.* p. 459) and Chanda (*op. cit.* 163) find wide divergence between the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal and Mithilā, Chakladar (*op. cit.*, 368) finds considerable affinity between them, though all of them base their conclusions on anthropometric data. It must further be pointed out that the amount of anthropometric work that has been done in Bengal is disappointing both in extent and scientific value. Besides, in Bengal at any rate, considerable allowance must be made for differences caused by local factors the nature of which is yet unknown. This clearly follows from the observations made by Mr. Chakladar. He points out that the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of the Birbhum district were not quite like those of East Bengal and Calcutta, and that the difference between the Brāhmaṇas and Muchis of Birbhum itself would not be so striking as the difference discovered between the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of Calcutta and the Muchis of Birbhum. He further mentions that the cephalic indices obtained from a measurement of the head of over ten thousand college students in Calcutta showed a great range of variation inside the same caste unit in different districts (*op. cit.* 377).

[12] S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, pp. 30 ff.

[13] *Ibid.* p. 35 ; for further references, cf. *Ibid.* pp. 251-52.

[14] Dr. S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 31. cf. also, H. C. Chakladar, *The Prehistoric Culture of Bengal* (*Man in India*, Vol. 31, Nos. 3 and 4).

[15] For an account of these, cf. the following (referred to as A, B and C in the subsequent footnotes).

A. Dr. A. K. Sur, *Prehistory and Beginnings of Civilization in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1969.

B. *Exploring Bengal's Past*, Edited by P. C. Das Gupta, 1966.

C. *The Excavations at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi.*

(B and C are published by the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal.)

[16] A. p. 7.

[17] B. pp. 16-8.

[18] A. pp. 7-9.

[19] C. pp. 30, 31, 28, 29.

[20] II. 1. I. Keith, A. B., *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, 101, 200.

[21] B. Barua, *The Ājīvikas*, p. 57.

[22] Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, X. 37.

[23] *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 375.

[24] *Divyāvadāna*, Edited by Cowell, p. 427. The account mixes up the Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas, but the name of the sect is uniformly given as Nirgranthas in the Chinese translation. Cf. Przyluski, *La Legende de l'Empereur Asoka*, p. 278.

[25] R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 72.

[26] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, p. 105.

[27] Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*. Calcutta, 1960.

[28] *JASB*. 1910, p. 604 ; for other views see *CHI*. I. XXV ; see also *IHQ*. II (1926), p. 6 ; IX (1933), pp. 724 ff. Singur is a notable place in the Hooghly district (Hunter, III. 307).

[29] In the time of the *Periplus* (60-80 A. D.) the island was still known as Taprobane (Tambapanni or Tāmraparṇī), and Palaesimuṇḍu. It is only in the *Geography* of Ptolemy that we come across the new name Salike along with the older designations (Taprobane and Simoundou). The inhabitants of Salike were known to Ptolemy as *Salai*, doubtless the *Sīhalas* of Ceylonese tradition. The name Sīhala is also met with in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of about the third century A.D.

CHAPTER III

EARLY HISTORY

I. Original Home of the Guptas

The establishment of a powerful empire in North India by Chandragupta Maurya marks the end of the political greatness of Bengal. There is no positive evidence that Bengal acknowledged the supremacy of the Mauryas. The Brāhmī record at Mahāsthān and the story of the massacre of the Jainas at Puṇḍravardhana, mentioned above (pp. 31, 26) cannot be regarded as sufficient evidence in support of it. But the vast extent of the Maurya Empire in the west and south makes it very likely that the adjacent province in the east was also included in it. It is, however, significant that no inscription of Aśoka has yet been found in Bengal or in any region further to the east, though his records are found at the northern, western and southern borders of his extensive empire.

Very little is known of Bengal during the period between the fall of the Maurya and the rise of the Gupta Empire, i. e., approximately between 200 B.C. and 350 A.D. There is, however, no doubt that Bengal now occupied a definite place in the political and economic map of India. This is proved by the accounts of the Greek and Roman writers of the period. Pliny, a great Roman scholar of the first century A.D., refers to the Gangarides through whose country flowed the Ganges, in the final part of its course. Their royal city was called Parthalis and "over their king 60,000 footsoldiers, 1000 horsemen and 700 elephants kept watch and ward in precinct of war."[1]

The Gangaradai are also mentioned by the great Roman poet Virgil in his *Georgics* (about 30 B.C.).[2] Reference may also be made to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, an account written by a Greek sailor who made a voyage along the western and eastern coasts of India. His date is not definitely known, but is usually placed in the second half of the first century A.D. He refers to the Ganges river and the city of the same name on its bank. The relevant portion of this account will be discussed in Chapter VI dealing with the economic condition. Another Greek writer, Ptolemy, who flourished in the first half of the second century A.D., refers to the five mouths of the Ganges and adds that "all the country about the mouths of the Ganges

is occupied by the Gangaridai" and the king lived in the city of Gange.[3] As mentioned above (p. 30) the Gangaridai, denoting the people of Bengal, were very powerful in the fourth century B.C. and the above references indicate that their name and fame were known even to the remote countries of the west during the next five hundred years.

Kushāṇa coins have been discovered in large number both in North and South Bengal. But this does not necessarily indicate the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas over Bengal. For coins are carried by way of trade far beyond the territory of the rulers who issued them, and Kushāṇa coins have been found even in the Ganjam District in Orissa.

More definite information is available for the political condition of Bengal at the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

Bengal was then divided into a number of States, one of which was Samataṭa, comprising the delta of the Ganges to the east of the present Hooghly river. Another was probably Ḍavāka which lay between Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa (roughly denoting present Assam, a portion of which is still called by that name). The exact location of Ḍavāka cannot be determined. Fleet looked upon it as the ancient name of Dacca, while V. A. Smith located it in North Bengal. None of these views rests on any positive evidence. Some identify it with the Kopila Valley in Assam where there is still a place called Dabok.

The existence of a third State, about the same time, may be inferred from a record (A.3) engraved on the Susunia hill, about 12 miles to the north-west of the town of Bankura in West Bengal, which mentions Mahārāja Chandravarman, son of Mahārāja Siṁhavarman (or Siddhavarman), ruler of Pushkaraṇa, to whom reference will be made later. It has been suggested that Chandravarma-Koṭa mentioned in a copper-plate Grant (A. 23), found at Ghughrahati (Faridpur District in E. Pakistan) preserves the memory of this king. According to this view the dominions of this ruler must have extended from Bankura to Faridpur. But there is no positive evidence in support of it.

The rise of the Imperial Guptas put an end to this state of things, and gradually the whole of Bengal was conquered by them. But before describing the gradual absorption of Bengal in the Gupta Empire, it is necessary to discuss one preliminary point which has a very important bearing on the Gupta rule in Bengal.

The Gupta Empire was founded by Chandragupta whose accession is probably marked by the foundation of an era commencing in A.D. 319. His grandfather Śrī-Gupta (or simply Gupta) and father

Ghaṭotkacha are mentioned in the records of the Gupta Emperors without any imperial titles like themselves, and were evidently rulers of not very great importance. Nothing is known definitely about the locality where Śrī-Gupta ruled, but most scholars place it in Magadha (South Bihar).

Dr. D.C. Ganguly, however, propounded the view that "the early home of the Imperial Guptas is to be located in Murshidabad, Bengal, and not in Magadha."[4]

The view is based on the tradition recorded by I-tsing that "Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta built a temple for the Chinese priests and granted twenty-four villages as an endowment for its maintenance. This temple, known as the 'Temple of China,' was situated close to a sanctuary called Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no[5] which was about forty *yojanas* to the east of Nālandā, following the course of the Ganges".[6]

Allan, in opposition to Fleet, proposed to identify this Śrī-Gupta with Mahārāja Gupta who founded the Gupta dynasty and was the grandfather of Chandragupta I. Allan, however, located the temple in Magadha, and took I-tsing's statement to imply that Gupta was in possession of Pātaliputra.[7] To Dr. D. C. Ganguly belongs the credit of pointing out that according to the distance and direction given by I-tsing the temple must have been situated in Bengal. From this fact Dr. Ganguly concludes that the original home of the Guptas was in Bengal and not in Magadha.

Dr. Ganguly's view about the location of the temple is strikingly confirmed by a fact which was noted long ago by Foucher, but to which sufficient attention has not been paid by scholars.[8] In an illustrated Cambridge MS. (Add. 1643) dated 1015 A.D., there is a picture of a Stūpa, with the label "Mṛigasthāpana-Stūpa of Varendra." Foucher has pointed out that Mṛigasthāpana is the Indian original represented by I-tsing's Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no, although Chavannes doubtfully restored it as Mṛigaśikhāvana. It would, therefore, follow that the 'Temple of China' was near the Mṛigasthāpana Stūpa in Varendra, and must have been situated either in Varendra, or not far from its boundary, on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī or the Padmā.

Dr. Ganguly located it definitely at Murshidabad as its distance from Nālandā is about 40 *yojanas* [equivalent to 240 English miles]. But Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya has justly argued that as the Chinese pilgrim first went to the Ganges from Nālandā and then voyaged down the river the distance from Nālandā to the Ganges should be included in the total and this takes us to Maldah in Varendra.[9]

The statement of I-tsing would thus justify us in holding that one Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta was ruling in Varendra or near it. Whether he is to be identified with the founder of the Gupta dynasty depends upon the interpretation we put upon the further statement of I-tsing that Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta flourished more than[10] five hundred years before his time. If we interpret it too literally, Gupta must be placed towards the close of the second century A.D., about a hundred years before the founder of the Gupta family. But, as pointed out by Chavannes and Allan, "I-tsing's statement is a vague one and should not be taken too literally." Allan holds that "considering the lapse of time and the fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives the statement on the authority of a tradition handed down from ancient times by old men, there seems no reason to doubt the identification on chronological grounds."[11]

These are undoubtedly forceful arguments and cannot be lightly set aside. Although, therefore, we may not accept Dr. D. C. Ganguly's view 'that the early home of the Imperial Guptas is to be located in Murshidabad, Bengal, and not in Magadha,' it is a valid presumption that parts of North Bengal were included in the territory ruled over by the founder of the Gupta family. This presumption, however, cannot be regarded as an established historical fact unless further corroborative evidence is forthcoming ; for it is solely based on a tradition recorded by a Chinese pilgrim four centuries later.

But the objections raised against this view do not carry sufficient weight to reject it altogether.[12]

II. Bengal under the Imperial Guptas

The establishment of the Gupta empire marks the end of the independent existence of the various States that flourished in Bengal at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. With the exception of Samataṭa, the rest of Bengal was definitely incorporated in the Gupta empire by the time of Samudragupta. The ruler of Samataṭa, to quote the conventional and characteristic court-language of the Guptas, 'gratified the emperor Samudragupta by payment of all kinds of tribute, by obedience to his commands and by approach for paying court to him'.[13] In other words, Samataṭa was a tributary State, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Gupta Emperor, but with full autonomy in respect of internal administration. The exact limits of Samataṭa cannot be ascertained, but it may be taken as roughly equivalent to Eastern Bengal.

Whether the subjugation of Bengal took place during the reign of Samudragupta, or was accomplished wholly or even partly by his father[14] is difficult to decide. An inscription engraved on an iron pillar at Meherauli, near the Qutb Minār at Delhi (A. 2), mentions, among other military exploits of a king called Chandra, that he 'extirpated in battle in the Vaṅga countries his enemies who offered him a united resistance'. In the absence of full details about this king Chandra, his identity is a matter of great uncertainty and has formed a subject of keen controversy among scholars. He has been identified for example, both with Chandragupta I,[15] and Chandragupta II.[16] In the former case we must hold that the father of Samudragupta had already added Vaṅga[17] to the Gupta empire. In the latter case, it must be presumed that Vaṅga had shaken off the yoke of the Gupta empire, and the son of Samudragupta had to reconquer the province by defeating the combination of the peoples of different States of Bengal.

There is, however, no definite evidence that Chandra of the Meherauli inscription is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II, and he may be altogether a different person whose identity yet remains to be established.[18]

In spite of the uncertainty of the data furnished by the Meherauli Iron Pillar inscription, it shows that although Bengal was divided into a number of independent States they did combine and offer a vigorous resistance against a foreign invader named Chandra. The latter was either one of the two Gupta Emperors named Chandragupta, or an earlier ruler whose aggressive policy helped the Guptas by weakening the resources of Bengal and its power of resistance. The latter hypothesis appears more probable, and it is not unlikely, as mentioned above, that the original kingdom of the Guptas included a portion of Bengal which provided them a basis for further conquests.

Evidence is not altogether lacking that Samudragupta himself carried his victorious arms into Bengal. For among the kings of Aryāvarta, who were, according to the Allahabad *Praśasti*, (A. 1) uprooted by Samudragupta, we find the name of Chandravarman who may be reasonably identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Susunia inscription (A. 3) as ruler of Pushkaraṇa.[19] This Pushkaraṇa has been plausibly identified with the village named Pokharnā, 25 miles north-east of Susunia on the south bank of the river Dāmodar, which has yielded considerable antiquities reaching

back to the Gupta period, if not earlier.[20] Chandravarman may thus be regarded as the king of Rāḍhā or the region immediately to its south by defeating whom Samudragupta paved the way for the conquest of Bengal.

Whatever view we might take of the actual process of the conquest of Bengal, the epigraphic records (A. 4-7) leave no doubt that in the days of Kumāragupta I Northern Bengal formed an important administrative division of the Gupta empire under the name of Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. It was placed in charge of a Governor appointed by the Emperor himself. The Governor, in his turn, appointed officers to take charge of the various districts into which the province was divided. It is to be noted, however, that occasionally even the district officer seems to have been appointed directly by the Gupta Emperor.

The Dāmodarpur copper-plates of Budhagupta (A. 8-9)[21] indicate that Northern Bengal formed an integral part of the great Gupta Empire down to the end of the fifth century A.D. Another inscription from Dāmodarpur, dated in the year 543 A.D. (A. 10), refers to a suzerain ruler, whose name ended in *-gupta*, but whose proper name is lost. In that year the son of the Emperor was acting as his Governor in Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. It appears very probable that the overlord in question belonged to the dynasty of the Later Guptas[22] who claimed suzerainty over Northern Bengal down to the end of the sixth century A.D.

Although Samataṭa was a semi-independent feudatory State in the time of Samudragupta, it seems to have been gradually incorporated into the Gupta empire, for in the year 507-8 A.D. *Mahārāja* Vainyagupta was the ruler of this region, and granted lands in the Tippera district (A. 14).[23] He issued gold coins and assumed the title *Dvādaśāditya*.[24] Although he is titled Mahārāja in his own record, he is given the title *Mahārājādhirāja* in a seal discovered at Nālandā.[25] The exact status of Vainyagupta is difficult to determine. The most reasonable view seems to be that he was a member of the Imperial Gupta family and acted at first as a *de facto* independent ruler whose dominions included Eastern Bengal. Subsequently, taking advantage of the decline of the Imperial Guptas, and also perhaps of the internal disunion and discord, he declared himself openly as the Emperor.[26] In any case, his career proves the direct Gupta rule over Samataṭa at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Krīpura, the place from which he issued his land-grant in 507-8

A.D. was evidently the seat of his government. It has not yet been identified, but is possibly to be looked for in Bengal.

Of Suhma or Rāḍhā, the remaining part of Bengal, we have no detailed information for the period during which it was subject to the Gupta rule.[27]

III. Independent Kingdoms in Bengal

The different stages in the decline and downfall of the Gupta empire have not yet been fixed with any degree of certainty. There is, however, no doubt, that it showed visible signs of decline towards the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Apart from what we know of the general political condition in Northern India, this may also be inferred from the assumption of higher rank by the Governor of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal)[28] and the fact that Vainyagupta was ruling as practically an independent king in Eastern Bengal. Within half a century the death-blow was dealt to the mighty Gupta empire by the sweeping victories of Yaśodharman. In his Mandasor inscription (A. 16) of A.D. 530 this great military adventurer, who suddenly leapt to fame and power, proudly claims to have extended his conquests as far as the Brahmaputra river. How far the boasts of Yaśodharman were founded on fact it is difficult to say. But in any case the empire of Yaśodharman was a short-lived one and no trace of it was to be found after the middle of the sixth century A.D. The Gupta empire, already weakened by the inroads of the Hūṇas, collapsed before the onslaughts of Yaśodharman.

The fall of the Gupta empire, and the failure of Yaśodharman to rebuild one on a durable basis, led to the political disintegration of Northern India marked by the rise of a number of independent powers. The more prominent of these were the Pushyabhūtis of Sthāṇvīśvara (Thaneswar), the Maukharis of Kosala or Awadh and the Later Guptas of Magadha and Malwa. The Later Guptas may have been an offshoot of the Imperial Guptas, but as yet we have no positive evidence in support of this view. They, however, continued the traditions of the Gupta sovereignty in the central and eastern part of the Gupta empire. Bengal also took advantage of the political situation to shake off the foreign yoke and two powerful independent kingdoms *viz.*, Vaṅga and Gauḍa were established there in the sixth and seventh century A.D.

IV. The Kingdoms of Samataṭa or Vaṅga

The first independent kingdom that arose in Bengal on the ruins of the Gupta empire seems to have comprised originally the Eastern and Southern Bengal and the southern part of Western Bengal. Two of its important provinces administered by Governors were Vardhamāna-*bhukti* and Navyāvakāśikā (or Suvarṇavīthi),[29] roughly corresponding, respectively, to Western and Southern Bengal. It is highly probable that the headquarters of the rulers themselves were in East Bengal and that it was directly under their administration.

Five inscriptions[30] discovered at or near Koṭālipāḍā in the district of Faridpur and one in the Burdwan district (A. 19)[31] reveal the existence of three rulers of this kingdom named Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* assumed by all these kings proves that they were independent and powerful. This title, in contrast to the subordinate title of *Mahārāja* applied to Vainyagupta, who ruled shortly before them and perhaps over the same locality, undoubtedly indicates a changed status and the disappearance of the last vestige of the imperial authority of the Guptas over this region. The issue of gold coins by Samāchāradeva[32] supports the same conclusion.

A connection between the old and the new kingdom seems to be established by the fact that one *Mahārāja* Vijayasena was probably a vassal chief both of Vainyagupta and of Gopachandra.[33] The identity of the person of this name serving under these two kings cannot be definitely proved, but it is generally accepted,[34] and we may assume, therefore, that there was no long interval between the reigns of Vainyagupta (507-8 A.D.) and Gopachandra. If we assume further, as seems very likely, that Vijayasena, who ruled over the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* under Gopachandra, also held the same office under Vainyagupta, we may reasonably conclude that Vainyagupta ruled over Eastern, Southern and Western Bengal, and that this imperial province of the Guptas constituted an independent kingdom under Gopachandra and his successors.

The Jayrampur CP. (A. 17) of the very first year of Gopachandra's reign, records a land-grant in Daṇḍabhukti which therefore must have formed a part of his dominion. The well-known territorial division Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala*, which is also referred to in other later records, has been identified by scholars with the marchland between Orissa and Bengal, corresponding to the southern and south-western part of the

Midnapore District. This name has probably been preserved in modern Danton, not very far from the Suvarṇarekhā river.

Neither the relationship between the three kings Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and Samāchāradeva nor their order of succession can be definitely determined. Pargiter's view[35] that Dharmāditya was the first king and "Gopachandra succeeded him, with no one intervening unless it was for a very short interval" is no longer acceptable in view of what has been said above about Vijayasena. Further, mention is made of two officers, Nāgadeva and Nayasena, in an inscription of Dharmāditya (A. 21) as well as in one of Gopachandra (A. 18), and it shows that there was no great interval between the two kings. The sequence of the three kings may therefore be taken as Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva but it is difficult to say whether there were one or more intervening kings, at present unknown.

The existence of a few kings of this line, later than Samāchāradeva, is rendered probable by a large number of gold coins found mostly in different parts of Eastern Bengal, notably at Sābhār (Dacca district) and Kotālipāḍā (Faridpur district).[36] These are rude and debased imitations of Gupta coins, sometimes found along with those of Śaśāṅka and Samāchāradeva, which have been referred to the sixth or seventh century A.D. Only two of these coins bear names of kings that can be read with some degree of certainty. The first is a rude copy of Gupta coin of Archer type with the letters '*Prithu vī* [*ra*]' on the left, below the bow, and '*ja*' between feet. The name of the king who issued it was probably, therefore, Prithuvīra, Prithujavīra or Prithuvīraja.[37]

The second coin belongs to a class of which several have been found. On most of them the legend has been read as *Sudhanyā*, but one appears to read *Śrī-Sudhanyāditya*.[38]

These kings, and others whose names are not recorded on the gold coins issued by them, presumably ruled in Vaṅga, and may be regarded as later rulers of the kingdom founded by Gopachandra. But nothing definite can be said about them until further evidence is forthcoming.

Gopachandra, who probably founded the independent kingdom, must have flourished not later than the second quarter of the sixth century A.D., *i. e.*, within a generation of Vainyagupta, for as we have assumed above, *Mahārāja* Vijayasena was a vassal chief of both. The date of Gopachandra's Mallasarul CP. (A. 19) which was formerly

read as 3 has been read as 33 by Dr. D. C. Sircar. If we accept this view, the known reign-periods of Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva amount to fifty years. Their reigns may thus be placed approximately between 525 and 575 A.D. with the margin of a few years both at the beginning and at the end.

The seven grants by these kings give interesting details about the provincial administration which will be discussed in Chap. IX. All the records taken together undoubtedly imply that there was a free, strong, and stable government in Bengal which brought peace and prosperity to the people and made them conscious of their power and potentialities.

How and when this independent kingdom of Vaṅga came to an end is not known to us. We learn from the Mahākūṭa inscription[39] that the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman claimed to have conquered, among other countries, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha. As Kīrtivarman ceased to reign in 597-98 A.D., his conquests in Bengal may be placed in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. It is not impossible, therefore, that either Samāchāradeva, or one of his successors, was the adversary of Kīrtivarman. The nature and extent of Kīrtivarman's success are not known, but it might have some effect on the break-up of the kingdom of Vaṅga.

It is not also unlikely that the rise of the kingdom of Gauḍa under Śaśāṅka dealt the final death-blow to the independent kingdom of Vaṅga. This point will be further discussed in connection with the history of Śaśāṅka.

V. Rise of Gauḍa

The northern part of Western Bengal and the whole of Northern Bengal were evidently outside the dominions of Gopachandra and his successors. From about this period these territories came to be known as the Kingdom of Gauḍa, though this geographical term sometimes comprised the whole of Western Bengal. Henceforth, throughout the Hindu period, Gauḍa and Vaṅga loosely denoted the two prominent political divisions of Bengal, the former comprising the Northern and either the whole or part of Western Bengal, and the latter, Southern and Eastern Bengal. Although actual political boundaries varied in different times, this rough geographical division persisted throughout the ages, but the names Puṇḍra or

Varendrī (Northern Bengal), Rāḍhā or Suhma (Western Bengal), and Samataṭa or Harikela (Eastern Bengal) were also used.

The hold of the Imperial Guptas was far stronger over Gauḍa than over Vaṅga or Samataṭa. This explains the difference in the political evolution of these two constituent parts of Bengal. For while Vaṅga regained its independence in the first half of the sixth century A.D., the history of Gauḍa was a more chequered one. As we have seen above (*supra* p. 40), one of the Dāmodarpur copper-plates proves the Gupta sovereignty over Northern Bengal at least up to 543 A.D. It is very likely that the Gupta sovereign was a member of the Later Gupta dynasty. The Later Guptas might or might not have been connected by blood with the Imperial Guptas, but they were, to begin with, in possession of a substantial portion of the Gupta empire. That their pretensions as successors of the Imperial Guptas were tacitly recognised is proved by reference to the 'Gupta suzerainty' in the records of the Parivrājaka rulers of Bundelkhand in the sixth century A.D.[40]

One of the Later Gupta kings, Mahāsenagupta, claims to have defeated Susthitavarman (king of Kāmarūpa) on the banks of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra river.[41] As he flourished towards the end of the sixth century A.D., it may be presumed that the suzerainty of the Later Guptas continued over Northern Bengal throughout that century.[42] This presumption is strengthened by the consideration that we know of no independent ruler of Gauḍa before the end of the sixth century A. D., and the first known independent king Śaśāṅka, who flourished early in the seventh century A.D., probably began his life as a *Mahāsāmanta*, presumably under Mahāsenagupta. The probability, therefore, is that Gauḍa acknowledged the suzerainty of the Later Guptas down to the end of the sixth century A.D.

The Gupta suzerainty over Gauḍa during the sixth century A.D. does not appear to have been either peaceful or uninterrupted. If Yaśodharman really carried his triumphal march right up to the bank of the Brahmaputra river, as he claims, that event must have considerably weakened the power and position of the Guptas in Gauḍa. It is exceedingly likely that although the Gupta suzerainty in Gauḍa survived this catastrophe, it gradually became more nominal than real. That Gauḍa came to be regarded as an important political unit, by the middle of the sixth century A.D., is proved by the Haraha inscription of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman dated 554 A.D. (A. 28). In V. 13 of this inscription the king claims to have

defeated the lord of the Andhras and "made the Gauḍa people take shelter towards the sea-shore after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects."[43] The exact meaning of the expression is obscure,[44] but the general purport seems to be clear. Īśānavarman, in course of his victorious campaigns, came into conflict with the Gauḍas, ravaged their territories, and forced them to retreat towards the sea. The reference to the sea, combined with the expedition of Īśānavarman to the Andhra country, seems to indicate that the conflict with the Gauḍas took place in the southern part of Western Bengal. Although this region was geographically included in Gauḍa, it was at the time of Īśānavarman's conquest probably a part of the kingdom of Vaṅga, founded by Gopachandra, as we have seen above (*supra* p. 42). It is thus difficult to decide whether Īśānavarman's adversary was a ruler of Vaṅga or Gauḍa proper. In the latter case we must presume that the whole of Western Bengal then formed part of the kingdom of Gauḍa and the kingdom of Vaṅga came to be confined to Southern and Eastern Bengal.

The fight between Īśānavarman and the Gauḍas must then be regarded as an episode in the long-drawn struggle between the Maukharis and the Later Guptas. For it is well-known that one of the outstanding facts in the early history of the Later Guptas was the unceasing struggle with the Maukharis who coveted Magadha and Gauḍa, which adjoined their territories but formed part of the dominions of the former. It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to give a detailed account of this struggle, and a few salient facts must suffice. Īśānavarman, the most powerful of the Maukhari kings, conquered a part of Magadha and defeated the Gauḍas (A. 28). The fact that his successors Sarvavarman and Avantivarman granted a village in the Shahabad district shows that they, too, were in possession of a part of Magadha.[45] On the other hand, the Later Gupta king Kumāragupta defeated Īśānavarman, and his son Dāmodaragupta also defeated the Maukharis.[46] It is thus evident that in the hereditary struggle between the Guptas and the Maukharis victory inclined alternately to the two sides none of which could claim any decisive success. But fortunes were more favourable to the next Gupta king Mahāsengupta who carried his victorious arms up to the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra river, if not beyond it, and defeated Susthitavarman, king of Kāmarūpa.[47] Now, whether the home territory of Mahāsenagupta was Malwa or Magadha,[47] a point on which opinions differ, it is evident that both Magadha and Gauḍa formed part of his

dominions and he put an end to the Maukhari aggression in these territories. This is confirmed by the fact that no other Maukhari king is known to have any pretension of suzerainty over them. As the recorded dates of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman are respectively 553-54 and 569-70 A. D.,[48] it may be presumed that the Maukhari menace was definitely over and Mahāsenagupta re-established his supremacy over Magadha and Gauḍa towards the close of the sixth century A.D.

The Doobi CP. (A. 26) of Bhāskaravarman king of Kāmarūpa refers to an invasion of the kingdom by the Gauḍa army when the two young sons of king Susthitavarman, after a gallant fight, were captured by the Gauḍa army, but were released after some time. There are good grounds to believe that the battle took place either in the waters or on the bank of the Lauhitya,[49] and it is not quite clear whether the two princes fought during the lifetime of their father or after his death.[50] It is highly probable that the battle referred to in this record is the same that was fought by Mahāsenagupta on the banks of the Lauhitya according to the Aphsad inscription, which describes the victory of that king in rapturous terms and remarks that its lofty fame "even to this day (i. e., about half a century after this battle) was constantly sung on the banks of the Lauhitya".[51]

It has been held by some that the victory referred to in the Doobi CP., was achieved by Śaśāṅka, mainly on the ground that Mahāsenagupta "is never known from any evidence to have ever been a Gauḍa monarch, or a conqueror of the Gauḍa kingdom."[52] But apart from what has been said above regarding the suzerainty of the Later Guptas over North Bengal, it is hardly possible for a king of Magadha or Malwa to have fought on the banks of the Lauhitya without being master of North Bengal or Gauḍa. Presumably to avoid this difficulty it has been suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar that King Mahāsenagupta of Mālava led the expedition against Kāmarūpa," apparently as an ally of the Gauḍas."[53] In that case it is difficult to explain how he is given the full and sole credit for the victory and no reference is made to his fight with the Maukharis, whose territory lay between Mālava and Gauḍa. On the whole it is much more probable that the Later Guptas were in possession of Magadha and Gauḍa and were constantly engaged in hostilities with their two neighbouring kingdoms, viz., the Maukhari kingdom on the west and Kāmarūpa on the east. When Śaśāṅka later became ruler of Gauḍa

he inherited not only the dominions of the Later Guptas, but also their rivalries with the two neighbouring kingdoms.

The exact political status of Gauḍa during this period is difficult to determine. It is unlikely that the Later Gupta kings directly administered the territory. The probability is that it was ruled by a local chief who acknowledged their suzerainty. But by the beginning of the seventh century A.D., if not a few years earlier, Gauḍa formed an independent kingdom under Śaśāṅka, and Magadha also formed a part of his dominions. The rise of this independent kingdom was probably facilitated by the great calamity which befell Mahāsenagupta who, according to some scholars, was disastrously defeated by the Kalachuris. The extent of the calamity can be measured by the fact that in the year 595 A.D., Ujjayinī, which was according to those scholars the capital of the Later Gupta kingdom of Mālava, was in possession of the Kalachuri king Śankaragaṇa, and the two young sons of Mahāsenagupta were forced to live in the court of king Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar, whose mother was probably a sister of Mahāsenagupta. This reconstruction of the history of Mahāsenagupta[54] cannot, of course, be regarded as certain, but, if true, it explains the rise of the independent kingdom of Gauḍa-Magadha out of the ruins of the Later Gupta empire. It also explains why Śasāṅka, the founder of this independent kingdom, was involved in a war with the Maukhari king and the ruler of Kāmarūpa, the two great enemies of the Later Guptas, and formed an alliance with Devagupta, king of Mālava. In other words, the political traditions of the sixth century were continued in the seventh century A.D.

It is not also unlikely that the invasion of the Tibetan king Srongbtsan dismembered the kingdoms of the Later Guptas in Eastern India and helped the rise of Śaśāṅka.[55] Another important factor towards the same end may be found in the conquest of Kīrtivarman, the Chālukya king. As noted above (*supra* p. 44), he claims to have conquered Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha, and this, if true, must have considerably weakened the position of the Later Guptas in Gauḍa and Magadha. Śaśāṅka might have taken advantage of this catastrophe to set up an independent kingdom in Gauḍa. The reaction of these important factors on the politics of Bengal is difficult to determine in view of the paucity of definite data, and the consequent uncertainty of all conclusions. We shall not, therefore, dwell any more on these speculative theories, but treat the history of Gauḍa under Śaśāṅka as an independent topic.

VI. Śaśāṅka

Śaśāṅka occupies a prominent place in the history of Bengal. Unlike the three kings in lower Bengal who preceded him, he is more than a mere name to us. He is also the first known king of Bengal who extended his suzerainty over territories far beyond the geographical boundary of that province.

Of his early life and the circumstances under which he came to occupy the throne of Gauḍa we possess no definite information. A seal matrix cut in the rock of the hill-fort of Rohtasgarh records the name of 'Śrī-Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅka' *i. e.*, 'the illustrious great vassal Śaśāṅka'.[56] If this Śaśāṅka be the same as Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, as has been usually held by scholars, it would follow that Śaśāṅka began his life as a subordinate ruler. Who his overlord was, we do not definitely know, but from what has been said in the preceding section (see *supra* p. 45), it appears most reasonable to hold that this overlord was no other than Mahāsenagupta. The theory that Śaśāṅka was originally a subordinate vassal of the Maukhari kings,[57] though not altogether improbable, is not supported by any convincing evidence. The view that Śaśāṅka was also known as Narendragupta is based on insufficient grounds, and even if it were true, there is hardly any justification for the belief that he was connected with the Guptas.[58]

All that we definitely know is that some time before 606 A.D. Śaśāṅka became the king of Gauḍa with his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa.

There is hardly any doubt that both Northern and Western Bengal were included in the dominions of Śaśāṅka. Whether they included also Southern and Eastern Bengal cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. While the distant military expeditions of Śaśāṅka lend colour to the supposition that he must have already conquered the whole of Bengal, there is no positive evidence in support of it. On the other hand, Hieun Tsang's reference to Śīlabhadra, the Buddhist patriarch of Nālandā, as being a scion of the Brāhmaṇical royal family of Samataṭa[59] may be held to prove the existence of Samataṭa as a separate independent State in the first half of the seventh century A.D. But the two CP Grants of Śaśāṅka (A. 29-30)[60] leave no doubt that Daṇḍabhukti and Utkala or Oḍra (Orissa) formed integral parts of his dominions. Utkala was ruled over by the Mānas till about 580 A.D. The Patiakella Grant of a Māna ruler bears a date which has been doubtfully read as 283. If we accept it and refer it to the

Gupta era, Śaśāṅka's conquest of Orissa must have taken place after A.D. 603. But he must have been in possession of the whole of South Bengal before that. If, as seems probable, Śaśāṅka launched his western campaign against Kānyakubja after finishing the conquest of the southern territories mentioned above, it must have occurred between 603 and 606 A.D.

In any case Śaśāṅka must have extended his suzerainty as far south as Chilka Lake in Orissa before 619, for in a record of that year *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Śrī Mādhavarāja (II), the king of the Śailodbhava dynasty ruling over Koṅgoda, invokes the name of Śaśāṅka as the suzerain.[61] Although the exact boundaries of Koṅgoda are not known, there is no doubt that it comprised the region round the Chilka Lake in Orissa, and probably extended south to the Ganjam district. In order to extend his power to the province of Koṅgoda, Śaśāṅka must have defeated the Māna chiefs whom we find in possession of the intervening territory in 602 A.D.[62] The details of this or other campaigns that Śaśāṅka must have waged in the south are unknown to us.

We are more fortunate in respect of the campaigns of Śaśāṅka in Northern India. As his chief adversary was the great emperor Harshavardhana, we get some detailed information of him from Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harsha-charita* and the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang.

Somehow or other Śaśāṅka added to his dominions the kingdom of Magadha which remained in his possession till his death. It seems that the keynote of his foreign policy was to secure his dominions from the aggressive designs of the Maukhari rulers who had for three generations carried on a bitter struggle with the Later Guptas for the possession of Magadha and Gauḍa. The Maukharis had considerably improved their position by an alliance with the powerful rulers of Thaneswar, for the Maukhari king Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman, had married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana, the Pushyabhūti ruler of Thaneswar. The Maukharis were also freed from any danger from the side of the Later Guptas. For Mahāsenagupta was probably the maternal uncle of Prabhākaravardhana, and in any case was definitely attached to his cause, as his two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta were sent to the court of Thaneswar to act as companions of the two young princes, Rājyavardhana and Harshavardhana. The prospect of Śaśāṅka was, therefore, gloomy in the extreme. But he was not slow to take advantage of the political situation. It seems that by shrewd diplomacy he succeeded in winning

over to his side the king of Mālava[63] who had evidently taken possession of the dominions of Mahāsenagupta and was naturally hostile to the Thaneswar court for its alliance with the Maukharis, the hereditary enemies of his family. It is probable that Śaśāṅka had gradually extended his authority up to Banaras before he decided to strike the final blow.[64] The fatal illness of Prabhākaravardhana gave the allies the required opportunity. The Mālava king defeated and killed Grahavarman and imprisoned his queen Rājyaśrī at Kanauj.[65] His next move was an invasion of Thaneswar itself.[66] As soon as these news reached Thaneswar, Rājyavardhana, who had just ascended the throne on his father's death, marched against Devagupta with a hastily collected army of ten thousand cavalry, leaving his younger brother Harsha in charge of the kingdom.[67]

It is difficult to trace in exact sequence the course of events that rapidly followed. The only facts of which we are certain are that Rājyavardhana defeated the Mālava King, and captured a large part of his army, but before he could relieve Kanauj, or even establish any contact with his sister Rājyaśrī, the widowed captive Maukhari queen, he was himself killed by Śaśāṅka.[68]

It is generally held that the Mālava king referred to above was Devagupta and he belonged to the Later Gupta Dynasty. But this identification rests only on the ground that Devagupta is mentioned as one of the kings defeated by Rājyavardhana. As D. C. Ganguly has justly pointed out,[68a] this is not a conclusive evidence and the probability is that the reference is to the Kalachuri king Buddharāja who is known to have been in possession of Mālava between A.D. 602 and 609.. If we accept this, there remains no ground for assuming an alliance between Śaśāṅka and the Mālava king, and the invasion of the Maukhari kingdom by them might have been isolated events not connected with each other, except, perhaps, that the invasion of the Mālava king gave Śaśaṅka a good opportunity to chastise the Maukharis, his sworn enemy. It is, of course, not unlikely that there might have been an alliance or understanding between the two for joint action against a common enemy. But whatever we might think of the problematic issues raised above, the main facts, so far as Śaśāṅka is concerned, are quite clear. He successfully invaded the Maukhari kingdom and had to face the attack of Rājyavardhana, after the latter had defeated the king of Mālava. In the course of this campaign Rājyavardhana was killed by him.

While both Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Hiuen Tsang agree that Rājyavardhana

was treacherously murdered by, or at the instance of, Śaśāṅka, they give different accounts of the incident. Again, Harshavardhana's own inscriptions tell us that Rājyavardhana met with his death in the house of his enemy owing to his adherence to a promise (*satyānurodhena*).

Apart from these conflicting versions, it is necessary to remember that the charge of treachery is brought against Śaśāṅka by two persons, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Hiuen Tsang, whose writings betray a deep personal prejudice, amounting to hatred, against him. Besides, their story, on the face of it, is hardly credible. Hence some scholars are not disposed to accept at their face value the statements of the two contemporary writers about the treachery of Śaśaṅka. The whole question has been discussed in an appendix to this chapter and need not be further dealt with here.

According to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Rājyavardhana had started with ten thousand cavalry.[69] Of this a part must have been lost in his fight with Devagupta, and a part was sent back with Bhaṇḍi in charge of the captured forces of Mālava. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he himself advanced against Śaśāṅka. The probability, rather, is that Śaśāṅka marched forward to help his ally Devagupta, but could not come to his rescue till it was too late. There is hardly any doubt that Śaśāṅka's forces met those of Rājyavardhana. The latter with his reduced forces could hardly offer a successful resistance. But it cannot be altogether ruled out, in view of his subsequent conduct, that Rājyavardhana, flushed with his successes, or unaware of Śaśāṅka's approach, did not take adequate measures for resisting the new, and perhaps unexpected danger. In any case, it may be safely presumed, on the basis of known facts, that either he was defeated before he died, or that his chances of gaining a victory were very weak, even if, contrary to what Bāṇa says, his irrational credulity did not lead to his death at the hands of Śaśāṅka, before the contest was finally decided.

The death of Rājyavardhana in 606 A.D. left Śaśāṅka the master of the situation. But he was prudent enough not to push his successes too far. His main object was accomplished by the complete discomfiture of the Maukharis, and we may presume that his aggressive campaign in the west was at an end.

We learn from the *Harsha-charita* that as soon as the news of the death of Rājyavardhana reached Harshavardhana, he took a solemn vow to punish Śaśāṅka, and marched with a vast army for taking vengeance upon the king of Gauḍa. On his way he met the messenger

of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, and concluded an alliance with him, presumably against the common enemy, Śaśāṅka. Proceeding still further, he met Bhaṇḍi who told him about the details of Rājyavardhana's murder and of the escape of his sister Rājyaśrī from the prison. Harsha thought it to be his first duty to find out his sister, and leaving the army in charge of Bhaṇḍi, he went out in search of her. After a great deal of difficulty he traced her in the Vindhya forest just in time to save her from an act of self-immolation in fire along with her companions. In the meantime Bhaṇḍi proceeded with the army against the Gauḍa king, and Harsha himself joined it on the bank of the Ganges after rescuing his sister. Of the further progress of his vast army and the development of his "everlasting friendship" with Bhāskaravarman, we possess no definite information, nor are the results of Harsha's diplomatic and military preparations reported by either Bāṇabhaṭṭa or Hiuen Tsang.

The only reference to an actual conflict between Śaśāṅka and Harsha occurs in *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalapa*.[70] It is a late Buddhist chronicle narrating history, like the Purāṇas, in the guise of prophecies regarding future political events. But the most curious feature of the book is the peculiar way in which it refers to the kings, either by the first letter of the name or by a synonym, but never by the full proper name. While the chronicle has no claim to be treated as historical, it can justly be regarded as a collection of old and genuine traditions preserved in the Buddhist world in the mediaeval age.

There are good grounds for the belief that king 'Soma' mentioned in *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* refers to Śaśāṅka, both being synonyms of moon. His adversary, 'the king whose name begins with 'Ha,' may be regarded as Harsha. With these assumptions, the following passage may be taken as an interesting reference to the conflict between the two kings :

'At that time will arise in Madhyadeśa the excellent king whose name begins with the letter Ra (i. e., Rājyavardhana) of the Vaiśya caste. He will be powerful as Soma (Śaśāṅka). He also ends at the hand of a king of the Nagna caste (vv. 719-720).

'His younger brother Ha (Harshavardhana) will be an unrivalled hero. He decided against the famous Soma. The powerful Vaiśya king with a large army marched against the Eastern Country, against the excellent capital called Puṇḍra of that characterless man(721-723). He defeated Soma, the pursuer of wicked deeds ; and Soma was forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain therein (thenceforth) (725). Ha returned having (or not having) been honoured in that kingdom of the barbarian' (726).[71]

How far the account of Śaśāṅka in *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, which, by the way, is somewhat vague and uncertain, can be regarded as historical, it is difficult to say.[72] It is at best a Buddhist tradition of the type referred to by Hiuen Tsang. It is interesting to note that the stories of Śaśāṅka's oppression of Buddhists, his foul disease, painful death, and going down to hell, as described by Hiuen Tsang, are repeated in this Buddhist work. It would, therefore, be extremely unsafe to accept the statements recorded in this book as historical. But even if we assume the correctness of the statement, the net result of the elaborate campaign of Harsha, aided by his eastern ally Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, seems to be that, attacked on two flanks, Śaśāṅka had to fall back on his capital, and his enemies caused damage and destruction in his kingdom. But the enemies had to retire soon, leaving him master of his own kingdom.

This view finds some support in a statement of Hiuen Tsang.[73] Referring to Kajaṅgala (near Rajmahal) he says that it ceased to be an independent State centuries ago and its capital was deserted.

"Hence when king Śilāditya in his progress to 'East India' held his court here, he cut grass to make huts, and burned these when leaving."

This shows that at some unspecified date Harsha led a military campaign as far as the borders of Bengal, but evidently went back without any material success. This may refer to the expedition against Śaśāṅka at the early part of his reign, and to this extent it supports the account of MMK. But it is equally likely that Hiuen Tsang here refers to the court held by Harsha at Kajaṅgala after his return from the conquest of Koṅgoda in 643 A.D.[74] Further, it is important to note that in his account of Puṇḍravardhana, Hiuen Tsang makes no mention of Harsha's invasion, such as is described in MMK.

But even if it is assumed, on the very doubtful authority of MMK., that Harsha had some success against Śaśāṅka, it must have been very shortlived. For according to Hiuen Tsang's own testimony, Śaśāṅka was in possession of Magadha at the time of his death,[75] which took place shortly before 637-38 A.D. This is confirmed by the statement recorded by Ma-Twan-Lin that Śilāditya assumed the title of king of Magadha in 641 A.D.[76]

Hiuen Tsang tells us that proceeding eastwards with his army, Harsha invaded the States which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare, until, in six years, he had fought the five Indias.[77]

If the implication of this statement is that Harsha subjugated the whole of India, or even Northern India, within six years of his accession *i.e.*, by 612 A.D., the statement hardly deserves any serious consideration. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Harsha undertook various military campaigns, probably including those against Śaśāṅka, during these six years. But he could not achieve any conspicuous success so far at least as Śaśāṅka was concerned, as the latter was in possession of Gauḍa, Magadha, Utkala and Koṅgoda long after 612 A.D.

Even assuming that Kanauj was the capital of the Maukharis, there is no reason to hold that Harsha's accession to the throne of Kanauj implied any discomfiture of Śaśāṅka. The entire episode about the conquest of Kanauj by Śaśāṅka and his ally Devagupta, as described in Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita*, is rendered somewhat mysterious by the fact that the official genealogy of the Maukhari kings, as recorded in a Nālandā seal,[78] makes it very doubtful whether Grahavarman ever sat on the Maukhari throne. According to Bāṇa, Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman, and yet the name of the son and successor of Avantivarman in the Nālandā seal, though partly effaced, is certainly not that of Grahavarman. Bāṇa nowhere says distinctly that Grahavarman was the Maukhari king, but the title 'Deva' applied by him to Grahavarman, and the general tenor of his description certainly imply that Grahavarman had succeeded his father on the Maukhari throne. It is, of course, just possible that Grahavarman's name was omitted in the Nālandā seal as it merely gave a genealogical account and not a list o succession. A more detailed knowledge of the history of the Maukharis would perhaps throw new light on the activities of Śaśāṅka.

All that we know definitely is that Grahavarman was not the last Maukhari king, and a younger son of Avantivarman ruled over the kingdom, presumably after the defeat and death of his elder brother Grahavarman. Harsha's accession to the throne of Kanauj must, therefore, have taken place some years after the death of Grahavarman, and there is thus no reason to suppose that Harshavardhana occupied the kingdom of Kanauj by defeating Śaśāṅka. For it is equally plausible that Śaśāṅka put the younger brother of Grahavarman on the throne of Kanauj, and it was by defeating him at a later period that Harsha ascended the throne of Kanauj. On the whole, making due allowance for the paucity of information at our disposal, and the fact that it is derived mostly from the accounts of hostile and prejudiced writers, we are bound to hold that Śaśāṅka's

political and military career was a successful one. Beginning his life as a vassal chief, he made himself master of Gauḍa, Magadha, Utkala and Koṇgoda, and consolidated his position by defeating the powerful Maukharis. Although this involved him in hostility with two of the most powerful potentates in Northern India *viz.*, the kings of Thaneswar and Kāmarūpa, he held his own against this powerful combination and maintained his extensive dominions till his death. (The date of his death cannot be exactly determined, but it must have taken place after 619 A.D. and before, probably very shortly before, 637 A.D.)

While travelling in Magadha in 637-38 A.D. Hiuen Tsang[79] noted that in recent times Śaśāṅka cut down the Bodhi tree at Gayā and ordered the removal of the image of Buddha in a neighbouring temple. On hearing that his order was executed, so runs Hiuen Tsang's account, king Śaśāṅka was seized with terror, his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off, and after a short while he died. This account of Śaśāṅka's death, which is reproduced in MMK.[80] is undoubtedly inspired by the hatred which the Buddhists felt for him on account of his anti-Buddhistic activities.[81] Curiously enough, an echo of this tradition is found even in late genealogical works of Bengal Brāhmaṇas.[82] According to the traditions preserved among a section of the Graha-Vipra (also called Śaka-dvīpi) Brāhmaṇas, they are descended from twelve Brāhmaṇas living on the banks of the Sarayū river, who were summoned to treat an incurable disease from which Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, was suffering. This tradition, however, says that Śaśāṅka was cured and rewarded the Brāhmaṇas who then settled in Bengal.

Hiuen Tsang has recorded numerous acts of oppression perpetrated by Śaśāṅka against the Buddhists.[83] According to him one of the reasons urged by Bodhisattva to induce Harsha to ascend the throne was that he might "then raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvarṇa."[84] This is, in a way, a confession that Buddhism suffered a great decline on account of the activities of Śaśāṅka. The latter was a devotee of Śiva,[85] and his active patronage of Śaivism might have hastened the process of decline which had already set in in Buddhism. But how far the acts of oppression, charged by Hiuen Tsang against Śaśāṅka, can be regarded as historically true, it is difficult to say. At present, it rests upon the sole evidence of the Buddhist writers who cannot, by any means, be regarded as unbiassed or unprejudiced, at

least in any matter which either concerned Śaśāṅka or adversely affected Buddhism.

Indeed, such religious intolerance on the part of a king was so rare in ancient India, that some scholars, who are not disposed altogether to disbelieve the Buddhist stories about Śaśāṅka. have sought to explain away this unusual conduct. They attribute Saśāṅka's action to political exigencies, on the supposition that the Buddhists in Magadha and other parts of Śaśāṅka's kingdom were in league with the Buddhist emperor Harshavardhana with whom Saśāṅka was engaged in a prolonged struggle.[86] This is, however, a pure conjecture, based on similar tendencies displayed by the Buddhists at a later age to sacrifice national for the sake of sectarian interests.[87]

Although sufficient data are not available for forming a correct estimate of the character and achievements of Śaśāṅka, he must be regarded as a great king and a remarkable personality during the first half of the seventh century A.D. He was the first historical ruler of Bengal who not only dreamt imperial dreams, but also succeeded in realising them. He laid the foundations of the imperial fabric in the shape of realised hopes and ideals on which the Pālas built at a later age. He successfully avenged the humiliation inflicted upon his country by the Maukhari rulers, and gave a new turn to that age-long duel between Gauḍa and Kanauj which constitutes an important feature in North Indian politics for more than five hundred years. With friendly biographers like Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang, he would probably have appeared almost as brilliant as Harshavardhana to posterity. But their undisguised enmity has blackened his name and tarnished his fame. The discovery of fresh evidence alone can enable us to form a just picture of his career and a fair estimate of his character.

APPENDIX

ŚAŚĀṄKA

A brief review of the facts that may be definitely ascertained about Śaśāṅka has been given above (pp. 49-57). We propose here to examine critically and consider in some detail the accounts given in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harsha-charita* and Hiuen Tsang's *Travels*.

As noted above, Bāṇabhaṭṭa narrates in details how Harsha rescued his sister and then joined on the bank of the Ganges the large army which he had equipped for punishing Śaśāṅka. It is unfortunate, however, that he brings his narrative to a close at this critical point, leaving us totally in the dark about the encounter between Harsha and Śaśāṅka. What is worse still, some of the most important details even in this incomplete story are left vague and obscure. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, for example, does not care to explain why Rājyaśrī fled to the remote Vindhya forest instead of seeking shelter in her brother's dominions which were much nearer and easier of access. But the more significant, and from our point of view, the more unfortunate, omission on the part of Bāṇa, is in respect of the activities of Śaśāṅka. From the message he puts in the mouth of Saṁvādaka, a servant of Rājyaśrī, it appears that on the very day on which the death of Prabhākaravardhana was rumoured, Grahavarman was killed, and his queen fettered and confined into prison at Kanauj by the wicked Lord of Mālava.[88]

This account is supplemented by the statement of Bhaṇḍi.

"I learnt from common talk," said he, "that after His Majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise and Kānyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta, queen Rājyaśrī burst from her confinement and with her train entered the Vindhya forest".[89]

Later, the attendants of Rājyaśrī told Harsha the

"full story of his sister's misfortunes from her imprisonment onward,—how she was sent away from Kānyakubja, from her confinement there during the Gauḍa trouble, through the action of a noble man named Gupta,—how she heard the news of Rājyavardhana's death, and refused to take food, and then how, faint for want of food, she wandered miserably in the Vindhya forests, and at last in her despair resolved to mount the funeral pile".[90]

It is surprising that Bāṇabhaṭṭa did not notice the apparent inconsistencies between the three versions of the same story. According

to Saṁvādaka, Kanauj was captured by the Lord of Mālava and perhaps the same king is referred to as Gupta by Bhaṇḍi. But the attendants ascribe the imprisonment of Rājyaśrī to 'Gauḍa trouble.' Further, whereas according to Bhaṇḍi, Rājyaśrī *burst from her confinement*, presumably by eluding or in defiance of Gupta who had seized Kanauj, the attendants ascribe her release to the kind action of a noble man named Gupta. On the important question whether this Gupta is identical with the Gupta of Bhaṇḍi, Bāṇabhaṭṭa is distressingly silent.

These inconsistencies, however, seem to be due to two errors in the English translation of the relevant passages quoted above. In the first place, the story of the attendants of Rājyaśrī, as translated, would imply that her imprisonment was due to the Gauḍa trouble, whereas this is really connected only with her escape from prison.

Secondly, in the commentary by a modern Paṇḍit, the speech of Bhaṇḍi is interpreted to mean that he (Bhaṇḍi) himself went to Kānyakubja (*gṛihite Kuśasthale*) by assuming a false name (*gupta-nāmnā chhadma-samjñayā nāmāntaram gṛihītvā*) and heard from the local people that Rājyaśrī had escaped from prison and entered the Vindhya forest with attendants.[91] If we accept this translation no question arises of the capture of Kānyakubja by one named Gupta (which has been regarded as a strong evidence of the identity of the Mālava Lord and Devagupta).

The sequence of events would be thus as follows :

1. The capture of Kānyakubja by the Lord of Mālava resulting in the death of Grahavarman and the imprisonment of Rājyaśrī.
2. Expedition of the Lord of Mālava against Rājyavardhana.
3. Gauḍa trouble, i.e., the invasion of the Maukhari kingdom by Śaśāṅka (not *necessarily* the siege or capture of Kānyakubja).
4. Escape of Rājyaśrī from the prison with the help of a nobleman named Gupta, during the confusion caused by the above invasion.
5. Capture of Kānyakubja by Śaśāṅka and his march against Rājyavardhana, presumably but not necessarily, to help the Lord of Mālava, for there is no specific reference to any alliance between Śaśāṅka and the Lord of Mālava, though it is very likely in view of their common hostility against Rājyavardhana. It is also not unlikely that Rājyavardhana, after defeating the Lord of Mālava, proceeded to recover Kānyakubja from Śaśāṅka and the latter had to march against him in self-defence.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa does not give any details about the subsequent move-

ments of these two adversaries, but merely states that Rājyavardhana "had been 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."[92] What the exact allurements were, and why the king was foolish enough to enter into the enemy's camp without proper escort or safeguard, Bāṇabhaṭṭa does not care to explain.

(Hiuen Tsang, the other contemporary writer, is equally vague and obscure on this point. He tells us that Śaśāṅka frequently told his ministers, with reference to Rājyavardhana, "that if a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the mother kingdom," and then adds, "on this they (*i. e.*, the ministers) asked the king to a conference and murdered him." Later, Hiuen Tsang quotes the following speech of Harsha's ministers : "Owing to the fault of his (Rājyavardhana's) ministers, he was led to subject his person to the hand of his enemy, and the kingdom has suffered a great affliction : but it is the fault of your ministers."[93] This is hardly consistent with Bāṇa's version,[94] for no heedless act of the king under the influence of temptation or allurement, but a deliberate plan (or conspiracy ?) of the ministers was responsible for the course of events which ultimately put Rājyavardhana in the clutches of his enemy. Besides, emphasis is laid here on the fault of his ministers and not on any treacherous act of Śaśāṅka. To these two contemporary accounts we have to add a third, *viz.*, the statement contained in the inscriptions[95] of Harsha that Rājyavardhana gave up his life at the house of his enemy owing to his adherence to a promise (*satyānurodhena*).)

On the basis of the above accounts, historians are generally agreed that Śaśāṅka treacherously murdered Rājyavardhana. Mr. R. P. Chanda[96] was the first to challenge the accuracy of the view and gave cogent reasons to show that Rājyavardhana was either defeated and taken prisoner or surrendered to Śaśāṅka. Mr. R. D. Banerji[97] and the present writer[98] also supported Mr. Chanda. This view is, however, opposed by Dr. R. G. Basak.[99] Dr. D. C. Ganguly, who reiterated the old theory of Śaśāṅka's treachery, later changed his views and has even expressed doubt, whether it was Śaśāṅka who murdered Rājyavardhana.[100]

This controversy is not likely to be closed until fresh evidence enables us to reach definite conclusions. In the meantime, the arguments on both sides may be summed up to enable the reader to form his own judgment.

The main argument adduced by Dr. Basak and Dr. Ganguly is the agreement between the contemporary sources. But it may be pointed out, that while Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Hiuen Tsang agree that Rājyavardhana was murdered in a treacherous manner, the two authorities differ in essential details, and further the third contemporary source, the inscriptions of Harsha, and one version of Hiuen Tsang make no allusion to treachery at all. Curiously enough, all these accounts are characterised by a deliberate vagueness and obscurity which is difficult to account for.

(Following the ordinary canons of criticism the charges of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang against Śaśāṅka must be accepted with a great deal of reserve. Both were prejudiced against him on account of his hostility against their patron, and Hiuen Tsang made no secret of his wrath against Śaśāṅka for his anti-Buddhist activities. That Hiuen Tsang was ready, nay almost glad, to believe anything discreditable to Śaśāṅka, is abundantly clear from the various stories he has recorded of Śaśāṅka's persecution of Buddhism, and his ignoble death.[101]) The attitude of Bāṇa is also quite clear from the contemptuous epithets like *Gauḍādhama* and *Gauḍabhujaṅga* by which he refers to Śaśāṅka.

Such witnesses would be suspect even if their stories were complete, rational, and consistent. But unfortunately both the stories are so vague and involve such an abnormal element as would not be believed except on the strongest evidence. Hiuen Tsang does not refer to any ill feeling or hostility between Śaśāṅka and Rājyavardhana, nor even any conflict of interests. Nothing but pure jealousy at Rājyavardhana's virtue prompts Śaśāṅka to incite his ministers to murder him. Apart from the irrational character of the whole story, it is sufficiently refuted by the fact that according to Bāṇa, Rājyavardhana's rule was so short that Śaśāṅka could have hardly any opportunity to be deeply impressed by his virtue, and "*frequently*" addressed his ministers on that subject.

The story of Bāṇabhaṭṭa presupposes that although Rājyavardhana was out to fight with Śaśāṅka, who was his mortal enemy and in occupation of Kanauj where Rājyaśrī was still kept in prison, he could be tempted to meet his adversary, alone and without any weapon. The story is neither rational nor complete, for Bāṇabhaṭṭa does not even care to mention the nature of allurements which might explain or excuse such an unusual step taken by Rājyavardhana. Dr. R. G. Basak tries to cover this vital defect by assuming

that neither Harsha nor Bhaṇḍi knew clearly about the allurement offered by Śaśāṅka to Rājya,[102] and Bāṇa had special reason to conceal the details. How Bāṇa came to know what was unknown to both Harsha and Bhaṇḍi, Dr. Basak does not tell us. Nor does he explain how Śaṅkara, the commentator of Bāṇa. who flourished centuries later,[103] knew the details of the story though they were not recorded by Bāṇa. It seems that, in this particular case, contrary to the ordinary principle, the accurate knowledge of the details of an event grows in proportion to the lapse of time.

According to Śaṅkara,[104] Śaśāṅka enticed Rājyavardhana through a spy by the offer of his daughter's hand, and while the unlucky king with his retinue was participating in a dinner in his enemy's camp he was killed by the Gauḍa king in disguise. This story is hardly consistent with Bāṇa's account that Rājyavardhana was alone and defenceless when he was killed in his enemy's house. Dr. Basak, oblivious of this inconsistency, accepts the story as correct and remarks, "It is quite plausible, that during a period of truce the offer of the hand of his daughter to Rājyavardhana was made by Śaśāṅka, and lest Rājyavardhana's heedless compliance with such an invitation sent through a messenger should tarnish the reputation of the king, Bāṇa refrained from giving full details of this incident in his book."[105]

Bāṇa could not have such a story in view, for it is inconsistent with his own account, and there appears to be no valid reason for suppressing it.

The above analysis would show that there are legitimate grounds for doubting the accuracy of the story. Dr. D. C. Ganguly observed that "there is no warrant for thinking that Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang blackened the character of Śaśāṅka with accusations knowing them to be false."[106] Unfortunately such instances are not rare. References to Sirāj-ud-daulā, Napoleon and Tipu Sultan by contemporary English writers, and the contradictory versions of the encounter between Shivaji and Afzal well illustrate the unwillingness or incapacity of hostile writers to give impartial account of dreaded foes. The last instance perhaps furnishes an apt parallel to the Śaśāṅka-Rājyavardhana incident. The Maratha and Muslim writers accuse, respectively, Afzal and Shivaji of treachery. In the present instance we have only the version of Kanauj. The Bengali version might have painted the scene in an altogether different way. For the present we can accept the statement in Harsha's inscriptions that Rājyavardhana gave up his life, in his enemy's house, where he

went for the sake of a promise, or, as Dr. Basak puts it, to keep his word of honour. That this enemy was Śaśāṅka also admits of little doubt. Further details of this incident may be revealed some day by the discovery of fresh evidence, but until then the modern historians might well suspend their judgment and at least refrain from accusing Śaśāṅka of treachery, a charge not brought against him even by the brother of the murdered. It may also be emphasised that even Buddhist traditions were not unanimous in respect of the treachery of Śāśaṅka. For according to the generally accepted interpretation of MMK., Rājyavardhana was murdered, not by Śaśāṅka, but by a king of the Nagna caste.[107]

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that Hiuen Tsang's emphasis upon the fault of the ministers in respect of Rājyavardhana's death becomes very significant when we remember that Rājyavardhana was a Buddhist and his ministers were most probably orthodox Hindus. Hiuen Tsang refers to an attempt on Harsha's life by the non-Buddhists.[108] Who knows that Rājyavardhana's death was not similarly encompassed by his ministers with the help of Śaśāṅka who was known to be a great champion of orthodox faith ? This is, of course, a mere hypothesis, which lacks convincing evidence, but it would explain the mysterious vagueness of the contemporary authorities and prove that there might be other explanations of Rājyavardhana's death than the treachery of Śaśāṅka.[109]

Footnotes

[1] R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 341.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 454-55.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 367, 375.
[4] *IHQ*, XIV. 532-535.
[5] Dr. Ganguly inadvertently takes this (Mṛigaśikhāvana?) as the temple founded by Mahārāja Gupta (*op. cit.* 532).
[6] Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents* (I-tsing), pp. 82-83. Beal-*Life*, XXXVI.
[7] *CCBM*. XV, XIX.
[8] Foucher, *Icon*, 62-63.
[9] *Early History of North India*, pp. 137-8.
[10] "..... il y a plus de cinq cents annees" (Chavannes, *op. cit.* 83).
[11] *CCBM*. XV.
[12] For recent discussion on this topic, cf. *JBRS*, XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 138 ff. ; XXXVIII, Parts 3-4, 410 ff. ; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, pp. 136-9. S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 41 ff.
[13] Allahabad Pillar Ins. l. 22 (A. 1).
[14] The question whether the Guptas ruled in Bengal before Chandragupta has been discussed above, pp. 37-8.
[15] *HNI*, pp. 14-21.
[16] Hoernle (*IA*. XXI. 43). Formerly V. A. Smith also held this view (*JRAS*. 1897, p. 1 ; *EHI*. 3rd ed., p. 290, f. n. 1).
[17] Vaṅga countries (*Vaṅgeshu*) may mean Vaṅga (Eastern and Southern Bengal) and other parts of Bengal, or different principalities in Vaṅga.
[18] MM. Haraprasad Śāstrī identifies this king with king Chandravarman, one of the nine kings of Āryāvarta defeated by Samudragupta as mentioned in his Allahabad Pillar inscription. He holds that this Chandravarman is the same king who is referred to in the Susunia Rock inscription as son of Siṁhavarman, ruler of Pushkaraṇa, and believes further, on the strength of an inscription found at Mandasor, that Pushkaraṇa, where this family of kings ruled, is to be located at Pokharan in the Jodhpur State. MM. Śāstrī's view has been accepted by V. A. Smith and R. D. Banerji : MM. H. P. Śastri (*El*. XII. 315 ff ; XIII. 133 ; *IA*. 1913, pp. 217 ff.) ; V. A. Smith (*EHI*. 4th ed., p. 307, f. n. 1) ; R. D. Banerji (*El*. XIV. 367 ff.).
Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri holds that Chandra may be one of the "two kings named Sadā-Chandra and Chandrāṁśa mentioned among the post-Andhran kings of Nāga lineage" in the Purāṇas (*PHAI*. 4th ed., p. 449). None of these proposals, however, is supported by convincing arguments.
[19] *IHQ*, I. 254-55 ; *PHAI*. 4th ed., p. 448.
[20] *ASI*. 1927-28, pp. 188-89.
[21] Cf. also Nos. A. 11-13.
[22] It has been suggested that the overlord in question was Vishṇugupta, a large number of whose coins have been found with the legend 'Chandrāditya' on the reverse (*EHBP*. 13-14).

[23] Gunaighar CP. dated 188 (A. 14).
The equivalent of the Gupta Year 188 current has been assumed to be 507-8 A. D. But according to the theory of K. B. Pathak the equivalent would be 506-7 A. D. (*IHQ*. VI. 47).

[24] Cf. *IHQ*. IX. 784 ff.

[25] *ASI*. 1930-34, p. 230 : *IHQ*, XIX. 275 ;

[26] *IHQ*. IX. 784 ff ; 989 ff. ; Vol. X. 154 ff. ; *HNI*, pp. 224-25.

[27] No Gupta records have been found in Rāḍhā. Gupta coins have been discovered at Kalighat, Hooghly and Jessore (Allan, *CCBM*. CXXIV ff. *JASB*. LII. 148 ff). As will be shown, *infra* pp.40, 42, Rāḍhā was probably administered by Vijayasena, a Governor of Vainyagupta, at the beginning of the sixth century A. D.

[28] In the two Damodarpur CPP. (Nos. A. 6-7) of the reign of Kumāragupta, the Governor of Puṇḍravardhana is called simply *Uparika*, but in A. 8-10 he is called *Uparika-Mahārāja*.

[29] *HNI*. 233 ff.

[30] Three of these (A. 20, 21, 18) were edited by F. E. Pargiter in *IA*, XXXIX (1910), pp. 193-216. These are (1) the Grant of Dharmāditya, Year 3 ; (2) Second Grant of the same king ; and (3) Grant of Gopachandra, Year 18 (for date cf. *HNI*. 233). The fourth Grant, the Ghugrahati CP. of Samāchāradeva (A. 23) was edited by R. D. Banerji (*JASB*. N. S. VI. 429), Pargiter (*JASB*. N. S. VII. 476), and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali (*EI*. XVIII. 74 ff). Mr. R. D. Banerji held that "all these four grants are forgeries" (*JASB*. N. S. VI. 429 ff. ; VII. 289 ff. ; X. 425 ff.). Dr. Bloch also regarded the copper-plate of Samāchāradeva as spurious (*ASI*. 1907-8, p. 256). Pargiter opposed this view (*JASB*. N. S. VII. 499; *JRAS*. 1912 pp. 710 ff.) and their genuineness is no longer doubted by any scholar. The fifth copper-plate (A. 22) issued in year 7 of Samāchāradeva, and found at Kurpālā, is yet unpublished.

[31] Mallasarul CP. of Gopachandra, Year 3. (*EI*. XXIII, 155). The date is read as 33 by D. C. Sircar (A. 19).

[32] For gold coins of Samāchāradeva, cf. *JASB*. N. S. XIX. *Num. Suppl.*, 54 ff. The inference derived from the legends of these coins that Samāchāradeva was a vassal of Śaśāṅka (*IC*. IV. 225) must be definitely rejected. It rests upon the very doubtful reading '*Śrī Narendravinata*' on the reverse of the coin described by V. A. Smith in *IMC*. 1.120, pl. xvi, 11. Smith said that the three letters following Narendra "look like *vinata*", but Allan has read the legend as *Narendrāditya* (*CCBM* 149), and the legend on the reverse of the other type of coins of Samāchāradeva has been read with certainty by both Smith (*op. cit.* 122) and Allan (*op. cit.* 150) as *Narendrāditya*.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, read the legend in both cases as *Narendravinata* (*ASI*. 1913-14, p. 260), and held that it cannot be anything else. With all due deference to Mr. Banerji's emphatic assertion, the reading *Narendrāditya* seems to be preferable, and we may reasonably hold that Samāchāradeva assumed the title Narendrāditya in imitation of the Gupta kings.

But even assuming that the reading '*Narendravinata*' is correct, its interpretation as "fully subdued or obedient to Narendra" and the identification of Narendra with Śaśāṅka are of extremely doubtful character, to say the least of

it. Against the inference based on a series of doubtful data must be placed the clear evidence of the inscriptions of Samāchāradeva that he was an independent monarch.

[33] Vijayasena is the *Dūtaka* of the Gunaighar Grant and is described as "*Mahāpratīhāra Mahāpilupati Pañchādhikaraṇ-oparika* and *Mahārāja Śrī-Mahāsāmanta*" (ll. 15-16, *IHQ*. VI. 55). In the Mallasarul Ins. (A. 19) he is called *Mahārāja*, but he uses his own seal.

[34] As to the contrary view (*IC*. VI. 106-7), cf. t. n. 35. ll 4-10.

[35] *IA*. 1910. pp. 206 ff. Mr. Pargiter regarded Dharmāditya as earlier than Gopachandra on two grounds *viz*., (*i*) the use of earlier and later forms of *y* in their respective plates ; (*ii*) the additional epithets *pratīta dharmaśīla* applied to the land-measurer *Śivachandra* in the plate of the latter. The first should never have been put forward as a serious argument, for experience has shown that palaeography does not offer a safe basis for comparative chronology within a short period of time, say, less than a century. This is clearly demonstrated in the present instance by the fact that in the Mallasarul CP. of Gopachandra (A. 19) the earliest of the three forms of *y* noted by Pargiter has been exclusively used, while the first plate of Dharmāditya (A. 20) (l. 27) shows a distinctly later form of *ś*. The addition of epithets to Śivachandra may no doubt be cogently explained by his attainment of seniority in service, but may be due to purely personal predilections of the writer. It may also be argued that the epithets were done away with after Śivachandra had been sufficiently long in service when his name was too well-known to require any testimonial. In any case this cannot be regarded as a more cogent argument in support of the priority of Dharmāditya over Gopachandra than the identity of Vijayasena of the Gunaighar and Mallasarul plates favouring the opposite view. For if Gopachandra ruled after Dharmāditya we have to assume that Vijayasena served as a Governor under Vainyagupta, Dharmāditya, Gopachandra and other kings, if any, who might have intervened between them. This is certainly not impossible, but less probable than the other view that Vijayasena served only two kings, Vainyagupta and Gopachandra. Although, therefore, no certain conclusion is possible, it seems more reasonable to take Gopachandra as earlier than Dharmāditya.

[36] For these coins, cf. *IMC*. I. 120, 122 (pl. xvi. 11, 13) ; *CCBM*. CVI-CVII, 154 (pl. xxiv. 17-19) ; *JASB*. N. S. XIX. *Num. Suppl*. 58 ff. *Ibid*. XXI. *Num. Suppl*. 1 ff.

[37] Allan has described this unique coin in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, XIV. 235.

[38] *JASB*. N. S. XIX. *Num. Suppl*. 60.

[39] *IA*. XIX. 7.

[40] *CII*. III. 95, 102, 107.

[41] Aphasd Ins. ll. 10-11. *CII*. III. 203, 206.

[42] Probably a part of North Bengal, to the east of the Karatoyā river, formed part of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa which had thrown off the yoke of the Guptas and became a powerful kingdom about the middle of the sixth century A.D. This is proved by the Badganga Rock Inscription (A. 25) which refers to king Bhūtivarman as having performed a horse-sacrifice. The date of the record is 234 (G. E.=553 A.D.). Perhaps the suzerainty of North Bengal was a bone of contention between the Later Guptas and the kings of Kāmarūpa.

[43] This passage has been differently interpreted. The translation quoted here is that of Dr. R. G. Basak (*HNI.*, p. 131).

[44] Th crucial word *Samudrāśraya*, has also been taken to mean "living on the sea-shore" (*EI.* XIV, 120). But *Samudra* may not refer to the seashore. The passage may imply that the Gauḍas took refuge in the sea itself, perhaps in an island. Of course this can only refer to the defeated army or a part of the population. The Gurgi Ins. (*EI.* XXII, 135) also states that the Lord of Gauḍa, out of fear, "lies in the watery fort of the sea."

[45] Deo-Baranark Ins. of Jīvitagupta II, l. 15, *CII.* III. 216, 218. The ins. is fragmentary and the interpretation is conjectural.

[46] Aphsad Stone Ins. of Adityasena, ll. 7-8, *CII.* III. 203, 206.

[47] Originally the scholars held that the Later Guptas ruled in Magadha, and Fleet designates them as Guptas of Magadha (*CII.* III. Introduction, p. 14). Dr. H C. Raychaudhuri pointed out that accordingt Deo-Baranark Ins. of Jīvitagupta II, the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman held a considerable part of Magadha. He, therefore, held that "after the loss of Magadha the Later Guptas were apparently confined to 'Mālava' till Mahāsenagupta once more pushed his conquests as far as the Lauhitya" (*PHAI.* Fifth ed., p. 606, f. n.). Dr. R. K. Mookerji (*Harsha*, 60, 67), C. V. Vaidya (*Hist. Med. Hindu India*, I. 35) and Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*JBORS.* XIX. 402) definitely locate the Later Gupta dynasty in Malwa. Mr. R. D. Banerji controverted these views and tried to re-establish the older view that the Later Guptas ruled in Magadha (*JBORS.* XIV. 254 ff). Mr. Banerji's views have been challenged by Dr. R. K. Mookerji (*JBORS.* XV. 251 ff.) and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*JBORS.* XV. 651 ff.). No definite conclusion on this point seems possible.

[48] These dates are known from coins, cf. *JRAS.* 1906, p. 848. According to the reading of Mr. Dikshit the dates are respectively 577-78 and 579-80. The readings of the dates on coins are obviously conjectural and cannot be relied upon (*TK.* 55-60).

[49] This is inferred from the word *Jale* (*IHQ.* XXVI. 244).

[50] There is an expression *Kshm-āntar-nnilīne* which may be taken to mean that the father of the two young heroes was dead. But the reference to their fight at an early age (*prathame vayasi*) and absence of royal designation of any of them seem to indicate that the army of Kāmarūpa was led by the two princes during the life-time of their father, probably when their father was away (*ibid.* 243).

[51] *CII.* III. 206.

[51] *HNI.* p. 167.

[53] *IHQ.* XXVI. p. 242.

[54] This view is fully developed by Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*JBORS.* XIX. 405 ff. *IHQ.* XII. 461) who even goes so far as to assert that it was the Kalachuri king Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa (and not Devagupta, as is generally held), who defeated and killed Grahavarman, the Maukhari king, and imprisoned his queen, Rājyaśrī at Kanauj. These statements are not, however, supported by any reliable evidence and are based on the assumption that the Kalachuris were the only rulers of Mālava from 595 A.D. to 629 A.D. for which there is no proof (cf. *PHAI.* 5th ed. p. 607, f. n. 3).

[55] See *infra*, Ch. V. Appendix II.

[56] *CII.* III. 284.

[57] According to Dr. D. C. Ganguly, the Deo Baranark Ins. "definitely settles that Śaśāṅka was a feudatory of Avantivarman, and probably for a short period, of his son Grahavarman" (*IHQ.* XII. 457). His fundamental assumption that Avantivarman was in possession of Magadha throughout his reign lacks any evidence (cf. *IC.* XI. 124). As noted *supra* p. 47, the probability is that Mahāsenagupta must have conquered Magadha, as otherwise he could hardly have proceeded up to the Brahmaputra river.

[58] *PHAI.* 5th ed. 608, f.n. 2 ; Allan, *CCBM.* LXIV; *JASB.* LXIII (1894), 172-73. Mr. R. D. Banerji's view that Śaśāṅka was the son or nephew of Mahāsenagupta (*BI.* 105) has hardly any basis to stand upon.

[59] Watters, II. 109. For the probable existence of Bhadra royal dynasty, cf. *IC.* II. pp. 795-7.

[60] Both of them record grants of land during the reign of Śaśāṅka. One of these Grants was made by his feudatory, the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* Somadatta, who was ruling over Daṇḍabhukti and Utkala-deśa. The second Grant was made by *Mahāpratīhāra* Śubhakīrti, who also was the Governor of Daṇḍabhukti-*deśa* under Śaśāṅka. Both the Grants were issued from the *adhikaraṇa* of Tāvīra. One of the inscriptions contains a date which is probably *samvat* 230 or 330, but the numerical symbol for hundreds, used in this record, has not been met with before, and the interpretation is, therefore, doubtful. The date of the record, when finally fixed, is likely to throw light on the history of Śaśāṅka.

[61] Ganjam CP., *EI.* VI. 143 ff.

[62] *JAHRS.* X. 7, 10-11.

[63] This generally accepted view, based on the simultaneous hostile operations of Śaśāṅka and king of Mālava, probably Devagupta, against the Maukharis and the Pushyabhūtis, has been challenged by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, who has reconstructed the whole history of the period on an entirely new basis (*IHQ.* XII. 461 : XXIII. 51). But this has been, on very insufficient grounds, summarily rejected by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI.* 5th ed., pp. 607-8).

[64] *MMK.* Ch. 53, p. 634. *MMK (J).* V. 715. *IHI.* p. 49.

[65] *HC.* Tr. 173. There is no conclusive evidence that Kanauj was the capital of the Maukharis, but it seems to be the most reasonable assumption on the basis of evidence at present available to us (cf. *TK.* 32-36).

[66] *HC.* Tr. 173.

[67] *Ibid.* 174-76.

[68] *Ibid.* 178.

[68a] *IHQ,* XXIII. 51.

[69] *Ibid.* 175.

[70] The text was first edited by T. Ganapati Śastri and subsequently by Mr. Jayaswal in *IHI.*

[71] *IHI.* 50. The number of verses refers to *MMK (J)*; the corresponding verses in *MMK.* are on pp. 634-5.

[72] The interpretation of Dr. R. G. Basak summed up in the following passage seems quite as reasonable as that of Mr. Jayaswal :

"The author here means to say that Harsha defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka)....who

was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom, and prevented him from moving further towards the west; and Harsha himself, not being honoured with welcome in these eastern frontier countries returned leisurely to his own kingdom with the satisfaction that he had achieved victory....There is little doubt that as the result of the first campaign Harsha could not establish political supremacy over Gauḍa." (*HNI*, 186).

[73] Watters, II. 183.

[74] Beal—*Life*, 172.

[75] Watters, II. 115. The passage which has been quoted on p. 56, shows that Śaśāṅka was in possession of Bodh Gayā shortly before 637-8 A. D.

[76] *IA*. IX (1880), p. 19.

[77] Watters, I. 343. Hiuen Tsang's further statement that after these six years of warfare Harsha reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon is contradicted by his own statement about campaigns of Harsha against Koṅgoda (Beal—*Life*, 172).

[78] *EI*. XXIV. 283.

[79] Watters, II. 115 ; Beal—*Records*, II. 118, 121-22.

[80] *MMK*., 635. *IHI*, 50.

[81] *MMK*. also adds "oppression upon Jainism."

[82] *VJI*. IV. 88, 90. *Mahādeva-kārikā* quoted by Umesh Chandra Sarma ; *Kulapañji* by Rāmadeva.

[83] Extermination of Buddhism and expulsion of the Buddhists from a *vihāra* in Kuśinagara (Watters, II. 43) ; throwing into the Ganges a stone, containing footprints of Buddha, in Pāṭaliputra (p. 92) ; cutting down the Bodhi-tree, destroying its roots down to the water, and burning what remained (p. 114) ; attempt to remove an image of Buddha and replace it by that of Śiva (p. 116).

[84] Watters, I. 343.

[85] His coins bear the image of Mahādeva on the obverse (Allan, *CCBM*. pp. 147-8. The last incident, referred to in footnote 83 above, also corroborates the view that Śaśāṅka was a Śaiva.

[86] R. P. Chanda in *GR*. 13 ; R. D. Banerji in *BI*, 110-11 ; *EHBP*, 25.

[87] According to the *Chachnāma* (English translation by M. K. Fredunbeg, pp. 72, 89 ff., 105), the Buddhists of Sind effectively helped the Muslim invaders of the country.

[88] *HC*. Tr. 173.

[89] *Ibid*. 224.

[90] *Ibid*. 250.

[91] *Harsha-charita*, edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, p. 813.

[92] *HC*. Tr. 178.

[93] Beal—*Records*, I. 210-11.

[94] St. Julien's translation of the above passage, which is more decisive on this point, runs as follows (*IA*. 1878, p. 197) : "But by the incapacity of his (Rājyavardhana's) ministers he has gone and fallen under the sword of his enemy; that has been a great disgrace to the realm. It is we who are to blame."

[95] *EI*. IV. 210 ; I. 67.

[96] *GR*. 8 ff.

[97] *BI*. 107.

[98] *EHBR.* 17-8.

[99] *HNI.* 175 ff.

[100] *IHQ.* XII. 462 ff. ; XXIII, 51-5.

[101] These have been referred to in footnote 83 above.

[102] *HNI.* 178. But it is said in the *Harsha-charita* that when Harsha met Bhaṇḍi, "he enquired the facts of his brother's death, and Bhaṇḍi related the whole story in full (*HC.* Tr. 224).

[103] Dr. Ganguly places Śaṅkara in the 14th century A. D. (*IHQ.* XII. 462 ; XXIII. 53). K. P. Jayaswal gives 1713 A. D. as the date of Śaṅkara.

[104] *HNI.* 182.

[105] *Ibid*, 183.

[106] *IHQ.* XII. 463.

[107] *IHI.* 50.

[108] Beal—*Records*, 1. 220-21.

[109] An apt illustration is furnished by the capture of the Roman emperor Valerian by the Persian king Shapur in A.D. 260. It is generally held that in the course of negotiations for peace, "the Persian king expressed his desire for a personal interview ; the emperor agreed ; in fatal confidence he met the Persian king and was taken prisoner." The following comment is made in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Vol. XII. p. 135) on this episode: "On the fact of the capture our sources are in complete accord, but they disagree in their accounts of the manner in which it was effected. While Zosimus represents it as a treacherous breach of faith on the part of Shapur, others would place it after a battle with insufficient force against the superior strength of the enemy ; others again—and this must certainly be false—will have it that Valerian had fled from beleaguered Edessa to the Persian King in face of a mutiny of his own starving soldiers."

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION AFTER ŚAŚĀṄKA

I. Kingdom of Gauḍa

THE death of Śaśāṅka proved to be a political disaster of the first magnitude. Not only were the dreams of a far-flung Gauḍa empire rudely shattered, but within a few years his kingdom, including the capital city Karṇasuvarṇa, passed into the hands of Bhāskaravarman, the hostile king of Kāmarūpa. The events that led to this complete collapse are not known, and only a few facts of this obscure period in the history of Bengal may be gleaned from the documents at present available to us.

Hiuen Tsang who travelled in Bengal about 638 A. D., shortly after the death of Śaśāṅka, mentions, besides Kajaṅgala (territory round Rajmahal), four kingdoms in Bengal proper, *viz.*, Puṇḍravardhana, Karṇasuvarṇa, Samataṭa, and Tāmralipti.[1] The first two undoubtedly denote the two component parts of Śaśāṅka's kingdom *viz.*, North Bengal and northern parts of Western Bengal including Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad, and Nadia districts. Hiuen Tsang refers to the capital of each of the kingdoms mentioned by him, but does not say anything of their kings and gives no indication of their political status. The silence has led some scholars to think that they were included within the empires of Harshavardhana.[2] But this assumption is not supported either by the general tenor of Hiuen Tsang's description or by any facts known so far.

It is obvious from Hiuen Tsang's account that Śaśāṅka's death loosened the bonds which united North and West Bengal, and these formed separate kingdoms in 638 A.D. Within a few years both these kingdoms were conquered by Bhāskaravarman. The fact that Bhāskaravarman made a grant from the victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa (A. 27) shows that he even succeeded in seizing the capital city of Śaśāṅka.

This may also be indirectly concluded from some incidents referred to in the *Life* of Hiuen Tsang. It is recorded there that some time about 642 A.D., Bhāskaravarman proceeded with his army of elephants, 20,000 in number, to meet Harsha at Kajaṅgala near Rajmahal, and his 30,000 ships passed along the Ganges to the

same destination.[3] This evidently implies an effective suzerainty of the king of Kāmarūpa over the former dominions of Śaśāṅka.[4]

It is interesting to note that, according to the *Life* of Hiuen Tsang, at the time of this meeting Harsha himself had just returned from his victorious campaign in Koṅgoda,[5] the kingdom of the Śailodbhavas who formerly acknowledged the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka.

Now Hiuen Tsang's account, as preserved in his *Records*, does nor refer to Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvarṇa as subject to Bhāskaravarman, and as regards Koṅgoda, it even goes so far as to say that its soldiers "rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them."[6] It would thus appear that the dominions of Śaśāṅka in and outside Bengal proper were conquered respectively by Bhāskaravarman and Harsha some time between 638 and 642 A.D. The only exception was Magadha which evidently passed into the hands of one Pūrṇavarman, described as last of the race of Aśokarāja, at the time when Hiuen Tsang visited it about 637-38 A.D.[7] But in or about 641 A.D. it was conquered by Harshavardhana.[8] Kajaṅgala also was presumably conquered by Harsha.

Thus the available evidences seem to indicate that the death of Śaśāṅka was followed by a disruption of his vast dominions and its component parts formed separate independent States. This gave the required opportunity[9] to his life-long enemies, Bhāskaravarman and Harshavardhana, who conquered, respectively, his former dominions in and outside Bengal.

The political disintegration of the Gauḍa empire after the death of Śaśāṅka seems to be referred to in that curious Buddhist work *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* mentioned above. The relevant passage has been translated as follows by Jayaswal:

> "After the death of Soma the Gauḍa political system (*Gauḍa-tantra*) was reduced to mutual distrust, raised weapons and mutual jealousy—one (king) for a week ; another for a month ; then a republican constitution—such will be the daily (condition) of the country on the bank of the Ganges where houses were built on the ruins of monasteries. Thereafter Soma's (Śaśāṅka's) son Mānava will last for 8 months 5 (½ ?) days."[10]

This English rendering of the relevant passage by Mr. Jayaswal cannot be regarded as free from doubts, particularly as the reference to a republican constitution is based on an emendation of the text. But it undoubtedly conveys the general sense of the text.

The passage immediately following the above extract in *MMK.* almost undoubtedly refers to a king Jayanāga of Gauḍa,[11] and there is equally little doubt that he is to be identified with the king of that name whose coins have been found in Western Bengal,[12] and who issued a land-grant (A. 32) from the victorious camp of Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital of Śaśāṅka.[13]

Although the tradition recorded in *MMK.* cannot be regarded, by itself, as historical, it is corroborated in the present instance by known facts. The general picture of anarchy, confusion, and political disintegration is fully confirmed by the conquests of Harsha and Bhāskaravarman, and merely supplies the details of a presumption to which they inevitably lead. The reference to Jayanāga is also corroborated, as noted above, by coins and inscription of a king named Jayanāga who ruled with Karṇasuvarṇa as capital.

The date of Jayanāga cannot be ascertained with precision, but judging from his coins and inscription, he may be placed within the period 550-650 A.D. On the basis of the tradition recorded in *MMK.* we may hold that after the anarchy and confusion caused by the invasion of Bhāskaravarman had subsided, and a son of Śaśāṅka had vainly tried to re-establish the fortunes of his family, the kingdom passed into the hands of Jayanāga.[14] He is styled *Mahārājādhirāja* and was evidently a ruler of some authority. He ruled over Birbhum and Murshidabad districts, but the extent of his kingdom or any other detail of his reign is not known to us.

For more than a century after this the history of Gauḍa is obscure in the extreme. This period which extends roughly from 650 to 750 A.D. was marked at the beginning by political chaos and confusion in Eastern India caused by the death of Harsha (646 or 647 A.D.), the usurpation of his kingdom by his minister, and the strange military adventures of the Chinese envoy Wang-hiuen-tse, to which reference will be made later.

But the success of the Chinese arms brought into prominence a new factor in North Indian politics. The powerful king of Tibet, Srong-tsan Gampo, who exercised suzerainty over Nepal and had sent military assistance to the Chinese in their hour of need, is credited with extensive conquests in India. There is no reliable record of his exploits, but he is said to have conquered Assam and gradually made himself master of nearly the half of India.[15] In spite of obvious exaggerations the claims were probably not without

some basis. We have definite evidence that the dynasty of Bhāskaravarman was overthrown not long after his death by a Mlechchha ruler.[16] It is also not improbable that the Khaḷga kings who ruled over parts of Bengal in the seventh century A.D. came in the train of the Tibetan invasion,[17] though of this we have no definite evidence. Although the Tibetan supremacy was shortlived and Indian States threw off the suzerainty of Tibet about 702 A.D.,[18] the menace of Tibetan invasion probably played an important part in Indian politics.

Another important political factor was the re-establishment of the Later Gupta power in Magadha. That this province was included for a short time in the empire of Harsha admits of no doubt.[19] But not long after his death it came into the possession of Adityasena. He and his three successors ruled over this kingdom in the latter half of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century A.D.[20] They all assumed imperial titles and were evidently very powerful rulers. Some scholars hold that Bengal, or at least a large part of it, was included in their empire,[21] but we have no reliable evidence of any kind to support this view.

We learn from an inscription[22] of a king of the Śaila dynasty named Jayavardhana that the brother of his great-grandfather defeated the Pauṇḍra king and conquered his dominions. According to this record the Śaila dynasty had a remarkable history. Their original home was in the valley of the Himālayas, but they conquered the Gurjara country. Later, they spread to the east and ultimately three branches of the family established themselves at Kāśī, the Vindhya region, and Pauṇḍra. It is said that the two chiefs who conquered Kāśī and Pauṇḍra were brothers, and the son of the former became the lord of the Vindhya regions.

The Pauṇḍra kingdom, conquered by the Śailas, has been identified by all scholars with North Bengal, on the ground that this region was known as both Puṇḍra and Pauṇḍra.[23] Unfortunately, no details of the Śaila rule in Bengal are known to us. The conquest probably took place about 725 A.D.[24]

The next important event in the history of Bengal is the defeat and death of the king of Gauḍa at the hands of Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj, who undertook a military expedition all over Northern India to establish his position as Lord Paramount like Harshavardhana and Yaśodharman. The date of Yaśovarman's conquests may be approximately fixed between 725 and 735 A.D.

He evidently regarded the Lord of Gauḍa as one of his chief adversaries and his success against the latter has obtained great prominence on account of the title of a famous poetical work *Gauḍa-vaho* ('Slaying of the King of Gauḍa') by his court-poet Vākpatirāja.[25] Curiously enough, the poem itself, consisting of 1209 verses, refers only once (v. 1194), very incidentally, to the slaying of the Gauḍa king, while five verses (vv. 354, 414-417) refer to the Lord of Magadha. The latter fled before Yaśovarman in the Vindhya region (v. 354), but the other kings who accompanied him immediately returned to fight (v. 414). After describing the battle in two verses (vv. 415, 416), the poet simply says that Yaśovarman, having slain the king of the Magadhas, who was fleeing, proceeded to the sea-shore (v. 417).

It has been assumed that the Lord of Gauḍa and Lord of Magadha, mentioned by Vākpati, were one and the same person. The assumption has led to a further one, *viz.*, that Gauḍa was subject to the Later Gupta kings of Magadha. But even if the first assumption be correct, the second does not necessarily follow. The emphasis laid on Gauḍa in the very title of the poem would rather lead to the inference that Magadha was subject to the king of Gauḍa.[26] But all these assumptions must be regarded as purely provisional on account of the obscurity of the poem *Gauḍa-vaho* which has been discussed in detail in Appendix II.

Yaśovarman followed up his victory against Gauḍa by the conquest of Vaṅga. Thus nearly the whole of modern Bengal passed into his hands. The nature of his rule is not known to us, but it could not have been of long duration. For the promising career of Yaśovarman was cut short by the disastrous defeat inflicted upon him by Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir, before the close of the first half of the eighth century A.D., and probably not long after 736 A.D.[27]

Lalitāditya naturally regarded himself as the overlord of the various States which had acknowledged the suzerainty of Yaśovarman. Presumably to enforce this claim, he undertook a *digvijaya* or an expedition of conquest. According to Kalhaṇa's account his victorious campaign not only led him across the whole of Northern India right up to Kaliṅga, but also over the whole of Southern India up to the river Kāverī and the Malaya mountains. To what extent this may be regarded as historically true it is difficult to say. As regards Bengal, with which alone we are here concerned, there is no direct reference in Kalhaṇa's account that Lalitāditya invaded,

far less conquered, any part of the province. But two incidents reported by Kalhaṇa lead to the presumption that the kingdom of Gauḍa acknowledged his suzerainty.

In the first place, we are told that a troop of elephants from Gauḍa-maṇḍala joined Lalitāditya,[28] and it is only reasonable to conclude that the king of Gauḍa acknowledged the suzerainty of Lalitāditya and sent his elephant troops to help him. Secondly, Kalhaṇa relates how the king of Gauḍa was forced to visit Kashmir at the behest of Lalitāditya, and was murdered there.[29] The Gauḍa king had evidently some fear about his safety, and to remove it, Lalitāditya swore by an image of Vishṇu that no violence would be done to his person. In spite of this guarantee Lalitāditya caused the Gauḍa king to be murdered at a place called Trigrāmi. Here, again, the distant journey undertaken by the Gauḍa king, in spite of misgivings about his own safety, can be reasonably explained only on the supposition that he acknowledged the suzerainty of Lalitāditya.

The sequel to the murder of the king of Gauḍa is interesting enough to be recorded here. Kalhaṇa relates how some loyal and faithful followers of the Gauḍa king took a solemn vow to avenge the foul murder, made the long journey from Gauḍa to Kashmir in the guise of pilgrims, and attacked the temple which contained the Vishṇu image by which Lalitāditya swore the safety of the Gauḍa king. With a full knowledge of certain death, these people entered the temple and broke one of the two images found there, unhappily the wrong one. In the meantime, soldiers came from the capital and cut all the Gauḍas to pieces. The Kashmirian poet has paid the highest tribute to the loyalty and devotion of these people. "Even the creator," says he, "cannot achieve what the Gauḍas did on that occasion," and "to this day the world is filled with the fame of the Gauḍa heroes."[30] The story, romantic though it is, is probably true, for otherwise Kalhaṇa would not have reported it, knowing fully how thoroughly it discredits his ideal king Lalitāditya.

Same reliance, however, cannot be placed on another romantic story recorded by Kalhaṇa about Jayāpīḍa, the grandson of Lalitāditya. But though its historical character may well be doubted, a brief account of the curious episode may be given for what it is worth.

Jayāpīḍa, the grandson of Lalitāditya, set out with a vast army for conquering the world, in imitation of his grandfather. But his kingdom was usurped, during his absence, by his brother-in-law Jajja,

and he was deserted by his army. Ultimately he dismissed all his soldiers and wandered alone. In the course of this romantic enterprise, he entered the city of Puṇḍravardhana which was then ruled by a prince called Jayanta, as a subordinate chief to the king of Gauḍa. He married Jayanta's daughter, defeated the five Gauḍa chiefs and made his father-in-law their overlord.[31]

It is difficult to say what amount of truth, if any, there is in this story. But the reference to five Gauḍa kings indicates a state of political disintegration which is supported by other evidences. It appears very likely that Gauḍa became the field of struggle for supremacy among a number of local chiefs who had asserted their independence as there was no central authority to keep them under control.

Another reference to a foreign conquest of Gauḍa, about this period, occurs in an inscription of Jayadeva II, the Lichchhavi king of Nepal. In this record, dated 759 or 748 A.D., the king's father-in-law, Harsha of the Bhagadatta dynasty, is described as the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala.[32] The fact that the rulers of Kāmarūpa claimed descent from Bhagadatta has led to the presumption that Harsha was ruler of Kāmarūpa.[33] We must remember, however, that the Kara dynasty of Orissa also claimed descent from the same family,[34] and it is equally probable that Harsha belonged to that dynasty. In any case we have no independent evidence about the possession of Gauḍa by any ruler of either Kāmarūpa or Orissa, and it is difficult to say how far the assumption of the title 'lord of Gauḍa' was justified by actual exercise of authority in that kingdom.

II. Kingdom of Vaṅga

We have no definite information about the political condition of Vaṅga during the reign of Śaśāṅka. But even if it were incorporated in his dominions, it must have again formed an independent State shortly after his death. Hiuen Tsang has referred to the kingdom of Samataṭa, which seems to have included the major part, if not the whole, of Vaṅga proper.[35] How long the independent kingdom established in this region by Gopachandra continued to exist and how it ended are unknown to us. We learn from Hiuen Tsang that a line of Brāhmaṇa kings ruled in Samataṭa in the first half of the seventh century A.D. But he does not give us any information about

it beyond stating that Śīlabhadra, the patriarch of Nālandā, was a scion of this royal family.[36] Reference may be made in this connection to a vassal chief named Jyeshṭhabhadra, mentioned in the Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman. The name-ending *-bhadra* has led some scholars to connect him with Śīlabhadra and to postulate the existence of a Bhadra dynasty ruling in Bengal.[37] Although there is not sufficient evidence in support of this view, it is not an unlikely one. This Brāhmanical royal dynasty seems to have been overthrown by a line of Buddhist kings whose names contained the word *khaḍga* as an essential element. The history of this dynasty, generally referred to as the Khaḍga dynasty, is known from two copper-plates (A. 33-4) found at Ashrafpur, 30 miles north-east of Dacca, and a short record (A. 35) inscribed on an image of Sarvāṇī (Durgā) found at Deulbāḍī, 14 miles south of Comilla. These disclose the names of three rulers *viz.*, Khaḍgodyama, his son Jātakhaḍga, and the latter's son Devakhaḍga. They also refer to the queen and the son of the last-named king, *viz.* Prabhāvatī and Rājarāja, also called Rājarāja-bhaṭa. They were all devout Buddhists.

Khaḍgodyama is described as *nṛipādhirāja* (overlord of kings) and seems to have been the founder of the kingdom. The records unfortunately do not contain any historical information, beyond the usual vague praises, about him or his successors. Of the two copper-plate grants of Devakhaḍga, one is dated in his 13th regnal year, and the date of the other is doubtful. Both were issued from the royal camp of Karmānta-*vāsaka*, which was probably their capital. This city has been identified with modern Baḍkāmtā, a Police station in the Tippera district,[38] but this identification cannot be regarded as certain.

The date of these kings is also a matter of dispute. Some scholars refer them to the 9th century A.D.,[39] while others hold that they ruled during the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century.[40] Apart from the evidence of palaeography, on which both the theories are mainly based, the latter view seems to be supported by certain reference in I-tsing's account of fifty-six Buddhist priests of China who visited India and the neighbouring parts during the latter half of the seventh century A.D. One of these priests, Sheng-Chi by name, found Rājabhaṭa ruling over Samataṭa,[41] and this ruler has been identified by most scholars with Rājarājabhaṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty.[42] From the same work of I-tsing, we know that a certain Buddhist temple situated about 228 miles east of Nālandā[43] was

originally founded by Srī-Gupta, but the land belonging to it "has now reverted to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarmā."[44] This king has been identified by some with Devagupta[45] of the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and by others with Devakhaḍga.[46] It must be remembered, however, that the temple in question was undoubtedly situated in Bengal. Further, Magadha, the home-territory of the Later Guptas, is placed by I-tsing in Mid-India[47] and not Eastern India, which is described by him as bounded by Tāmralipti in the south (and west) and Harikela in the east.[48] The identification of Devavarmā with Devakhaḍga, therefore, appears to be more reasonable. The Chinese evidence, thus interpreted, leads to the conclusion that the Khaḍga dynasty ruled approximately between 650 and 700 A.D. and their kingdom comprised nearly the whole of Eastern and Southern Bengal. But these conclusions must be regarded as tentative.

The tribal or dynastic name Khaḍga is not otherwise known. But there was a Khaḍka or Kharka clan, living in the Gurkhā District in Nepal, who claimed to be Kshatriyas. In 1559 one of its chiefs, Dravya Shāh, the son of the Raja of Lamjung, seized Gurkhā and founded the Gurkhā Dynasty of Nepal.[49] We can trace the existence of a well-known caste called the Khaḍgis as early as the 14th century A.D.[50] Three important persons in the Mallasarul CP (A. 19) bear the epithet Khaḍgi which reminds us of the present Nepalese name like Khaḍga Sham Sher. It has been suggested that the Khaḍgis probably immigrated into Bengal from Nepal and later acquired military power as a consequence of the invasion of Eastern India by the Nepalese and Tibetans shortly before, and after the death of, Harsha. Of course this must be regarded purely as a hypothesis until more positive evidence is forthcoming.[51]

The Tippera copper-plate grant (A. 36) of Sāmanta Lokanātha[52] introduces us to a line of feudatory chiefs ruling in East Bengal in the region round Tippera. The founder of the family is described as a paramount ruler, *adhimahārāja*. His name is lost, except the last two letters *-nātha*. His successor Śivanātha is, however, referred to as *sāmanta*. Nothing of importance is known of the next two rulers after whom came Lokanātha who issued the charter.

The obscurity and ambiguity of the language used in describing the achievements of Lokanātha have led the scholars to interpret them very differently. The following is a summary of the important conclusions reached by D. C. Sircar :

Lokanātha, Jīvadhāraṇa and Jayatuṅgavarsha were feudatories of a common suzerain (*Parameśvara*) who "lost heavily in men in the struggle with Jayatuṅgavarsha." Lokanātha, however, achieved conspicuous success against that enemy, and for this reason the king named Jīvadhāraṇa gave up fighting (against Lokanātha who appears to have been sent against Jīvadhāraṇa by the *Parameśvara*) and.... offered *vishaya* or territory to Lokanātha who was in possession of the *Śrīpaṭṭa* or royal charter (i. e., granted the position of Governor of Samataṭa by the *Parameśvara* i.e., the common suzerain)'. According to this interpretation Jayatuṅgavarsha and Jīvadhāraṇa were two refractory feudatories of the *Parameśvara*, the common overlord, but Lokanātha was a faithful feudatory who fought on his behalf against the other two feudatories.[53]

According to Dr. Basak who edited the Tippera CP of Lokanātha, he himself defeated many times the large armies of *Parameśvara* or the common suzerain sent against him.[54] We do not know anything about Jayatuṅgavarsha, but possess some information about Jīvadhāraṇa to which reference will be made later.

The copper-plate of Lokanātha is dated in words, but unfortunately the portion containing the figure for hundreds is lost and the extant part gives us only the year 44. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar restores it as 144, and refers it to Harsha Era which would make it equivalent to 750 A.D.[55] Dr. R. G. Basak, on the other hand, restores the date as 344, and referring it to the Gupta Era obtains the date 663-64 A.D.[56] for Lokanātha. The paleographical evidence, according to Dr. Basak, also refers the inscription to the seventh century A.D. If we accept this date, we may reasonably hold the view that Lokanātha was a feudatory of the Khaḍga dynasty, and Jayatuṅgavarsha was *biruda* (title) of either Khaḍgodyama or Jātakhaḍga. It may be added that according to the copper-plates of the Khaḍgas, Jātakhaḍga annihilated his enemies and Devakhaḍga had under him a number of feudal rulers who paid court to him. But whether the Khaḍgas exercised supremacy over Lokanātha or not, there is no valid reason to suppose, as some scholars have done, that both these dynasties acknowledged a common suzerain, far less that this suzerain was the king of Kāmarūpa.[57]

Some details about Jīvadhāraṇa referred to above are known from a CP found at Kailan (A. 37), a village south-west of Comilla and 13 miles west of the Lalmai Railway station. The Charter was issued by Śrīdhāraṇa "in the eighth year of the sovereignty over

Samataṭa and many other countries which has been received from the grace of the feet of the father", whose name was Jīvadhāraṇa and who is also called Lord of Samataṭa. Śrīdhāraṇa is called *Sāmanteśvara* and bears the feudatory title '*prāptapañcha-mahāśabda.* Reference is made to Devaparvata, a Provincial headquarter, which is encircled by the river Kshīrodā as if by a moat. "This river is probably represented by the modern Khira or Khirnai, a dried up river-course still traceable as branching off from the Gomati just west of the town of Comilla. It flows by the eastern side of the Maināmati hills and skirts the southern end of the hills near the Chandimura peak, where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hill. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Maināmati hills, where the ancient hill-fort of Devaparvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Dakatia river." The name of this city and the river is mentioned in the Paschimbhāg CP of Śrīchandra of a later date (B. 75). The two Rāta kings seem to have nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of some overlord, but were, to all intents and purposes, independent.

The history of the Khaḍga dynasty after Rājarājabhaṭa is not known to us. According to the traditions recorded by the Tibetan monk Tāranātha, to which detailed reference will be made in the next chapter,[58] the Chandra dynasty had been ruling in Vaṅga (and occasionally also over Gauḍa) as early as the middle of the seventh century A.D., and its last two rulers Govichandra and Lalitachandra reigned during the last part of the seventh and the first part of the eighth century A.D. It is not improbable that Govichandra supplanted the Khaḍgas and re-established the supremacy of his dynasty.

If we may believe in Tāranātha's statement, it was probably during the reign of Lalitachandra that Yaśovarman invaded Vaṅga. It is, however, equally or perhaps more likely that the king of Vaṅga opposing Yaśovarman was a Khaḍga king. But whoever he may be, he was, according to *Gauḍa-vaho*, no mean enemy, and possessed large elephant forces (v. 419). The author of *Gauḍa-vaho* pays indirectly a high tribute to the people of Vaṅga when he says that 'their faces assumed a pale colour while offering obeisance to the victor, because they were not accustomed to such an act (v. 420)." This testimony to the people's bravery and love of freedom was perhaps based on the personal knowledge of the author. The suzerainty of Yaśovarman was probably more nominal than real, and

in any case it was shortlived. There is no evidence to show that either of the two other foreign rulers, Lalitāditya or Harsha, who probably exercised supremacy over Gauḍa, had any pretensions of suzerainty over Vaṅga.

According to Tāranātha, the death of Lalitachandra was followed by a period of anarchy and confusion. There was no king ruling over either Gauḍa or Vaṅga, and, as he characteristically puts it, every Kshatriya, Grandee, Brāhmaṇa, and merchant was a king in his own house.

A contemporary record (B. 2) also describes the political condition of Bengal in the middle of the eighth century A.D. as '*mātsya-nyāya*, a technical term used in treatises on politics to denote the absence of a central ruling authority, resulting in a chaotic state, where every local chief assumes royal authority and might alone is right.

This lamentable state of political disintegration was undoubtedly caused by the series of foreign invasions and the successive changes of ruling dynasties in Gauḍa and Vaṅga referred to above. They shattered the political fabric reared up with so much care by Gopachandra, Dharmāditya, Samāchāradeva and Śaśāṅka. Bengal lapsed into a state of political inanity and the people must have suffered untold miseries. But the very grave peril and the extremity of the evil brought its own remedy.

APPENDIX I

RELATIONS OF TIBET WITH INDIA

Some time between 581 and 600 A. D., an obscure chief named Srong-Tsan united the scattered hill tribes and founded a powerful kingdom in Tibet. He had an army of about 1,00,000 soldiers and led a victorious campaign to Central India, a term used by the Chinese to designate Bihar and probably also sometimes U. P., as distinguished from Eastern India comprising Bengal and Assam. The nature and extent of his conquest are not known to us, but it has been suggested that the era known as *San* and current in Bengal and Assam commemorates this forgotten foreign invasion of Bengal. The name of the era, *San*, equivalent to the last part of the name of the Tibetan king, and its epoch 593-594 A.D., both favour this hypothesis,[59] but it goes against the generally accepted view that the era originated in the time of Akbar by the conversion of Hijra into a solar year.[60]

Srong-Tsan was succeeded by his son Srong-Tsan Gampo.[61] He was a remarkable figure. According to Bu-ston (II. . 183) he brought under his power all the petty chieftains of the borderland, and the work of political unification of Tibet, begun by his father, was practically completed. All the kingdoms of the frontier were united under his rule. He married a princess of Nepal and also won, under military pressure, the hands of the daughter of the Chinese emperor. Through the influence of his queens he was converted into Buddhism and introduced the religion in his country. The grateful posterity regarded him as an incarnation of Bodhisatva Padmapāṇi. He introduced literacy among the people of Tibet by devising Tibetan alphabet on the model of the Indian, invited Indian Paṇḍits to Tibet, and had Buddhist scriptures translated into Tibetan. He founded numerous monasteries and castles at Lhasa and made that his capital. He also extended the suzerainty of Tibet in all directions.

Srong-Tsan Gampo was a contemporary of the great Indian emperor Harshavardhana. The death of Harsha, towards the close of 646 or the beginning of 647 A.D., was followed by anarchy and confusion, and the succession to the imperial throne was claimed by one of his ministers, who evidently held sway in Bihar

and whose name is given in Chinese texts as Nā-fū-ti O-lo-na-shuen, the original Indian name being perhaps Arjuna or Aruṇāśva of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut, North Bihar). According to the story preserved in the Chinese annals, this Arjuna attacked a Chinese mission, under Wang-Hiuen-Tse, that was sent by the Chinese Emperor to Harsha. For reasons, not explained, Arjuna killed most of the members of the mission and plundered their property. Wang-Hiuen-Tse fled to Nepal, secured 7,000 soldiers from Nepal and 1,200 from Tibet, and, returning to Indian plains, disastrously defeated and imprisoned Arjuna and took him a captive to China. It is said that Wang-Hiuen-Tse stormed the capital city of Arjuna and about 580 walled towns in India submitted to him. Even Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa, sent supplies to the victorious army led by Wang-Hiuen-Tse.[62] The whole episode took place during 647 and 648 A.D. in the plains of Bihar, probably to the north of the river Ganges and not far from the river Gaṇḍakī.

The story reads more like romance than sober history, and it is difficult to say what amount of historical truth there is in it. For it is as difficult to accept the story of unprovoked hostility on the part of Arjuna as to believe in the utter rout of his army and thorough conquest of his country by 8,000 soldiers.

There is, however, no doubt that the Tibetan king Srong-Tsan Gampo was drawn into Indian politics, either in connection with the strange episode of Wang-Hiuen-Tse or in pursuance of his father's policy. Whether he actually conquered any part of Indian plains is not definitely known, but he is said to have conquered Assam and Nepal, and exercised suzerainty over half of Jambudvīpa.[63] There is hardly any doubt that Nepal was at this time a vassal State of Tibet and remained so for nearly two hundred years.

The reign-period of Srong-Tsan Gampo is not definitely known, but there is general agreement among scholars that he died about 650 A.D.[64] He was succeeded by his grandson Ki-li-pa-pu (650-679) who proved an extremely capable ruler. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon China in 670 A.D., and conquered Kashgar and the neighbouring regions in the North. In the South he is said to have extended his conquests as far as Central India,[65] but unfortunately no localities are specified.

In 702 Nepal and Central India revolted against Tibet. Nepal was subdued, and Central India, even if it did not send regular tribute, did not remain free from depredations. For, during the

period 713-41 A.D. an embassy from Central India came to China to seek for help against the Tibetans and the Arabs.[66]

Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the powerful king of Kashmir, was also engaged in hostilities against Tibet and sent an embassy to China between 736 and 747 A.D. He represented to the Imperial court, that in conjunction with the king of Central India he had closed the five roads leading from Tibet to India and obtained several victories against the Tibetans.[67] After Lalitāditya the task of keeping the Tibetans in check fell upon the Pāla kings of Bengal and further account of the relations between Tibet and India will be given in Chapter V.

APPENDIX II

THE EVIDENCE OF GAUḌA-VAHO

Dr. S.P. Paṇḍit, the learned editor of the *Gauḍa-vaho*, has assumed without any discussion that the Lord of Magadha mentioned in that poem was identical with the king of Gauḍa.[68]

This assumption, though supported by Haripāla's commentary on *Gauḍa-vaho*,[69] rests only on evidence of a very indirect character. The principal argument, of course, is that unless the identity is assumed there remains no justification for the title of the book. But the learned editor himself admits that even such an assumption does not go very far in supporting or explaining the title. Thus he was constrained to remark as follows :

> "But this mention of the Magadha king is made in the most incidental manner and with no direct purpose to refer to him as the hero who has given the name of the poem."[70]

Another argument is supplied by internal evidence. After singing Yaśovarman's exploits the poet gives some personal accounts. We are told that one evening the poet was requested by an assembly of learned people to describe fully the manner in which Yaśovarman slew the lord of Magadha (v. 844). In reply the poet said, after describing in general terms the greatness of Yaśovarman in 228 verses, that he would sing next morning the *Gauḍa-vaho*, describing the destruction of many (or one) eastern kings. Next morning when the poet was going to relate the exploits of Yaśovarman to the learned assembly, the poets of the court talked among themselves about Yaśovarman's virtues and his prowess that had accomplished the death (*lit.* cut the throat) of the Gauḍa king (v. 1194). (This passing reference is the only allusion to the death of the Gauḍa king in the whole poem). The poet then began : "Hear the wonderful deeds of Yaśovarman." But here the poem ends.

Now it may be argued that as the *Gauḍa-vaho* was sung in response to the request to describe how Yaśovarman slew the lord of Magadha, the king of Magadha was the same as Lord of Gauḍa. It is, however, not quite inconceivable that the poet, in compliance with the request, proposed to give an account not only

of the king of Magadha, but also of the various eastern kings, including that of Gauḍa. It is evident from the abrupt end that he actually accomplished neither, and even if he did so, his work has not come down to us. This is also the view of the learned editor of the *Gauḍa-vaho*.[71]

On the whole, the union of Gauḍa and Magadha under one ruler may be a valid presumption but cannot be regarded as a proved fact, on the strength of the *Gauḍa-vaho*. Further, it is legitimate to infer that even if both Magadha and Gauḍa were under the same ruler, it was the ruler of Gauḍa who had Magadha under his sway rather than *vice-versa*. For otherwise there is no justification for the name *Gauḍa-vaho*.[72]

Footnotes

[1] Watters, II. 182-193. Beal—*Records*. II. 193-204.

[2] The fallacy of this view has been pointed out in *JBORS*. IX. 312ff. and *IHQ*. XV. 122. But Dr. R. G. Basak repeats the same and even improves upon it. "The reason," says he, "for Yuan Chwang not mentioning the name of any king ruling in any of the four or five political divisions of Bengal at that period may be sought in the fact that when he visited (in 643 A.D.) these countries and also Kāmarūpa, he found most of them included in Harsha's own dominion, *and some in that of Bhāskaravarman* (Italics is ours)," *HNI*. 283. It may be mentioned in passing that Hiuen Tsang visited Bengal about 638 A.D. and not 643 A.D. as stated above (Watters, II. 335). Mr. Tripathi has merely echoed the old view without any fresh argument (*TK*. Chs. IV-V; *JBORS*. XVIII. 296 ff).

[3] Beal-*Life*. 172.

[4] This point was emphasised for the first time by Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*IHQ*. XV. 122 ff). It should be remembered, however, that the passage of Bhāskara's army and ships can also be explained by the assumption of Harsha's suzerainty over Bengal. Bhāskara's conquest of Bengal is assumed on the authority of Nidhanpur CP., but it is equally probable that after Śaśāṅka's death his dominions both in Bengal and Orissa were conquered by Harsha. The turmoil following the death of Harsha might have enabled Bhāskaravarman to conquer Bengal and pitch his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa. In any case, he must have occupied Bengal by 648 A.D. when he is referred to as king of Eastern India in Chinese annals in connection with the expedition of Wang-Hiuen-Tse. This view has been fully developed in my book *Ancient India* (p. 258 of the 5th edition). For other views on the subject, cf. *HNI*. 279 ff. It is difficult to accept Dr. Basak's suggestion that Bhāskaravarman never conquered Karṇa-suvarṇa, but merely pitched his temporary camp there, as an ally of Harsha during the latter's second campaign (*HNI*. First Edition pp. 228-9). It would have been highly impolitic, to say the least of it, on the part of Bhāskaravarman to issue a formal royal edict from a place which belonged not to him but to a mighty king like Harsha. Further, as noted above, he is definitely referred to as king of Eastern India in the Chinese annals. But Dr. Basak has changed his views. *Ibid*. 2nd Ed. 284-5.

[5] Beal-*Life*. 172.

[6] Beal-*Records*. II. 207.

[7] *Ibid*. 118.

[8] This may be inferred from the following statement by Ma-Twan-Lin : "In the fifteenth year of the Ching-Kiwan Period (641 A.D.) Śīlāditya assumed the title of king of Mo-kie-tho (Magadha) and sent an ambassador with a letter to the emperor" (*IA*. IX. (1880) 19).

[9] It must be emphasised, that apart from conjectures based on pre-conceived notions about Harsha's military exploits, and inferences based on doubtful evidences of negative character, the only two positive references to Harsha's conquests in Eastern India are those of Magadha in 641 A.D., and Koṅgoda the following year (apart from a temporary court held at Kajaṅgala referred to

supra p. 72). The reasonable presumption, therefore, is that Harsha led victorious campaigns in these regions after, and not before, Śaśāṅka's death.

[10] *IHI.* 58. The word *Gaṇajya* has been emended to *gaṇarājya.*

[11] *Nāgarāja-samāhveyo Gauḍa-rājā bhavishyati/*
Ante tasya nṛipe tishṭhaṁ jayādyāvarṇatadviśau//MMK. p. 636.
Jayaswal reads 'Nagārāja' in place of Nāgarāja (*MMK (J).* V. 750) and takes Nāgarāja to be the name of the king and regards him as belonging to the Bhāraśiva dynasty (*IHI.* 51).

[12] For Jayanāga's coins cf. Allan, *CCBM.* LXI, CIV., 150-151. The coins bear the name *Jaya* and there is no doubt now that they were issued by Jayanāga (*EI.* XVIII. 6).

[13] Vappaghoshavāṭa Grant (*EI.* XVIII. 69 ff), or Malliya Grant (*ABORI.* XIX. 81). It records a grant of land situated in Audumbarika-*vishaya* which has been identified with Audambar *Pargana* mentioned in *Āin-i-Akbarī.* It comprised the greater part of Birbhum and a part of the Murshidabad district (*EI.* XIX. 286-87). *Sāmanta* Nārāyaṇabhadra was the ruler of this *vishaya* at the time of the grant.

[14] Dr. R. G. Basak writes : "The *Mañjuśrī-mūlākalpa* makes Jayanāga almost a successor of Śaśāṅka but in our opinion, he and his son (stated to have reigned for a few months only) preceded Śaśāṅka as kings of Karṇasuvarṇa" (*HNI.* 166). Dr. Basak gives no reason, and in the absence of more reliable evidence or cogent arguments to the contrary, it is better to accept the tradition recorded in *MMK.* Dr. Basak refers to a son of Jayanāga, but *MMK.* refers to the son of Śaśāṅka, and not of Jayanāga, as having ruled for eight months and five days. It is just possible that Jayanāga ruled after the death of Śaśāṅka and before the conquest of Karṇasuvarṇa by Bhāskaravarman.

[15] Lévi-*Nepal.* II. 174. *HCIP.* III. 86.

[16] *HCIP.* III. 141.

[17] *EHBR.* 24. It must be noted, however, that important persons with the title Khāḍgi are mentioned in Mallasarul Ins. (6th cent. A.D.) (*EI.* XXIII. 159).

[18] Lévi-*Nepal.* II. 174-75.

[19] See footnote 8 above.

[20] The history of Ādityasena and his successors, Devagupta, Vishṇugupta and Jīvitagupta II is known from six inscriptions (*CII.* III. Nos. 42-46 and Vaidyanātha Temple Ins. at Deoghar (*CII.* III. p. 213 f. n.). All the four kings bear imperial titles *viz.*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja.* All their records have been found in Bihar. No. 46 was issued from the *Jayaskandhāvāra* of Gomatīkoṭṭaka and Fleet suggests that it was on the bank of the river Gomatī. This is, however, by no means certain. The only other evidence of their rule outside Bihar is furnished by the Vaidyanātha Temple Ins. of which no facsimile is published, and which was written in Maithila character (*JASB.* LII. 190-91). It says that Ādityasena, having arrived from the Chola city, performed three *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks that these Later Gupta kings are referred to as Lords of the whole of Uttarā-patha (*sakal-ottarāpatha-nātha*) (*PHAI.* 4th ed., pp.516-17). No 43 gives the date 66 for Ādityasena, which, referred to Harsha

Era, would be equivalent to 672 A.D. Ādityasena and his three successors may be placed approximately between 650 and 725 A.D.

[21] Dr. R. G. Basak thinks that 'Bengal, specially the Southern Rāḍhā and Vaṅga' probably formed parts of Ādityasena's dominions as he extended his conquests towards the shores of the ocean (*HNI.* 151). He evidently relies on the statement in the Vaidyanātha Temple Ins. that Ādityasena conquered the whole earth upto the shore of the four oceans. But such praises are too conventional to be regarded seriously. Nor can we infer the supremacy of the Later Guptas in Bengal from the very hypothetical proposition that they were Lords of Uttarāpatha (see foot note 20 above.)

[22] Ragholi CP. (*EI.* IX. 41).

[23] Cf. Belava CP. l. 27. *IB.* 20. But Jain *Bhagavaiī Sūtra* refers to Puṇḍra country at the foot of the Vindhyas (*HCIP.* II, 463).

[24] *DHNI.* I. 276. *HCIP.* III, 146-7.

[25] *Gauḍa-vaho*, edited by Śaṅkar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit (Bombay, 1887).

[26] The conquest of Magadha is perhaps to be credited to the Śaila rulers of Northern Bengal. As noted above, two other branches of this family ruled in Vindhya region and Benares, and this circumstance must have helped the Śaila ruler of Bengal to wrest the supremacy of Magadha, probably from Jīvitagupta II, the last known ruler of the Later Guptas, who reigned in the first half of the eighth century A.D.

[27] For different views, cf. *Gauḍa-vaho*, 2nd ed., pp. cclvi ff.

[28] *RT.* IV. 148. Dr. H. C. Ray states that Lalitāditya "reached the Gauḍa land" (*DHNI.* I. 277). This is, however, by no means certain though very probable. In any case *RT.* does not refer to Lalitāditya's march to Gauḍa.

[29] *RT.* IV. 323-30.

[30] *RT.* IV. 332, 335.

[31] *RT.* IV. 402-468.

[32] Paśupati Ins. dated year 159. This year is usually referred to the Harsha Era (*HNI.* 342), but Jayaswal refers this and other dates in Nepalese records to a new era starting in 595 A.D. (*JBORS.* XXII. 164 ff, 184). But most probably the year 159 corresponds to A.D. 736. (cf. *JAS.* vol. 1, No. 1, 1959, p. 49).

[33] *GR.* 17-18 ; *DHNI.* I. 241 ; Lévi-*Nepal.* II. 171. Harsha is usually identified with king Harsha mentioned in Tejpur CP. of Vanamāla (*JASB.* IX. Part II, 766 ; *Kām. Śās.* 54).

[34] Cf. Chaurasi Grant of Śivakara (*JBORS.* 1928, p. 304). Some scholars, while holding Harsha to be a king of the Kara dynasty, believes him also to be a descendant of Bhāskaravarman (*IHQ.* XIV. 841). It may be incidentally mentioned that another line of kings, claiming descent from Bhagadatta and bearing imperial titles, ruled in the North-West Frontier of India, in the tract up the Gilgit river in the sixth century A.D. (*Bhāratīya Vidyā* No. 6, June, 1945, Bombay, p. 111 ff.)

[35] It is difficult to ascertain the boundaries of Samataṭa which must have varied at different ages. The district of Tippera was definitely included in it (see *supra* p. 8). The account of Hiuen Tsang, however, shows that Samataṭa was an extensive kingdom in his days. "This country," says he, "which was on the sea side and was low and moist, was more than 3,000 *li* in circuit"

(Watters, II. 187). From Samataṭa the "pilgrim journeyed west for over 900 *li* to Tāmralipti." (*Ibid.* 189). From these indications the kingdom of Samataṭa in the 7th century A.D. may be reasonably regarded as having comprised the area bounded by the old course of the lower Brahmaputra river in the north, Chittagong Hills in the east, and the Bay of Bengal on the south. The western boundary was perhaps formed by a branch of the old Ganges (Padmā) corresponding to modern Gorai and Madhumati rivers. Cunningham held that Samataṭa denoted the delta of the Ganges and its chief city occupied the site of modern Jessore. Fergusson and Watters identified it respectively with Dacca and Faridpur districts. (Watters, II. 188).

[36] Watters, II. 109.

[37] *IC.* II. 795-97. As mentioned in foot note 13 above, a vassal chief Nārāyaṇabhadra is mentioned in the Ins. of Jayanāga.

[38] *EI.* XVII. 351 ; *JASB.* N. S. X. 87.

[39] *BI.* 233 ; *MASB.* I. No. 6. pp. 85ff.

[40] *JASB.* N. S. XIX. 378 ; *JASB.* N. S. X. 86 ; *HNI.* 253-4.

[41] Beal-*Life.* XL—XLI ; Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents* (*I-tsing*), p. 128, f.n. 3.

[42] *JASB.* N. S. XIX. 378 ; *HNI.* 258-9.

[43] *IHQ.* XIV. 534.

[44] Beal-*Life.* XXXVI—XXXVII ; Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 83 ; *IHQ.* XIV. 534.

[45] Dr. R. G. Basak was presumably led to this view (*HNI.* 154, 258) by the mistaken belief that the land granted by the king was situated near Mahābodhi temple in Gayā, whereas, as noted above (p.37), it was more than two hundred miles further to the east in Bengal.

[46] *JASB.* N. S. XIX. 378.

[47] Bodh-Gayā is referred to as situated in Mid-India in connection with the biography of Hiuen-Ta'i (Beal-*Life.* XXX ; Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

[48] Takakusu-*I-tsing.* pp. XXXI. XLVI ; Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 106 ; Beal-*Life.* XL-XLI. Tāmralipti is called the southern district of Eastern India from which people went towards Mid-India, showing that it was on the south-western border of East India.

[49] Lévi, S., Le Nepal, I. 254.

[50] *Ibid*, p. 228 ; Vol. II, pp. 304, 352.

[51] This view was first propounded by the author of this book in *The Early History of Bengal* (published in 1924 by the Uiversity of Dacca), pp. 23-4. For a possible Tibetan invasion before Harsha see Appendix I to this Chapter.

[52] *EI.* XV. 301-315. *Sāmanta* Lokanātha is also mentioned in Kalapur CP (A.38) but no details can be learnt owing to the damaged state of the record.

[53] *IHQ*, XXIII. 230 ff.

[54] For a fuller account cf. *HNI.* 238 ff.

[55] *IA.* LXI. 44.

[56] *HNI.* 240.

[57] *EHBP.* 29 II; *IC.* . 37-45. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that the Khaḍgas were originally feudatories of the Gauḍa king but later became semi-independent, like the Rātas after Gauḍa had been temporarily subdued by the kings of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa in the second quarter of the seventh century (*IHQ.* XXIII, 230).

According to R. G. Basak the line of feudatory chiefs ending with Lokanātha "must have been subject to the lord-paramountcy, either of the East Bengal rulers of the Faridpur grants or that of the Later Gupta Dynasty of Magadha (*HNI*, 238). "But while he places Lokanātha in 663-4 A.D. (*HNI*, p. 240), elsewhere in the same book (p. 232) he places the reigns of the three Eastern Bengal rulers in the last three quarters of the 6th century A.D. Further, he denies that the Later Guptas ever ruled over Gauḍa (*HNI*, 167), and it is therefore difficult to understand how they came to exercise suzerainty over East Bengal, for which assumption there is not the least evidence, direct or indirect such as we possess about the rule of the Later Guptas over Gauḍa.

[58] For references to Tāranātha's account in this chapter cf. App. II, to Ch. v. *infra*.

[59] Lévi-*Nepal*. II. 147, 153-4.

[60] Lévi's view has been refuted by K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS*. XXII. 172). Some other views on the origin of Bengali *San* have been summarised by D. Triveda in *JIH*. XIX. 292 ff.

[61] The account of Srong-tsan Gampo (or Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po) is based on the following authorities :

a. *The Chronicles of Ladakh* (translated by Francke in *Antiquities of Tibet*, Part II, pp. 82-84).

b. *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* by Dr. L. Petech (published as a supplement to *IHQ*. XV), Ch. v.

c. Lévi-*Nepal*. II. 148-152.

d. Sarat Chandra Das's account [*JASB*. L. (1881). Part I, pp. 218-224]. (This is somewhat antiquated and should be read in the light of Nos. *a-c*).
L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, Ch. III.

[62] *JA*. 9e. Serie, t. XV. (1900), pp. 297 ff. It appears that the mission of Wang-hiuen-tse was sent to Magadha and presumably the incidents took place there. The Chinese form of the name of the Indian king may mean O-lo-na-shun, king of Ti-na-fu-ti (p. 300, f.n. 2). The latter may stand for Tīrabhukti (North Bihar).

[63] Lévi-*Nepal*. II. 148.

[64] Tibetan historians give various dates for the birth of Srong-tsan Gampo, ranging between 600 and 617 A.D. (*JASB*. L. 218). According to Dr. Petech. "it is established with certainty that Srong-tsan Gampo was born in 569 A.D. and reigned from 620 to 650 A.D." (*op. cit.*, pp. 47-48). Lévi (*Nepal*, II. 173) and Thomas (*Literary Texts*, 49) also place the king's death at 650, the latter assigning him the date 600-650 A.D. Francke notes that the Chinese date for the king is 600-650 A.D. (*op. cit.*).

[65] Lévi-*Nepal*. II. 174. I do not know the authority for Sir R. C. Temple's assertion that "at this period Tibetan rule must have spread southwards far into Bengal" (*IA*. 1916, p. 39).

[66] Lévi-*Nepal*. II. 174-75.

[67] *Ibid*. 175.

[68] *GV*. XXIV, XLII.

[69] Cf. commentary on v. 844.

[70] *GV* XLIII.

[71] *GV*. XLVIII. For a summary of the various opinions expressed by scholars on this subject cf. Supplementary Notes (pp. ccxxxix-cclv) by Utgikar in the second edition of *Gauḍa-vaho*, published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona, 1927).

[72] According to N. B. Utgikar, "the reason for the selection of the name of the Gauḍa king in preference to other kings subjugated by Yaśovarman, to form the designation of a highly-pitched poem, may possibly have to be sought for in the latent ill-will that can historically be proved to have existed between the two kingdoms of Kanauj and Gauḍa before the time of Yaśovarman" (2nd ed., p. cclii). This explanation is, however, hardly convincing.

CHAPTER V

THE PĀLAS

THE rule of the Pāla dynasty from about the middle of the eighth century A.D. marks a new epoch in the history of Bengal. For the first time the historian has the advantage of being able to follow, in the main, the fortunes of a single ruling dynasty, the order of succession of whose long line of kings is precisely known and whose chronology may be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty. The advantage does not forsake him till the end of the Hindu period, in spite of occasional political disintegration and the rise of local dynasties ruling in various parts of the province.

The history of the Pālas, extending over four centuries, may be divided into the following stages :

I. The Origin and Early History of the Pālas.
II. The Pāla Empire.
III. The Decline and Fall of the Empire.
IV. Restoration.
V. The Break-up of the Pāla Kingdom.
VI. Disintegration and Temporary Revival.
VII. The End of the Pāla Rule.

I. THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PĀLAS

The anarchy and confusion which prevailed in Bengal[1] for more than a century led to a natural reaction. The people, who had suffered untold miseries for a long period, suddenly developed a political wisdom and a spirit of self-sacrifice to which there is no recorded parallel in the history of Bengal. They perceived that the establishment of a single strong central authority offered the only effective remedy against political disintegration within and invasions from abroad to which their unhappy land was so long a victim. They also realised that such a happy state of things could only be brought about by the voluntary surrender of authority to one person by the numerous petty chiefs who had been exercising independent political authority in different parts of the country. The ideal of subordinating individual interests to a national cause was not as

common in India in the eighth century A.D. as it was in Europe a thousand years later. Our admiration is, therefore, all the greater, that without any struggle the independent political chiefs recognised the suzerainty of a popular hero named Gopāla. Thus took place a bloodless revolution which both in its spirit and subsequent results reminds us of what happened in Japan about A.D. 1870.

Unfortunately this memorable episode in the history of Bengal is known to us only in brief outline, and details are altogether lacking. The Khalimpur copper-plate (B. 2) issued in the 32nd year of the reign of Dharmapāla, refers to this event in the following couplet :

mātsyanyāyam=apohituṁ prakṛitibhir=lakshmyāḥ karaṁ
grāhitaḥ ॥
śrī-Gopāla=iti kshitīśa-śirasāṁ chūḍāmaṇis=tat-sutaḥ।

Kielhorn translates the above as follows :

"His son was the crest-jewel of the heads of kings, the glorious Gopāla, whom the people made take the hand of Fortune, to put an end to the practice of fishes."

In a footnote to the above, Kielhorn adds : "Gopāla was made king by the people to put an end to a lawless state of things in which everyone was the prey of his neighbour." He also cites authority for his interpretation of the phrase '*mātsya-nyāya.*'

Now there is no dispute regarding the general interpretation of the above passage, *viz.*, that Gopāla was made king in order to put an end to the state of anarchy which prevailed in Bengal. The only point that is open to discussion is the agency that made him king. According to the couplet referred to above 'Gopāla was made king by the '*prakṛitis.*' The common meaning of the word is 'subject,' and it has consequently been held that Gopāla was elected king by the general body of people.[2] Although this view has met with general acceptance, it is open to doubt whether the passage refers to anything like a regular election by the general mass of people, and, if so, whether this was at all practicable in those days and in such abnormal times. It would, perhaps, be more reasonable to hold that the choice was originally made by the leading chiefs, and was subsequently endorsed and acclaimed by the people. This may well be regarded as tantamount to an 'election by the people' referred to in the Khalimpur copper-plate.

It has been suggested on the other hand that *'prakṛiti'* should be taken as a technical term meaning principal officers, and that Gopāla was placed on the throne by the principal officers of the State.[3] This view is supported by an instance recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, *viz.*, the election of Jalauka as king by a group of seven officials called *'prakṛitis.'* It must be remembered, however, that such election is possible, and even very probable, only when there is a strong and stable government exercising authority over the whole kingdom. In the absence of such a central government, we can hardly think of ministers or a set of permanent officials who could offer the throne to a nominee of their own. If we presume, as we must, that a central political authority exercising any sort of control over the whole of Gauḍa or Vaṅga had ceased to function for a long period, and the country was divided into a large number of independent principalities, we can scarcely think of a group of officials (presumably of one of these States) placing somebody on the throne of Bengal, or a considerable portion of the province.

On the whole, therefore, we are justified in holding the view that Gopāla was called to the throne by the voice of the people, though perharps the selection was originally made by a group of leaders or independent ruling chiefs.

Although this remarkable episode has not been referred to in Indian literature, and its very memory has now vanished from Bengal, it was a living tradition among the people even so late as the sixteenth century A.D. This is proved by the curious story recorded by the Tibetan historian Lāmā Tāranātha.[4]

Unfortunately we possess very meagre information about the life and reign of Gopāla. His father Vapyaṭa and grandfather Dayitavishṇu are referred to in very general terms in the official records, and there is nothing to indicate that they were ruling chiefs. Vapyaṭa is called 'destructor of foes,' but this does not imply anything more than that he was, perhaps, a military chief.[5]

In a commentary to *Aṣhṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* composed by Haribhadra, during the reign of Dharmapāla, he is described as *Rājabhaṭādi-vaṁśa-patita.*[6] MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī identified this Dharmapāla with the son of Gopāla and concluded that Dharmapāla belonged "to the family of a military officer of some king."[7] Others have taken Rājabhaṭa as a personal name, and identified him with the king of the same name ruling in Samataṭa when Sheng-chi came to India towards the close of the seventh century A.D.[8] This

Rājabhaṭa may be identified with the heir apparent of Devakhaḍga named in official records of the dynasty as Rājarāja and Rājarāja-Bhaṭa.[9] The passage cited by MM. Haraprasāda Śāstrī would thus lead to the conclusion that the Pālas were connected in some way with the Khaḍgas. The fact that the Khaḍgas were Buddhists, like the Pālas, and were ruling in Eastern Bengal, shortly before the accession of Gopāla, undoubtedly strengthens this presumption. On the other hand, apart from the questionable interpretation of Rājabhaṭa as a personal name, the word *'patita'* creates considerable difficulty. There is no warrant for the assumption that it means 'descended by the female line.'[10] It is normally used in a derogatory sense such as 'fallen', 'outcast', *etc.*, and scarcely ever in the sense of 'being descended from,' though the latter meaning is not altogether unknown.[11] It should further be noted that there is no definite evidence justifying the identification of Dharmapāla, the patron of Haribhadra, with the famous Pāla king of that name.

Some scholars have traced a subtle reference to the royal family of Dharmapāla's mother in the fifth verse of Khalimpur copper-plate (Ins. No 2). In this verse Deddadevī, the wife of Gopāla is compared to the wives of the deities Moon, Agni (Fire), Śiva, Kuvera, Indra, and Vishṇu.[12] In course of the comparison, the word *'Bhadrātmajā'* is used immediately after Bhadrā, the name of Kuvera's wife. Kielhorn, while translating this verse, took *'Bhadrātmajā'* as an epithet qualifying Deddadevī, and translated it as 'a daughter of the Bhadra king,' regarding Bhadra as a tribal or family name. Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitreya, on the other hand, took *'Bhadrātmajā'* as an ordinary adjective to Bhadrā meaning daughter of a gentleman. It must be confessed, however, that there is hardly any point in applying such a colourless epithet to Bhadrā alone of all the goddesses mentioned in the verse. Kielhorn, therefore, may be right in his interpretation, and Deddadevī might belong to the royal Bhadra family referred to in the last chapter.[13]

It would thus appear that we have hardly any definite information regarding the origin of the royal Pāla family. Strangely enough, unlike other mediaeval records, we do not find any mythical pedigree of the dynasty in the Pāla inscriptions. In the Kamauli Plate of Vaidyadeva (B. 94), who was originally the minister of a Pāla king, Vigrahapāla III is said to have belonged to the solar dynasty.[14] According to the commentary of Sandhyākara Nandī's

Rāmacharita (I. 4), Dharmapāla was 'the light of Samudra's race' (*samudra-kula-dīpa*) *i. e.*, descended from the ocean.[15] It may be noted that both the records belong to the very end of the Pāla period, more than three hundred and fifty years after the accession of Gopāla, and naturally very little weight attaches to the theories contained in them about the origin of the dynasty. Besides, the membership of the solar or lunar family was commonly claimed for most of the royal houses of those days, and there is nothing distinctive about it. The descent from the *samudra* or ocean has undoubtedly more novelty in it. A distant echo of this may be traced in an old Bengali text called *Dharma-maṅgala* composed by Ghanarāma.[16] It records that Dharmapāla had no son and his queen Vallabhadevī was banished to a forest. There she had a liaison with the ocean and a son was born to her. This silly story gives a wrong name for Dharmapāla's queen, and describes her as a devout Vaishṇava and devoted to the Brāhmaṇas.

Tāranātha tells us that Gopāla was succeeded by a son whom Nāgarāja Sagarapāla, the sovereign of the ocean, begot on his younger queen.[17] This is evidently another version of the origin of the Pālas from *samudra* or ocean. These stories are too silly to be seriously considered,[18] and do not help us in the least in tracing the ancestry of the Pālas, An attempt has been made to reconcile the two different traditions of *samudra* and *sūrya* origin by holding that *samudra-kula* means *sūrya-kula* or solar race to which Samudra, the son of the mythical king Sagara, belonged.[19]

As to the caste of the Pālas the commentary on a verse of *Rāmacharita* (I, 17) distinctly says that Rāmapāla was born of a Kshatriya king. Tāranātha tells us that Gopāla was begotten on a Kshatriya woman by the Tree-God.[20] It may be readily believed, therefore, that the Pālas, like most of the ruling families in mediaeval India, were regarded as Kshatriyas. This view is corroborated by the matrimonial relations of the Pālas with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris. But according to that curious work *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, which refers to kings only by the first letter of the name, kings, who have been identified with the Pālas, are said to be of menial caste.[21] Abu-'l-Fazl calls the Pālas Kāyasthas.[22] But the value of the last two evidences is not very great, and they need not be seriously considered.

Perhaps one of the reasons why no reference to the origin and caste of the Pālas occurs in their own records is the fact that they

were Buddhists and did not care very much to adopt Brāhmaṇical institutions or traditions. The copper-plates of the Pālas begin with an invocation to Lord Buddha, and many kings of the dynasty are known to have been great patrons of Buddhism. According to the Tibetan tradition,[23] Gopāla founded a Vihāra or monastery at Nālandā and established many religious schools. Tāranātha, as usual, gives a long list of Buddhist teachers who flourished during this reign. Whether Gopāla himself first adopted Buddhism, or whether he was born in a Buddhist family, it is not possible to determine. But certain it is that the successors of Gopāla were all ardent followers of Buddhism, and for nearly four hundred years their court proved to be the last stronghold of that dying faith in India. For this reason the Pāla kings enjoyed an important position in the international Buddhist world, and they maintained intact the fountain-head of later Buddhism from which streams flowed to Tibet in the north and the Indian archipelago in the south-east.

As in the case of the origin of the family, uncertainty also hangs over the location of the original kingdom of Gopāla. The inscriptions do not supply any definite information on the point. The fact that during the first two hundred years of the Pāla rule, covering the reigns of eight kings, almost all the copper-plate grants were issued from victorious camps in Magadha, and all the other inscriptions, with only a single exception, belonged to that region, naturally led many to conclude that the Pālas originally ruled in Magadha and subsequently conquered Bengal. But this view can hardly be maintained in the light of positive evidences which have come to light in recent years.

In the first place, the *Rāmacharita* definitely refers to Varendrī as the '*janakabhūḥ*' or ancestral home of the Pālas. Secondly, the Gwalior inscription refers to the adversary of Nāgabhaṭa, who can hardly be anybody other than Dharmapāla, as *Vaṅgapati*. These two evidences make it almost certain that the home and the original kingdom of the Pālas must be placed in Bengal. This is indirectly supported by the Bādāl Pillar inscription which says that Dharmapāla, to begin with, was only the ruler of the east, and gradually spread his dominions in other directions.

We should, of course, remember that Varendra (also called Varendrī) denoted the northen, and Vaṅga, the eastern and south-eastern part of Bengal. The evidences of *Rāmacharita* and Gwalior inscription might, therefore, appear to be contradictory, unless we

regard Vaṅga as denoting the whole province of Bengal. Such an use of the name Vaṅga can, however, be justified or explained only on the supposition that the Pālas were originally the rulers of Vaṅga, and the name came to be applied to the rest of the province with the growth of their dominions. The conflicting nature of the two evidences, therefore, still remains. Perhaps Tāranātha's account supplies the best solution of the difficulty, *viz.*, that Gopāla was born of a Kshatriya family near Puṇḍravardhana, but was subsequently elected ruler of Bhaṅgala undoubtedly a corrupt form of Vaṅgāla.[24] This is confirmed by the reference to Dharmapāla as king of Vaṅgāla in a contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa record, as mentioned above (p. 11).

But whatever may have been the limits of the original kingdom of Gopāla,[25] it is reasonable to hold that he consolidated his authority over the whole of Bengal. In the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla (Ins. No. B. 8), Gopāla is said to have conquered the earth as far as the sea. This, of course, does not mean much. But it is difficult to believe that his son and successor Dharmapāla could carry on victorious campaigns up to the Punjab, unless he had inherited from his father at least the consolidated kingdom of Bengal.

From the time of Nārāyaṇapāla onwards the copper-plate grants of the Pāla kings begin with a verse which is a eulogy both of Buddha and Gopāla. Naturally all the epithets are equally applicable to both of them. One of these runs as follows :

Jitvā yaḥ kāmak-āri-prabhavam-abhibhavaṁ śāśvatīm-
prāpa śāntiṁ

In the case of Gopāla, the passage seems to mean that he established peace in his kingdom by having defeated the attacks of the oppressors or tyrants, the expression '*kāmakāri* meaning those who do not acknowledge any control and act wilfully. The reference in this case is, of course, to the period of anarchy and political disintegration that prevailed before the accession of Gopāla. It has been suggested, however, that '*kāmakāri*' means 'king of Kāmarūpa, who is an enemy,' *Kāma*, with the pleonastic suffix *ka*, standing for Kāmarūpa, under the well-known Sanskrit aphorism that part of a name may be substituted for the full name.[26] It is unreasonable to rule out the interpretation altogether, but it

is to be seriously considered whether such an achievement of Gopāla, as the conquest of Assam, or of Magadha (as noted by Tāranātha), would not have been more directly stated in the official records, if it were a fact. Besides, as we shall see later, Kāmarūpa was conquered in the time of Devapāla.

On the whole, therefore, it would be safe to conclude that the main achievement of Gopāla was the establishment of durable peace in Bengal by bringing under control the turbulent elements in the province. That the reign of Gopāla ended in peaceful pursuits and not adventurous military expeditions is also hinted at in verse 3 of the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla (B.8).[27]

The reign-period of Gopāla is not definitely known. According to Tāranātha, he ruled for forty-five years,[28] but this statement cannot be accepted without corroboration. According to *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*,[29] his reign-period was twenty-seven years. His accession to the throne may be placed with a tolerable degree of certainty within a decade of 750 A.D., and he probably ceased to rule about 770 A.D.[30] The fact that he was called to the throne at a critical moment shows that he must have been fairly advanced in age, and given proof of his prowess and ability. It is not likely, therefore, that he ruled for a very long time. According to *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, he died at the advanced age of eighty.[31] This is hardly likely, as we know that his son and grandson ruled respectively for at least thirty-two and thirty-five years.

II. THE PĀLA EMPIRE

1 *Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.)*

Gopāla was succeeded in *c.* 770 A.D. by his son Dharmapāla, who was destined to raise the Pāla kingdom to the high-water mark of glory and power. But before we describe his life and reign, it is necessary to pass in rapid review the political condition of India at the time.

In the Deccan, the Rāshṭrakūṭas had wrested the political power from the Chālukyas, and established themselves as the ruling dynasty in 753 A.D., *i. e.*, about the time when Gopāla ascended the throne. Two powerful rulers of this dynasty, Dhruva (*c.* 780-794) and his son Govinda III (*c.* 794-814), sent strong military expeditions to extend their powers in Northern India, and brilliant, though temporary, successes attended their efforts.[32]

Their chief adversaries in the north were the Pratīhāras. It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into the controversial details about the early history of the dynasty. It will suffice to say that Vatsarāja, an early ruler of this dynasty, and one of whose known dates is 783-84 A.D., was a powerful king who not only consolidated his power in Mālava and Rājputāna, but also tried to extend his conquests to Eastern India.[33] In particular, he defeated the lord of Gauḍa. His success was, however, shortlived. He was defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva who completed his triumph by defeating the lord of Gauḍa in the Ganges-Jumna Doab.

It would thus appear that shortly after his accession to the throne, Dharmapāla was involved in a tripartite struggle between the three chief ruling powers of India. It is difficult to follow the exact course of this struggle in strict chronological order, as the few isolated facts, known to us from the inscriptions of the three dynasties, are capable of different interpretations. We can only trace what seems to be the most probable trend of events in the light of all available materials.

The fight between the Gauḍas and the Pratīhāras was the natural consequence of the imperial designs of both these powers. Dharmapāla inherited a consolidated and powerful kingdom and began to expand his dominions towards the west, where the political situation was admirably suited to his ambition. With the passing away of Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya, no great power or political personality arose in Northern India and for nearly half a century it offered a most tempting field to every ambitious political adventurer. Dharmapāla seized the opportunity and rapidly pushed his conquests towards the west. Unluckily for him, Vatsarāja, the king of the Pratīhāras, also felt the same urge of imperial ambitions and utilised the same opportunity by pushing his conquest towards the north and east. In the light of subsequent events, one might safely conclude that the possession of the imperial city of Kanauj was the common objective of both, and the contending parties probably came into clash somewhere in the Doab.[34] Dharmapāla was defeated in this encounter, and the effect of this reverse might have been serious, but for the providential incursion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva who inflicted a disastrous defeat upon Vatsarāja.

After defeating Vatsarāja, Dhruva evidently marched through his dominions right up to the Doab. Here he met Dharmapāla[35]

and defeated him. But this was not evidently a lasting victory with any serious consequence to Dharmapāla.[36] Dhruva was too far away from his base to follow up his victory, and there were probably other causes to induce him to turn back. In any case, he shortly returned to the Deccan.[37]

In spite of his reverses, Dharmapāla derived the greatest benefit from Dhruva's campaign. His mighty opponent Vatsarāja was a 'fugitive in the trackless desert', while his (Vatsarāja's) dominions were trampled under feet by the victorious Karṇāṭa army. For some time to come Dharmapāla had no more fear of opposition from that quarter. So he continued his victorious campaign, and, emboldened by success, advanced to the furthest limits of Northern India.

The full account of this wonderful military campaign is not known, but a few important details have been preserved in the Pāla records. According to v. 3 of the Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla (B. 18), Dharmapāla acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya (*i.e.*, Kanauj) by having defeated Indrarāja[38] and other enemies, and conferred it upon Chakrāyudha.

That Dharmapāla proceeded far beyond Kanauj in the course of his military campaigns is proved by v. 7 of the Monghyr copper-plate (B 8). It tells us that in the course of the victorious campaigns of Dharmapāla, his attendants performed religious rites at Kedāra, Gokarṇa, the confluence of the Ganges and the sea and various other holy places. Kedāra is undoubtedly the famous place of pilgrimage on the Himālayas in Gharwal, and although Gokarṇa cannot be definitely identified,[39] the verse leaves no doubt that 'Dharmapāla practically overran the greater part of Northern India.'

In the light of the above facts, we can understand the full significance of verse 12 of the Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla (B. 2).[40] It describes how Dharmapāla installed the king of Kānyakubja in the presence of the chiefs of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra, and Kīra, who uttered acclamations of approval, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling. There can be hardly any doubt that the king of Kanyakubja referred to in this passage was Chakrāyudha. It would appear that at the conclusion of his victorious campaign, Dharmapāla held an imperial assembly or *Durbar* at Kanauj whose sovereignty he had acquired by his own prowess. The *Durbar* was attended by the vassal chiefs named above, who all witnessed the

installations of Chakrāyudhu by Dharmapāla as his vassal chief of Kanauj.

This famous scene represents the culmination of Dharmapāla's triumph, and testifies to the formal assumption by him of the position of suzerain of Northern India which he had earned by defeating various kings. The categorical statement that the chiefs of various States assembled in Kanauj, and bowed their heads in approval of the coronation ceremony held by the command of Dharmapāla, leaves no doubt that they all acknowledged his suzerainty, though it is conceivable that some of them might have offered homage and submission even though they were not actually defeated in battle. It would indeed be fantastic to suppose that although they were all independent chiefs, in no way subordinate to Dharmapāla, they had come all the way to Kanauj only to approve of the settlement of political affairs in that city 'by way of diplomatic gesture."[41] The expression *'praṇati-pariṇataiḥ'* hardly leaves any doubt about their status *vis a vis* Dharmapāla.

Fortunately, we have got an independent positive evidence in support of the view that Dharmapāla held the position of a suzerain in North India. In the *Udayasundarī-kathā*, a *champū-kāvya* composed in the first-half of the eleventh century A.D. by Soḍḍhala, a Gujarāti poet, king Dharmapāla is referred to as *Uttarāpatha-svāmin* or lord of Uttarāpātha.[42] This Dharmapāla can only refer to the Pāla emperor of the name. The expression *Pañcha-Gauḍa* is also possibly reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla.[43]

An idea of the extent of Dharmapāla's empire may be obtained if we can definitely locate the States mentioned in v. 12 of the Khalimpur copper-plate. Among them the kingdoms of Gandhāra, Madra, and Kuru are well-known, and were situated respectively in the western, central, and eastern Punjab, while Kīra corresponds to the Kangra district in the north-eastern part of the same province.[44] Matsya corresponds to modern Alwar State with parts of Jaipur and Bharatpur, while Avanti is certainly modern Malwa. Bhoja, Yadu, and Yavana countries cannot be located with certainty. The last-named probably refers to an Arab principality, either in the Indus Valley or the North-Western Frontier Province. The Yadus or Yādavas ruled over the kingdom of Siṁhapura in the Punjab,[45] but other regions like Mathurā and Dvārakā are also traditionally associated with them, and it cannot be exactly ascertained which section of the Yādavas accepted the suzerainty

of Dharmapāla. In view, however, of the fact that the list includes several other States in the Punjab, the Yadu principality of Siṁhapura is probably meant. As regards the Bhojas they are an ancient people, and the kingdom of Bhojakaṭa, mentioned in Vākāṭaka copper-plates, includes at least a part of Berar, if not the whole of it.[46] Thus on the whole, it may be safely concluded that Dharmapāla exercised his imperial sway over the Punjab, Eastern Rājputāna, Malwa and Berar, and this was the result of the victorious military campaigns which carried him as far as Kedāra in the western Himālayas. and in the course of which he defeated Indrarāja and other kings.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the empire of Dharmapāla was not like that of the Mauryas or Guptas, or even of the later Pratīhāras. The vassal States were not annexed to the central dominions of emperor, and their rulers were left undisturbed so long as they acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor, and rendered such homage and military assistance as might have been fixed by usage or treaties. So we cannot regard the Punjab, Eastern Rājputāna, Malwa, and Berar as integral parts of a consolidated dominion under the direct rule of the emperor. This is clearly indicated in verse 8 of the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla (B. 8), and is in consonance with the available evidences in our possession.

The kingdom of Kanauj, roughly corresponding to modern U.P., evidently stood on a different footing. Dharmapāla not only conquered it but drove its ruler away, and placed his own nominee on its throne. He had the coronation of this nominee, and probably also his own imperial coronation, celebrated at Kanauj in the presence of a large number of vassal chiefs. It was thus perhaps regarded as a ceremonial capital of the empire. Although he did not definitely annex the kingdom of Kanauj to the central kingdom comprising Bengal and Bihar, which was ruled by him in person, he left it in charge of his protégé Chakrāyudha, who owed his position entirely to the emperor, and whose status was thus very inferior to that of the other vassal chiefs.

We can thus easily visualise the structure of the Pāla empire under Dharmapāla. Bengal and Bihar, the nucleus of the empire were under the direct rule of Dharmapāla, a long stretch of territory between the borders of Bihar and the Punjab formed the dependency of Kanauj, while a large number of principalities in

the Punjab, Eastern Rājputāna, Malwa, Berar, and probably also Nepal (if we believe the story in *Svayambhu Purāṇa*) formed the vassal States, enjoying internal autonomy but paying homage and obedience.

It seems very likely that Dharmapāla completed this imperial fabric during the period that intervened between the retirement of Dhruva and the re-appearance of his son Govinda III in the north. As these two events may be dated approximately at 780 and 800 A.D.[47] we may roughly describe the career of Dharmapāla somewhat as follows ;

c. 770 A.D.—Accession to the throne of Bengal.

c. 770-790 A.D.—Conquest of Magadha and a large part of U.P., even extending beyond Allahabad. Encounter with Vatsarāja and Dhruva in the Ganges-Jumna Doab.

c. 793-800 A.D.—Victorious campaign up to the Indus on the West, Himālayas in the North and even beyond Narbadā in the South.

Dharmapāla could follow unchecked a career of aggressive militarism in the west mainly because of the collapse of the power of his great adversary, the Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja. According to the Rāshṭrakūṭa records, the latter was forced by Dhruva to leave his kingdom and betake himself to the trackless desert.[48] In other words, Vatsarāja took shelter in the heart of Rājputāna which was a stronghold of the Gurjara power and was known after them as Gurjaratrābhūmi.[49] The Pratīhāras, however, had not given up their political ambitions. Vatsarāja's son and successor, Nāgabhaṭa II made strenuous efforts to recover the lost grounds. He made alliance with the kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga. He thus seems to have organised a confederacy of States situated on the border of the Pāla and Rāshṭrakūṭa empires, and presumably put himself as their champion against both.[50]

Having consolidated his position by his successful diplomatic policy, Nāgabhaṭa decided to try his strength against his mighty adversary Dharmapāla.[51] He marched against Kanauj where Dharmapāla had placed his protégé Chakrāyudha on the throne. Chakrāyudha was defeated[52] and fled to Dharmapāla. A battle between Dharmapāla and Nāgabhaṭa, with the empire of Northern India at stake, was now inevitable. That Nāgabhaṭa made extensive preparations for this enterprise and was loyally helped by his

feudal or allied chiefs, is known from several epigraphic records. The Jodhpur inscription of the Pratīhāra chief Bāuka[53] informs us that his father Kakka gained renown by fighting with the Gauḷas at Mudgagiri *i. e.* Monghyr. Vāhukadhavala, probably a feudatory chief of the Pratīhāras, is said to have defeated a king called Dharma (*i.e.*, Dharmapāla),[54] while another feudatory, Śaṅkaragaṇa, claims to have conquered the Gauḍa country and presented it to his overlord.[55] As there are reasons to believe that all these chiefs were contemporaries of Nāgabhaṭa II it may be safely presumed that they all took part in the campaign of Nāgabhaṭa against Dharmapāla.

It would appear, from the statement about Kakka, that a pitched battle was fought at Monghyr. It would mean, therefore, that Nāgabhaṭa had marched into the very heart of Dharmapāla's dominions. It is difficult to explain this weakness or lack of preparation on the part of Dharmapāla, and it is not unlikely that he was attacked by the king of Tibet about the same time (see *infra* Ch. V. Section II).

If we are to trust the Pratīhāra records, Nāgabhaṭa II must have inflicted a crushing defeat upon Dharmapāla. But the Pratīhāra king was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victory. Once more the dream of founding a Pratīhāra empire was shattered by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The triumphant career of Nāgabhaṭa II, like that of his father Vatsarāja, was cut short by the invasion of the hereditary enemy from the south.

It is not improbable that in his dire necessity Dharmapāla invoked the aid of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king against the common enemy. It is equally likely that the growing power of Nāgabhaṭa alarmed Govinda III and he advanced to the north of his own accord. For we know from the Pratīhāra records, that Nāgabhaṭa made alliance with the States on the border of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom, and captured the strongholds of Mālava. As Mālava commanded the route between the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom and Northern India, and was probably then subordinate to the former, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king might have accepted the challenge so defiantly thrown, and advanced to the north to settle his own account with the Pratīhāra ruler. But whatever may be the cause, the effect of the war was decisive. Nāgabhaṭa's power was thoroughly crushed, and Govinda III made a triumphal march right across his dominions at least up to the Ganges-Jumna Doab.[56]

The victorious campaign of Govinda III against Nāgabhaṭa II saved Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha from the grave menace of the Pratīhāras for some time. But a record of Govinda III, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, dated A.D. 805,[57] claims that he had defeated Dharmapāla of Vaṅgāla and carried away the image of the Goddess Tārā or the royal banner bearing her image.[58] This Rāshṭrakūṭa victory is, however, referred to in later records in somewhat different words, implying that Dharma and Chakrāyudha voluntarily surrendered to Govinda III.[59]

Indeed, circumstances would even justify the assumption that it was a pre-arranged affair, and that this was the price by which they purchased the timely intervention of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. In reality, this submission meant nothing. For, as they anticipated, Govinda III soon returned to the Deccan, and Dharmapāla was left free to re-organise his empire.

There is no reliable evidence in support of the view, generally accepted, that Nāgabhaṭa, after having defeated Chakrāyudha, annexed his kingdom and transferred his seat of government to Kanauj, which henceforth continued to be the capital of the dynasty.[60] As a matter of fact, the only known record of Nāgabhaṭa, dated 815 A.D., was found in Buchkala, in the Jodhpur State, and the locality is said to be within his kingdom proper (*sva-vishaya*).[61]

Taking everything into consideration, the most probable view seems to be that Dharmapāla's empire did not suffer any considerable diminution during the rest of his life, and the power of the Pratīhāras was mainly confined to Rājputāna. It is, therfore, reasonable to suppose that Dharmapāla spent his last days in peace, and we may well accept the statement, made in the Monghyr copper-plate (v. 2) of Devapāla, that there was no disturbance in the dominions when he succeeded his father Dharmapāla.

Dharmapāla fully deserved the rest after a long reign of stress and storm. His career was indeed a remarkable one. He inherited a small kingdom from his father, but his prowess and diplomacy, aided by good fortune, enabled him to establish a vast empire in Northern India. He had to fight many battles, and sometimes suffered serious reverses. On more than one occasion his position appeared precarious. But his undaunted spirit triumphed over all obstacles, and he launched Bengal into a career of imperial glory and military renown to which there has been no parallel before or since. The lure of the imperial city of Kanauj which proved the

ruin of Śaśāṅka's kingdom paved the way for his grand success, and Bengal's dream of founding an empire in Northern India was at last fulfilled. We can only dimly realise its profound effect on Bengal. The country which only two generations ago was trampled under feet by a succession of foreign invaders, and suffered almost complete political disintegration, suddenly came to be the mistress of the whole of Northern India up to its furthest limits. It was nothing short of miracle, and no wonder that the whole country was resounding with the tales of wonderful achievements of its remarkable ruler. The court-poet did not perhaps very much exaggerate the state of things when he wrote the following verse about Dharmapāla :

"Hearing his praises sung by the cowherds on the borders, by the foresters in the forests, by the villagers on the outskirts of villages, by the playing groups of children in every courtyard, in every market by the guardians of the weights and in pleasure-houses by the parrots in the cages, he always bashfully turns aside and bows down his face."[62]

Dharmapāla assumed full imperial titles *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, whereas his father is called only *Mahārājādhirāja*. That Dharmapāla introduced pomp and grandeur worthy of the empire he had built up, would be evident from the following description of what looks like an Imperial *Durbar* held in Pāṭaliputra :

"Now—from his royal camp of victory, pitched at Pāṭaliputra, where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the path of the Bhāgīrathī make it seem as if a series of mountain-tops had been sunk to build another causeway (for Rāma's passage) ; where, the brightness of daylight being darkened by densely packed arrays of rutting elephants, the rainy season (with its masses of blaek clouds) might be taken constantly to prevail ; where the firmament is rendered grey by the dust, dug up by the hard hoofs of unlimited troops of horses presented by many kings of the north ; and where the earth is bending beneath the weight of the innumerable foot-soldiers of all the kings of Jambudvīpa, assembled to render homage to their supreme lord."[63]

In spite of the obvious exaggeration of the poet, the above passage is a fair index of the imperial vision of Bengal towards the close of the reign of Dharmapāla.

It is extremely unfortunate that we know so little about the personal history of Dharmapāla, except his political and military achievements. The Khalimpur copper-plate shows that he must have

reigned for at least thirty-two years. Tāranātha's statement that he ruled for sixty-four years cannot be credited in the absence of any corroborative evidence. The Monghyr copper-plate informs us that he married Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Parabala. The Rāshṭrakūṭa king is usually identified with the king of that name who was ruling in Central India in 861 A.D., but this seems very doubtful.[64] It is very likely that Dharmapāla's father-in-law belonged to the well-known Rāshṭrakūṭa family of the Deccan,[65] but no king of that family with Parabala as name or *biruda* is known to us so far.

The Khalimpur copper-plate refers to Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla as *dūtaka* of the Grant. Whether he is identical with Devapāla, who succeeded Dharmapāla, or a different person, is not known to us. In the latter case, he was probably the eldest son of Dharmapāla who either predeceased his father, or was superseded by Devapāla under circumstances not known to us.

Dharmapāla had a younger brother named Vākpāla. It is claimed in a later record that he was a valiant hero and destroyed the enemies of his brother. It may be presumed that Vākpāla was the commander of the royal army. Similarly, we learn from another later record that a Brāhmaṇa named Garga was the minister of Dharmapāla. In this record of his descendant, Garga is given the credit of making Dharmapāla, the lord of the east, ultimately the lord of the other directions too. These credits, claimed on behalf of the general and minister of Dharmapāla, may, no doubt have some foundation, but we must accept them with caution, specially as they come from interested parties.

√According to Tibetan tradition, Dharmapāla was a great patron of Buddhism. He is said to have founded the famous Vikramaśīla *vihāra* in Magadha on the top of a hill on the bank of the Ganges. It had 114 teachers in different subjects and included a central temple, surrounded by 107 others, all enclosed by a boundary wall.[66] According to Buston,[67] Dharmapāla also built a magnificent monastery at Odantapurī, but according to Tāranātha, [68] it was founded by either Gopāla or Devepāla. Curiously enough, the legend related by Buston about the foundation of Odantapurī *vihāra* by Dharmapāla is exactly the same as is told by Tāranātha about the foundation of a *vihāra* at Somapurī in Varendra by Devapāla. Now the recent archaeological excavations [69] carried out at Paharpur, in Rajshahi district, leave no doubt that its ruins

represent the famous Somapura-*vihāra*, and the name of the place is still preserved in the neighbouring village called Ompur. According to the short inscriptions on some clay seals found in Paharpur, the Somapura-*vihāra* was founded by Dharmapāla. Tāranātha says that Dharmapāla founded fifty religious schools.[70] As already stated above, Dharmapāla was the patron of the great Buddhist writer Haribhadra.[71] It reflects great credit upon the emperor, that amid his pre-occupations with war and politics he could devote his thought and activities to these pious and peaceful pursuits.

Although Dharmapāla was a Buddhist king, he was not hostile to Brāhmanical religion in any way. He granted land for the worship of a Brāhmanical god (Ins. No. B. 2) and followed the rules of caste laid down in the scriptures (No. B. 8, v. 5). The appointment of a Brāhmaṇa Garga as his minister, whose descendants occupied the post for several generations (No. B. 20), shows that politics was not influenced in any way by religion.

2. *Devapāla (c. 810—850 A.D.)*

Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Devapāla, who succeeded to the throne about 810 A.D., was fully endowed with the prowess and other qualities of his father. The available records seem to indicate that Devapāla not only maintained the empire intact, but even extended its boundaries. The most interesting of these is the Bādāl Pillar inscription (No. B. 20) which contains a eulogy of five generations of hereditary Brāhmaṇ ministers who served under four rulers of the Pāla dynasty beginning from Dharmapāla. Extravagant pretensions are put forward in this record on behalf of Darbhapāṇi and his grandson Kedāramiśra who both served under Devapāla. It was Darbhapāṇi's diplomacy, so we are told, which enabled Devapāla to exact tributes from the whole of Northern India from the Himālaya to the Vindhya mountains, and from the Eastern to the Western seas (v. 5). It was again the intelligence of Kedāramiśra that enabled Devapāla to enjoy the sea-girt earth after having exterminated the Utkalas, curbed the pride of the Hūṇas, and destroyed the haughtiness of the Draviḍa and Gurjara lords (v. 13).

Similar credit is given to the general of Devapāla in the record of a descendant of the former (Ins. No. B. 18). We are told that on

the approach of Devapāla's forces under his brother Jayapāla, the king of Utkala fled from his capital city, and the king of Prāgjyotisha submitted without any fight (v.6). Devapāla's own Grant (No.B.8) shows that his career of victory led him as far as Kāmboja in the west and Vindhya mountains in the south.

To whomsoever might belong the credit of these remarkable achievements, they undoubtedly testify to the brilliance of Devapāla's reign. It appears that he peacefully inherited the vast empire of his father and firmly established his authority (Ins. No. B. 8, v. 12). But it was soon apparent that he could not long maintain the extensive empire left by his father merely by peaceful and diplomatic methods, as his minister Darbhpāṇi claims to have done. In those unsettled times, nothing but a policy of blood and iron could have checked the disruptive forces within the empire and aggressive designs of ambitious neighbours. So Devapāla's long reign of about forty years must have witnessed a series of military campaigns, including those against the Prāgjyotishas, Utkalas, Hūṇas, Gurjaras. and Draviḍas.

Prāgjyotisha is a well-known name of the Brahmaputra valley, and the province or a part of it was also called Kāmarūpa.[72] According to Hiuen Tsang, Kāmarūpa included the whole of Assam valley and extended up to the Karatoyā river in the west. According to the Bhagalpur copper-plate (No. B. 18), when Jayapāla set out on a conquering expedition the king of Prāgjyotisha lived in happiness for a long time by accepting the order (of Jayapāla) to desist from warlike preparations. It is thus evident that the king of Assam accepted the suzerainty of Devapāla and was left unmolested. This king was probably either Harjara or his father Pralambha.[73]

The conquest of Utkala was, however, more thorough. In addition to the passage quoted above about the flight of the Utkala king from his capital, the Bādāl Pillar inscription informs us that the Utkalas were exterminated. There might have been one or more expeditions against Utkala, and the kingdom was thoroughly subjugated. Tāranātha informs us that Orissa, like Bengal, suffered from internal disruption,[74] shortly before Gopāla was elected king. But like the Pālas in Bengal, the Kara dynasty restored the solidarity of the kingdom. Śubhakara, the third king of this dynasty who bore imperial titles, has been identified by S. Lévi with the king of Wu-cha who sent an autographed manuscript to the Chinese emperor

Te-tsong in 795 A.D. His son Śivakara also bore imperial titles, and ruled in Orissa.[75] After him nearly two hundred years elapsed before we hear of another Kara king in Orissa who might or might not have been descended from the earlier Karas.[76] The Pālas probably conquered Utkala during or immediately after the reign of Śivakara, and their boast that they had exterminated the Utkalas was perhaps not altogether unjustified.

The Hūṇas were the nomadic tribe from Central Asia that played a dominant rôle in the history of India during the latter half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century A.D. After that they had ceased to be a great power, but ruled over one or more small principalities. One of these was situated in the seventh century A.D. in Uttarāpatha, near the Himālayas.[77] It was probably this principality which was successfully invaded by Devapāla.[78] Thereafter he proceeded up to Kāmboja, which was to the north-west of the Punjab and immediately to the north of Gandhāra. The Hūṇa principality and Kāmboja were both situated on the outskirts of the Pāla empire and this sufficiently explains Devapāla's hostility with them. These detailed conquests show that Devapāla not only maintained intact the empire he had inherited from his father, but also extended its boundaries by the conquest of Assam and Orissa on one side, and Kāmboja and Hūṇa principalities on the other. (The claim that he ruled from the Himālaya to the Vindhya, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, was perhaps not very far from truth,) and was in any case a pardonable exaggeration, and not a 'mere bombast'.[79]

The Gurjaras mentioned in the Bādāl Pillar Inscription were undoubtedly the Pratīhāras, the old enemy of the Pālas. We have seen above (*supra* pp. 103, 108) how the crushing defeat inflicted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas forced the Pratīhāras to confine their activities within Rājputāna and Dharmapāla enjoyed his mighty empire undisturbed by them. Devapāla also appears to have enjoyed a brief respite from their hostile activities during the first part of his reign. For, as will be shown later, apart from a doubtful reference in a Jaina text, there is nothing to prove that Nāgabhaṭa II recovered his power and occupied Kanauj, and if he did so, it was probably not long before the date of his death (833 A.D.) as given in the same text. The records of the Pratīhāras show that this did not revive the old glory of the family. The reign of Nāgabhaṭa's son Rāmabhadra was an inglorious one, and there are indirect

evidences to show that he suffered severe reverses in the hands of his enemies, who even for a time ravaged his own dominions.[80] Rāmabhadra's son and successor Bhoja, however, infused a new energy and strength among the Pratīhāras, and seems to have recovered some of the territories lost by his father. The Barah and Daulatpura copper-plates show that he had occupied Kanauj and recovered Kālañjara-*maṇḍala* by 835 A.D., and Gurjaratrā, his ancestral territories in Rājputāna, by 843 A.D.[81] But, evidently his success was shortlived. For we find Gurjaratrā in possession of another branch of the Pratīhāra family in 861 A.D. and Bhoja was defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭas some time before 867 A.D.[82]

It seems to be almost certain that the lord of Gurjaras, whose pride was curbed by Devapāla, was no other than Bhoja I. According to the Bādāl Pillar Inscription, this must have occurred fairly late in the reign of Devapāla, for the credit of this achievement is taken by Kedāramiśra, the grandson of his first minister Darbhapāṇi. We may, therefore, fix the date of this event between 840 and 850 A.D.[83] It was probably shortly after this that Bhoja was defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. These successive defeats so weakened his power, that even Gurjaratrā, the territory round Jodhpur in Rājputāna, passed out of his hands. Thus in spite of a short period of trouble, Devapāla had not much to fear from the Pratīhāras, and during his long reign that eternal enemy of the Pālas was kept in check.[84]

Lastly, we come to the Dravidas who were also defeated by Devapāla. They are usually identified with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and as the Rāshṭrakūṭas were, like the Gurjaras, the rivals of the Pālas, the reference may be to a successful fight with them.[85] It would then appear that Devapāla had to fight with both the hereditary enemies for maintaining his empire, and he was evidently more successful than his father. His Rāshṭrakūṭa rival was undoubtedly Amoghavarsha.[86]

The term Draviḍa is, however, usually applied to denote, not the Deccan plateau which formed the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions proper, but the South Indian peninsula. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Draviḍa ruler defeated by Devapāla belonged to this region, and in that case he was most probably his contemporary Pāṇḍya king Śrī-Māra Śrī-Vallabha who ruled about 815-862 A.D. According to the Sinnamanur Plates, this Pāṇḍya king repulsed a hostile confederation consisting of the Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kaliṅgas

Magadhas, and others at a place identified with modern Kumbakonam. The Magadhas in the above list can only refer to the forces of the Pāla king who was in occupation of Magadha during this period. The conquest of Utkala had brought Devapāla into contact with the Kaliṅgas and there was every inducement on his part to enter into a close political association with them, and, through them, with the other powers mentioned above. For these powers were hostile to the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and were repeatedly defeated by them during the reigns of Dhruva and Govinda III. The common enmity to the Rāshṭrakūṭas would have cemented the alliance, and the southern powers, whose dominions were ruthlessly devastated by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, would naturally try to gain the support of such a powerful ruler as Devapāla.

It appears from the Veḷvikkuḍi Grant that a Pāṇḍya king was at one time a member of a similar confederacy of Eastern kings which defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I at Venbai.[86a] But evidently he had seceded from it and was an object of its attack. The Sinnamanur Plates refer to his success against the confederacy at Kumbakonam, but it is just possible that there were other episodes in connection with this campaign which were less favourable to him.[87]

It is thus quite likely that the Draviḍa king, whose pride was curbed by Devapāla, was the Pāṇḍya ruler Śrī-Māra Śrī-Vallabha. The view is strengthened by verse 15 of the Monghyr copper-plate (No. B. 8) which describes the empire of Devapāla as bounded by the Himālayas in the north and Rāmeśvar Setubandha in the south. It is no doubt an exaggeration, but there would be at least some basis for this, if we accept the above view. Some military victory near Rāmeśvar in the Pāṇḍya kingdom could be easily magnified by the court-poet, and would offer some explanation of the statement about the extent of his empire ; but it would be very curious indeed that such a statement should be made without absolutely any basis of fact. Similarly, the claim of the Chandella king Vijaya that he reached, in course of his conquest, the extreme south where Rāma built his bridge, would be equally absurd unless we suppose that he did this in company with some powerful king ; and from what was been said above,[88] this king may be Devapāla. It is difficult to believe that two court-poets writing in different countries at different time should concoct the same baseless story about two different kings. The available evidences do not enable us to make

any positive statement, but the hypothesis about a victorious expedition of Devapāla in the southernmost part of India cannot now be ruled out as altogether fantastic.

Devapāla ruled for at least 35 years[89] and his reign may be placed between 810 and 850 A.D. Under him the Pāla empire reached the height of its glory. His suzerainty was acknowledged over the whole of Northern India from Assam to the borders of Kashmir, and his victorious forces marched from the Indus to the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra, and from the Himālayas to the Vindhyas, perhaps even to the southernmost extremity of India. His name and fame were known far outside India, and king Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty ruling in Java, Sumatra, and Malay Peninsula sent an ambassador to him.[90] The object of this embassy was to ask for a grant of five villages with which the Śailendra king proposed to endow a monastery he had built at Nālandā. The monastery of Nālandā was in those days the seat of international Buddhist culture, and the Pāla emperors, as its guardians, held a high position in the Buddhist world. Devapāla was a great patron of Buddhism and he granted the request of the Śailendra king. His interest in the Nālandā monastery and deep devotion to the Buddhist faith are also known from the Ghoshrawa inscription (B. 10). It records that Vīradeva, a Brāhmaṇ a of Nagarahāra (Jelalabad) and a learned Buddhist priest, received ovation from Devapāla and was appointed the head of the Nālandā monastery.

A general review of the Pāla kingdom towards the close of Devapāla's reign is given by the Arab traveller and merchant Sulaiman who made several voyages to India and wrote an account of it in 851 A.D. The Pāla kingdom is referred to as Ruhmi (Rahma, according to Al'Masūdi). The Pāla king is said to be at war with his neighbours, the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. His troops were more numerous than those of his adversaries. In his military campaigns he took 50,000 elephants, and ten to fifteen thousand men in his army were employed in fulling and washing cloths.[91]

Reference has already been made above to the nature of Dharmapāla's empire. So far as we can judge from the available records, Devapāla, too, does not seem to have exercised any direct administrative control over any territory outside Bengal and Bihar. In the case of the Imperial Guptas and Gurjara-Pratīharas, not

only inscriptions all over Northern India invoke their name as suzerain, but we have also the records of their officers governing remote territories like Kathiawar peninsula. No such records of the two Pāla emperors have yet been discovered beyond the confines of the modern States of Bengal and Bihar. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that so far as the rest of the imperial territories were concerned, they were governed by local rulers who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pālas. This is corroborated by v. 8 of the Monghyr copper-plate of Devāpāla (B. 8).[92]

In this connection, it is interesting to note that reference is made to a Pāla ruler, Yuvarāja by name, in the *Udayasundarī-kathā* composed by Soḍḍhala.[93] We learn from this book that a famous poet, Abhinanda by name, graced his court.[94] The *Rāmacharita*,[95] composed by this poet Abhinanda, gives more details about Yuvarāja who is described as a great conqueror. He had the epithet Hāravarsha, and was the son of Vikramaśīla. He is also referred to as the ornament of the Pāla family (*Pāla-kula-chandra, Pāla-kula-pradīpa* etc.) founded by Dharmapāla (*Dharma-pāla-kula-kairava-kānan-endu*).[96]

These epithets leave no doubt that Yuvarāja Hāravarsha belonged to the Pāla family of Bengal. According to the *Rāmacharita*, he was a powerful king, a statement which is also corroborated by the *Udayasundarī-kathā*. The question, therefore, naturally arises whether he is to be identified with a known Pāla king, or regarded as a ruler over some territory outside Bengal and Bihar. It has been suggested that Vikramaśīla, the father of Yuvarāja, was another name of Dharmapāla who founded the Vikramaśīla monastery, and Hāravarsha is identical with Devapāla.[97] Dr. D. C. Ganguly infers from the epithet Hāravarsha that he was connected with some Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. As Parabala, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Central India, was the father of Dharmapāla's queen, Dr. Ganguly suggests that Yuvarāja might have ruled over that territory.[98] None of these conjectures, except perhaps the identity of Dharmapāla (or Devapāla) and Vikramaśīla can be supported by positive evidence. There are some grounds for the belief that the poet Abhinanda was an inhabitant of Bengal,[99] and in that case Yuvarāja Hāravarsha may be the well-known Pāla king Devapāla or his son. But if Yuvarāja Hāravarsha ruled over any territory outside Bengal and Bihar, this will be the only instance where any part of the Pāla empire was directly administered by the Pāla kings

or members of their family. In any case, the history of Yuvarāja Hāravarsha is an interesting episode in the history of the Pālas. All that we can infer about the period of his rule from literary evidence, is that he flourised certainly before the eleventh century A.D. and probably before the tenth.[100]

In conclusion, a brief reference may be made to the relation between Bengal and Tibet during the reigns of the first three Pāla kings. The political relation between Tibet and India down to the middle of the eighth century A.D. has been discussed above (see *supra* pp, 83-85). In spite of the victories of Lalitāditya, the Tibetan chronicles, of a later date, record their great achievements in India during the period 755-836 A.D.

The Tibetan king Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-97 A.D.), regarded as an incarnation of Bodhisatva Mañjusrī, was a very powerful king. According to the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, "he subdued all the provinces on the four frontiers" including "China in the east and India in the south."[101] In a Tibetan text, composed not much later than the ninth century A.D., his son Mu-tig Btsan-po (804-815) is said to have brought under his sway two or three (parts of) Jambudvīpa.[102] This somewhat vague statement is supplemented by the following details in the same text :

"In the south the Indian kings there established, the Rāja Dharma-dpal and Drahu-dpun, both waiting in their lands under order to shut up their armies, yielded the Indian kingdom in subjection to Tibet : the wealth of the Indian country, gems and all kinds of excellent provisions, they punctually paid. The two great kings of India, upper and lower, out of kindness to themselves (or in obedience to him), pay honour to commands.[103]

The king Dharma-dpal in the above passage undoubtedly refers to the Pāla king Dharmapāla. According to Tāranātha he reigned for 60 years and was probably a contemporary of both the above kings.[104] As regards Drahu-dpun, Dr. Thomas, who edited the text, suggests that it might mean "nephew, or grandson, Drahu," but it does not help us indentifying him.

The next important king Ral-pa-can (*c.* 817-*c* 836 A.D), according to the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, conquered India as far as the Gaṅgāsāgara. This has been taken to represent the mouth of the Ganges.[105]

The facts culled above from the Tibetan texts throw interesting light upon the political relation between India and Tibet during

the first century of Pāla rule. How far the Tibetan claims of conquest and supremacy in Indian plains may be regarded as historical facts, it is difficult to say. For the Indian sources contain no reference to any military campaign from Tibet, far less to the exercise of political authority by its king in India proper. While, therefore, we must suspend our final judgment about Tibetan conquest and supremacy in India until fresh evidence is available, we must not ignore the possibility that perhaps the course of events in Bengal during 750-850 A.D. was influenced by Tibet to a much larger extent than we are apt to imagine. [106]

III. The decline and fall of the Empire

The glory and brilliance of the Pāla empire did not long survive the death of Devapāla. The rule of his successors, whose names and approximate dates are given below, was marked by a steady process of decline and disintegration which reduced the Pālas almost to an insignificant political power in North India.

1.	Vigrahapāla I or Śūrapāla I	*c.* 850-854 A.D.
2.	Nārāyaṇapāla	*c.* 854-908 A.D.
3.	Rājyapāla	*c.* 908-940 A.D.
4.	Gopāla II	*c.* 940-960 A.D.
5.	Vigrahapāla II	*c.* 960-988 A.D.

Devapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla. There is some dispute among scholars regarding the relationship between the two, but the most probable view seems to be that Vigrahapāla was the nephew of Devapāla, and not his son (*cf.* App. III). According to the genealogy preserved in the Grants of Nārāyaṇapāla and subsequent kings, Dharmapāla had a younger brother named Vākpāla, who was evidently his general and fought his enemies in all directions. Vākpāla's son Jayapāla was the great general of Devapāla and conquered Orissa and Assam for his royal cousin. Vigrahapāla, who ascended the throne after the death of Devapāla, was probably the son of this Jayapāla, though some take him to be the son of Devapāla.

For the present, we are absolutely in the dark regarding the circumstances which led to this change in the line of succession,

It might have been due to the absence of any heir of Devapāla, although this does not appear to be very likely. For the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla (B. 8) shows that he had installed his son Rājyapāla as Crown-Prince, and that this son was alive in the year 33 of his reign, *i.e.*, not more than seven or eight years before his death. Of course, Rājyapāla might have died during this interval, as appears to have been the case with Tribhuvanapāla mentioned above. On the other hand, we cannot altogether eliminate the possibility of an internal dispute regarding succession [107] in which the general Jayapāla might have placed his own son on the throne with the support of his army. For the sudden collapse of the Pāla Empire naturally leads to the presumption of a catastrophe of this kind, and the view of an internal disruption is supported by the mention of the kingdoms of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha in a Rāshṭrakūṭa record dated 866 A.D.

Vigrahapāla, who inherited the throne and the vast empire of Devapāla, is described in very vague and general terms as having destroyed his enemies. The old Kedāramiśra continued as minister. But the Bādāl Pillar Inscription (B. 20) which attributes to his diplomacy the great military victories of Devapāla, has nothing to say of the next king whom it calls Śūrapāla. Śūrapāla was obviously another name of Vigrahapāla,[108] and all that the Bādāl Pillar inscription tells us about him is that he attended the sacrificial ceremonies performed by his minister, and poured holy water over his own head for the welfare of his empire. It offers a strong contrast between the warlike Devapāla and his successor who was evidently of a pacific and religious disposition. Vigrahapāla maintained this attitude till the last. He abdicated the throne in favour of his son Nārāyaṇapāla and retired to a religious life.[109] He had married a princess of the Haihaya family named Lajjā.[110]

Nārāyaṇapāla also resembled his father rather than his grand-uncle. He had Kedāramiśra's son Guravamiśra as his minister, but the Bādāl Pillar inscription records no glorious military achievement to his credit. The Bhagalpur copper-plate grant (B. 18) issued in the 17th regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla, also refers to his prowess in only vague and general terms, but does not mention any specific conquest. Although he ruled for no less than fifty-four years (B. 19) we have not the least evidence of any military victory of Nārāyaṇapāla. All these raise a strong presumption about the weakness of these two Pāla rulers, and this presumption is fully borne out by

external evidences, particularly the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pratīhāras, the two hereditary enemies of the Pālas.

As regards the Rāshṭrakūṭas,[111] we learn from the Sirur Inscription, dated 866 A.D., that the ruler or rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha paid homage to king Amoghavarsha (*c.* 814-*c.* 880 A.D.). The internal history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas makes it highly improbable that Amoghavarsha could have undertaken an expedition against the Pāla ruler before he had defeated the king of Veṅgi some time about 860 A.D. It is likely that after the conquest of Veṅgi, the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces proceeded along the eastern coast and invaded the Pāla kingdom from the south. It was perhaps of the type of the occasional military raids of the Rāshṭrakūṭas into Northern India, and had no permanent effect. But it must have considerably weakened the military power and the political prestige of the Pālas. The conquest of a portion of Rāḍhā by the Śulki king *Mahārājādhirāja* Raṇastambha of Orissa may also be assigned to the same period,[112] and may not be altogether unconnected with the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion.

These reverses of the Pālas in the south probably created a favourable opportunity for the Partīhāra king Bhojadeva to renew his ambitious efforts which were checked by Devapāla. The defeat inflicted by the Rāshṭrakuṭas and the pacific disposition of Vigrahapāla and his successor Nārāyaṇapāla must have encouraged Bhoja to wrest the empire of Northern India from the Pālas.[113] His enterprise proved successful. He first turned his attention towards the west and destroyed the remnant of the political suzerainty enjoyed by the Pālas. He then proceeded to the east and subjugated extensive territories both in Bundelkhand and the United Provinces. It does not appear that he had encountered any opposition from the Pālas until he reached almost the borders of Magadha. But in spite of the weakness of the Pālas, Bhoja made extensive preparations against them.

We learn from the Kahla Plate[114] that Guṇāmbhodhideva, a Kalachuri king of Gorakhpur, who obtained some territories from Bhojadeva, snatched away the sovereignty of the Gauḍas. This Bhojadeva is undoubtedly the great Pratīhāra king, who was successful in his expedition against the Pāla king and probably rewarded the services of his feudatory Kalachuri chief by grant of lands. It is also probable that Bhoja obtained the assisstance of the famous Kalachuri king Kokkalla I of Ḍāhala. Kokkalla's date is not

definitely known, but he probably ruled between A.D. 842 and 888.[115] He is said to have granted freedom from fear to Bhoja and plundered the treasuries of various kingdoms including Vaṅga.[116] The two events may not be unconnected, and in any case Kokkalla's raid against Vaṅga, if it was really a fact, must have facilitated the success of Bhoja. Another chief that probably accompanied Bhoja was the Guhilot king Guhila II who is said to have defeated the Gauḍa king.[117] His father Harsharāja joined the campaigns of Bhoja in the early part of his reign. It is, therefore, exceedingly likely that he accompanied Bhoja in his successful Gauḍa expedition and took the credit thereof : for it is difficult to believe that he could have led an expedition against distant Gauḍa on his own account.

Bhoja had thus organised a formidable confederacy against the Pālas, and it seems he inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Being secured against any trouble from the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the south,[118] and having laid low the power of the Pālas, Bhoja could enjoy in peace the extensive empire he had established in Northern India. In the west he had conquered Karnāl in the Punjab and the Kathiawar peninsula, and probably extended his empire up to the borders of the Muslim principalities in the Indus Valley. In the east the Kalachuris of Gorakhpur as well as the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti (Bundelkhand) acknowledged his suzerainty, and the Pālas were humbled to the dust. Armed with the resources of this vast empire, Bhoja's son and successor Mahendrapāla followed up the victory over the Pālas with relentless severity. Six of the inscriptions,[119] found in Patna and Gaya districts, leave no doubt that Magadha was annexed to the Pratihāra empire. An inscription of Mahendrapāla[120] dated in his fifth year, has been found on a pillar unearthed during the excavations at Pāhārpur in Rajshahi district, the site of the famous Somapura-vihāra of Dharmapāla. Another inscription of Mahendrapāla has been found at Mahisantosh (Dinajpur District, E. Pakistan).[120a] It is dated in his 15th regnal year. These two records prove that even Northern Bengal had passed on for a time into the hands of the Pratīhāras.

It is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of this phenomenal success of the Pratīhāras and the complete collapse of the Pālas during the latter half of the ninth century A.D. The personality of Bhoja and his success in organising a powerful confederacy are no doubt important factors, but able rulers like Devapāla might have successfully contended against both. The failure of the

Pāla kings undoubtedly demonstrates their personal incapacity and want of foresight and diplomacy. But there might have been other factors at work. We have already hinted at the probability of a disputed succession after the death of Devapāla. Further, the records of Assam and Orissa show that both these neighbouring kingdoms, which had been subjugated by Devapāla, had again become powerful. In Assam, king Harjara, one of whose known dates is 829-30 A.D.,[121] had assumed imperial titles,[122] and the record of his son Vanamāla describes him as a powerful emperor and conqueror in many battles.[123] In Orissa, the Śailodbhava dynasty re-established its supremacy on the ruins of the Karas, and Sainyabhīta III Mādhavavarman Śrīnivāsa (*c.* 850 A.D.) established the greatness of his family. He and his successor are said to have performed Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other sacrifices, in token of their political supremacy.[124]

The rise to power of these two dependent principalities might have been either the cause or the effect of the weakness of the Pāla kings. In the absence of positive evidences we cannot hazard any conjecture in favour of the one or the other, but we must keep in view the possibility of the reaction of the greatness of these powers upon the fortunes of the Pālas.

It has been mentioned above that Vigrahapāla I married a Haihaya princess. This might have been a move on the part of the Pālas to win over the friendship of the Kalachuris. We know that the Rāshṭrakūṭas formed numerous matrimonial alliances[125] with the family of the powerful Kalachuri king Kokkalla who had at least eighteen sons (and possibly also numerous daughters). It is not unlikely that Vigrahapāla's queen was a daughter of Kokkalla himself. But, as we know from the case of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, such alliances did not always prevent political rivalries leading to active hostilities. In the case of the Pālas, we cannot say whether the Haihaya alliance was really of any help to them. But it is certain that they were able to recover the possession of Northern Bengal and Magadha before the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla was over.

Three inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla (B. 16, 17, 18) dated in the years 7, 9 and 17, and found in Bihar, seem to prove that the kingdom of Magadha was in his possession at least up to his 17th year *i.e.*, *c.* 870 A.D. The dates of the eight inscriptions of Mahendrapāla found in Bengal and Bihar range between years 2 and 15 *i.e.*, *c.* 887 to 900 A.D. The Pratīhāra power must have been consi-

derably weakened shortly after the last-named year. For sometime between 915 and 917 A.D., if not earlier, the Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla, son of Mahendrapāla, was disastrously defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. His capital was sacked and he fled towards the east, hotly pursued by his enemies. This catastrophe indicates the weakness of the Pratīhāras, which was perhaps due to internal troubles[126] following the death of Mahendrapāla and gave an opportunity to the Pālas to retrieve their position. In any case, as we find an inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla (B. 19) in Bihar dated in the year 54 of his reign, we may presume that the Pāla king recovered Northern Bengal and Bihar about 908 A.D., if not earlier.

Nārāyaṇapāla had also probably come into conflict with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II who succeeded Amoghavarsha about 878 A.D., and ruled till 914 A.D. It is said in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records[127] that Kṛishṇa II was the 'preceptor charging the Gauḍas with the vow of humility,' and that 'his command was obeyed by Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha.' A petty chief of Velanāṇḍu (in Kistna district) named Malla I, who claims to have subdued the Vaṅgas,[128] Magadhas, and the Gauḍas, probably accompanied Kṛishṇa II in his expedition. The nature and result of this expedition are difficult to determine, but perhaps Kṛishṇa II had some success against the Pāla king. It is very likely that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Tuṅga, whose daughter Bhāgyadevī was married to Nārāyaṇapāla's son Rājyapāla, is no other than Jagattuṅga,[129] the son of Kṛishṇa II. In that case we may presume that the marriage alliance had brought about, at least temporarily, a cessation of hostilities.

Nārāyaṇapāla died about 908 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Rājyapāla who ruled for at least thirty-two years (B. 26). As noted above, Rājyapāla married Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Tuṅga. He is credited in official records with works of public utility such as excavation of big tanks and construction of lofty temples (B. 40). He was succeeded by his son Gopāla II, who ruled for at least six years.[130] Several records of both these kings have been found in Magadha,[131] and a copper-plate grant, dated in the sixth year of Gopāla II (B. 30), proves his possession of Northern Bengal. Another inscription (B. 29) of Gopāla II proves his possession of the Tippera District from the very beginning of his reign.

The reigns of these two kings and the next one Vigrahapāla II witnessed great changes in the political condition of India. The Pratīhāras, the most dangerous enemy of the Pālas, who had

extended their sway even over a part of Bengal, had suffered serious reverses in the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III, who had seized their capital Kanauj and sacked the city, while the Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla fled towards the east, hotly pursued by the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces. This catastrophe happened some time between A.D. 915 and 918 and though Mahīpāla recovered his throne after the departure of the Rāshṭrakūṭa army from the north and regained a part of the old empire, the power and prestige of the Pratīhāras had suffered a severe blow from which they were not likely to recover for some time. There was a truce between the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas cemented by a marriage alliance. The worst crisis in the history of the Pālas seemed to have been over.

But unfortunately for the Pālas, the downfall of the Pratīhāras let loose other forces which proved no less disastrous to them. Two great powers, the Chandellas and the Kalachuris, tried to establish their political supremacy in Northern India, and the Pālas had to bear the brunt of their aggressive imperialism.

Yaśovarman, who laid the foundations of the greatness of the Chandellas, is said to have carried on incessant military campaigns all over Northern India, and dominated the whole region from the Himālayas to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal. Even making due allowance for the exaggerations of the court-poets, he must be credited with military successes over a wide range of territories. In particular, his conquest of the famous fortress of Kālañjara gave him a dominant position in the heart of Northern India. According to the Chandella records, Yaśovarman 'was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers,' and his son Dhaṅga, who ascended the throne some time before 954 A.D. and ruled till at least 1002 A.D., kept in prison the queens of Rāḍhā and Aṅga.[132] These statements may not be literally true, but we may take it for granted that during the reigns of Rājyapāla and his two successors, Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II, Bengal fared badly in the hands of Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga. About the same time the Kalachuri rulers also raided various parts of the country. In the Kalachuri records we find reference to incursions against Bengal by two successive Kalachuri kings, Yuvarāja I and his son Lakshmaṇarāja, who probably ruled in the second and third quarters of the tenth century A.D. Yuvarāja is said to have had amorous dalliances with the women of Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāśmīra and Kaliṅga.[133] This is a poetical way of describing military raids in these countries, but it

is difficult to get any idea of their nature and effect. Lakshmaṇarāja is said to have been 'skilful in breaking (*i.e., defeating*) Vaṅgāla,'[134] which, as we have seen above, refers to Southern and part of Eastern Bengal.[135] As Lakshmaṇarāja is also known to have conquered Oḍra,[136] it is very probable that he advanced through Orissa to the deltaic coast of Bengal, as Rājendra Choḷa did a few years later.

These foreign raids covering the greater part of the tenth century may be regarded both as causes and effects of the military weakness and political disruption of the Pāla kingdom. The reference in Kalachuri and Chandella inscriptions to the various component parts of the kingdom such as Aṅga, Rāḍhā, Gauḍa, and Vaṅgāla as separate units may not be without significance. It is true that sometimes a kingdom is referred to by the name of a particular province within it, but evidences are not altogether wanting that in the present instance, the different States named above really formed independent or semi-independent principalities.

The Pāla records (B. 40, 50, 66,) definitely state that the paternal kingdom of the Pālas had been possessed by a usurper before the end of the reign of Vigrahapāla II. or in any case shortly after it. It is generally held that this usurper belonged to a line of Kāmboja family. For a short record (B. 93) engraved on a pillar at Bangarh (Dinajpur District in North Bengal) refers to the construction of a Śaiva temple by a Gauḍa king of the Kāmboja family. Though the date of this record cannot be definitely ascertained it may be referred to the middle of the tenth century A.D. It was formerly believed that this Kāmboja rule was the result of a successful invasion of North Bengal by the Kāmbojas, a hill-tribe from the north, west or east.[137] But the recently discovered Irdā copper-plate grant (A 92) puts an altogether different complexion on the whole matter.

This grant was issued from the capital city called Priyaṅgu, and records grants of land in *Daṇḍa-bhukti-maṇḍala* of Vardhamāna-*bhukti* by the *Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Nayapāladeva in the 13th year of his reign. He had succeeded his elder brother Nārāyaṇapāla, who was the son of Rājyapāla and Bhāgyadevī. Rājyapāla is given all the three imperial titles and is described as the ornament of the Kāmboja family.

Now the queen of the Pāla king Rājyapāla, as we have seen above, was also named Bhāgyadevī, and it is, therefore, tempting to identify the king Rājyapāla of the Irdā Plate with the Pāla king

of that name. But this assumption is not free from difficulties, and there is no general agreement among scholars on this point. If we identify Rājyapāla of the Irdā Plate with the Pāla king Rājyapāla, we must hold that there was a partition of the Pāla kingdom after his death between two branches of the Pāla family. If we do not accept this identification, the most reasonable view would be to hold that Rājyapāla, an ambitious and powerful Kāmboja chief, perhaps a dignitary or high official under the Pālas,[138] had taken advantage of the weakness of the Pāla kingdom to set up an independent principality which ultimately comprised Western and Northern Bengal. The theory of a Kāmboja invasion is not supported by any positive evidence, and appears to be highly improbable.

But whichever of these views we may accept, the main fact remains that the Pāla kingdom was split up during the second half of the tenth century A.D. The kingdom of Rāḍhā, mentioned in the inscription of Dhaṅga, therefore, probably refers to the kingdom of Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla comprising Western and Northern Bengal with its capital at Priyaṅgu. The other kingdom, Aṅga, would naturally refer to the dominions under Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II, which probably comprised Aṅga and Magadha.

The discovery of an inscription at Bhaturiya (B. 27) has further complicated the problem. It records the foundation of a Śaiva temple by one Yaśodāsa, a minister (*Tantrādhikārin*) of king Rājyapāla, also called, or known as, Rāmaparākrama. This king is said to "have obtained the possession of a large number of elephants, horses and infantrymen (i. e., prisoners to be made slaves), as well as land and gold, all belonging to his enemies, as a result of his victories over the latter." "Then follows a long list of the countries conquered by the king. The eighth verse states that the king's command "was obeyed by the Mlechchhas, Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas. Oḍras, Pāṇḍyas, Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Suhmas, Gurjaras, Kṛitas and Chīnas". The Mlechchhas probably refer to the Muslim Arabs who were in occupation of Kabul, Zabul and Sindh. The Chīnas might refer to the Tibetans, whose rulers, as mentioned above (pp. 118—9) claimed to have subdued "China in the east and India in the south". The Kṛitas, unless taken as the scribe's error for Kirātas (primitive peoples living in the eastern frontier), cannot be located with certainty. But whatever we may think of these identifications, the remaining names are well known

and would indicate a victorious campaign almost all over India. But this can be hardly accepted as a historical fact in view of what is known of the Pālas and their contemporary ruling dynasties in India, and specially of the fact that there is no reference to any military victory of Rājyapāla, not to speak of such glorious *digvijaya*, in his own records or those of the later Pāla records (B. 40, 50, 66) which describe the achievements of all the previous Pāla rulers.

If we scan the list of the peoples conquered by Rājyapāla it appears to be somewhat singular that they include Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, and Suhmas, i.e., Eastern Bihar and Western, Southern and Eastern Bengal, which formed the home territories of the Pālas. The conclusion therefore seems irresistible that to the writer of the record North Bengal alone was regarded as the ancestral territory of Rājyapāla or the region over which he actually exercised sovereignty before he undertook the victorious all-India campaign.

This circumstance would favour the identification of king Rājyapāla of the Bhaturiya Inscription with that of the Irdā Grant (B.92) who founded the Kāmboja ruling family in Gauḍa and is given the imperial titles. The chief difficulty is caused by the fact that both this king and his queen should bear the same names as those of the son and daughter-in-law of Nārāyaṇapāla. This undoubtedly looks highly improbable, but an analogous instance is furnished by Samudravarman and Dattadevī, king and queen of Kāmarūpa, who were almost contemporaries of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and Empress Dattadevi.

But apart from all this the long list of conquered peoples might have been simply ignored as purely conventional but for a singular fact of similar nature concerning the Pāla kings of this period. An identical verse is found in the Pāla records while describing three different kings, viz. Gopāla II, son of Rājyapāla, Vigrahapāla II, son of Gopāla II, and Vigrahapāla III, great-grandson of Vigrahapāla II (B. 30, 40, 50). This verse means that the king's elephant forces wandered in the eastern regions full of water, the Malaya mountains in the south, the desert regions [139] in the west and the Himālaya mountains in the north. When first discovered in connection with king Vigrahapāla II (verse 11 of B. 40) who is known to have lost his ancestral kingdom, the verse was taken to refer to his aimless wanderings in all directions in an attempt to seek refuge or secure help in various quarters.[140] But now that we know that it refers to no less than three kings [141] at least two of whom did not lose their

ancestral kingdom, the above explanation or interpretation must be abandoned. The probability is that reference is to the movements of the Pāla kings, with their forces, in the company of a friendly king in the course of his military campaigns. In view of the matrimonial alliance of the Pāla king Rājyapāla with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the victorious campaigns of contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa kings, we may well believe that the two successors of Rājyapāla, namely Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II, might have joined them in their various campaigns in different parts of India.

It is not unlikely that the victories of Rājyapāla of the Bhaturiya Inscription are also of the same kind. Reference has already been made above to the claim of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa to have subdued Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga and Magadha, and of one of his feudatories to some of these victories. It may be that the help rendered by the Pāla rulers to the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings in these campaigns has been eulogised in a similar way. Moreover, it is not unlikely that the Rājyapāla of Bhaturiya Ins. was a general or feudatory of Kāmboja origin who accompanied a Rāshṭrakūṭa (or Chandella or Kalachuri) ruler and ultimately carved out a principality in Gauḍa as a result of his victory, more or less in the same way as enabled a Karṇāṭa chief of the Sena family to have established a kingdom in Bengal, and another, named Nānya, an independent principality in Mithilā. These are all at present mere hypotheses or suggestions, but they must be kept in view in order to assess properly the values or bearing of future discoveries on the whole problem of reconstructing the history of this period.

The Pālas also lost control over East and South Bengal, and we have definite evidence of the existence of several independent kingdoms in this region. The earliest is a kingdom with its capital at Devaparvata, mentioned above, as the capital of the Rāta kings (p 81). the history of which is known from a single coppereplate Grant (B. 73). The first two verses mention how one Vīradeva obtained kingship (*bhumīśvaratva*) and extirpated his enemies. His son and successor Ānandadeva is referred to as *Parama-Saugata* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. His son and successor, Bhavadeva, is also called *Parama-Saugata* and is endowed with imperial titles *Parameśvara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, and Mahārājādhirāja*. His order is issued to the *Vishayapatis* (District officers) and he seems to have the *viruda Abhīnava-mṛigāṅka*. The date of the record is not given, but, on palaeographic grounds, it must be placed later than seventh

century A.D., and about the age of the early Pālas. The assumption of full imperial titles by Bhavadeva makes it very likely that he must have flourished either before Gopāla I, or after Devapāla, during the dark days of the Pāla history in the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla. The lattter view seems more probable. In that case it may be assumed that the first king was a feudatory of the Pālas, the second probably declared his independence, and the third extended the kingdom and became very powerful.

Not long after this flourished another Buddhist kingdom known from a single copper-plate found in a temple at Chitttagong (B. 74).[142] The plate contains only the formal portion of the grant. It is, therefore, not exactly a land-grant, but one that was intended to be used as such. It supplies the names of three successive members of a Buddhist family, each being the son of his predecessor. The first, Bhadradata (obviously an error for Bhadradatta) is simply said to have defeated his enemies. The only thing said about the second, Dhanadatta, is that he married Vindurati, the daughter of a great king, Their son, Kāntideva is styled *Parama-Saugata, Paramcśvara* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. It may be easily inferred that the first two were not independent kings and Kāntideva either inherited the throne of his maternal grandfather or carved out an independent kingdom for himself. As the Grant ends with an appeal to the future kings of Harikela, this territory must have formed a part, if not the whole, of his kingdom. The record may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the 9th century A.D. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that Kāntideva's mother was the daughter of Bhavadeva mentioned above, and Kāntideva inherited his maternal grandfather's kingdom. This view gains some support from the fact that Kāntideva was a Buddhist like Bhavadeva, and whereas the names of both the father and grandfather of Kāntideva ended in Datta, he himself assumed the name-ending 'Deva' like Bhavadeva. Of course this is a mere suggestion which lacks positive evidence.

The Grant of Kāntideva names Vardhamāna-pura as the city from which it was to have been issued. If this city be identified with the well-known city of West Bengal, known as Burdwan, which gave the name to a territorial Division—Vardhamāna-*bhukti*—in ancient Bengal, the kingdom of Kāntideva must have comprised portions of both South and West Bengal. But some scholars regard this identification as very problematic.

Another dynasty, with names of kings ending in 'chandra', ruled in East Bengal from about 875 to 1035 A.D. and, as will be shown later, they became very powerful after the death of Nārāyaṇapāla.[143] Two rulers of this dynasty, Trailokyachandra and his son Śrīchandra, are known to have ruled over Harikela, with Chandradvipa (cf. pp. 9-10) as their central seat of authority. As the last-known king, Govindachandra, ruled over Southern and Eastern Bengal at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., it is probable that the Chandra kingdom even originally comprised both Southern and Eastern Bengal.

It would thus appear that during the reigns of the three successors of Nārāyaṇapāla, namely Rājyapāla, Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II, covering nearly the whole of the tenth century A.D, there were three well-defined kingdoms, viz., the kingdom comprising East and South Bengal, ruled, first by Bhavadeva and Kāntideva and later by the Chandras, Kāmboja-Pāla kingdom comprising North and West Bengal, and the Pāla kingdom proper, comprising Aṅga and Magadha.

IV. Restoration under Mahipāla (c.988-1038 A.D.)

When Mahīpāla I succeeded his father Vigrahapāla II about 988 A.D., the prospect of his family was undoubtedly gloomy in the extreme. It reflects no small credit upon him that by heroic efforts he succeeded in restoring the fortunes of his family, at least to a considerable extent.

According to verse 12 of the Bangarh Grant (B. 40), he recovered his paternal kingdom which was '*anadhikṛita-vilupta*'. This expression has been usually interpreted as 'snatched away (*vilupta*) by people who had no claim to it' (taking *anadhikṛita* in the sense of *anadhikārī*). Mr. N. G. Majumdar has pointed out that although this is possible, it is somewhat far-fetched, and the proper meaning of the expression is 'lost owing to non-occupation'.[144] But whatever interpretation we accept, it is clear that Mahīpāla recovered his paternal kingdom which was in possession of some other ruling family.

The expression 'paternal kingdom' has been taken by most writers to apply to Varendra, because it has been referred to as the homeland (*Janakabhūḥ*) of the Pālas in the *Rāmacharita*. But, as will be shown in Appendix II, though the ancestral home of Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, was Varendra, he was elected ruler of

Vaṅgāla, and the expression *pitrya rājya* or paternal kingdom, used in the Bangarh Grant, should rather refer to Vaṅgāla. In any case there is no reason to single out Varendra as the ancestral or paternal kingdom of the Pālas. Perhaps it would be better to take the expression to refer to Bengal which had been in possession of the Pālas for a long time but had passed out of their hands, and consider how far Mahīpāla was successful in recovering it.

The first important evidence in this respect is furnished by a short inscription (B. 37) on an image of Vishṇu, found in a village called Baghaura near Brahmanbaria in the Tippera district. It records the setting up of the image in Samataṭa, in the kingdom of Mahīpāla, in the year 3. Although it is not absolutely certain whether king Mahīpāla of the inscription refers to the first or second king of that name, the probability is in favour of the former.[145] In that case, we must presume Mahīpāla must have recovered Eastern Bengal, or at least a part of it, before the end of the third year of his reign.

The conclusion drawn from the Baghaura Image Ins. is supported by another inscription (B. 38) engraved on an image of Gaṇeśa, discovered in the village of Nārāyaṇpur, in the Tippera district. The inscription records that the image was set up in the 4th regnal year of *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāladeva, by the merchant Buddhamitra, an inhabitant of Vilikandhaka in Samataṭa. Dr. Sircar is inclined to identify this village with Vilakindaka mentioned in the Baghaura Image Ins.

Now, it is not possible for a king, with his base in Aṅga and Magadha, to proceed to Eastern Bengal without conquering either Varendra or Rāḍhā i. e., Northern or Western Bengal. Mahīpāla evidently chose the former route. For his Belwa Grant (B. 39) shows that he was in occupation of Varendra (North Bengal) in the year 5 of his reign. We may thus hold that Mahīpāla had recovered Northern and Eastern Bengal within three years of his succession.

There is no positive evidence that he had recovered either Western or Southern Bengal. But Mahīpāla's rule over West Bengal may be inferred from the account of Rājendra Choḷa's invasion of Bengal which requires a somewhat detailed discussion.

The northern expedition of the great Choḷa emperor was led by one of his generals and lasted about two years, from 1021 to 1023 A.D.[146] Its avowed object was to bring, by force of arms, the sacred waters of the Ganges, in order to sanctify his own land.

After conquering Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa) and Kosalai-*nāḍu*, the Choḷa general seized.

"Taṇḍabutti, ... (land which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle ; Takkaṇalāḍam whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra ; Vaṅgāla-deśa, where the rain water never stopped, (and from which) Govindachandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant ; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure, (which he seized) after having been pleased to frighten the strong Mahīpāla on the field of hot battle with the (noise of the) conches (got) from the deep sea ; Uttiralāḍam (on the shore of) the expansive ocean (producing) pearls ; and the Gaṅgā whose waters bearing fragrant flowers dashed against the bathing places."[147]

Now there can be no doubt that Taṇḍabutti, Takkaṇalāḍam, Uttiralāḍam and Vaṅgāla-deśa in the above passage denote respectively Daṇḍabhukti, Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, Uttara-Rāḍhā and Vaṅgāla.[148]

It has been reasonably inferred from the Tamil version quoted above, that the Choḷa general "attacked and overthrew, in order, Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Raṇaśūra of Southern Rāḍhā, and Govindachandra of Vaṅgāla, before he fought with Mahīpāla and conquered Uttara-Rāḍhā." It is not definitely stated that Mahīpāla was the ruler of Uttara-Rāḍhā, though that seems to be the implication, as no separate ruler of this kingdom is mentioned, and the defeat of Mahīpāla preceded its conquest. According to the Sanskrit version, however, Southern Rāḍhā was conquered before Daṇḍabhukti,[149] a view which is difficult to accept on account of the geographical position of the two.[150]

The Choḷa campaign, as Professor K. A. Nilkanta Śāstrī has rightly observed, "could hardly have been more than a hurried raid across a vast stretch of country."[151] We also agree with him that the statement in the Tiruvālangādu Plates that the water of the Ganges was carried to Rājendra by the defeated kings of Bengal at the bidding of the Choḷa general is a boast without foundation. The Choḷa conquest, no doubt, inflicted losses and miseries upon the people, but does not seem to have affected in any way the political condition of the country.

The detailed account, however, seems to show that Daṇḍabhukti, Southern Rāḍhā, and Vaṅgāla were independent kingdoms at the time of the Choḷa invasion. Professor Śāstrī says that

"the language of the Tamil inscription appears to suggest, what seems likely even otherwise, that Mahīpāla had a sort of supremacy over the other chiefs named

in this context, and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra, and Govindachandra led to the final struggle in which Mahīpāla was captured together with another person called Saṅgu, perhaps his Commander."[152]

It is difficult to accept the Professor's statement that Mahīpāla was captured in the final struggle, as it is explicitly stated that Mahīpāla was 'put to flight'[153] or 'frightened.' It is equally difficult to find any support in the Tamil passage, quoted above, for the overlordship of Mahīpāla over the other kingdoms mentioned in it, except perhaps in the case of Uttara-Rāḍhā. As we have seen above, Daṇḍabhukti was included within the kingdom of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Nayapāla, which also probably included Rāḍhā and Varendra, and Southern and Eastern Bengal were ruled over by the Chandra kings, when Mahīpāla ascended the throne. It would, therefore, be more reasonable to conclude that Govindachandra ruled over the old ancestral kingdom or at least a considerable part of it, and Dharmapāla, perhaps a scion of the Kāmboja family, still held Daṇḍabhukti ; while a new dynasty, the Śūras, about whom we shall hear more hereafter (see *infra* Ch. VII) had established its authority in South Rāḍhā. Mahīpāla was thus able to recover, in addition to North and a part of East Bengal, only the northern part of Rāḍhā *i.e.*, approximately that portion of the present Burdwan Division which lies to the north of the Ajay river.

The findspots of Mahīpāla's Inscriptions (B. 36-45) show that he was in possession of North and South Bihar. As the inscriptions of Nārayaṇapāla, Rājyapāla, Gopāla II, and probably also of Vigrahpāla II (B. 16-35) have been found in South Bihar, it may be regarded as having been in the continuous possession of the Pālas since its recovery after the conquest of Mahendrapāla, but we are not sure whether North Bihar was inherited or conquered by Mahīpāla.

According to an inscription found in Sārnāth near Benares (B. 36), and dated *Saṁvat* 1083, construction and repairs of many sacred structures on that site were undertaken by the order of Mahīpāla, king of Gauḍa,[154] the actual work having been entrusted to his two brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla. Normally, we would be justified in inferring from such a record that Mahīpāla's suzerainty extended up to Benares in the year 1026 A.D. Such an inference is, however, liable to two objections : In the first place, Benares and Sārnāth being sacred places of all-India reputation, construction of buildings there by Mahīpāla does not necessarily imply any political suzerainty over the region. Secondly, as the

work of construction is referred to as a past event, Mahīpāla probably died before the record was set up; at least, it is not necessary to conclude that Mahīpāla was alive in 1026 A.D.[155]

These are, no doubt, forceful arguments, but cannot be regarded as conclusive. As regards the first, the suzerainty over Benares may not be a necessary implication, but in view of the fact that Mahīpāla's dominions certainly included the whole of Bihar, it is, in any case, a reasonable inference, so long at least as it is not proved that Benares was under the rule of a different king. As regards the second also, the event might have been a past one, but as no other king of Gauḍa but Mahīpāla is referred to in the inscription, the date may be taken as one falling within his reign. For the present, therefore, we may regard Mahīpāla as ruling over Tirhut and probably also up to Benares, about 1026 A.D.[156]

Towards the close of his reign, Mahīpāla came inte conflict with the powereful Kalachuri ruler Gāṅgeyadeva.[157] The Kalachuri records claim that the latter defeated the ruler of Aṅga,[158] which can only denote Mahīpāla. It also appears from the statement of Baihaqui that Benares was in possession of the Kalachuri king in 1034 A.D. when Ahmad Niyal Tigin invaded it.[159] It may be reasonably concluded, therefore, that shortly after A.D. 1026, Mahīpāla came into conflict with the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva and suffered reverses in his hands.

Mahīpāla has been criticised by some writers for not having joined the Hindu confederacy organised by the Shāhi king of the Punjab against Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Some have attributed his inactivity to asceticism, and others to intolerance of Hinduism and jealousy to other Hindu kings.[160] It is difficult to subscribe to these views. When Mahīpāla ascended the throne, the Pāla power had sunk to the lowest depths, and the Pāla kings had no footing in their own homeland. It must have taxed the whole energy and strength of Mahīpāla to recover the paternal territories and to ward off the formidable invasions of Rājendra Choḷa and Gāṅgeyadeva. It reflects the greatest credit upon his ability and military genius that he succeeded in establishing his authority over a great part of Bengal, and probably also extended his conquests up to Benares. Even this success was due, in a large measure, to the political circumstances in Northern India, *viz.*, the disastrous and repeated invasions of Sultan Mahmud, which exhausted the strength and resources of the great powers, and diverted their attention to

the west. It would have been highly impolitic, if not sheer madness, on the part of Mahīpāla to fritter away his energy and strength in a distant expedition to the west, when his own kingdom was exposed to the threat of disruption from within and invasion from abroad.[161]

On the whole, the achievements of Mahīpāla must be regarded as highly remarkable, and he ranks as the greatest Pāla emperor after Devapāla. He not only saved the Pāla kingdom from impending ruin, but probably also revived to some extent the old imperial dreams. His success in the limited field that he selected for his activities is a sure measure of his prowess and statesmanship, and it is neither just nor rational to regret that he had not done more.

The revival of the Pāla power was also reflected in the restoration of the religious buildings in Benares (including Sārnāth) and Nālandā which had evidently suffered much during the recent collapse of the Pāla power. Reference has already been made to the Sārnāth inscription, which mentions 'hundreds of pious works' and the repairs of the famous Buddhist monuments of old undertaken by the orders of Mahīpāla. Two inscriptions (B. 41, 42) dated in the 11th year of Mahīpāla, refer to the restoration and repairs of the monuments of Nālandā after they were destroyed or damaged by fire, and the construction of two temples at Bodh-Gayā. Traditions have associated the name of Mahīpāla with a number of big tanks and towns in North and West Bengal.[162] It is perhaps not without significance, that of all the Pāla emperors, the name of Mahīpāla alone figures in popular ballads still current in Bengal. Bengal has forgotten the names of its great emperors Dharmapāla, and Devapāla, but cherished the memory of the king who saved it at a critical juncture.

Before we conclude, reference may be made to two other historical events, the association of Mahīpāla with which is probable, but not certain.

According to the Jaina author Hemachandra, the Chaulukya king Durlabha, who ascended the throne of Anahilapāṭaka about 1008 A.D., won over his queen Durlabhadevī in a *svayamvara* ceremony, but, to retain possession of this princess, he had to fight a number of other claimants, amongst whom were the kings of Aṅga, Kāśi, Avanti, Chedi-*deśa*, Kuru-*deśa*, Hūṇa-*deśa*, Mathurā, and Vindhya.[163] Now the king of Aṅga, at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, was Mahīpāla I. If, there-

fore, the Jaina author is to be believed, we have a glimpse of a forgotten episode in the life of Mahīpāla when he was an unsuccessful suitor for the hands of Durlabhadevī. But such stories cannot be taken as historical without independent corroboration.

A manuscript of a drama named *Chaṇḍa-kauśika*, by Ārya Kshemīśvara, was discovered by MM. Haraprasad Śāstri in 1893.[164] It contains a verse in which king Mahīpāla is said to be an incarnation of Chandragupta, and the Karṇāṭas, of the Nandas, and the play was staged before the king by his order. It is obvious that the poet implied that king Mahīpāla defeated the Karṇāṭas as Maurya Chandragupta defeated the Nandas. This Mahīpāla has been identified by some scholars with the Pāla king Mahīpāla I, and it has been suggested that the Choḷas were referred to as the Karṇāṭās. Mr. R. D. Banerji even went so far as to suggest, on the strength of this evidence, "that though Mahīpāla I was defeated by Rājendra Choḷa when he crossed into Rāḍhā from East Bengal, he prevented him from crossing the Ganges into Varendra or Northern Bengal, and so the Choḷa conqueror had to turn back from the banks of the Ganges."[165]

Unfortunately the identification of the king Mahīpāla of *Chaṇḍa-kauśika* with the Pāla ruler Mahīpāla I is not accepted by others, who rather regard the Pratīhāra ruler Mahīpāla as the hero of the drama.[166] In the absence of further particulars, it is difficult to decide the question one way or the other. The probability is, however, undoubtedly in favour of the latter view. For while there is no valid reason to regard Rājendra Choḷa as a Karṇāṭa, the Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla undoubtedly had a life and death struggle with the Karṇāṭas under Indra III. It is true that Mahīpāla was defeated, but the retreat of the Karṇāṭa forces and the re-occupation of Kanauj by Mahīpāla could easily be magnified by the court-poet as a glorious victory of Mahīpāla over the Karṇāṭas, and such an assumption was well calculated to soothe the wounded vanity of the Pratīhāras. In any case, it is not safe to derive any inference from *Chaṇḍa-kauśika* regarding the victory of the Pāla ruler over the Choḷa army.

V. Break-up of the Pāla Kingdom

Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Nayapāla, who ruled for at least fifteen years (*c.* 1038-1054 A.D.). The most important

event in his reign was his long-drawn struggle with the Kalachuri king Karṇa or Lakshmīkarṇa. It is evident that the aggressive policy of Gāṅgeyadeva was continued by his son and successor. The Kalachuri records refer, in vague poetic language, to Karṇa's raid against, or encounter with, the chiefs of Vaṅga and Gauḍa.[167] A more detailed account is furnished by the Tibetan texts.[168] They refer to a war between Nayapāla and the Tīrthika king Karṇya (or king of Karṇya) of the west who had invaded Magadha. There can be hardly any doubt that the latter name stands for Karṇa. As regards the details of the struggle, it seems that at first Karṇa defeated Nayapāla. It is said that failing to capture the city, Karṇa's troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions, and even carried away a good deal of church furniture. The famous Buddhist monk Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna (also known as Atīśa) was at that time residing in Magadha, but showed no interest in the struggle that was going on. But, we are told, that 'afterwards when victory turned towards Nayapāla and the troops of Karṇa were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took Karṇa and his men under his protection and sent them away.' Dīpaṁkara then made serious efforts to bring the struggle to an end. "Unmindful of his health even at the risk of his life, Atīśa again and again crossed the rivers that lay between the two kingdoms." His efforts proved successful, and a treaty was concluded between the two hostile kings on the basis of the mutual restitution of all conquests and plunder.

It is difficult to say how far the Tibetan tradition is correct. In particular, the part played by Dīpaṁkara seems to have been exaggerated. But, in view of other evidences, the main outline of the story, *viz.*, an indecisive struggle between Karṇa and Nayapāla, followed by a treaty, may well be taken as historical.

According to Tibetan tradition, Dīpaṁkara left India for good at the age of 59, and spent the last thirteen years of his life in Tibet dying at the age of 73. The date of his departure has been fixed by various authorities at 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041 and 1042 A.D.[169] As we know, the Kalachuri king Karṇa succeeded his father in 1041 A.D,[170] so even taking the latest date proposed for the departure of Atīśa it is difficult to reconcile the discrepancy. Perhaps it would be wise not to rely too much on the accuracy of dates derived from Tibetan sources. On the other hand, it is equally likely that the war, referred to in the Tibetan texts, is only a phase of the long-

drawn struggle between the Pālas and the Kalachuris which had been going on since the time of Gāṅgeyadeva.

According to the views propounded above, Mahīpāla was in possession of Benares till at least 1026 A.D., but it passed into the hands of the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeya in A.D. 1034. We must, therefore, presume that hostility had broken out before that date, and that it was continued after the death of Gāṅgeya by his son Karṇa. The initial success of the Kalachuris is testified to by the Tibetan tradition, the claim in Kalachuri records that Gāṅgeyadeva defeated the ruler of Aṅga, and the occupation of Banaras by the latter. The discomfiture of the Kalachuris towards the end and their treaty with the Pālas, may have been due, to a great extent, to the death of the great king Gāṅgeyadeva. This theory fits in well with the date of the departure of Dīpaṁkara as given in the Tibetan texts, if we take the latest date proposed *viz.*, 1042 A.D.

In any case, the treaty was merely an interlude, and Karṇa once more directed his arms against the Pālas during the reign of Vigrahapāla III (*c.* 1054-1072 A.D.), the son and successor of Nayapāla. During the interval he had secured a position of supremacy by destroying the Paramāras and the Chandellas, and conquering the upper valley of the Mahānadī.[171]

The references in Kalachuri records to Karṇa's encounter with the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga presumably refer to this second expedition, as the area of the struggle in the first case did not extend beyond Magadha.[172] According to the Kalachuri records, Vaṅga trembled in fear of Karṇa, and lord of Gauḍa waited upon him.[173] That Karṇa advanced at least up to the border of Western Bengal is proved by his record on a pillar at Pāikor in the district of Birbhum.[174] But according to *Rāmacharita*,[175] Vigrahapāla III defeated Karṇa and married his daughter Yauvanaśrī. Evidently, in this second expedition, too, Karṇa, in spite of initial success ultimately suffered defeat. Perhaps a peace was concluded, and the alliance was cemented by the marriage of Karṇa's daughter with Vigrahapāla III.

There is hardly any doubt that the king of Gauḍa mentioned in the Kalachuri record refers to the Pāla king. The separate mention of Lord of Vaṅga seems to indicate that it was an independent kingdom. We have seen above (*supra* p. 132) that Mahīpāla recovered the possession of East Bengal from the Chandras, but that the latter continued to rule in South Bengal. It is also very likely that East

Bengal, or at least a part of it, did not long remain under the Pālas but passed again into the hands of the Chandra kings.[176] These Chandra kings, or the Varmans that succeeded them, might have been ruling in Vaṅga at the time of Karṇa's expedition, though we are not quite sure of it.

There is no doubt also that the Pāla rulers Nayapāla and Vigrahapāla III were gradually losing their hold over Western Bengal. A chief calling himself *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Īśvaraghosha issued a land-grant, in which he assumed the style of an independent king. The Grant is not dated, but may be referred to the eleventh century A.D., about the time of Vigrahapāla III. He issued the Grant from Ḍhekkarī, probably situated in Burdwan district.[177] About the same time we find the rise of the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the Tippera district. The existence of Paṭṭikerā as an independent kingdom throughout the second half of the eleventh and the twelfth century A.D. may be inferred from the Burmese chronicles, though, unfortunately, they do not give any historical account of it.[178]

It thus seems that Eastern Bengal had slipped from the hands of the Pālas and remained a separate independent kingdom, first under the Chandras, and then under the Varmans. There were also other petty independent kingdoms in Bengal.

The Pāla kings, constantly engaged in hostilities with the Kalachuris, could hardly recover their ancient territories in Bengal. The Kalachuri power was crushed towards the close of the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D. by the successive defeats that were inflicted upon Karṇa by his neighbours.[179] But before the Pālas could take advantage of this, they had to face an invasion from the Chālukyas of Karṇaṭa. According to Bilhaṇa,[180] the court-poet of the Chālukyas, the prince Vikramāditya (VI) went out on a career of conquest during the lifetime of his father Someśvara I and defeated the kings of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa, among others. As Someśvara I died before the return of his victorious son, the expedition probably took place not long before 1068 A.D. The Chālukya records refer in a general way to other military expeditions against Bengal during his reign and that of his two predecessors,[181] whose exact nature and amount of success are difficult to determine. But some very important political events coincide chronologically with these Chālukya raids, and are possibly direct or indirect consequences of the same. The most notable among these is the establishment of Karṇāṭa Kshatriya family, the Senas, as the ruling power in Rāḍhā or

Western Bengal, and of the Varmans of Siṁhapura, in Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal.

Another foreign invasion of Bengal which may be referred approximately to the middle of the eleventh century A.D., was that of the Somavaṁśī ruler of Orissa, named Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. In one of his Grants, he states, after enumerating his various conquests, that 'he was cooled by the wind (caused by) profound shaking of the sky of Gauḍa and Rāḍhā, and *was the full moon in the clear sky of Vaṅga.*[182] These are beautifully vague phrases, and do not enable us to form any definite conclusion, but it seems to refer to some military expeditions against North, West, and East Bengal. The date of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, but he may be placed about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.[183] The king of Orissa was evidently encouraged by the successful expedition of Rājendra Choḷa and disruption of the Pāla empire. There was not perhaps a long interval between his triumphant raid and the Karṇāta invasion, and while one facilitated the other, the effect of the two was ruinous to Bengal. Reference may be made in this connection to another Orissan king, Udyotakeśarī, who claims to have defeated the forces of Gauḍa. The date of Udyotakeśarī is not known, but he probably flourished in the eleventh century A.D.[184]

The series of foreign invasions from the west and the south must have shaken the Pāla kingdom to its very foundations during the reigns of Nayapāla and his son and successor Vigrahapāla III. They had not only lost Eastern, Western, and Southern Bengal, but their power in Magadha was also being gradually reduced to a mere shadow. A clear evidence of this is furnished by four inscriptions found at Gayā. Two of these (B. 46, 47), dated in the year 15 of Nayapāla, refer to one Paritosha, his son Śūdraka, and the latter's son, called Viśvāditya in one and Viśvarūpa in the other. Nothing is said in the former to indicate the political importance of the family, but the latter says that Gayā was protected (*paripālita*) for a long time by the strength (*bāhvor-balena*) of Śūdraka. A third inscription (B. 49), dated in the fifth regnal year of Vigrahapāla III, bestows vague grandiloquent praises upon Śūdraka, and says about Viśvarūpa, that he destroyed all his enemies. The fourth[185] inscription (B. 95) of the family is issued by king Yakshapāla,[186] son of Viśvarūpa. The genealogy begins with Śūdraka, who is said to have defeated his enemies

and driven them to the forest. Then follows a very significant, but somewhat obscure, expression about him, *viz.*, "*Śrī-Śūdrakaḥ svayam-apūjayad-indra-kalpo Gauḍeśvaro nṛipati-lakshaṇa-pūjayā yaṁ.*" Dr. Kielhorn has taken this expression to mean that the 'Lord of Gauḍa paid homage to Śūdraka.[187] I think the expression rather means that the lord of Gauḍa formally honoured Śūdraka by investing him as king with proper ceremony [188] In any case, it shows that at the time the record was composed, the pretensions of the family rose higher than before. This is further proved by the fact that Śūdraka's son Viśvarūpa is now called *nṛipa* or king, and at the very end, where in the other inscriptions reference was made to the ruling Pāla king, a wish is expressed that the famous works of Yakshapāla may endure for a long time. A study of these four inscriptions shows the gradual decline of the Pāla power in the Gayā district during the reigns of Nayapāla and Vigrahapāla III.[189]

Thus towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D. the fabric of the Pāla sovereignty was crumbling to dust. Eastern Bengal, West Bengal and Southern Bengal had definitely passed from their hands, and their suzerainty over Magadha was reduced to a mere name. A new power, the Varmans, occupied Eastern Bengal, and a copper-plate of Ratnapāla[190] shows that even Kāmarūpa was hurling defiance at the king of Gauḍa at the beginning or middle of the eleventh century A.D.

VI. Disintegration and Temporary Revival

1. Mahīpāla II (1072-75 A.D.)

Vigrahapāla III had three sons, *viz.*, Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla, the eldest, succeeded his father. His reign was full of troubles. There were conspiracies against the king, and he was led to believe that his brother Rāmapāla was plotting to seize the kingdom for himself. Accordingly Mahīpāla threw both Rāmapāla and Śūrapāla into prison. But this did not save either his throne or his life. Ere long he had to face a well-organised rebellion of his vassal chiefs. Mahīpāla's army was ill-equipped, but disregarding the counsel of his advisers he advanced to fight the rebels. He was defeated and killed, and Varendrī passed into the hands of Divya, a high official of the Kaivarta caste.

This revolution and the subsequent recovery of Varendrī by Rāmapāla are described in detail in the contemporary Sanskrit

Kāvya *Rāmacharita*.[191] This unique historical document enables us to give a critical account of the history of Bengal for half a century (1070-1120 A.D.) with wealth of details such as are not available in regard to any other period. Unfortunately, the historical value of this book is considerably reduced by the fact that its author, Sandhyākara Nandī, was a partisan of Rāmapāla, and cannot be regarded as an unprejudiced and impartial critic of either Mahīpāla or the Kaivarta chiefs who were enemies of Rāmapāla. While, therefore, the main incidents in the reign of Mahīpāla II, mentioned in *Rāmacharita* and referred to above, may be regarded as historical, we should not accept, without due reservation, the author's description of Mahīpāla as hard-hearted (I. 32),[192] not adhering to either truth or good policy (I. 36),[193] and resorting to fraudulent tricks (I. 32, 37) ; particularly as in one passage (I. 22), he has referred to Mahīpāla as a good and great king (*rājapravara*).

It is to be noted, however, that there is nothing recorded in *Rāmacharita* to justify the belief, now generally held on the authority of MM. Śāstrī, that Mahīpāla II was an oppressive king, and that specially the 'Kaivartas were smarting under his oppression.'[194] Only two important specific facts, as mentioned above, are noted against him. As regards the first, *viz.*, that he imprisoned his brothers Rāmapāla and Śūrapāla (I. 33), the author has the candour to admit that the king was instigated to this iniquitous act by false reports, sedulously propagated by wicked people, to the effect that Rāmapāla, being an able and popular prince, was scheming to usurp the throne (I. 37). The author, of course, implies that Rāmapāla had really no such intention. But this is a point on which we may not place full confidence on his opinions and statements.

The second charge against Mahīpāla is that he was addicted to warfare (I. 22), and that disregarding the advice of his wise and experienced ministers, he led a small ill-equipped force against the powerful army of the numerous rebel chiefs (*ananta-sāmanta-chakra*) (I. 31). The author has unfortunately omitted all details by which we could judge of the actions of the king. He does not say, for example, what was the alternative policy suggested by the experienced ministers ; and considering the part played by high officials like Divya, Mahīpāla may certainly be excused for not putting implicit faith in their advice. On the whole, it is impossible, from the brief and scattered references in *Rāmacharita*, to form an accurate idea either of the reign or of the character of Mahīpāla II. It is,

no doubt, true that he succumbed to a revolt of his feudatory chiefs. This does not, however, necessarily mean, and *Rāmacharita* does not support the contention in any way, that the king was particularly wicked and oppressive to his people, far less that his personal character or policy was the direct or indirect cause of the revolt.

It is far more probable that this revolt, like other revolts in the Pāla kingdom about the same time, was the effect of the weakness of the central authority and the general tendency of disruption in different parts of the kingdom. That king Mahīpāla II could not rise equal to the occasion, and his personal gifts were not sufficient to enable him to pass safely through the crisis, admit of no doubt. But there is nothing to support the view that, judged by the ordinary standard, he was a particularly bad king, or that he was in any way specially responsible for the fall of the Pāla kingdom. As against this opinion, which is now generally held, the extant evidence would in no way militate against the contention that Mahīpāla II was perhaps a victim to circumstances over which he had no control, and that, as a king, he was more sinned against than sinning.

2. Varendrī under the Kaivarta chiefs

The part played by the Kaivarta chief Divya[195] in the revolution that cost Mahīpāla his life and throne is by no means quite clear. From one passage in *Rāmacharita* (I. 38), it seems very likely that Divya was a high official under Mahīpāla. There is no specific reference in *Rāmacharita* that he headed the rebellion of the feudatory chiefs, or even took part in their encounter with Mahīpāla. Yet it is expressly mentioned that the Kaivarta king occupied a major portion of the kingdom after having killed king Mahīpāla (I. 29). Further light is thrown on this episode by the verse I. 38. It says that Varendrī, the ancestral home of the Pālas, was seized by Divya, who was a *dasyu* and *upadhi-vratī*. The interpretation of the latter phrase has given rise to much controversy. The commentary explains *vrata* as some action undertaken as an obligatory duty, and then adds, *chhadmani vratī*. *Chhadman*, like *upadhi*, means 'plea, pretext, fraud, dishonesty, trick' *etc.*, and the natural interpretation of the two qualifying epithets is that Divya was really a villain, though he pretended that his actions were inspired by a sense of duty. In other words, though his real motive in rising

against the king was nothing but ambition and self-aggrandisement, he hid it under the cloak of a patriotic action. According to the other interpretation, Divya was not a rebel at heart, but had to pretend to act as such from a paramount sense of duty. The first interpretation appears to be more fair and reasonable, and is supported by the epithet '*dasyu*' which hardly fits in with the second.

It seems to be quite clear from this passage as well as the scattered references throughout the first canto of *Rāmacharita*, that its author regarded Divya as an evil-doer, and his seizure of the throne as a rebellion, pure and simple.[196] We could hardly expect any other view from the court-poet and a loyal official of the Pālas, and probably the author unduly exaggerated the faults and shortcomings of the enemy. It is quite likely that a writer, belonging to Divya's party, would have represented him in a more favourable light. But the fact remains that the *Rāmacharita*, the only evidence at present available to us, does not in any way support the view, sedulously propagated by a section of writers in Bengal, that Divya was prompted to seize the throne by the highly patriotic motive of saving the country from the oppressions of the ruling king, or that like Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, he was called to the throne by the united voice of the people to save them in a great crisis.[197] In spite of strong popular sentiments to the contrary, we are bound to presume, until further evidence is available, that like so many other rebels in all ages and countries, Divya, a highly placed officer of State, took advantage of the weakness of the central authority, the confusion in the kingdom, and perhaps also of dissensions among the royal brothers, to kill his master and king, and seize the throne for himself. There is no need to invent pretexts, or to offer excuses, for an act which was in that age neither unusual nor regarded as unnatural.[198]

As already noted above, *Rāmacharita* is silent on the point whether Divya actually joined the rebellion of the feudal chiefs. The natural inference is, of course, that he was the leader of this rebellion which proved successful and gave him the throne. It is, however, also not improbable, that he played a waiting game, and as soon as the army of Mahīpāla was worsted in the battle-field, he boldly seized the throne and killed the king. Whatever view may be correct, there is no doubt that Mahīpāla met his death in the hands of Divya, and not during the reign of his nephew Bhīma, as has been upheld by some.[199]

After his accession to the throne, Divya probably came into conflict with Jātavarman, king of Eastern Bengal. The Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman (B. 88) claims that 'Jātavarman brought to disgrace the strength of the arms of Divya.[200] It is impossible to come to any definite conclusion from such an isolated reference, beyond the obvious fact that the two independent kingdoms of Varendrī and Vaṅga were hostile to each other.

Of the activities of Divya, after he had usurped the throne, *Rāmacharita* tells us very little. But the fact that three members of the family ruled in succession (I. 29) shows that Divya made his position quite secure in Varendrī. Not only did Rāmapāla's efforts to recover Varendrī prove futile (I. 40-41), but even his own dominions seem to have been invaded by Divya or his partisans (Ins. No. B. 66, v. 15). These prove that Divya was an able and powerful ruler. He was succeeded by his younger brother Rudoka, but nothing is known of him.

The next king Bhīma,[201] the son and successor of Rudoka, is highly praised as a ruler by the author of *Rāmacharita*. He devotes seven verses (II. 21-27) to a very flattering description of the personal virtues of Bhīma and the riches and strength of his kingdom. It is not, however, easy to reconcile all these praises with the statement that Varendrī was oppressed with cruel taxation before Rāmapāla's conquest (III. 27), and, therefore, presumably in the reign of Bhīma. On the whole, we may reasonably conclude that Bhīma restored peace and prosperity (I. 39) after the period of turmoil that must have accompanied or followed the expulsion of the Pālas, and that the Kaivarta rulers had built up their new kingdom on a strong foundation.[202]

While Bhīma was busy consolidating his dominions in Varendrī, preparations were going on beyond his frontier which ultimately overwhelmed him and destroyed the fortunes of his family.

3. THE REIGN OF RĀMAPĀLA

It has been noted above that Rāmapāla and his elder brother Śūrapāla were both in prison when Mahīpāla II was defeated by the rebellious chiefs. What became of them after this catastrophe is not expressly stated. MM. Śāstrī's statement that "they were rescued by their friends,"[203] presumably even before the revolution, is not borne out by *RC*. It is clear, however, that somehow or other

they managed to escape and leave Varendrī. Although there is no subsequent reference to Śūrapāla in *RC.*, it is clear from v. 15 of the Manahali copper-plate of Madanapāla (B. 66) that Śūrapāla ascended the throne. Of the events of his reign we know nothing. But the silence of *RC.* about Śūrapāla's later history does not justify the assumption made by R. D. Banerji that he was murdered by Rāmapāla.[204] All that we may reasonably infer is that Śūrapāla played no part in the great task of recovering Varendrī, which devolved, after his death, upon his younger brother Rāmapāla who succeeded him.

After the usurpation of the throne of Varendrī by Divya, Rāmapāla (and presumably also his elder brother Śūrapāla) ruled over the remaining part of the Pāla kingdom, which probably included at first parts of Magadha and Rāḍhā and was later confined to Vaṅga or a part of it.[205]

For some time, Rāmapāla remained inactive, unable to adopt any effective means to recover Varendrī (I. 40). But then some new danger arose, and after consultation with his sons and ministers, he resolved on firm and prompt action (I. 42). The exact nature of this new danger is not disclosed in *RC.*, but perhaps it refers to Divya's campaigns against Rāmapāla referred to above. It was probably the danger of losing even the remaining part of his kingdom that forced Rāmapāla to activity.[206]

In sheer despair Rāmapāla begged for help in all possible quarters. The proud inheritor of the throne of Dharmapāla and Devapāla literally travelled from door to door with a view to enlisting the sympathy and support of the powerful chiefs (I. 43). His efforts proved successful. By a lavish offer of land and enormous wealth, he gained over to his side a number of powerful chiefs who possessed well-equipped forces (I. 45). The detailed list of these independent or semi-independent chiefs of Bengal, contained in *RC.*[207] must be regarded as of utmost historical importance. Apart from giving us an accurate idea of the strength of Rāmapāla in that supreme hour of trial, this list of *de facto* independent chiefs furnishes a vivid and interesting picture of the political dismemberment of Bengal caused by the decline of the power and authority of the Pālas.

Foremost among Rāmapāla's allies was his maternal uncle Mathana, better known as Mahaṇa, the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief who joined Rāmapāla with his two sons, *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Kāhṇaradeva and Suvarṇadeva, and his brother's son *Mahāpratīhāra* Śivarājadeva.

Next in point of importance was Bhīmayaśas, the king of Pīṭhī and lord of Magadha who is said to have overthrown the army of king of Kanauj. The exact location of Pīṭhī is not known but it was certainly in Bihar.[208] Of the other allied chiefs that joined Rāmapāla in his expedition against Varendrī, *Rāmacharita* specifically mentions only the following :

1. Vīraguṇa, king[209] of Koṭāṭavī in the south.[210]
2. Jayasiṁha, king of Daṇḍa-*bhukti* (Midnapore District), who totally crushed Karṇakeśarī king of Utkala.
3. Vikramarāja, ruler of Devagrāma.[211]
4. Lakshmīśūra, lord of Apara-Mandāra (Hooghly district),[212] and head of the group of feudal chiefs of the forest (*samast-āṭavika-sāmanta-chakra-chūḍāmaṇi*)
5. Śūrapāla, ruler of Kujavaṭī (about 14 miles north of Nayādumkā in Santal Parganas).[213]
6. Rudraśikhara, ruler of Tailakampa (Manbhum district).[214]
7. Bhāskara or Mayagalasiṁha,, king of Uchchhāla.[215]
8. Pratāpasiṁha, king of Ḍhekkarīya (Ḍhekuri near Katwa in the Burdwan district).[216]
9. Narasiṁhārjuna, king of Kayaṅgala-maṇḍala (south of Rājmahal).[217]
10. Chaṇḍārjuna of Saṅkaṭagrāma.[218]
11. Vijayarāja of Nidrāvalī.[219]
12. Dvorapavardhana, ruler of Kauśāmbī (Rajshahi or Bogra district).[220]
13. Soma of Paduvanvā.[221]

In addition to Mahaṇa, Bhīmayaśas, and the thirteen rulers mentioned above, Rāmapāla was joined by other allied chiefs whose names are not given (II. 6). An analysis of the list shows that, leaving aside the localities whose identity is unkown or doubtful, almost all the allies of Rāmapāla belonged to South Bihar and South-West Bengal.

If the identification of Kauśāmbī with Kusumbi in either Rajshahi or Bogra be accepted, we must hold that Rāmapāla's diplomacy succeeded in attaching isolated chiefs, even of Varendrī, to his side. This must have proved disastrous to the cause of Bhīma, as he was now liable to attack from within. Besides, it proves that Varendrī did not solidly stand by him, and there was disruption within the newly founded kingdom.

Being joined by the large and well-equipped forces of the confederate chiefs, consisting of cavalry, elephants and infantry, Rāmapāla felt strong enough to make an attempt towards the recovery of Varendrī. He despatched a force under his *Mahā-pratīhāra*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Śivarāja, which crossed the Ganges and devastated Varendrī (I. 47-49). There is no reference to any pitched battle, but presumably the frontier guards of Bhīma were defeated, and the way was made clear for the crossing of the main force (I. 50).

As soon as Śivarāja reported to Rāmapāla that his army had occupied the frontier posts, the entire force of Rāmapāla crossed the Ganges by means of a flotilla of boats, and safely reached the "northern bank" (II. 9-11). The express reference in *RC.* to the "northern bank" seems to show that Rāmapāla proceeded from his base in Central or Southern Bengal, and crossed the Padmā. This supports the view, mentioned above, that at the time of this expedition, Vaṅga was the chief stronghold of Rāmapāla's power. But the considerable shiftings of the courses of the Ganges and the Padmā rivers preclude any definite conclusion.[222]

After Rāmapāla had crossed the Ganges with his huge army, Bhīma opposed him, and a pitched battle took place. The tumultuous battle which is described in nine verses (II. 12-20) was conducted with vigour and ferocity on each side. Both Bhīma and Rāmapāla took a very active part in it, and kept close to each other (II. 14). But 'by an evil turn of destiny,' Bhīma, seated on the elephant, was taken prisoner. This decided the fate of the battle. Bhīma's army fled and his camp was plundered by the 'unrestrained soldiers' of Rāmapāla (II. 29-30). But shortly after the capture of Bhīma, his forces were rallied by his friend Hari, who put up a valiant fight and at first scored some successes (II. 38 ff). But Rāmapāla's son, who was put in charge of the fight, "exhausted the golden pitchers by his war-time gifts" (II. 43), and evidently managed to create some discord between Hari and Bhīma's followers which caused obstruction to each other (II. 41). Finally, Hari was won over.[223] This sealed the fate of Bhīma's army, and the whole of his kingdom lay prostrate before Rāmapāla.

After having crushed this rising, Rāmapāla wreaked a terrible vengeance upon Bhīma. Bhīma was taken to the place of execution where important members of his family were killed before his very eyes. Then Bhīma himself was killed by means of a 'multitude of

arrows' (II. 45-49).[224] Thus ended the life of Bhīma and the rebellion in Varendrī.

After the final collapse of the forces of Bhīma, Rāmapāla took possession of his immense riches, and "occupied after a long time the dearest land of Varendrī" (III. 1). His first task was, of course, the restoration of peace and order. We learn from *RC.*, that in addition to the insecurity of life and property caused by the late troubles, the country was suffering from heavy and oppressive taxation (III. 27). Rāmapāla reduced the taxation, promoted cultivation, constructed great works of public utility, and introduced regular administration. The country was rid of the frightful rule ; the (wholesale) massacre and arson caused by the enemies was removed ; and the land, being brought under cultivation, flourished.[225] Rāmapāla left the cares of government to his son (or sons) who, acting under his orders, maintained good government and restored internal order.[226]

Rāmapāla fixed his capital at Rāmāvatī. Whether the city was founded by him, or he improved an already existing place, is not quite clear. The *RC.* gives a long description of its beauty and splendour,[227] and it appears from later records (No. B. 66) that the city continued to be the capital of the Pālas till the end.

After having consolidated his power in Varendrī, Rāmapāla made an attempt to re-establish the old glory of the dynasty by subjugating neighbouring territories in the east and south. The *RC.* tells us (III. 44) that Rāmapāla was propitiated by a Varman king of the East for his own protection (or deliverance), and presented him an elephant and his own chariot. This Varman king must have belonged to the well-known dynasty ruling in East Bengal with Vikramapura as capital.[228]

Rāmapāla also carried his conquests further and brought Kāmarūpa under his control. The victorious campaign was evidently led by an allied or feudal chief who was greatly honoured by Rāmapāla (III. 47). The vanquished king of Assam was probably Dharmapāla.[229]

Rāmapāla also tried to expand his power in the south. The task was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the feudatory chiefs of Rāḍhā had rallied to his standard, and were evidently attached to his cause. Presumably with their help he invaded Orissa and extended his conquests up to Kaliṅga.[230] Orissa was at that time in a state of political disintegration. The later Eastern Gaṅga kings

of Kaliṅga were trying to expand their dominions in the north. King Devendravarman Rājarāja claims to have conquered Oḍradeśa some time before 1075 A.D.[231] Evidently the conquest of Orissa was not complete, for his son, the famous Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (1076-1147 A.D.), replaced the fallen lord of Utkala, some time before 1112 A.D.[232], and claims in an inscription, dated 1118 A.D.[233], to have been decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala. It appears, however, that Orissa was not finally conquered and annexed to the Eastern Gaṅga empire till shortly before 1135 A.D., for in an inscription[234] dated in that year, Anantavarman refers to his newly made conquest of three quarters including Utkala. It is probable that shortly after this he removed his capital to the city of Cuttack in Orissa.[235]

While the Eastern Gaṅgas were thus steadily encroaching upon Orissa from the south, that hapless country was also exposed to attacks from the north. We know from *Rāmacharita* that Jayasiṁha, king of Daṇḍabhukti, had defeated Karṇakeśarī, king of Utkala,[236] before he joined Rāmapāla in his expedition against Bhīma. Rāmapāla's conquest of Utkala might have been a continuation of the old campaign, and was undoubtedly facilitated by the success of his allied feudal chief. But it is also not unlikely that his invasion of Utkala was inspired by the dread of the rapidly growing power of the Eastern Gaṅgas. If so, subsequent conquests of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga right up to the bank of the Ganges[237] showed that Rāmapāla's apprehensions were not probably without some reasonable foundations. As Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and Rāmapāla both claim to have favoured or re-instated the lord of Utkala, it is not difficult to infer that Orissa was only a pawn in a bigger game, and that the two rival kings tried to thwart each other's ambition by putting up their protégés on the throne of Orissa. It may be surmised from what has been said above that Rāmapāla's protégé was a Somāvaṁśī Keśarī king. Evidently this Keśarī king had been defeated by Rājarāja Devendravarman, *c.* 1075 A.D., and replaced by a nominee of the latter. Some time later Rāmapāla helped the defeated king (or his successor) and re-instated him. About 1112 A.D. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga again replaced the old king, set up by his father, or his successor.

In this way the duel between the Pāla and Eastern Gaṅga kings was carried on at the expense of the unfortunate kingdom of Orissa. It was not perhaps till after the death of Rāmapāla that

the Gaṅga king succeeded in finally conquering Orissa aud annexing it to his dominions. For, according to *Rāmacharita*, Rāmapāla protected the whole country right up to Kaliṅga by destroying the *niśācharas.*[238] In this word *niśāchara*, which means thief or '*chora*', there may be a veiled allusion to the Gaṅga king Choḍagaṅga. Rāmapāla was undoubtedly helped in his task of keeping the Gaṅga king in check by the serious danger in which the latter was involved in the south. The Choḷa king Kulottuṅga (1070-1118 A.D.) invaded the Gaṅga dominions, and during the closing years of the eleventh, and possibly also in the early years of the twelfth century, the Choḷas penetrated to the northernmost parts of Kaliṅga.[239] Whether Rāmapāla had actually formed an alliance with the Choḷa king we do not know. The Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, which describes the Choḷa conquests of North Kaliṅga, also gives a long list of peoples who paid tributes to Kulottuṅga. It includes Vaṅgas, Vaṅgālas, and Magadhas. Kulottuṅga also assumed the title "Lord of the earth lying between the river Ganges and the river Kāverī."[240] Such general statements are, however, liable to suspicion, and cannot be accepted as historical, though it is not impossible that Rāmapāla might have thought it politic to maintain friendly relations with the Choḷa king by nominally acknowledging his suzerainty over the disputed border land. For about this time the Choḷa king was carrying on hostilities against both the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Later Chālukyas. As Rāmapāla's territory was also invaded by both these powers, he might have sought to make alliance with the Choḷas for securing support against the common enemies.

In a significant passage in *Rāmacharita* (III. 24), the expression '*adharita-Kārṇāṭekshaṇa-līlā*' is used to describe the condition of Varendrī. The only reasonable interpretation seems to be that Varendrī was successfully guarded against the longing eyes of the Karṇāṭas. In other words, the Karṇāṭas made attempts to conquer Bengal, but were prevented by Rāmapāla from doing so.

The Karṇāṭa country was at this time ruled by the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Reference has already been made above to the invasions of Bengal by him and his predecessors.[241] A feudatory chief of the Chālukya king named Ācha also claims to have carried on raids against Bengal towards the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.[242] But even far more important than these raids was the establishment of two Karṇāṭa ruling families

within the boundaries of the Pāla kingdom. These were the Senas in West Bengal, and Nānyadeva in Mithilā or North Bihar. The Senas were kept in check by Rāmapāla, though they ultimately drove the Pālas from Bengal, and their history has been dealt with in a separate chapter.[243] But, for the time being, Nānyadeva proved a far more dangerous foe. Up to the end of Mahīpāla I's reign, at any rate, Mithilā was included in the Pāla dominions. How long the Pālas continued to rule in that region, it is now difficult to say. Nānya,[244] a feudatory of Karnatic origin, ascended the throne of Mithilā in 1097 A.D., and his dynasty ruled over that province for a long time. He claims to have broken the powers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa. The ruler of Vaṅga, with whom Nānyadeva fought, was probably Vijayasena who also claims in his record to have defeated Nānya. The lord of Gauḍa was probably Rāmapāla ; for on general grounds, it appears hardly likely that Nānya could have conquered Mithilā in 1097 A.D. without coming into conflict with Rāmapāla. In any case, it seems certain that Mithilā definitely passed out of the hands of the Pālas during the reign of Rāmapāla.

Another power with which Rāmapāla had come into conflict was the Gāhaḍavālas. The founder of this dynasty, Chandradeva, flourished during the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. The dynasty ruled over nearly the whole of modern U. P., and their chief seat of authority was probably Varanasi. Although the imperial city of Kanauj was included in their dominions, and the kings styled themselves as lords of Kānyakubja, they were not infrequently referred to as kings of Varanasi or Kāśī.[245]

As the boundary of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom probably touched that of the Pālas, hostility between the two was natural, and almost inevitable. The first reference to the conflict occurs in the Rāhan Grant,[246] dated 1109 A.D., which describes Govindachandra, son of the reigning Gāhaḍavāla king Madanapāla, as "terrific in cleaving the frontal globes of arrays of irresistible mighty large elephants from Gauḍa." The king of Gauḍa with whom Govindachandra fought was undoubtedly Rāmapāla. The expression used in the Gāhaḍavāla Grant does not imply any decisive victory, far less territorial conquest, on the part of the Gāhaḍavāla prince, but certainly pays a high tribute to the forces of the Pālas. We do not know whether the clash was due to the aggressive action on the part of the Pālas or of the Gāhaḍavālas, but the latter view is more probable. It has been suggested that the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradeva led an

expedition against the Pālas some time between A.D. 1091 and 1093 but was defeated. Later, when the Gāhaḍavālas were embarrassed by the repeated attacks of the Yamini Sultan Masud III (1099—1115), Ramapāla, by way of retaliation against this outrage, invaded the Gāhaḍavāla dominions, but Govindachandra repulsed the Pāla invasion.[246a]

The result of the conflict during Rāmapāla's reign is perhaps indicated by the expression *dhṛita-madhyadeśa-tanimā* used to describe the political condition of Varendrī (*RC.* III. 24). It means that Rāmapāla kept in check the growing power of Madhyadeśa, which undoubtedly refers to the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom. This may perhaps be partly attributed to a diplomatic marriage. For we know that Govindachandra married Kumāradevī, the princess of Pīṭhī, whose mother was the daughter of Mahaṇa, the famous Rāshṭrakūṭa chief of Aṅga and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. This marriage alliance was probably engineered by Mahaṇa as a means to cement the alliance between the Palas and the Gāhaḍavālas. But such political marriages can seldom check political ambitions for long, and in the present case, at any rate, the alliance did not long survive the death of Mahaṇa and Rāmapāla.

A review of the main incidents of Rāmapāla's career, such as may be gleaned from contemporary records, reflects the highest credit upon his character and abilities. Beginning his life as an exile from his native land Varendrī, and maintaining a precarious existence in a corner of his kingdom, Rāmapāla succeeded not only in re-establishing his sovereignty over the whole of Bengal, but also in extending his supremacy over Assam and Orissa. He crushed the power of a valiant and popular chief like Bhīma and successfully guarded his dominions against such formidable foes as the Gaṅgas, the Chālukyas, and the Gāhaḍavālas. According to a story recorded by Tāranātha, the Buddhist Lama of Tibet, Rāmapāla was engaged in a war with the Muhammadan Tajiks.[247] The author of the *Rāmacharita* says with legitimate pride that under Rāmapāla Varendrī enjoyed peace for a long period, and no wicked person dared disturb her tranquillity. This was probably true in regard to the whole of his kingdom towards the close of his reign.

Rāmapāla must have lived up to a considerably old age. According to the Manahali copper-plate, (B. 66) he gave evidence of his valour in the battle-field even during the lifetime of his father. He could not, therefore, have been very young when he ascended

the throne after his two brothers. The Chandimau Image Inscription (B. 49) shows that he must have ruled at least for forty-two years. According to Tāranātha Rāmapāla ruled for sixty-four years. It appears from the colophon of a manuscript (B. 50) that he ruled for at least 53 years. It may be safely presumed, therefore, that he lived up to the age of nearly seventy years. He was overwhelmed by the news of the death of his maternal uncle Mahaṇa, who, with his sons and nephew, had proved the staunchest supporter in his great hour of trial. Unable to bear the sorrow, Rāmapāla put an end to his own life by drowning himself in the Ganges at Monghyr (*RC.* IV. vv. 8-10.) according to the time-honoured custom in India. Thus ended a great career, a worthy hero of the modern *Rāmāyaṇa* composed by Sandhyākara Nandī.

VII. The End of the Pāla Rule

The reign of Rāmapāla might well have been regarded by his contemporaries as marking the revival of the greatness of the Pālas and inaugurating a new era of peace and prosperity. But events soon proved it to be but the last flickering of a lamp before its final extinction.

Rāmapāla had at least four sons. Of these, Vittapāla and Rājyapāla played important roles during the lifetime of their father,[248] though none of them ever ascended the throne. The two others, Kumārapāla and Madanapāla, who both ruled over the Pāla kingdom, are not referred to in *Rāmacharita* as having taken any part in the eventful reign of their father. The seniority among these four brothers according to age, and the reason why Kumārapāla superseded the other brothers, and his son was succeeded by Madanapāla, are all unknown to us. A mystery hangs over this period of history, and it is deepened by the concluding portion of *RC.* As the title of the book shows, the main purpose of the author was to describe the exploits of Rāmapāla (and of Rāma) and this is clearly stated in several verses at the end of the poem.[249] Yet the story is carried beyond the death of Rāmapāla for three more reigns. This may be explained by supposing that the author desired to bring the historical narrative down to his own time. But what is surprising is that while the poet dismisses in a single verse each of the reigns of Kumārapāla and his son Gopāla III., he devotes no less than thirty-six verses to the reign of Madanapāla. Whether this is purely

out of devotion to the reigning king, or there were other motives also for so unceremoniously passing over the reigns of his two predecessors, it is difficult to say. That he deliberately ignored the importance of the two reigns may not unreasonably be concluded from his statement (IV. 15) that Madanapāla's accession removed the dart of grief resulting from the death of Rāmapāla. On the whole, it appears not unlikely that there were internal troubles during the period immediately following the death of Rāmapāla, and they were not over even when Kumārapāla ascended the throne. Kumārapāla was succeeded by his son Gopāla III. The single verse in *RC.* referring to him (IV. 12), and verse 17 in the Manahali CP. (B. 66) have led scholars to conclude that Gopāla III met with an unnatural death even while he was an infant.[250] Mr. R. D. Banerji has even suggested that he was murdered by Madanapāla.[251] But though dark hints to some such foul crime may be detected in *RC.*, there is no positive evidence in support of any of these contentions. All that we definitely know is that Madanapāla succeeded his nephew Gopāla III, and ruled for at least 18 years.

Madanapāla is the only Pāla king whose date of accession is known with certainty. The Valgudar Inscription (B. 64), dated in his 18th regnal year, also bears the date Śaka year 1083, 11th *Jyaishṭha*, corresponding to 4th May, 1161. Madanapāla therefore must have ascended the throne in A.D. 1144-5 and ruled at least for 18 years till 1161-2.

The period covered by the three reigns of Kumārapāla, Gopāla III, and Madanapāla (*c.* 1130-1161 A.D.) saw the final collapse of the Pāla kingdom. The circusmstances leading to this catastrophe are not yet fully known to us, but some of the causes operating to the same end, namely the disruption within and invasions from outside, may be described in some detail.

Troubles began early in the reign of Kumārapāla. The Kamauli Plate (B. 94) tells us that Vaidyadeva, the great and favourite minister of Kumārapāla, obtained victory in a naval fight in South Bengal, and, being ordered by his master, put down the rebellion of Tiṅgyadeva in the east. Tiṅgyadeva was presumably the feudal ruler of Kāmarūpa which was conquered by Rāmapāla. For Vaidyadeva, who put down the rebellion, became ruler of the country which included Prāgjyotisha-*bhukti* and Kāmarūpa-*maṇḍala*. The victory of Vaidyadeva, however, did not restore Kāmarūpa to the Pālas, for within a short time, possibly after the death of Kumārapāla, Vaidyadeva practically assumed independence.[252]

About the same time Eastern Bengal also must have passed out of the hands of the Pālas, for we find an independent Varman dynasty ruling in Vikramapura. According to *RC.*, a Varman ruler acknowledged the suzerainty of Rāmapāla, and sought his protection, but the Belāva copper-plate (B. 88) leaves no doubt that Bhojavarman was ruling as an independent chieftain.[253] Vaidyadeva's military campaign in South Bengal perhaps indicates renewed conflict either with Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, or the Later Chālukyas, leading to the rise of the Senas. As already noted above,[254] the Eastern Gaṅga king is said to have carried his victorious arms right up to the bank of the Ganges, as far as Midnapur, some time before 1135 A.D. He also defeated the king of Mandāra on the Ganges, and destroyed his fortified town Āramya, probably Arambagh in Hooghly district.[255] On the other hand, the Pāla records claim victory in the campaigns in South Bengal during the reign of Kumārapāla, and a somewhat obscure verse in *RC.* (IV. 47) seems to imply that Madanapāla had some success in Kaliṅga, or at least had power to defeat the king of Kaliṅga if the latter dared attack him. But shortly a power arose in the borderland between the kingdoms of the Pālas and Anantavarman, which checkmated both and carried its victorious arms in the heart of their dominions. These were the Senas who undoubtedly took advantage of the conflict between the Pālas and the Eastern Gaṅgas to establish their position in South Bengal. Their task was also facilitated by the invasions of the Later Chālukyas to which detailed reference will be made in a later chapter. It is also not altogether unlikely that the naval campaigns in South Bengal during the reign of Kumārapāla were directed against the Senas.

Like the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Chālukyas in the south, the third hostile power, kept in check by Rāmapāla, *viz.*, the Gāhaḍavālas in the west, also took advantage of his death and the consequent weakness of the Pālas to push forward their conquests. The Māner Plates [256] show that by 1124 A.D. they had advanced up to the district of Patna. It is also evident from the Lar Plates[257] that the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra was in occupation of Monghyr in A.D. 1146. Madanapāla must have achieved some success in his fight with the Gāhaḍavālas towards the end of his reign. For the Jaynagar Inscription (B. 67) shows that some time before his 14th regnal year, *i.e.*, about 1157 A.D., he had recovered Monghyr. In his war with the Gāhaḍavālas, he received valuable assistance from his

kinsman Chandradeva, the lord of Aṅga, who was the son of Suvarṇadeva and grandson of Mahaṇa.[258] The *RC.* frequently refers to the alliance between the two, and is full of praises for Chandradeva.[259] It is not unlikely that Chandradeva, like his grandfather Mahaṇa, brought about an alliance between the Pāla and the Gahaḍavāla king both of whom were his near relatives. For *RC.* says (IV. 23) that in a moment of peril, when his kingdom was in disorder, Madanapāla made alliance with a king of godly character. But, for the present, this is a pure conjecture.

Even apart from the above express reference, there are other indications in *RC.* about great troubles within the kingdom of Madanapāla. Madanapāla is said to have destroyed or dethroned a king named Govardhana (IV. 47). A king of this name is referred to in Belāva copper-plate as having been defeated by Jātavarman, the king of East Bengal. But as Jātavarman was a contemporary of Divya and Vigrahapāla III, it is difficult to identify the two Govardhanas, though this cannot be regarded as altogether impossible. In any case, he may be regarded as a local ruler in Bengal.

But more significant is the reference to a battle on the river Kālindī, which is probably to be identified with the modern river of that name in Malda district which once flowed past or near the capital of Madanapāla. We are told (IV. 27) that Madanapāla had driven back to the Kālindī the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side. This probably refers to the conquest of Vijayasena who had already made himself master of Southern and Eastern Bengal.[260] In his Deopārā Inscription (C.2) he claims to have driven away the lord of Gauḍa, who was almost certainly Madanapāla. The victory was not perhaps a decisive one, but the authority of Madanapāla in North Bengal was considerably weakened, if not finally destroyed, by this invasion.

It is also not unlikely that the disorder in the kingdom, or the battle on the Kālindī, refers to an invasion of Gauḍa by the Karṇāṭa ruler of Mithilā. We have seen above that Nānyadeva claimed to have broken the powers of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. A king, described as *Gauḍadhvaja*[261] Gāṅgeyadeva and mentioned in a colophon as reigning in Tirhut in *Saṁvat* 1076, probably refers to his son Gaṅgadeva ruling in 1154 A.D.[262] The title *Gauḍadhvaja* seems to indicate that he claimed some political authority in Gauḍa. The son of Nānyadeva was almost certainly a contemporary of

Madanapāla, and probably attacked his kingdom with some success.

The internal disruption and foreign invasions, described above. led to the collapse of the Pāla kingdom. The Manahali copper-plate (B. 66) shows that at least up to the eighth year of Madanapāla, a considerable portion of North Bengal, if not the whole of it, was included within his kingdom. The nature and extent of his authority over North Bengal after that date cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. The Jaynagar Image inscription (B. 67) shows that in the 14th year of his reign he ruled over the Monghyr district. In view of what we know of the Senas, the Gāhaḍavālas, and the Karṇāṭa rulers of Mithilā, we may safely conclude that when Madanapāla died, the Pālas had ceased to exercise any sovereignty in Westetn, Southern, and Eastern Bengal, and in Western and Northern Bihar. In other words, the Pāla kingdom was confined to Central and Eastern Bihar, and probably included a portion of Northern Bengal. Within less than five years of the death of Madanapāla, the descendants of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, if any, were driven away even from this last refuge by the Senas, and the Pālas passed out of history.

Madanapāla is the last king who is definitely known to have belonged to the great Pāla dynasty. Names of some kings ending in *pāla* are known from records found in Bihar, but their relationship, if any, with the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has not yet been established. One of these is named Govindapāla, who ruled in the Gayā district. The colophons of a few manuscripts and a stone inscription are dated in years which seem to be counted from the destruction of his kingdom in 1162 A.D.[263] If this view be correct, Govindapāla must have ascended the throne in or before A.D. 1158, as one of the colophons refers to his fourth regnal year. In that case we must hold that he was a contemporary, and probably rival of, Madanapāla. No connection between the two kings has yet been established, but the name-ending *pāla*, the assumption of full imperial titles including 'Lord of Gauḍa,' and the reckoning of date from the end of his reign raise a strong presumption that he was the last ruler of the Imperial Pāla dynasty at least in the Gayā region. Whether his kingdom extended much further beyond the district of Gayā, where his stone inscription has been found, cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. The assumption of imperial titles and the epithet 'Lord of Gauḍa' may be a vain boast,

though the possibility is not altogether excluded that he might have temporarily occupied Gauḍa. For, as we shall see later, the Sena kings had probably to send more than one expedition before they finally seized the Gauḍa kingdom. It is somewhat singular that the last-known date of the reigns of Madanapāla and Govindapāla falls very close to each other, and it is not unlikely that both were defeated by a common enemy within a few years of 1162 A.D. and the Pāla dynasty came to an end. This may not be altogether unconnected with the conquest of Eastern Bihar by the Senas some time before the 9th regnal year of Vallālasena (c. 1166-7 A.D.) as we shall see later.

Some scholars have assumed the existence of another Pāla king named Palapāla. But the assumption is based upon very doubtful reading of an inscription, and Palapāla should not find any place in sober history until further evidence is forthcoming.[264] In any case there is no valid ground for connecting him with the Pāla Dynasty of Gopāla. The same may be said of Indradyumnapāla who is only known from tradition.[265]

APPENDIX I

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PĀLA KINGS

Nearly half a century ago,[266] the author of this book laid down a definite scheme of chronology of the Pāla and the Sena kings. His conclusions, though opposed to the prevailing view championed by Mr. R. D. Banerji,[267] have now been generally accepted, with slight modifications, due to new discoveries. It is not necessary, therefore, to discuss the different views once held on the subject, and it will suffice to re-state the fundamental principles on which that scheme was based, and the chronology resulting therefrom.

Proceeding from the two fixed points in the chronology of the Pālas, *viz.*, the date A.D. 1026 for Mahīpāla I supplied by the Sārnāth Inscription (B. 36) and the date 1083 Śaka corresponding to the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla (B. 64), it is possible to fix the approximate dates of their predecessors and successors by counting backwards and forwards from the two fixed dates, on the basis of the known reign-periods of those kings[268] and a few well-established data, *viz.*, the synchronism between Dharmapāla and Govinda III, Mahīpāla and Rājendra Choḷa, and Nayapāla and Kalachuri Karṇa ; the conquest of Varendra by Vijayasena after the eighth regnal year of Madanapāla ; and the end of Madanapāla's reign before the known date of Govindapāla.

The following table is drawn up on this basis, showing the known reign-periods of kings and making allowance (*a*) for the excess of their actual reign-periods over those known at present, and (*b*) the reign-periods of those kings about the duration of whose reign nothing is known so far.

NAME OF KING	KNOWN REIGN-PERIOD	APPROXIMATE YEAR OF ACCESSION
1. Gopāla I	..	750 A.D.
2. Dharmapāla	32	770 ,,
3. Devapāla	39 (or 35)	810 ,,
4. Vigrahapāla I or Śūrapāla I ..	3	850 ,,
5. Nārāyaṇapāla ..	54	854 ,,
6. Rājyapāla	32	908 ,,
7. Gopāla II	17	940 A.D.

NAME OF KING	KNOWN REIGN-PERIOD	APPROXIMATE YEAR OF ACCESSION
8. Vigrahapāla II ..	26 (?)	960 ,,
9. Mahīpāla I	48	988 ,,
10. Nayapāla	15	1038 ,,
11. Vigrahapāla III ..	17	1054 ,,
12. Mahīpāla II	..	1072 ,,
13. Śūrapāla II	..	1075 ,,
14 Rāmapāla	53	1077 ,,
15. Kumārapāla	..	1130 ,,
16. Gopāla III	..	1140 ,,
17. Madanapāla	18	1144 ,,
18. Govindapāla	4	1158 ,,

Although the general basis of the chronology has been explained above, it is necessary to make a few remarks regarding the dates assigned to some of the kings.

1. Gopāla I

Dr. M. Shahidullah placed the date of Gopāla's accession in 715 A.D., chiefly on the strength of Tāranātha's account.[269] But his whole chronological scheme is vitiated by the wrong assumption that Govichandra was the last king of the Chandra dynasty. He ignores altogether the reign of Lalitachandra who, according to Tāranātha, succeeded Govichandra and ruled for many years in peace[270] Dr. Shahidullah put the end of Govichandra's reign at about 700 A.D. If we add the long reign of Lalitachandra, and the years of anarchy that followed, the commencement of Gopāla's reign may be reasonably fixed at about the middle of the eighth century. The date has been assumed, in round numbers, as about 750 A.D., but this should be regarded as only an approximate one.

Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya[271] placed the accession of Gopāla in 700 A.D., mainly on the strength of Tibetan traditions, and accepted Tāranātha's statement that Gopāla ruled for 45 years. Presumably Gopāla was fairly advanced in age when he was called to the throne at a critical time. Hence we should not assign a long reign to him in the absence of any positive evidence. As regards Tibetan traditions, Tāranātha's account agrees with the proposed date.[272] Besides it has already been noted above (*supra* p. 118) that in an almost contemporary Tibetan text, Dharmapāla is mentioned as a contemporary of Mu-tig Btsan-po. This certainly supports the chronology

adopted above, and does not favour the view that Gopāla was elected king before 750 A.D.

2. Dharmapāla

The defeat of Dharmapāla by Govinda III before A.D. 805 (See p. 108) shows that Dharmapāla must have been on the throne before, probably long before, that date.

3. Gopāla II

On the strength of a passage in a Pāla Inscription (B. 40) it was held that Gopāla II reigned for a very long period, at least a longer period than his predecessor.[273] But as the same passage occurs in an inscription dated in the 6th year of Gopāla II (B. 30), it can only be regarded as conventional.

The date in a palm-leaf MS. of the *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa* was read by MM. H. P. Sāstrī as year 57 of Gopāladeva's reign.[274] But Mr. R. D. Banerji and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar read the date, respectively, as 17 and 11.[275] In view of these facts the long reign formerly assigned to Gopāla II can no longer be upheld.

4. Vigrahapāla II and III

A manuscript of *Pañcharakshā* was copied in the twenty-sixth year of Vigrahapāla,[276] who must be identified either with Vigrahapāla II or Vigrahapāla III ; for as these two kings ruled within a century, it would be unsafe to rely on palaeography and assign the MS. definitely to one of them.[277] For the same reason, king Vigrahapāla mentioned in the Kurkihār Image Ins. of year 19 (B.34-5) should be taken as either Vigrahapāla II or Vigrahapāla III. One of these kings must have, therefore, reigned for at least 26 years. Following previous writers, I have assumed this king to be Vigrahapāla II.

5. Mahipāla I

The date assigned to Mahīpāla I is based on the assumption that the Sārnāth Ins., dated 1026 A.D., belongs to his reign. This point has been discussed above (*supra* p. 135). The initial year, 988 A.D., satisfies the astronomical data contained in a MS. written in the 6th year of Mahīpāla's reign.[278]

6. NAYAPĀLA

The date of Nayapāla is controlled by the fact that he was a contemporary of the Kalachuri king Karṇa who ascended the throne in 1041 A.D.[279] It is difficult to assay the exact value of the Tibetan tradition[280] in fixing the year of Nayapāla's accession, but the date suggested is in full agreement with this.

7. RĀMAPĀLA

Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya made an attempt to fix the date of Rāmapāla's death on the strength of a passage in *Seka-śubhodayā*. Apart from the fact that this book cannot claim any historical character, and is merely a collection of fables and legends,[281] the expression recording the date (*Śāke yugma-veṇu-randhra-gate*) does not offer any intelligible meaning. By different emendations of the passage, Mr. Bhattacharya and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali fixed the year of Rāmapāla's death as 1042 Śaka (=1120 A.D.).[282]

MM. H. P. Śastri[283] and Mr. R. D. Banerji[284] identified Chandra, mentioned as a friend of Madanapāla in *Rāmacharita* (IV. 16-21), with king Chandradeva who founded the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj. They, therefore, held that as this Chandradeva died before 1104 A.D., Madanapāla must have ascended the throne before that. Dr. R. G. Basak has, however, pointed out two very important facts mentioned in *Rāmacharita* about Chandra, *viz.*, (1) that he was a *mahāmāṇḍalika* and the ruler of Aṅga, and (2) that his father was Suvarṇa. As Dr. Basak has suggested, Suvarṇa is almost certainly to be identified with the son, named Suvarṇa, of Mahaṇa, the ruler of Aṅga, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla.[285] Thus Chandra was the nephew of Rāmapāla, and cousin of Madanapāla. He probably succeeded his grandfather Mahaṇa as ruler of Aṅga, and we know that Mahaṇa died shortly before Rāmapāla. There is thus no valid reason for the belief that Madanapāla was a contemporary of the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradeva.

8. GOPĀLA III

The chronology of the successors of Rāmapāla is usually drawn up by assigning a reign of 14 years to Gopāla III on the basis of Rajibpur CP (B. 62). But, the record might as well belong to the

reign of Gopāla II. In view of the recent discoveries about the reign-period of Rāmapāla (53 years) and the date of accession of Madanapāla, it is difficult to assign 14 years' reign to Gopāla II. Other grounds for assigning a short reign to Gopāla III have been mentioned on p.156. So, a short reign has been assigned to Gopāla III and Inscription B. 62 has been assigned to Gopāla II.

APPENDIX II

LĀMĀ TĀRANĀTHA'S ACCOUNT OF BENGAL[286]

The Tibetan historian Lāmā Tāranātha was born in 1573 A. D., and completed his famous work '*History of Buddhism in India*' in the year 1608 A.D. His main object was to give a detailed account of the Buddhist teachers, doctrines, and institutions in India during the different periods. He has, however, always taken care to add the names of the kings under whose patronage, or during whose regime, they flourished. In this way he has preserved a considerable amount of Buddhist traditions regarding the political history of India. That these traditions cannot be regarded as reliable data for the political history of India admits of no doubt. At the same time there is equally little doubt that they contain a nucleus of historical truths, which neither Indian literature nor Indian tradition has preserved for us. This fact, which will be illustrated in the following pages, makes it desirable to give a short summary of the political history of Bengal which may be gleaned from the pages of Tāranātha.

The only kingdom in the east, of which Tāranātha gives the names of successive generations of kings, is Bhaṅgala, i.e., Vaṅgāla, which may be taken to denote, in a general way, Southern and Eastern Bengal.[287]

According to Tāranātha, the Chandra dynasty ruled in Bhaṅgala before the Pālas, and the names of all the kings mentioned by him prior to Gopāla end in *chandra*.

One of these kings was Vṛikshachandra, whose descendants, king Vigamachandra and his son king Kāmachandra, ruled in the east during the time of Śrī-Harsha (*i.e.*, the emperor Harshavardhana) (p. 126). Next we hear of king Siṁhachandra, of the Chandra family (presumably the one founded by Vṛikshachandra), who flourished during the reign of Śila, son of the emperor Śrī-Harsha (p. 146). Bālachandra, son of Siṁhachandra, being driven from Bhaṅgala (presumably by the powerful king Pañchama Siṁha of the Lichchhavi family whose kingdom extended from Tibet to Triliṅga and Benares to the sea) ruled in Tīrahuti (*i.e.*, Trihut in North Bihar) (pp, 146, 158), Bālachandra's son Vimalachandra, however, retrieved the fortunes of his family, and ruled over the three kingdoms Bhaṅgala, Kāmarūpa, and Tīrahuti. He married the

sister of king Bharthari (Bhártṛihari ?) of the Mālava royal family, and was succeeded by his son Govichandra about the time when Dharmakīrti, the famous Buddhist teacher died (p. 195). Govichandra was succeeded by Lalitachandra, his relation on the father's side, who ruled for many years in peace (p. 197).[288] After referring to the reigns of Govichandra and his successor Lalitachandra, both of whom attained *Siddhi* (spiritual salvation), Tāranātha remarks :

"Thus Lalitachandra was the last king of the Chandra family. In the five eastern provinces, Bhaṅgala, Oḍivisa (Orissa) and the rest, every Kshatriya, Grandee, Brāhmaṇa, and merchant was king in his own house (in the neighbourhood), but there was no king ruling over the country" (p. 197).[289]

Then follows a long account of the Buddhist teachers of the period. Continuing the historical narrative in the next chapter, Tāranātha first tells us how a Tree-god begot a son on a young Kshatriya woman[290] near Puṇḍravardhana ; how this son became a devotee of the goddess Chundā ; how, directed by the goddess in a dream, he went to the Vihāra of Ārya Khasarpana, and, having prayed there for a kingdom, was asked to proceed towards the east (p. 202). Then occurs the following queer story :

"At that time the kingdom of Bhaṅgala had been without a king for many years, and people were suffering great miseries. The leaders gathered and elected a king in order that the kingdom might be lawfully ruled. The elected king was, however, killed that very night by a strong and ugly Nāga woman who assumed the form of a queen of an earlier king (according to some, Govichandra, according to others, Lalitachandra). In this way she killed every elected king. But as the people could not leave the kingdom without a king, they elected one every morning, only to see that he was killed by her during night and his dead body thrown out at day-break. Some years passed in this way, the citizens being elected in turn as king for the day. At this time a devotee of the goddess Chundā came to a house, where the family was overwhelmed with grief. On enquiry he learnt that next day the turn of the elected king fell on a son of that house. He, however, offered to take the place of the son, on receiving some money. and the joy of the family knew no bounds. He obtained the reward and was elected king in the morning. When in midnight the Nāga woman, in the form of a Rākshasī, approached towards him, he struck her with the wooden club (which he always carried), sacred to his tutelary deity, and she died. The people were greatly astonished to see him alive in the morning. He, thereupon, offered to take the place of others whose turn came next to be elected as kings, and he was elected king seven times in course of seven days. Then, on account of his pre-eminent qualifications, the people elected him as a permanent king and gave him the name Gopāla" pp. 293-4).

This story is a fine illustration of historical myths. The anarchy and turmoil in Bengal, due to the absence of any central political authority, and the election of Gopāla to the throne by the voice of the people, undoubtedly form the historical background against which the popular nursery-tale of a demoness devouring a king every night has been cleverly set. Such a story cannot be used as historical evidence except where, as in the present case, the kernel of historical fact is proved by independent evidence. By a further analysis of the story it may be possible to glean a few more facts about Gopāla.

According to the story, Gopāla was born near Puṇḍravardhana, *i.e.*, in Varendra, although he became king of Bhaṅgala, which undoubtedly stands for Vaṅgāla. This offers a solution of what might otherwise been a little riddle. For whereas in the *Rāmacharita*, Varendrī is referred to as *janakabhūḥ* (fatherland) of the Pālas, the contemporary inscriptions call them rulers of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla and refer to Gauḍa and Vaṅga as separate kingdoms. Tāranātha also used the name of Varendra, as distinguished from Bhaṅgala.[291] It may thus be assumed that the birth-place of Gopāla was in Varendra, but the throne which was offered to him was that of Vaṅgāla.

Tāranātha says that although Gopāla commenced his career as a ruler of Bhaṅgala, he conquered Magadha towards the close of his reign (p. 204). In order to understand this properly, we must consider Tāranātha's account of the gradual growth of the Pāla empire under the successors of Gopāla. According to Tāranātha, Gopāla ruled for 45 years, and was succeeded after his death by Devapāla (p. 208), who conquered Varendra (p. 209). Devapāla died after a reign of 48 years, and was succeeded by his son Rasapāla who ruled for 12 years (p. 214). The son of the latter was Dharmapāla, who ruled for 64 years and subjugated Kāmarūpa, Tīraḥuti, Gauḍa and other countries, so that his empire extended from the sea in the east to Delhi in the west, and from Jālandhara in the north to the Vindhya mountains in the south (pp. 216-17).

Tāranātha's list of successive Pāla kings is obviously wrong, as we know from the copper-plate grants of the Pālas that the true order of succession was Gopāla, his son Dharmapāla, and the latter's son Devapāla. Rasapāla is otherwise unknown, unless we identify him with Rājyapāla who is referred to as the son and heir-apparent of Devapāla in the Monghyr copper-plate grant of the latter. But even then, according to the copper-plate grants, he never succeeded his father as king.

As regards the conquest of these kings it is difficult to understand how Gopāla could conquer Magadha, while Gauḍa and Varendra were yet unsubdued. Again, the Khalimpur copper-plate clearly shows that Dharmapāla ruled over Varendra, and it must have, therefore, been conquered before the time of Devapāla.

In spite, however, of these obvious discrepancies, we must hold that Tāranātha had access to some historical texts, now lost to us, and did not draw purely upon his imagination. For the election of Gopāla, the long reign and extensive conquests of Dharmapāla, and the existence of a ruler named Devapāla with a long reign are known to us today only from the inscriptions of the Pālas, to which Tāranātha had no access. Similarly his account of the Chandra dynasty may have some foundation of truth as will be shown later.[292] Evidently he gathered his information from certain old texts, and either these were wrong in many details, or he misunderstood them. Any one of these causes, or both, might account for the distorted version of the Pāla history which we meet with in his book. It is, therefore, unsafe to rely upon his statements except where they are corroborated by other evidences, though it would be wiser to have them in view, in so far at least as they are not unintelligible in themselves, nor contradicted by more positive testimony.

Tāranātha gives us some data by which we can approximately determine the dates of events he relates. Thus he says that Govichandra ascended the throne about the time when the great Buddhist teacher Dharmakīrti died. As Dharmakīrti was a disciple of Dharmapāla (p. 176), who was a Professor in Nālandā at the time when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited it, Govichandra's reign may be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. As his successor Lalitchandra ruled for many years, his death and the end of the Chandra dynasty may be placed about 725 A.D. Then followed the period of anarchy during which 'Bhaṅgala was without a king for good many years' (p. 203). If we assign twenty-five years to this period, the accession of Gopāla may be placed about the middle of the eighth century A.D. This fairly agrees with the chronology of the Pāla kings which has been derived from independent data.

It is unnecessary to dwell any further on the historical account of Tāranātha, as we have sure epigraphic data for the later history of Bengal.

APPENDIX III

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEVAPĀLA AND VIGRAHAPĀLA

Devapāla was succeeded on the throne by Vigrahapāla I, also known as Śūrapāla. There is a great deal of controversy regarding the relationship between the two. According to some, Vigrahapāla was the son, and according to others, the nephew, of Devapāla.[293] The confusion is due to the peculiar way in which the genealogy is described in the copper-plates of Nārāyanapāla and his successors. The genealogy begins with Gopāla, and after his son Dharmapāla, reference is made to the latter's younger brother Vākpāla. Then we are told that from him was born Jayapāla, whose victory over the enemies enabled his *pūrvaja* or elder (brother ?) Devapāla to enjoy the blessings of a paramount sovereignty. The next verse in the copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla describes the victorious exploits of Jayapāla, but it is omitted in subsequent records. The verse that follows says that "his son was Vigrahapāla."

Now, according to the rules of syntax, a pronoun must refer to the nearest proper name. Accordingly, Jayapāla must be taken as the son of Vākpāla, and Vigrahapāla, as the son of Jayapāla. As Devapāla is referred to as '*pūrvaja*' or elder (brother ?) of Jayapāla he was also regarded as a son of Vākpāla.

The discovery of the Monghyr copper-plate (B. 8) showed the erroneous nature of the last part of the above conclusions, for Devapāla is therein definitely stated to be the son of Dharmapāla.

Further, it led to a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the genealogy of Jayapāla and Vigrahapāla. Some scholars, discarding the old view, held that as Devapāla is described as the elder (brother) of Jayapāla, the latter must have been a son of Dharmapāla. They also hold that as in all records, subsequent to the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, the verse containing the expression 'his son was Vigrahapāla' follows immediately the one containing reference to Devapāla, Vigrahapāla must be regarded as the son of Devapāla. "In the Bhagalpur Grant (of Nārāyaṇapāla)," says Dr. Hoernle, "this reference is obscured through the interpolation of an inter-

mediate verse in praise of Jayapāla, which makes it appear as if Vigrahapāla were a son of Jayapāla."[294]

Now, the word 'interpolation.' used by Dr. Heornle, is very unfortunate : for Nārāyaṇapāla's Grant offers the earliest version of the genealogical portion which was copied in later documents. The difference between the two must, therefore, be due, not to interpolation in the former, but to abridgment or omission in the latter. As such, our conclusion must be based on the reading of the Bhagalpur copper-plate, (B.18) and Vigrahapāla should be regarded as the son of Jayapāla. The latter, again, should be taken as the son of Vākpāla, for '*pūrvaja*' means an 'elder,' and may refer to a cousin as well as a brother.

The most important argument in support of this view is, that otherwise it is difficult to account for the mention of Vākpāla and Jayapāla in the records of Nārāyaṇapāla and subsequent kings. There is no reference to them in the records of either Dharmapāla or Devapāla, for whom they are said to have successfully fought. Why are their memories suddenly revived in the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, and they are given credits for military victories during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla ? The most satisfactory answer to this question is that prowess and heroism was intended not merely to soothe his own vanity, but perhaps also as a diplomatic move, by way of reminding the people, that although he could not claim a direct descent from the renowned emperors Dharmapāla and Devapāla, he could claim a share in their glory through his ancestors.

APPENDIX IV

KING RĀJYAPĀLA OF THE KĀMBOJA FAMILY

There is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars regarding the identity of king Rājyapāla of the Irdā copper-plate (B. 92) and the well-known Pāla king of that name. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, who edited the Irdā Plate regarded it as quite unlikely that the two Rājyapālas were identical,[295] but subsequently changed his opinion, and held the identity as almost certain.[296] Mr. J. C. Ghosh upheld the identity and suggested the reading '*Kāmboja-Dhaṅgv-atiparaḥ*' for '*Kāmboja-vaṁśa-tilakaḥ*,[297] thus doing away altogether with the Kāmboja origin of the family. But this reading is very doubtful and has been justly questioned.[298] Dr. D. C. Sircar also upholds the identification.[299]

But although the presumption about the identity is certainly a reasonable one, the evidence in favour of it cannot be regarded as convincing or conclusive.[300] There is a great deal of force in the argument of Dr. H. C. Ray who rejects the identity.[301]

The chief argument against the proposed identity is the Kāmboja lineage of Rājyapāla of the Irdā copper-plate. But, as Dr. D. C. Sircar points out, instances are not wanting where even kings of well-known dynasties are described as belonging to other families, probably on account of their mother's lineage. Thus a Pallava king is described as '*Kaikeya-vaṁś-odbhava*.[302] and a Choḷa king as '*Kaḍamba-kula-nandana*.[303] In the latter case, at least, we have reasons to believe that the mother of the Choḷa king belonged to Kaḍamba or Kadamba dynasty.

Besides, we should remember that the Pālas had no uniform tradition about their lineage, and none of their records, up to the time of Rājyapāla, refers in any way to the dynasty to which they belonged. If, therefore, we suppose that Rājyapāla's mother belonged to Kāmboja family, we can easily explain the epithet *Kāmboja-vaṁśa-tilakaḥ* (the ornament of the Kāmboja family) applied to Rājyapāla in the Irdā copper-plate. It would then follow that the Pāla king Gopāla II, who succeeded Rājyapāla on the paternal throne, had a rival in his brother Nārāyaṇapāla II, who carved out an independent kingdom for himself. The Bangarh Pillar Inscription (B. 93)

refers to the ruler of a Gauḍa king of Kāmboja lineage, and on palaeographic consideration it has to be referred to the tenth century A.D. Until the discovery of Irdā copper-plate, the Bangarh Inscription was interpreted to refer to an invasion of Northern Bengal by the Kāmboja tribe. It is more reasonable to hold now, on the basis of these two inscriptions, that Nārāyaṇapāla II and Nayapāla (and probably their successors) ruled over both Rāḍhā (Irdā Plate) and Varendra (Bangarh Ins) *i.e.*, Northern and Western Bengal. Varendra, or at least a part of it, was in the possession of Gopāla II up to the sixth year of his reign (B. 30), and must have been conquered by Nārāyaṇapāla II after that.

Different views have been entertained regarding the original home of the Kāmbojas. The Kāmboja is the name of a well-known tribe living from time immemorial in North-western Frontier. It is reasonable to hold that the Kāmbojas of Bengal belonged to this tribe.[304] Evidently the great distance of these Kāmbojas from Bengal has induced scholars to look for Kāmbojas nearer that province. R. P. Chanda took Kāmboja to mean Tibet, and regarded the Kāmboja invader as coming from that or the neighbouring hilly region.[305] The late Tibetan chronicle *Pāg Sam Jon Zang* locates a country called Kam-po-tsa (Kamboja) in the Upper and Eastern Lushai Hill tracts lying between Burma and Bengal, and Dr. H. C. Ray is inclined to the view that the Kāmbojas came to Bengal from this eastern region.[306]

On the other hand, N. Vasu identified Kāmboja with Cambay in the Bombay Presidency[307] and J. C. Ghosh supported this view.[308] Dr. B. R. Chatterji hints at the possibility of the Kāmboja invaders coming from Kāmbojadeśa, modern Cambodia in Indo-China.[309]

Footnotes

[1] See *supra* p. 82.

[2] *BI.* 151, 162, 171 ; *GR.* 21 ; *GL.* 19 f.n.

[3] *EHBP.* 112.

[4] Cf. pp. 167 ff.

[5] Mr. J. C. Ghosh's view that Vapyaṭa was the first king of the line rests on very insufficient grounds (*IHQ.* VII. 751 (831) ; IX. 481).

[6] *rājye Rājabhaṭ-ādi-vaṁśa-patita-śrī-Dharmapālasya vai/*
tattvāloka-vidhāyinī virachitā sat-pañjik=eyaṁ mayā//

The verse, occurring at the end of ch. 32 of the commentary, is quoted and an account of the MS. is given in *BI.* 164, f.n. 4.

[7] *RC.*[1] 6. R. D. Banerji misquoted this passage and by reading 'the same' for 'some' attributed to MM. Śāstrī the view that the Pālas were descended from a general of Rājabhaṭa (*BI.* 164. f. n. 4). MM. Śāstrī, far from holding this view, suggested (*op. cit.*) that Dayita-Vishṇu, the grandfather of Gopāla, belonged to the family of Mātṛi-Vishṇu mentioned in the Eran Stone Ins. (Fleet. *CII.* III. No. 19).

[8] *VJI.* 147. See *supra* p. 78.

[9] *JASB.* N. S. XIX. 378. R. D. Banerji rejects this view (*BI.* 165-66), but it is accepted by R. G. Basak (*HNI.* 259) Mr. J. C. Ghosh identifies Rājabhaṭa with Vapyaṭa, the father of Gopāla (*IHQ.* X. 481). This seems to be very unlikely.

[10] *IHQ.* VII. 533.

[11] Cf. *avaṁśa-patito rājā* (*Chāṇakya-śataka*, 81).

[12] For similar comparison cf. *Mbh. Ādi-P.* ch. 199, vv. 5-6.

[13] See *supra* p. 78.

[14] This tradition is also recorded in *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, cf. *JASB.* 1898, p. 20. In a *champū-kāvya*, called *Udayasundarī-Kathā*, composed by Soḍḍhala, a poet of Gujarat in the eleventh century A.D., and published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Dharmapāla is said to have belonged to the family of Māndhātā (p. 4). As Māndhātā is a well-known mythical king of the solar race, this reference supports the view that the Pālas belonged to the solar race.

[15] *RC.*[2] p. IX.

[16] Quoted in *BI.* 168, f.n. 18.

[17] *Tar.*, pp. 208-9. According to Tāranātha, this successor was Devapāla, but according to Buston (*History of Buddhism*, translated by Dr. E. Obermiller, Heidelberg 1932, p. 156), he was Dharmapāla.

[18] Mr. R. D. Banerji tries to give a rational interpretation of '*Samudra-kula*' by the theory that the Pālas came from the sea (*PB.* 46).

[19] This view, originally propounded by Mr. Prabhaschandra Sen, has been restated at some length by Mr. J. C. Ghosh (*IHQ.* IX. 484-85).

[20] *Tar.* p. 202.

[21] *Tataḥ pareṇa bhūpālā gopālā dāsajīvinaḥ MMK(J)*, v.883. Mr. Jayaswal takes Gopālā in this verse as referring to the Pāla dynasty. This is very doubtful, specially as Buddha's doctrine is said to have been lost during their reign (*IHI.* 72).

[22] *Ain. Transl.* II. 145.

[23] *Tar.* 204 ; Buston, 156.

[24] For fuller discussion see p. 168.

[25] R. D. Banerji held that Gopāla was elected ruler of Gauḍa, Vaṅga, and Magadha (*BI.* 162), but no evidence is cited.

[26] *IHQ.* VII. 531-32.

[27] 'Having conquered the earth as far as the sea, he released the war-elephants.'

[28] *Tar.*, p. 204.

[29] *MMK(J).* v. 690.

[30] The dates of the Pāla kings have been discussed separately in App. I to this chapter.

[31] *MMK(J).* v. 690.

[32] For the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, cf. *RA.* ; *HCIP.* IV. Ch. I.

[33] For the history of the Pratīhāras, cf. *GP* ; *TK.* Chs. X-XI. *HCIP.* IV., Ch. II.

[34] The Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja is said to have "appropriated with ease the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa" (*IA.* XI. 157 ; *EI.* VI. 248). This does not necessarily mean, as has been suggested (*BI.* 148), that Vatsarāja advanced as far as Gauḍa, far less that he actually occupied both Gauḍa and Vaṅga. For all we know, the encounter of the lord of Gauḍa with Vatsarāja, like that with Dhruva, might have taken place in the Doab or its neighbourhood, in a territory far from the borders of Bengal. This is more probable as we have no evidence of any extensive territorial conquests of Vatsarāja such as would be implied in a triumphal march from Malwa up to the heart of Bengal. No special importance need be attached to the statement that he took away Gauḍa's umbrellas of State, for the same claim is made by Dhruva, though in this case we know definitely that the encounter took place in the Doab, far away from Bengal (*GP.* 34-35), though this is denied by some. (cf. *IHQ.* XX. 84). A verse in *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* says that the sword of the Chāhamāna king-Durlabharāja purified itself by a dip at the confluence of the Ganges and the sea, and by the taste of the land of Gauḍa. As Durlabharāja's son was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa, it has been suggested that Durlabharāja was a feudatory of Vatsarāja and accompanied him in his expedition to Bengal (*IHQ.* XIV. 844-45). It is, however, not very safe to form such important conclusions on stray verses composed about four centuries after the events described.

[35] As the encounter between Dhruva and the lord of Gauḍa took place in the Gangetic Doab, the latter must have extended his conquests beyond Allahabad in the west. This circumstance and the fact that the fight must have taken place some time after 780 A.D. leave no doubt that the lord of Gauḍa was Dharmapāla, and not his predecessor.

[36] N. Venkataramanayya traces the enmity between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the alliance between Dhruva and Indrāyudha to incidents before his accession (*PIHC.* VIII, p. 85).

[37] *RA.* 58.

[38] It has been generally taken for granted that this Indrarāja is no other than Indrāyudha, mentioned in the Jaina *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena as having ruled in the north in the year 783-84 A.D. It is, however, more probable that Indrarāja was the brother of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva whom he had left in charge of Lāṭeśvara-*maṇḍala*, which presumably represented Gujarat and other Rāshṭrakūṭa possession in the north (*GP.* 37, f.n. 2). In that case the defeat of Indra-

rāja was a further episode in the Rāshṭrakūṭa-Gauḍa rivalry by which Dharmapāla not only avenged his former defeat by Dhruva, but also cleared the way for his further conquests by eliminating the only power that stood between him and the empire. As to Indrāyudha, we do not know anything beyond what has been stated in *Harivaṁśa*, not even whether he was king of Kanauj, or was related in any way to Chakrāyudha who was placed on the throne of Kanauj by Dharmapāla as his protógé and vassal.

[39] Kielhorn identified Gokarṇa with a place of that name in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency which is even now a place of pilgrimage frequented by Hindu devotees from all parts of India (*IA*. 1892, p. 257, f.n. 56). This identification implies a victorious march of Dharmapāla across the Bombay Presidency, right through the dominions of the powerful Rāshṭrakūṭas, and it is difficult to accept it without more positive evidence. A more probable identification is that with Gokarṇa in Nepal, on the bank of the Bagmati, about two miles above and north-east of Paśupati. (S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, II. 83.) This identification is strengthened by the tradition preserved in the *Svayambhu Purāṇa*, that Dharmapāla, ruler of Gauḍa, occupied the throne of Nepāla. Curiously enough, the same *Svayambhu Purāṇa* refers to Gaṇgāsāgara and places it in or near Kapilavastu. It has been plausibly suggested that Gokarṇa and '*Gaṅgāsametāmbudhi*' of the Monghyr copper-plate refer to the two places in Nepal, and that verse 7 of Monghyr copper-plate refers to a campaign of Dharmapāla along the foot of the Himālayas (*IC*. IV. 266). In support of this it may be pointed out that the confluence of the Ganges and the sea was situated in Bengal itself, and it was too near home to deserve special mention, either as a place of pilgrimage visited by the followers of Dharmapāla, or as a landmark in his victorious campaign. On the whole, it would be better, in the present state of our knowledge, to regard Gokarṇa as situated in Nepal, and leave the other question undecided.

It may be mentioned here that a place named Gokarṇa with a temple is referred to in an inscription in the Pudukottai State (*Economic Conditions in Southern India* by A. Appadorai, Vol. 1, p. 21). In the light of what has been said later about the military campaigns of Devapāla in the South Indian peninsula, the location of Gokarṇa, conquered by Dharmapāla, in the Pudukottai State is worth consideration.

[40] Although the general purport and implication of this verse are clear, its exact meaning is somewhat obscure on account of the defective construction of the last line. The emendation of "*dattaḥ śrī-kanyakubjas-*" into "*dattaśrīḥ kanyakubjas-*" (*GL*. 14, f.n. 12) would give the meaning suggested in the text. The expression '*svā-bhishek-odakumbhaḥ*,' however, implies that Dharmapāla's own coronation (as emperor) also probably took place before Chakrāyudha was placed on the throne of Kanyakubja. Kielhorn suggests in a footnote that the word '*dattaḥ*' in the verse, as it stands, "indicates that Dharmapāla had been requested to permit the installation of the king of Kanyakubja" (*EI*. IV. 252, f.n. 3).

[41] *TK*. 216-17, 230.

[42] Gaekwad Oriental Series edition, pp. 4-6.

[43] See *supra* p. 7.

[44] For the location and an account of the kingdom of Kīra, cf. *IHQ*. IX. 11-17.

[45] Cf. the Lakkhāmaṇḍal praśasti (*EI.* I. 10).

[46] Cf. Mark. Collins, *The Geographical data of the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśa-kumāra-charita* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 28, 37 ff.

[47] *RA.* 57 ; *EI.* XXIII. 217. The date of Govinda III's northern expedition has been fully discussed in App. I, dealing with Pāla chronology.

[48] *Supra* p. 103.

[49] *GP.* 8, 30. Dr. H. C. Ray's view that Mālava was at this time "under the strong grip of the Pratīhāras" (*DHNI.* II. 845), is disproved, among other grounds, by the fact that Nāgabhaṭa is said to have seized by a sudden attack the hill-fort of the king of Mālava (*EI.* XVIII. 108). This shows that the Pratīhāras had lost hold of Mālava. The known facts, therefore, support the view, that after the Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja was defeated by Dhruva, Mālava acknowledged the suzerainty of Dharmapāla, but later, when Govinda III invaded Northern India, it became a vassal State of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Cf. D. C. Ganguly, *Paramāras*, p. 18.

[50] *GP.* 38-39.

[51] The struggle between Dharmapāla and Nāgabhaṭa II has been discussed at length with full references to authorities in *GP.* 40-44. The views stated there form the basis of the account in the text. Mr. N. N. Das Gupta has offered a different construction of the whole history (*JBORS.*XII.361 ff). His theory that Dharmapāla was defeated by Govinda III shortly before his encounter with Nāgabhaṭa would no doubt explain the advance of Nāgabhaṭa II right up to Monghyr, but there does not appear to be sufficient reason to accept this view.

[52] *EI.* XVIII. 108, verse 9.

[53] *EI.* XVIII. 98, verse 24.

[54] *EI.* IX. 7, verse 9.

[55] *EI.* XV. 14, verse 14.

[56] *GP.* 42-3 ; *RA.* 66 ; *TK.* 231.

[57] Nesarika Grant of Govinda III. *JAS.* L. XXII (1956), p. 133. *EI.* XXXIV. 123. Also cf. *JBORS.* XII. 362-3.

[58] This is the interpretation of D. C. Sircar. *EI.* XXXIV. pp. 137, 139.

[59] ".....to whom (Govinda III).....those (kings) Dharma and Chakrāyudha surrendered of themselves" (Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarsha I, l. 23. *EI.* XVIII. 253. Also cf. *RA.* 66 ; *TK.* 232).

[60] This view is held by Dr. R. S. Tripathi who also places the victories of Nāgabhaṭa II against Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha after his own defeat at the hands of Govinda III (*TK.* 232-33). In view of the decisive defeat inflicted upon Nāgabhaṭa II by Govinda III, this sequence of events does not appear to be reasonable. The only evidence in favour of the theory that Nāgabhaṭa II transferred his capital to Kanauj is a statement in the *Prabhāvaka-charita* that king Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja, died in 890 v.s. This Nāgāvaloka is probably Nāgabhaṭa II, but the statement about the capital may have been due to the fact that Kanauj was long known as the famous capital of the Pratīhāras at the time when the book was composed. If Nāgabhaṭa really transferred his capital to Kanauj, it was very likely towards the close of his reign (*c.* 830 A. D.), after Dharmapāla had died and his son and successor Devapāla had enjoyed the position of supreme ruler of

Northern India for a fairly long period, as is claimed in his records. But the date of the death of Nāgabhaṭa II, *viz.*, 890 v. s. (=833 A.D.) is very doubtful as the earliest known date of his grandson Bhoja, is 836 A.D., *i.e.*, only three years later. The authenticity of the passage in *Prabhāvaka-charita* may, therefore, be justly doubted. Daśaratha Śarmā also holds this view (*IHQ* XX. 75).

[61] *EL.* IX. 200.

[62] Khalimpur copper-plate, v. 13 (B. 2). The word '*gopa*' translated as 'cowherd' may also mean 'village superintendents' (*IC.* V. 433).

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Cf. Pathari Pillar Inscription, *EI.* IX. 248 ff. The date of this inscription has been read as *Saṁvat* 917. The figure for hundred is not quite clear on the published facsimile, but the reading has been accepted by all scholars. Now the accession of Devapāla, son of Raṇṇādevī and Dharmapāla, is generally assigned to *c.* 810 or 815 A.D. Unless Devapāla was a minor, of which there is no evidence, he must have been born some time before 795 A.D., and his mother's birth cannot be placed later than 780 A.D. Her father Parabala, therefore, must have been born about 760 A.D., and was therefore more than hundred years old when the Pathāri Inscription was engraved. Even if we assume that Devapāla was a child at the time of accession, we have to believe that Dharmapāla married, at a fairly advanced age, a young girl of twenty or thereabouts, and that his father-in-law survived him for nearly half a century. These may not be impossible, but are certainly very unusual. On the whole, the identity of Dharmapāla's father-in-law and the king Parabala of the Pathāri Inscription must be regarded as doubtful (cf. *RA.* 55, f.n. 19).

[65] The late Dr. Fleet proposed to identify him with Govinda III (*BG.* I, Part II, p. 394), but he is not known to have any *biruda* like Parabala.

[66] *Tar.*, p. 217. According to other traditions, however, Devapāla is regarded as its founder (Cordier-*Catalogue*, III. 321-22).

The reference to the *Vihāra* as *Śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-deva-mahāvihāra* (Mitra-*Nepal*, 229) shows that Vikramaśīla was another name or *biruda* of Dharmapāla (or Devapāla) who founded it. For an account of the monastery, cf. *JASB.* N. S. V (1909), p. 1.

[67] P. 157.

[68] P. 206.

[69] For an account of these excavations cf. *ASM.* No. 55 (Paharpur—K. N. Dikshit).

[70] P. 217.

[71] Buston. pp. 156 ff.

[72] In the Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva (*EI.* II. 348), the village granted is said to be situated in Kāmarūpa-*maṇḍala* and Prāgjyotisha-*bhukti*. This shows that Kāmarūpa was regarded as a smaller unit within Prāgjyotisha which necessarily included a larger area. It is, however, generally accepted that the same country was known as Prāgjyotisha in ancient times and as Kāmarūpa in mediaeval times (*HK.* 1 ff).

[73] For the contemporary history of Assam, cf. *DHNI.* I. 241 ff.

[74] *Tar.*, p. 197.

[75] Chaurasi copper-plate. *JBORS.* XIV. 292 ff.

[76] The chronology of the Kara kings is involved in difficulties. For the view adopted in the text, cf. *Orissa* by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, Ch. XI ; *JAHRS*. X. 56. According to Vinayak Misra, the Kara dynasty came to an end about 794 A.D. with the reign of Daṇḍimahādevī (*Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, 71).

[77] *HC*. Ch. V.

[78] A territorial unit called Hūṇa-*maṇḍala* in Malwa is referred to in an inscription of the Paramāra king Vākpatirāja (*EI*. XXIII. 102). Both Vākpati and Sindhurāja are said to have defeated the Hūṇas. Thus there was probably also a Hūṇa principality in Malwa.

[79] *TK*. 240.

[80] *GP*. 45-46. *TK*. 236-37.

[81] *GP*. 48 ; *TK*. 237-38.

[82] *GP*. 48-50 ; *TK*. 242-43.

[83] *GP*. 49-50 ; *TK*. 240-41.

[84] It may be surmised that in his fight against Bhoja, Devapāla was helped by the Chandellas of Khajurāho. There is a tradition that the founder of this dynasty supplanted the Pratīhāras (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 390). This statement has not been believed by the historians. But if we remember that Bhoja was ruling over Kālañjara-*maṇḍala* in 836 A.D. (which might well have included Khajurāho about 53 miles from Kālañjara), that he was defeated by Devapāla about 840 A.D., and that since then the Chandellas were in continuous occupation of Khajurāho and the neighbourhood (even though they had later to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Pratīhāras), it would not be unreasonable to hold that the Chandellas had helped Devapāla in his fight against Bhoja, and were rewarded, after the latter's defeat, with the sovereignty of the territory near Khajurāho, perhaps under the suzerainty of Devapāla. Vākpati, the second king in the traditional genealogical list of the Chandellas, is said to have made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mound (Khajurāho Ins. V. 13, *EI*. I. 126) and Vākpati's son Vijaya is said to have, like Rāma, in his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India, presumably for the benefit of an ally, as the epithet '*suhṛid-upakṛiti-daksha*' shows (Khajurāho Ins. V. 20, *EI*. I. 142). Now Devapāla also claims to have reached the Vindhya region and, as we shall see, there are reasons to believe that he sent an expedition to the extreme south. It may be presumed, therefore, that the earlier Chandella kings were allies of Devapāla. This strengthens the view that they might have ousted Bhoja from Kālañjara with the help of the Pāla king.

Dr. H. C. Ray thinks that the Chandella kings referred to above were feudatory chiefs, perhaps of Bhoja (*DHNI*. 670-671). Of this there is no definite evidence, though it is the general view (*GP*. 55). As Dhaṅga ascended the throne about 954 A. D., Vākpati and Vijaya, who were removed respectively five and four generations from him, may be regarded as contemporaries of Devapāla.

[85] *BI*. 205.

[86] Devapāla's success must have been facilitated by the internal discords in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. For details cf. *RA*. 73-77. Dr. Altekar is wrong in his statement that the Pāla records claim that Nārāyaṇapāla had defeated a

Dravida king (*Ibid.* p. 77). The claim is really made on behalf of Devapāla. Dr. Altekar's identification of the Draviḍa king with Amoghavarsha seems, however, to be quite reasonable, though his view about the struggle between the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, based on the wrong assumption, is open to doubt.

[86a] K.A.N, Śāstrī, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 58.

[87] This hypothesis of Devapāla's military expedition to the extreme south of India is based on Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri's very interesting paper "The Pūrvarāja of the Veḷvikkuḍi Grant" (*Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, pp. 197 ff). Cf. also *supra* f. n. 39. K. A. N. Śāstrī opposes this view (*India Antiqua*, pp. 254-55). Cf. also K. A. N. Śāstrī's *History of South India*, p. 154

[88] Cf. f. n. 84 above.

[89] The Nālandā Copper-plate is dated in the 39th or 35th Year (B. 5).

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] Cf. *E. & D.* I. 5, 25; S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, pp. 4-6. For an explanation why the Pāla Kingdom is referred to as Ruhmi or Rahma, cf. *IHQ*. XVI. 232 ff.

[92] According to this verse, Dharmapāla, after his *digvijaya*, removed the sorrows of the conquered kings by presenting them excellent rewards and permitted them to return to their own kingdoms.

[93] Published in Gaekwad Oriental Series.

[94] *Ibid.* p. 2.

[95] Published in Gaekwad Series.

[96] Cf. I. 110 (p. 10) ; Introductory verses to Chs. VIII (p. 63) and VI (p. 47) ; concluding verses of Chs. X (p. 91), XI (p. 102), XXVI (p. 234), VI (p. 52), and XVIII (p. 253).

[97] Introduction to *Rāmacharita*, pp. XX-XXII. That Vikramaśīla was possibly a *biruda* of Dharmapāla or Devapāla rests on some positive evidence, presumably unknown to the editor (*supra*, f. n. 66). But the patron of the poet is also called Pṛithvīpāla in the concluding verse of Canto 2, and Pṛithivīpāla in the last verse of Canto 10 (MS. C) or 18 (MS. A). This may be another name of Hāravarsha. In that case he must be different from Devapāla.

[98] *Bhāratavarsha*, Śrāvaṇa, 1340, pp. 247 ff.

[99] Introduction to *Rāmacharita*.

[100] This lower limit is furnished by the date of Soḍḍhala who was a contemporary of both Chhittarāja and Mummunirāja, rulers of Konkaṇa, whose known dates are respectively 1026 A.D. and 1060 A.D. (Introduction to *Udayasundarīkathā*, p. 1). The editor of *Rāmacharita* places Abhinanda and Hāravarsha before 900 A.D. on the ground "that Soḍḍhala in his chronology of famous poets of ancient India beginning from Vālmīki down to his own time places Abhinanda before Rājaśekhara" (pp. XX-XXI).

[101] Francke, *Antiquities of Tibet*. Part II, p. 87. Dr. L. Petech, *Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*. *IHQ*. XV. 65.

[102] F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, p. 270.

[103] *Ibid.* 272-78.

[104] *JRAS*, 1969, Part I, pp. 29, 33.

[105] Francke, *op. cit.*, 89-90. Francke assigns to Ral-pa-can the date 804-16 A.D., but Dr. Petech (*op. cit.* 81) gives the date 817-836 A.D.

[106] The alleged victories of Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-97), for instance, fit in well with what we know of the political condition in Bengal about the middle of the eighth century A.D., and might have played no inconsiderable part in placing a Buddhist ruler on its throne. The specific mention of Dharmapāla's submission to this Tibetan ruler or his son is of special interest. Whatever we might think of the Tibetan claim, a conflict between Dharmapāla and the Tibetan ruler is not an improbable one and might explain the former's defeat by Nāgabhaṭa II. In this connection we might recall the tradition that Dharmapāla occupied the throne of Nepāla which, we know, was under the political subjection of Tibet during the greater part of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The expedition of Dharmapāla to Kedāra and Nepāla may also have some connection wih Tibetan aggression. The alleged conquests of Ral-pa-can (817-836) might explain the weakness of the Pāla kingdom under Devapāla which enabled Bhoja to conquer Kanauj some time before 836 A.D. The advance of the Tibetans up to the mouth of the Ganges would account for the sudden collapse of the Pāla kingdom under Nārāyaṇapāla, if we could push forward the dates of the incident by two decades, which is not very unreasonable in view of the proved inaccuracies in the chronology of the Tibetan chronicles. Lastly, the usurpation of a part of the Pāla kingdom by Kāmboja chiefs in the tenth century A.D. may be ultimately traceable to the Tibetan expeditions, for Kāmboja was an Indian name for Tibet (cf. App. IV). But all these are mere conjectures and speculations for the present, and undue stress should not be laid on them till corroborative evidence is forthcoming.

[107] This view finds support in the story of Yuvarāja Hāravarsha referred to *supra* p. 117, if he is regarded as the son of Devapāla, and we accept his association with the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom in Central India as suggested by Dr. D. C. Ganguly.

[108] N. Vasu regarded Śūrapāla as the son of Devapāla (*VJI.* 216), but the identity of Śūrapāla and Vigrahapāla is upheld by all scholars (*GL.* 82, f. n. ; *BI.* 217).

[109] Cf. Ins. B. 18, v. 17.

[110] *Ibid.* v. 9. According to Epic and Purāṇik traditions, Haihaya was a great-grandson of Yadu. His descendants, called Haihayas, were divided into many groups. But the most important line, during the historical period, that claimed to belong to this family, was the Kalachuri. There were two branches of Kalachuris ruling in Northern India at the time when Vigrahapāla ruled, *viz.*, those of Gorakhpur and Ḍāhala (or Tripurī). The queen of Vigrahapāla presumably belonged to one of these families.

[111] References and authorities for the statements about the Rāshṭrakūṭas will be found in *RA.* 75-78.

[112] *Orissa*, 193-95.

[113] References and authorities for the statements about the Gurjara-Pratīhāras will be found in *GP.* 50 ff.

[114] v. 9. *EI.* VII. 89.

[115] *HCIP.* IV. 87-8. Some place the reign of Kokkalla I between 840 and 885 A.D. (*IHQ.* XVII. 117 ff).

[116] Bilhari Ins. v. 17, *EI.* I. 256, 264 ; Benares CP. v. 7, *EI.* I. 306 ; Amoda Plates. *EI.* XIX. 75 ff ; Bhoja has been identified by some scholars with Bhoja II, and by others with Bhoja I, but the former view appears to be untenable (*IHQ.* XIII. 482 ff). Cf. also *GP.* 52 f. n. 4 ; *DHNI.* II. 754 ; *TK.* 255-56 ; *IHQ.* XVII. 117 ff.

[117] Chatsu Ins. v. 23. *EI.* XII. 15.

[118] The revolt of the Gurjara branch, the constant struggle with the Eastern Chālukyas, and above all the pacific disposition of Amoghavarsha may explain the absence of active hostility between him and Bhoja. Cf. *RA.* 77.

[119] Cf. *PB.* 64 ; *ASI.*, 1923-4, p. 102 ;

[120] *Memoir, ASI.* No. 55, p. 75.

[120a] An inscription dated in the 15th regnal year of Mahendrapāla is engraved on a stone image of Sūrya found at Mahisantosh in West Dinajpur district. *EI.* XXXVI pp. 204-8.

[121] Tejpur Ins., Gupta Saṁvat 510. *JBORS.* III. 511.

[122] Hāiyungthal CP. *Kām-Śās.* 50.

[123] Tejpur Pl. vv. 11-16. *Kām-Śās.* 60-61.

[124] *JAHRS.* X. 14.

[125] *DHNI.* II. 760-61.

[126] *TK.* 254 ff.

[127] Deoli CP. v. 13. *EI.* V. 193.

[128] Pithapuram Ins. v. 11. *EI.* IV. 40, 48.

[129] Cf. B. 40, v. 8. Tuṅga is usually identified with Jagattuṅga, son of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II, who died about 914 A.D. (*JASB.* 1892, Part I, p. 80). Jagattuṅga predeceased his father and never ascended the throne. His son Indra III succeeded Kṛishṇa II. Tuṅga may be regarded as an abbreviated form of Jagattuṅga who was a contemporary of Nārāyaṇapāla, father of Rājyapāla. But the proposed identification, though very probable, cannot be regarded as certain. For we must remember that there were other Rāshṭrakūṭa branches, *e.g.*, the one ruling in Gujarat. R. D. Banerji is inclined (*BI.* 226) to identify Tuṅga with Tuṅgadharmāvaloka whose inscription was found at Bodh-Gayā (R. L. Mitra, *Buddha-Gayā*, p. 166, pl. XL). N. Vasu identified Tuṅga with Kṛishṇa II himself who had the epithet Śubhatuṅga (*VJI.* 128).

[130] See p. 163.

[131] See List of Inscriptions (B. 21-31).

[132] Khajuraho Ins. No. II, verse 23 ; No. IV, verse 46 (*EI.* I. 126, 132, 145).

[133] Bilhari Ins. v. 24 (*EI.* I. 256, 265).

[134] Goharwa CP. v. 8 (*EI.* XI. 142).

[135] See p. 11 ; *IHQ* .. XVI. 225 ff.

[136] Bilhari Ins. v. 62 (*EI.* I 260, 268).

[137] For theories of Kāmboja conquest, cf. *GR.* 37 ; *BI.* 231.

[138] The Pālas employed mercenary forces, and certainly recruited horses from Kāmboja (Ins. B. 8, v. 13). Mr. N. G. Majumdar has very rightly observed that "if horses could be brought into Bengal from the north-western frontier of India during the Pāla period, it is not unreasonable to suppose that for trade and other purposes some adventurers could also have found their way into that

province" (*EI.* XXII. 153). Mercenary soldiers (specially cavalry) might have been recruited from the Kāmbojas and some of them might have been influential chiefs. It has been suggested also that the Kāmbojas might have come to Bengal with the Pratīhāras when they conquered part of this province (*DHNI.* I. 311 ; *IHQ.* XV. 511).

[139] The word read as '*taru*' in *GL.* 95, is really '*maru*' (desert). Cf. *EI.* XIV. 326.

[140] The view was first put forward by A. K. Maitreya (*GL.* 100. f. n.) and accepted by R. D. Banerji (*BI.* 239).

[141] The same verse is applied to Vigrahapāla III (v. 14 of Ins. B. 50), but it was regarded as an error on the part of the composer. But as it occurs in a record of Gopāla II (B. 30 verse 10), an earlier king, the verse must have been current before the time of Vigrahapāla II.

[142] The editors of the Chittagong Plate have fixed its date, on paleographic grounds, between 750-850 A.D. But although the general character of the alphabets would favour such an assumption, certain letters (notably *kh*,*s*, and *n*) have decidedly later forms.

[143] The history of this dynasty is discussed separately in Ch. VI, where full references are given.

[144] *EI.* XXII, 152.

[145] The attribution of the Baghaura Image Ins. to Mahīpāla I is not accepted by all. Dr. D. C. Ganguly takes the king to be the Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla, son of Mahendrapāla (*IHQ.* XVI. 179 ff). Dr. H. C. Ray opposes this view (*Ibid.* 631 ff.), and holds it as probable that Mahīpāla of the Baghaura Image Ins. refers to the first Pāla king of the name. It may be admitted that the available evidence is not sufficient to lead to a definite conclusion, and it is not beyond the range of possibility that Mahīpāla of the Baghaura Image Ins. may be either the Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla, or a local ruler of Samataṭa. The view propounded in the text is, however, held by most of the scholars, and appears to be more probable than any other hypothesis.

[146] For the account of the Choḷa expedition, cf. K.A. Nilakanta Śāstrī, *The Choḷas*, 247 ff.

[147] This is the translation of Prof. Śāstrī (*Coḷas*, 249, as amended in *IHQ.* XIII. 151-52) which differs to some extent from that of Hultzsch (*EI.* IX. 233) in respect of the passage concerning Mahīpāla. It may be noted that Hultzsch's translation "Uttiralāḍam, as rich in pearls as the ocean," or an alternative translation, "close to the sea yielding pearls" (*JRAS.* 1937, p. 89), is more acceptable than that of Śāstrī, for the region is not on the sea-coast, as the latter would imply. As regards Mahīpāla, there is some controversy as to whether it refers to the Pāla king Mahīpāla, I, or is only a common noun meaning 'king' and has reference to a ruler of the Orissa (Oḍḍa) country (*JRAS.* 1935, pp. 661-66 ; 1937, pp. 79-90). But most scholars accept the view of Kielhorn that Mahīpāla, referred to in the Choḷa inscription, is the first Pāla ruler of that name (*IHQ.* XIII. 149). Prof. S. K. Aiyangar holds that Mahīpāla refers to king of Orissa, even if it is taken as a personal name (*JRAS.* 1937, pp. 79-90).

[148] Prof. Aiyangar's view that Vaṅgāla was a general name of Bengal and not a part of it (*JRAS.* 1937, p. 82) is unacceptable in view of the specific mention of Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, and specially as we know that the

name Vaṅgāla was used about this time to denote only a part of Bengal. It is not, however, identical with Vaṅga division of Bengal, as Prof. Aiyangar assumes (*Ibid*).

[149] *Colas*. 248. 251.

[150] But cf. *JRAS*. 1937, p. 84.

[151] *Colas*, 247. This is also the view of Prof. Aiyangar (*JRAS*. 1937, p. 85).

[152] *Colas*, 251-52. The reference to Saṅgu would, of course, be omitted now in view of the amended translation proposed by Śāstrī (*IHQ*. XIII. 151-52) and quoted above.

[153] This is the translation of Hultzsch (*EI*. IX. 233) and that given by Śāstrī in *Colas* (p. 252). But Śāstrī has now substituted it by 'frighten' (*IHQ*. XIII. 151-152). But even this does not support Śāstrī's contention that Mahīpāla was captured.

[154] For an account of the monuments referred to in the Ins. cf. *JASB*. N. S. XV. 191.

[155] Cf. *PB*. 76 ; *BI*. 257.

[156] One historical evidence is usually cited against the conclusion that Mahīpāla's authority extended up to Benares in the year 1026 A.D. The colophon of a Nepal MS. of the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the *Mahārājādhirāja* Puṇyāvaloka Somavaṁśodbhava Gauḍadhvaja (probably an error for Garuḍa-dhvaja) Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva as ruling in Tīrabhukti (Northern Bihar) in *Saṁvat* 1076. Some scholars identify this Gāngeyadeva with the famous Kalachuri king of this name, and hold that his conquests extended up to North Bihar in 1019 A.D. (V. S. 1076). As the Kalachuri records also claim that Gāṅgeyadeva defeated the ruler of Aṅga, the two events are naturally connected, and it is generally concluded that Gāṅgeyadeva defeated Mahipāla and conquered North Bihar some time before 1019 A.D. As such it is also difficult to believe that Mahīpāla's conquest extended up to Benares in 1026 A.D. It is not generally recognised that the above view also goes counter to the evidence of the Imadpur (Muzaffarpur district) bronze figure inscriptions of Mahīpāla I (B. 44) dated in the year 48. For the 48th regnal year of Mahīpāla could hardly be placed before 1019 A. D., when North Bihar is supposed to have been under Gāṅgeyadeva.

As a matter of fact, the identification of the Gāngeyadeva of the Nepal manuscript with the Kalachuri king of that name is open to serious objections, and we cannot build any hypothesis on this basis without further corroborative evidence. This point has been thoroughly discussed by me in *IHQ*. VII. 681, where I have attempted to show that the date 1076 is to be referred to Śaka era (1154 A.D.) when Gaṅgadeva, the successor of Nānyadeva, ruled in North Bihar.

[157] The Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhaśiva seems to refer to a conflict between the Gauḍa king and Kokkalladeva II, the father of Gāṅgeya. But no definite sense can be made out on account of the damaged state of the inscription (*EI*. XXII. 129, f. n. 1).

[158] Goharwa CP. *EI*. XI. 143, v. 17.

[159] The identification of Gang with Gāngeyadeva is very probable, though not certain. Cf. *E. & D*. II. 123; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 161; *DHNI*. II. 773.

[160] *GR.* 41-43 ; *BI.* 256.

[161] Dr. H. C. Ray generally supports this view (*DHNI.* I. 324 ; *IHQ.* XV. 507), though his statement that the Pālas were "rulers of a comparatively small principality" does not apply to Mahīpāla. But this does not justify the criticism of Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*IHQ.* XVI. 179). It was not so much the size of the kingdom of Mahīpāla, but its internal condition and external dangers, that account for the inactivity of Mahīpāla. Even according to Dr. Ganguly, Mahīpāla was ruler of North and South Bihar, and North Bengal. A ruler of these territories could easily rank among the other powerful potentates of Northern India about that time, and should have joined the common cause, if his kingdom possessed stability and security which Mahīpāla's kingdom lacked.

[162] The big tank called Mahīpāl-*dighi* (Dinajpur) and the towns of Mahīpur (Bogra), Mahīsantosh (Dinajpur), and Mahīpāl (Murshidabad), and probably also Sāgardīghi (Murshidabad) are associated with the name of Mahīpāla, cf. *GR.* 41-42.

[163] *DHNI.* II. 945-46.

[164] *JASB.* LXII. 250.

[165] *PB.* 73 ; *BI.* 251-52.

[166] Prof. K. A. N. Śāstrī in *JOR.* VI. 191-98 ; *IC.* II. 797. Mr. J.C. Ghosh upholds the view of Mr. Banerji (*IC.* II. 354).

[167] Bheraghat Ins v. 12 (*EI.* II. 11, 15) ; Karanbel Ins. (*IA.* XVIII. 215, 217). According to v. 23 of the Rewa Stone Ins. (*EI.* XXIV. 112), Karṇa achieved a decisive victory over the king of the Eastern country who probably lost his life in the fierce fight. This point has been discussed in Ch. VI *infra*.

[168] For the Tibetan tradition cf. *JBTS.* I (1893), pp. 9-10 ; S.C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, 51 ; This account, with slight difference in details, is also given in *JASB.* 1891, p. 51. Mr. Das writes 'king of Kārṇya probably Kanauj).'

[169] 1038—*JASB.* 1891, p. 51. Also cf. *ibid*, 1889, p. 40.
1039—S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits*, 50, 76.
1040—Lévi-*Nepal*, II. 189. *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, Index, p. liv.
1041—*IHQ.* VI. 159.
1042—*JASB.* 1881, p. 237. Cf. Rāhula Sankṛityāyana in *JA.* 1934.

[170] This is the generally accepted view, though Mr. J. C. Ghosh places it in 1039 A. D. (*IC.* I. 289).

[171] *DHNI.* II. 779.

[172] The Tibetan tradition definitely asserts that Karṇa invaded only Magadha.

[173] Cf. f.n. 167.

[174] *ASI.* 1921-22, p. 115 ; *Birbhum-vivaraṇa* (Bengali) by H. K. Mukhopādhyāya II. 9.

[175] I. 9. commentary.

[176] For detailed discussion, see Ch. VI. *infra*.

[177] Rāmganj CP. of Iśvaraghosha, *IB.* 149. Mr. N. G. Majumdar refers it on paleographical grounds to the eleventh century A.D. It is difficult to accept Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that the year 35 of the Ins. is to be referred to the Chālukya-Vikrama Era (*List of Ins.*, 294). Ḍhekkarī, the place from which it was issued, has been located in the Burdwan district by MM. H. P. Śastrī and

A. K. Maitra, and in Goālpārā and Kāmarūpa districts of Assam by N. Vasu and N. G. Majumdar. In view of the fact that Ḍhekkarī was the seat of one of the feudal lords who helped Rāmapāla, the former view is preferable.

[178] For further discussion cf. Ch. VIII. *infra*.

[179] *DHNI*. II. 780.

[180] *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita*, III. 74.

[181] Cf. *Ep. Carn*. Devanagere Taluq Ins. Nos. 2 and 3, and Sudi Ins., *EI*. XV. 86, 97-99, 104. The earliest raid must have taken place before 1053 A.D., for in the Kelawadi Ins. of that year Bhogadevarasa, the general of Someśvara I, claims to have conquered Vaṅga (*EI*. IV. 262). Ācha, a feudatory chief of Vikramāditya, led an expedition to Vaṅga which will be discussed later (see *infra*. Ch. VII).

[182] Sonpur Grant. *JBORS*. II. 45-59. The epithet "full moon in the clear sky of Vaṅga" is the result of a wrong reading of the text by the editor of this inscription. The correct reading is *śītāṁśu-vaṁśa* and not *sitāṅga-vaṅga*. The new reading, originally suggested by Paramananda Acharya in *Mayurbhanja Chronicle*, April 1942, has been verified. Cf. *Proc. IHC* ; V. 216.
Mr. R. D. Banerji attributes the conquest to Mahābhavagupta I. (*Orissa*, 212).

[183] *DHNI*. I. 405.

[184] Bhuvaneśvara Ins. *JASB*. VII. 557 ff. Mr. R. D. Banerji refers Udyotakeśarī to the 10th century A.D. (*EI*. XIII. 165), while Mr. B. C. Majumdar places him in the 12th century (*EI*. XII. 239).

[185] There is a fifth inscription of the family which has not yet been fully deciphered. The published portion contains the name of Paritosha, but no historical information. (*PB*. 82-3).

[186] The Tibetan historian Tāranātha mentions that Yakshapāla, a son of Rāmapāla, was elected king three years before the latter's death (*Tar*. 251). It illustrates the confused character of the historical tradition preserved by Tāranātha. For while Yakshapāla might have been a contemporary of Rāmapāla during the early part of the reign of the latter, and ruled over a portion of the Pāla territory, he was certainly not the son of Rāmapāla. The fact that Yakshapāla lived in local tradition for five centuries attests to his political importance.

[187] *Ind. Ant*. XVI. 63.

[188] *Ep. Ind*. XXXVI. 82.

[189] *DUS*. I. No. 2, pp. 134-35.

[190] Bargaon Grant. *JASB*. LXVII. 115.

[191] The unique manuscript of the Sanskrit poem *Rāmacharita* (referred to as *RC*. in the text) was discovered in Nepal in 1897 by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Haraprasād Śāstrī. The following extracts from his description will give the reader some idea of this important text, the only authentic historical work of ancient Bengal known to us.

"It is a curious work. It is written throughout in double *entendre*..... Read one way, it gives the connected story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Read another way, it gives the history of Rāmapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The story of *Rāmāyaṇa* is known, but the history of Rāmapāla is not known. So it would have been a difficult task to bring out the two meanings distinctly. But fortunately the MS. contained not only the text of the *Rāmacharita*, but a

commentary of the first canto and of 36 (*sic.* really 35) verses of the second. The commentary portion of the manuscript then abruptly came to an end. The commentary, as may be expected, gives fuller account of the reign of Rāmapāla than the text.....

"The author of the text is Sandhyākara Nandī, who composed the work in the reign of Madanapāla Deva, the second son of Rāmapāla. The author enjoyed exceptional opportunities of knowing the events of Rāmapāla's reign and those of his successors, as his father was the Sāndhivigrahika, or the Minister of Peace and War of Rāmapāla."

The text was first edited by MM. H. P. Śāstrī and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (*MASB.* III. No. 1). It was re-edited, with a complete commentary and English translation, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. R. G. Basak, and Pandit Nanigopal Banerji,and published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, in 1939. These two editions will be referred to respectively as *RC.*[1] and *RC.*[2] A revised edition of *RC* by Dr. R. G. Basak with English translation and notes was published in 1969 by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This is referred to as *RC.*[3] All quotations from English translation refer to *RC.*[3]. For all references to text after II. 35, cf. *RC.*[3], as *RC.*[1] offers no commentary to these verses. For other verses either may be consulted. For a fuller discussion (with references) of the historical facts dealt with in this chapter cf. Introduction to *RC.*[3]

[192] The figures within brackets refer to cantos and verses of *RC.*

[193] The actual reading of the commentary is '*bhūtaṁ satyaṁ nayo nītaṁ tayorarakshaṇe yuktah prasaktaḥ*.' But MM. Śāstrī emended the text by omitting one '*ra*' in '*tayorarakshaṇe*' which gives just the opposite meaning. There is no justification for this change, as the context of the passage supports the actual reading.

[194] *RC.*[1] 13.

[195] The name is written variously in *RC.* as Divya (I. 38), Divvoka (I. 38-39 commentary) and Divoka (I. 31 comm).

[196] Thus v. I. 12 refers to the Kaivarta chief as 'bad king' (*kutsita inaḥ Kaivartanṛipaḥ*) ; v. I. 24 refers to unholy or unfortunate civil revolution (*anīkaṁ dharma-viplavaṁ* ; and v. I. 27 describes the affray or disturbance (*ḍamaraṁ*) caused by the enemy as a world calamity (*bhavasya āpadaṁ*).

[197] A movement was set on foot by a section of the Kaivarta or Māhishya community in Bengal to perpetuate the memory of Divya, on the basis of the view-points noted above. They refused to regard him as a rebel, and held him up as a great hero called to the throne by the people of Varendrī to save it from the oppressions of Mahīpāla II. An annual ceremony, *Divya-smṛiti-utsava*, was organised by them, and the speeches made on these occasions by eminent historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda and Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal, who presided over these functions, sought to support the popular views (cf. *Bhāratavarsha*, 1342, pp. 18 ff). This movement died a natural death within a few years.

[198] For a detailed discussion of this point, and a view of Divya's rebellion in its true perspective, cf. Dr. R. C. Majumdar's article '*The Revolt of Divvoka against Mahīpāla* II *and other revolts in Bengal*' (*DUS.* I. No. 2, pp. 125 ff).

[199] Cf. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal's Presidential Address at the *Divya-smṛiti-utsava*, p.19, It is true that verse 1. 29 of *RC.* does not name the Kaivarta king who murdered Mahīpāla. But verse 16 of the Manahali CP. (B. 66) proves that Divya was alive after Rāmapāla had ascended the throne, *i.e.*, after the death of Rāmapāla's elder brothers Mahipāla and Śūrapāla. The Kaivarta *king*, who murdered Mahīpāla, according to *RC.* (1. 29), must, therefore, be Divya, and not Bhīma who was not a *king* at that time.

[200] *IB.* 14 ; also *infra.* Chapter VI, Section II.

[201] The expression '*yathokta-krameṇa*' in the commentary to 1. 39 proves that Divya, Rudoka, and Bhīma ruled in unbroken succession.

[202] The name of Bhīma has been preserved in local tradition. A rampart near Bogra is still known as *Bhīmer Jāṅgāl*. MM. Śāstri held the view (*RC.*[1] 13) that Bhīma 'built a Ḍamara, a suburban city, close to the capital of the Pāla empire.' The only foundation for this statement is the expression wrongly read by him as '*ḍamaram-upapuraṁ*' in the commentary to 1. 27. The expression, as correctly read in *RC.*[2] *viz.*, '*ḍamaram-upaplavaṁ*,' shows that there is no reference to any city, far less to any capital city, founded by Bhīma, as Mr. R. D. Banerji imagined (*PB.* 91 ; *BI.* 291).

[203] *RC.*[1] 13.

[204] *BI.* 280.

[205] Cf. *RC.*[2] XXIII. where evidences are discussed with full references. The colophon of a MS. proves the rule of Rāmapāla in Magadha in his 25th regnal year (Śastri-*Cat.* 1. 163).

[206] The new danger might also refer to the invasion of the Paramāra king Lakshmadeva who ruled some time before A.D. 1097, the earliest known date of his successor (*DHNI.* II. 882). It is said that "desirous of capturing matchless elephants he first proceeded to Hari's quarter (*i.e.*, the east)," and "then, just as dread, entered the town of the Lord of Gauḍa" (v. 38, *EI.* II. 186, 192). It is not certain whether he entered Gauḍa (which was then probably in possession of Divya or Bhīma), or the capital city of Rāmapāla, who bore the title, or at least was known as, the lord of Gauḍa. In any case, we cannot say anything about the nature and result of this raid by the Paramāra king.

[207] *RC.* II. 5, 6, 8. The text gives the names in a very cryptic form. These would not have been intelligible but for the commentary, which not only gives the full name of each king and the locality of his kingdom, but also adds some historical details in many cases. For a full discussion of these cf. *RC.*[2] pp. XXV-XXVIII, which also give references to authorities for the brief statements made in the text.

[208] Cf. ch. VIII. section III *infra.*

[209] The word 'king' is used where the commentary expressly mentions any royal epithet. In other cases the word 'ruler' has been used.

[210] Koṭa may be identified with Koṭeśvara to the east of Vishṇupur. *Āin-i-Akbari* refers to Mahal Koṭ-deśa (Transl. II. 144). Srī P. Mandal identifies it with Bhalki-koṭa village on the south bank of the Ajay river (Burdwan Dt. Ausgram P. S.). The locality, called Koṭār Jaṅgal, is a reminiscence of Koṭāṭavi which means "forest region called Koṭa."

[211] The text of *RC* merely mentions Vikrama. The commentary calls him Vikramarāja and adds the name of the locality, over which he ruled, in a long compound which contains the words "*Devagrāma-pratibaddha-*.....bāla valabhī-taraṅga....." MM. H. P. Śāstrī translated it to mean that Vikrama was the *Rājā* of Devagrāma and the surrounding country washed by the rivers of Bāla-valabhī, a region which he identified with Bāgḍī, a well-known Division of Bengal in the Sena period. P. Acharya holds the view that Bāla-valabhī was not a place-name at all (*Proc. IHC.* VI. 70). Dr. R. G. Basak interprets the compound to mean that Vikramarāja's capital, Devagrāma, was much secure on account of the waves of Bālavalabhī, a swift-flowing river passing near the capital (*RC.*[3] 126).

Devagrāma has been very plausibly identified with the village of that name about half a mile from the Railway Station of the same name, in the Calcutta-Lalgola Broad Gauge Section of the Eastern Railway, 140 kilometres from Calcutta (Sealdah). Details of the antiquities of the place are given in the *Vardhamāner Purākathā*, a Bengali book edited by N. Basu, p. 53.

[212] Mandāra has been identified with *sarkār* Madāran, locally called Mandāran. It comprised, according to Beames, "a very long straggline strip of territory running from Birbhum in the North to the junction of the Hooghly and Rupnarayan rivers in the South" (*JRAS.* 1896, p. 106). Mandāran is now known as Bhitargarh Mandāran (for Blochman's identification, cf. *Proc. ASB*, 1870, p. 117), about seven miles west of the town of Jahanabad or Arambagh on the Darkeswar river. De Barro's map (C. 1550 A.D.) shows Mandaram as an important city on a branch of the Ganges river, almost due south of Saptagrām. According to Beames, a local Paṇḍit derives the name from *Manda* (bad) and *aranya* (forest). P. Mandal agrees with this identification but points out that the village Gaḍh Mandāran is situated about nine miles to the south-west of Arambagh in Hooghly District.

N. Das Gupta, however, points out that this identification does not agree with the description of its ruler as the "head of the feudal chiefs living in the forest regions" (*āṭavika-sāmanta-chakra-chūḍāmaṇi*). He therefore suggests that Lakshmīśūra's dominions comprised the modern localities of Deoghar, Baidyanath etc., and the adjacent silvan tract of land lying on the other side (*apara-Mandāra*), i.e., southern and south-eastern side of the famous Mandāra hill about 30 miles south of Bhagalpur (*Ind. Ant.* 1930, p. 244).

[213] G. Mitra, *Bīrbhumer Itihāsa*, I. 59.

[214] Identified with Telkupi in the Manbhum District. The region is still known as Śikharbhum, perhaps after the royal family (*VJI.* 199). The *Āin-i-Akbari* refers to the *parganā* Shergarh, commonly called Sakharbhum. Beames identifies it with Sikarbhumi, "an immense *parganā* occupying the whole western angle of Burdwan between the Damodar and Ajay rivers" (*JRAS.* 1896, pp. 106-7).

[215] This has been identified with 'Jain Ujhial,' a *parganā* in Birbhum (*VJI, 199*). Mr. R. D. Banerji objects to this identification on the ground that there are many other *parganās* called Ujhial (*BI.* 289-90), a fact already pointed out by Beames, who takes the word to mean 'high land' (*JRAS.* 1896, p. 93).

P. Mandal very plausibly identifies it with the village Uchalan (Burdwan Dt.) and points out that in the adjacent village Mayigrāma (Hooghly Dt.) a big

mound is known as *Rājār Potā* (palace of Rājā) and according to tradition it was the capital of Bhāskara Maya-Dānava. The site has yielded antiquities of the Pāla period.

[216] This place has been identified with the village called Ḍhekargarh on the south bank of the Ajay river (Dt. Burdwan, P. S. Aushgram). The neighbouring village Pratāppur contains antiquities, and is associated by P. Mandal with the ruler Pratāpa-sinha mentioned in the *RC.* Cf. *BI.* 290. The location of Ḍhekkari in Assam, originally propounded by Mr. N. Vasu, and supported by Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*IB.* 150) is less likely.

[217] The old town of Kankjol lies near the East Indian Railway line about 20 miles south of Rajmahal. For a detailed account cf. Beames in *JRAS.* 1896, p. 96.

[218] P. Mandal identifies this kingdom with the area extending from village Saṁkaṭe (Burdwan Dt., Raina P. S.) to Śaktigarh (a well-known Railway Station about 12 kilometres S. E. E. of Burdwan).

The *Āin-i-Akbari* refers to the *pargaṇā* 'Sakot' in *Sarkār* Sātgāon. The name 'Sakot.' resembles 'Saṅkaṭa,' but Beames emends the former as Siguna (*JRAS.* 1896, p. 104). Saṅkaṭagrāma is probably the same as Saṁka-koṭa, referred to in *Vallāla-charita* (II, 4) and Sankanāt referred to in Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī (cf. Ch. VII. App. II, III).

[219] Cf. *RC.*[2] XXVII.

[220] Mr. R. D. Banerji identifies it with the "modern *pargaṇā* of Kusumba in the Rajshahi district", (*JASB.* N. S. X. 125). But it may also be identified with the *pargaṇā* Tappe Kusumbi in the Bogra district. Kauśāmbī has also been located in "the tract east of the Bhāgirathī and south of modern Calcutta" (*JRAS.* 1935, pp. 82-3, *Ep. Ind.* XXX. 256.

P. Mandal identifies it with Kusumgram in the Kalna Sub-Division of Burdwan Dt. (P. Mandal's suggestions mentioned above are contained in a personal letter to the author of this volume).

[221] MM. H. P. Śāstrī doubtfully identifies Paduvanvā with Pabna (*RC.*[1] 14), but there is no evidence in support of it, except the similarity of the two names. Reference may be made to *pargaṇā* Paunan in the Hooghly district (Hunter, III, 416). The name Paunan may be easily derived from Paduvanva.

Similarly, Paduvanva resembles Pāodumbā, a village mentioned in a manuscript of *Kṛishṇa-prema-taraṅginī* of Bhāgavatāchārya, dated Śaka 1620(=1698 A.D.) and preserved in the Dacca University. This village Pāodumbā, is said to be in '*pargaṇā* Bijanagar' and '*sarkār* Panjara'. Bijanagar is mentioned as a *pargaṇā* of sarkār Pinjora or Panjara (Āin. III, 136) and comprised the greater part of Dinajpur district. (*JASB.* XLII, 214 ; Hunter, v. I. 437, 439).

[222] Cf. *supra* pp. 3 ff.

[223] This account radically differs from the version of MM. H. P. Śāstrī. N. K. Bhattaśālī supported Śāstrī's view and gave an altogether new interpretation of the whole course of the battle (*IHQ.* XIX. 126) to which a reply was given by the author of this volume in *IHQ.* XIX. 263. Dr. R. G. Basak has supported the interpretation given above (*RC.*[3] p. XXIX, f.n. 21). For full discussion cf. *RC.*[3] XXX-XXXI.

[224] For Rāmapāla's conduct towards Bhīma, cf. *RC.*[3] XXIX-XXX.

[225] Cf. *RC.*[3] III. 27, 31, 42.

[226] *RC.* IV. 1-3. The expression *sūnu-samarpita-rājya* might refer to one or more sons ; v. 6 also refers to Rājyapāla and his brother.

[227] For the erroneous character of MM. Śāstrī's views in this respect, cf. *R.C.*[2] XXXI

[228] The history of the Varman dynasty has been discussed in ch. VI. The Varman king, referred to in *RC.*, is probably Harivarman, and it is tempting to identify him with the chief Hari, the great friend of Bhīma, who rallied the forces of the latter after his defeat, and fought stubbornly with Rāmapāla. Reference is made to a chief called Hari in a subsequent verse of *RC.*, and it is very reasonable to hold that the same person is referred to. It would then appear that after the death of Bhīma, Rāmapāla won over Hari (now called *īśa* or king) to his side, and established him in a position of great influence (III. 32). We are further told that the two kings, meaning presumably Rāmapāla and Hari, both of whom were rich in cavalry and very powerful, met together in Rāmāvatī and shone for a long time in each other's close embrace (III. 39-40). But although the identification appears plausible, there is no definite evidence in support of it.

[229] In the absence of a fairly accurate knowledge of the chronology of the kings of Kāmarūpa, it is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, who was ruling in Kāmarūpa about this time. Hoernle assigned Ratnapāla to the first half of the eleventh century A.D. (*JASB.* LXVII. 102 ff), and if this view is accepted, Dharmapāla may be regarded as the contemporary of Rāmapāla (*Kām. Śās.* 146). For other views, cf. *IHQ.* XII. 630.

The Silimpur Stone Ins. (*EI.* XIII. 283) refers to king Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa (v. 22) whose name is not included in the official list of kings of Kāmarūpa (*Kām. Śās.* 146 ff). He may be the unknown allied king, who conquered Kāmarūpa for Rāmapāla. But it is also not impossible that the 'highly honoured' Timgyadeva, whose revolt is referred to in the Kamauli Grant (B. 94), was the name of this conqueror of Kāmarūpa. MM. Śāstrī's view that Mayana was the name of this conqueror (*RC.*[1] 15) is due to an error in the reading of the text (*RC.*[2] XXXIII).

[230] The incident is referred to in a verse (III. 45) which runs as follows :—

"He (Rāmapāla) did favour to the vanquished king of Utkala, who was born in the lineage of the ornament of Bhava (Śiva) (*Bhava-bhūshaṇa-santati*), and rescued the whole world (from the terror of) Kaliṅga, after having extirpated those robbers (of that place)."

The expression 'ornament of Śiva,' which denotes the family to which the vanquished king of Utkal belonged, has been variously interpreted, inasmuch as Nāga (serpent), Soma (moon), or Gaṅgā, which are the family-names of well-known ruling dynasties, may all be regarded as ornaments of Śiva. H.P. Śāstrī took the first meaning and held that Rāmapāla conquered Utkala and restored it to the Nāgavaṁśīs (*RC.*[1] 15). Mr. R. D. Banerji accepted this view (*BI.* 293). Mr. N. G. Majumdar accepted this meaning of *Bhava-bhūshaṇa*, but interpreted the verse in an altogether different way. He translated it as follows : "Rāmapāla favoured (or reinstated) the vanquished king of Utkala who possessed the territory of a *Bhava-bhūshaṇa-santati* (*i.e.*, the Nāgas)." He held that this king of Utkala was either Harivarman or his son who had overthrown the Nāga king and made himself master of Utkala (*IB.* 30).

The Nāgavaṁśī kings are known from epigraphic records to have ruled in Bastar State in the Central Provinces, and possibly these kings are referred to in *RC*. III. 43 as having been defeated by Rāmapāla. It seems to refer to 'Bhogāli' as the territory of the Nāgas, and the lexicographer Hemachandra refers to Bhogavatī as the Nāga capital. The inscriptions of the kings ruling in Bastar State at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. call them '*Nāgavaṁśodbhava Bhogavatī-pura-var-eśvara*' (*EI*. IX. 160 ff ; X. 25 ff.). The Nāgavaṁśī kings are not, however, known to have ruled in Orissa proper, *i. e.*, the territory between the river Suvarṇarekhā and the Chilka Lake. The Nāgavaṁśī king Someśvaradeva, who ruled at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., refers to the king of Uḍra as a rival (*EI*. X. 26). It is, therefore, more reasonable to hold that the king of Utkala, defeated by Rāmapāla, belonged to the Soṁavamsī dynasty which is known to have been ruling in Orissa in the eleventh century A. D. (*DHNI*. I. 393 ff.). One of the Somavaṁsī rulers, Mahāśīvagupta Yayāti, as noted above (p. 141) claims to have raided Gauḍa and Rāḍhā. One of the last kings of this dynasty is named Udyotakeśarī, and this dynasty is probably to be identified with the Keśarī dynasty which, according to *Mādlā-pañji* or the Chronicles of Orissa, ruled in that kingdom till it was conquered by Choḍagaṅga in 1132 A. D. The *RC*. refers to a king of Utkala named Karṇakeśarī who was defeated by Jayasiṁha, king of Daṇḍabhukti and an ally of Rāmapāla (II. 6). This definitely proves the rule of Keśarī kings in Orissa during the reign of Rāmapāla. According to *Mādlā-pañji*, Suvarṇakeśarī, the last ruler of this line, was on the throne between *c*. 1123-32 A. D. Mr. N. N. Das Gupta even goes so far as to assert that the *Bhava-bhūshaṇa* of *RC*. means Kesarī dynasty, as the serpents are but the *Keśara* or mane of Śiva (*IA*. LIX. 244). According to Mr. R. P. Chanda, the king of Utkala referred to in *RC*. was Choḍagaṅga of the Gaṅga dynasty which traced its descent from the moon (*GR*. 51).

[231] Dīrghasi Ins., v. 5. *EI*. IV. 314 ff.

[232] Korni CP. *JAHRS*. I. 118 ff.

[233] Vizagapatam CP. *IA*. XVIII. 165 ff.

[234] Śrī-Kūrmam Ins. *SII*. V. No. 1335 ; quoted by R. Subba Rao (*JAHRS*. VII. 57, 59, 64).

[235] The *Mādlā-pañji* states that Choḍagaṅga defeated the last king of the Keśarī dynasty Suvarṇakeśarī in A.D. 1134, and succeeded to the Utkala kingdom and transferred his capital to Cuttack (quoted by R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS*. VII. 57). According to Fleet's version, Choḍagaṅga's conquest took place in 1132 A.D. (*EI*. III. 336).

[236] He was evidently the Somavaṁśī king whose CP. Grant dated in the 6th year has been discovered in Ratnagiri (Cuttack Dt.). *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-8. p. 58.

[237] According to Śrī-Kūrmam Ins. (*SII*. V. No. 1335), dated 1135 A.D., Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga returned in that year to his capital after subduing the Western, Northern, and Eastern countries, and bringing the whole country lying between the Gangès and the Godāvarī rivers under his firm control (*JAHRS*. VII. 57). According to the inscriptions of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, Narasiṁha II and Narasiṁha IV. Anatavarman's empire extended to

the Godāvarī in the south, the city of Midhunapura or Midnapur in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Eastern Ghats in the west (*JAHRS.* VI. 215). The Kendupatna Plates refer to the destruction of the king of Mandāra's capital by Choḍagaṅga and his struggle on the banks of the Ganges (*JASB.* LXV. 229 ff).

[238] III. 45. Mr. N. G. Majumdar inferred also from *RC.* III. 42 that Rāmapāla advanced up to the sea-coast of Orissa (*IB.* 29). But this view is wrong (cf. the commentary and English translation of the verse in *RC.*[2]).

[239] The account of the Kaliṅga war of Kulottuṅga is given in details in the Tamil work *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* (*IA.* XIX. 329 ff.), and this is corroborated by the Drākshārāma Ins. (*EI.* XXII. 138 ff). According to this record, the general of Kulottuṅga "reduced to ashes the whole of Kaliṅga country, defeated the Gaṅga king, destroyed in battle Devendravarman and others, and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the Oḍra country." As the editor points out, "the earliest notice of the conquest of Kaliṅga in the records of Kulottuṅga occurs in a stone inscription dated in the 26th year (=1096 A.D.), and as this is repeated in the inscriptions of the 30th year and after, one is strongly inclined to believe that this should have taken place in or a little before A.D. 1096."

There might have been an invasion of Kaliṅga by Kulottuṅga in person later than 1096 A.D. For some of the inscriptions of the king dated in the 42nd and 45th years of his reign refer to an invasion of Kaliṅga in which the king himself is said to have set fire to Kaliṅga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs, and took possession of the seven Kaliṅgas (*EI.* XXII. 141). Cf. also *Colas*, II. 33-37.

[240] Drākshārāma Ins., dated 1116 A. D. (*SII.* IV. No. 1029).

[241] See *supra* p. 140.

[242] See *infra* Ch. VII.

[243] See *infra* Ch. VII.

[244] For the account of Nānyadeva that follows cf. *IHQ.* VII. 679 ff.

[245] *DHNI.* I. 507-8.

[246] Line 9. (*IA.* XVIII. 16, 18).

[246a] *IHQ.* XXV, pp. 34-5.

[247] *JASB.* 1895, Part I, p. 61.

[248] *RC.* II. 36 ; IV. 6.

[249] *Kavi-praśasti*, VV. 8, 9, 11.

[250] Ins. No. 62 would seem to belie the view, if it really belongs to the reign of Gopāla III; and is dated in year 14 ; for it would then appear that Gopāla III must have reigned for at least 14 years. Mr. N. G. Majumdar refers it to the reign of Gopāla III on paleographic grounds (*ASI.* 1936-37, pp. 130). But the alphabets show great resemblance with those of the Dinajpur Pillar Ins., which has been referred to the tenth century A.D., and although one or two letters show an advanced form, others like *j* and medial *e* show distinctly early forms. On the whole, it is difficult to say very definitely that the inscription belongs to the reign of Gopāla III and not Gopāla II. Besides, the figure read by Mr. Majumdar as 4 is very doubtful (cf. *JRASBL.* VII. 216). Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's reconstruction of the history of Gopāla III (*IHQ.* XVII. 214-216) is too imaginary to be seriously considered.

[251] *BI.* 311.

[252] Ins. No. B. 88. vv. 11, 13-14, and ll. 47 ff.

[253] This has been fully discussed in ch. VI. *infra.*

[254] Cf. f.n. 237.

[255] For Mandāra, cf. f. n. 212 above. For the conquests of Anantavarman in Bengal, cf. the Kendupatna Grant, vv. 22, 30, *JASB.* LXV. 239, 241.

[256] *JASB.* XVIII. 81. The conflict between the Pālas and the Gāhaḍavālas seems to be also referred to in *Prākṛita Paiṅgalam* (*IHQ.* XI. 565-66).

[257] *EI.* VII. 98.

[258] *IHQ.* V. 35 ff. The view, originally propounded by MM. H. P. Śāstrī (*RC.*[1] 16) and followed by Mr. R. D. Banerji (*BI.* 312-13), that this Chandra was the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradeva is untenable. This point has been discussed on p.. 164.

[259] IV. 16-21.

[260] V. V. Mirashi thinks that the reference is to the expedition of Kalachuri king Ratnadeva II which he launched soon after inflicting a crushing defeat upon Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (*Ep. Ind.* XXVII. 279.

[261] D. C. Sircar thinks it is a mistake for Garuḍadhvaja (*IASBL.* 1951, p. 27.

[262] *IHQ.* VII. 681.

[263] Govindapāla is known from two stone inscriptions, one of which was found in Gayā, and colophons of seven manuscripts (*PB.* 108-112). One of these alone is dated in the ordinary way—'*Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Paramasaugata-Mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Govindapālasya vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare* 4.' Three others, including one stone inscription, use, however, peculiar expressions such as "*Śrī-Govindapāla-deva-gatarājye chaturddaśa-samvatsare,*" "*Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devasyātīta-samvatsa* 18." and "*Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devānāṁ vinashṭarājye ashṭa-triṁśat-samvatsare.*" The dates in three other colophons are given simply as "*Śrī-Govindapālīya saṁvat* 24.' "*Govindapāla-devānāṁ saṁ* 37' and '*Śrīmad-Govindapāla-devānāṁ saṁ* 39.' The remaining colophon, dated in *saṁ* 38, gives the title *Gauḍeśvara* to Govindapāla. The second stone inscription of unknown origin has never been published, and all that we are told is that it was dated in 1178 A. D. (*ASC.* XV. 155). The correct interpretation of the above expressions denoting dates has given rise to difficulties (for a full discussion and references, cf. *JASB.* N.S. XVII. 8 ff). Mr. R. D. Banerji held the view that the king ruled for 39 years, though he ceased to exercise any sovereignty in those places where the expression '*gata-rājye,*' '*vinashṭa-rājye,*' '*atīta-samvatsa*' *etc.*, are used. A far more reasonable view seems to be to interpret them, like similar expressions used in connection with Lakshmaṇasena, as the years counted from the cessation of the reign of Govindapāla. Now the Gayā Stone Inscription is dated in 1232 *Vikāri i.e.*, V. S. and '*gata-rājye chaturdaśa-samvatsare.*' According to Mr. Banerji's interpretation, this would place the accession of Govindapāla in 1219 V.S. or 1162 A.D., whereas according to the other view, that year would coincide with the end of his reign. In the former case, Govindapāla must have been on the throne till at least 1200 A. D. (39th year). But this is incompatible with the scheme of chronology of the Sena kings, which, though rejected by Mr. Banerji, is now almost universally adopted. This point has been further dis-

cussed in Chap. VII. App. I. in connection with the chronology of the Sena kings.

For further discussion of this question cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, III. 528; *IHQ*. XXX. 213 ; *Ep. Ind*. XXXV. 233.

[264] Mr. R. D. Banerji introduced this Pāla king on the strength of an inscription found at Jaynagar (*JBORS*. XIV. 496). It records the installation of the goddess Pūrṇeśvarī or Puṇyeśvarī at Champā in the 35th year of Palapāla (B. 71). The reading *Gauḍeśvara Palapāla* is, however, impossible, even according to his own *facsimile*, unless we imagine that one letter (*ra*) was dropped by the engraver through mistake, and another letter (*la*) was written in line 1 in two different ways, although separated by only one letter (*JBORS*. XV. 649; *IHQ*. VI. 164). This the existence of Palapāla may be seriousiy doubted. An image inscription of a chief named Yaśaḥpāla was found at Lai near Lakhisarai in Monghyr Dt. It is dated in the year 32 and it has been suggested that this refers to the regnal year of Palapāla though there is no cogent argument in favour of it (B. 72).

[265] *IA*. XXXVIII. 248.

[266] *JASB*. N. S. XVIII. 1 ff.

[267] The latest exposition of Mr. Banerji's views is in *JBORS*. XIV. 489-538. For criticism of these views and general discussion on Pāla chronology, cf. *JBORS*. XV. 643-650 ; *IHQ*. III. 578-591 ; VI. 153-168.

[268] For the reign-periods, *cf.* the "List of Inscriptions" at the end.

[269] *IHQ*. VII. 530 ff.

[270] See p. 167.

[271] *IHQ*. III. 571-591; VI. 153-168. In drawing up the chronology of the Pālas, Mr.Bhattacharya has relied mostly on astronomical grounds. His conclusions in respect of the later kings (after Vigrahapāla II) agree generally with those of mine. Regarding the earlier kings the chief difference lies in the too early dates he assigns to Gopāla and Dharmapāla on the strength of various Tibetan traditions. According to Mr. Bhattacharya, the first three kings of the Pāla dynasty ruled for a period of 140 years. This is so unusual that nothing but the strongest positive evidence would warrant the assumption.

[272] See p. 169.

[273] *chirataram-avaner....bhartā abhūt*. (v. 8. of the Ins. B. 40)

[274] Śastri-*Cat*. I. 13.

[275] *JBORS*. XIV. 490-91. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya opposes the views of Mr. Banerji and Dr. Bhandarkar and agrees with MM. Śāstrī that the date is 57 (*IHQ*. VI. 152). Mr. Banerji reproduces a micro-photograph of the portion of the MS. containing the date (*op. cit.*). The first figure seems undoubtedly to be 1, but the second is very doubtful.

[276] *PB*. 67.

[277] *JASB*. N. S. XVI. 301 ff. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya adversely criticised the general principles formulated in this paper (*IHQ*. III. 579), but later himself formulated the same principles (*IHQ*. VI. 155).

[278] This statement is based on the calculation of Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya, *IHQ*. III. 584. Mr. J.C. Ghosh, on the other hand, places the accession of Mahīpāla in 981 A. D., and supports it on astronomical grounds (*IC*. I. 291). This only

proves how little we may rely on astronomical data in fixing a definite date. Mr. Ghosh's theory is based on some details furnished by Tāranātha which are hardly credible.

[279] This is the general view based on Kielhorn's calculation, but Mr. J. C. Ghosh places the accession of Karṇa in 1039 A.D. (*IC.* I. 289).

[280] Cf. the remarks made above in connection with the history of Nayapāla. According to the Tibetan tradition, Nayapāla's coronation took place shortly before Atīśa left for Tibet (*IHQ.*VI. 159), an event for which various dates have been proposed between 1038 and 1042 A.D. (*v. supra.* p. 138). D. C. Bhattacharya has calculated the date of Atīśa's departure as March, 1041 A. D., but this may be doubted. The proposed date of Nayapāla's accession is, therefore, in full agreement with the Tibetan tradition.

[281] The book *Seka-śubhodayā* ('Blessed advent of the Shaikh') is ascribed to Halāyudha Miśra, the famous minister of Lakshmaṇasena, but this is absurd on the face of it. Dr. S. K. Chatterji rightly declares it to be a forgery, but regards it as not later than the 16th century (Foreword to the edition of Mr. Sukumar Sen published in Hṛishīkesa Series, p. V.). Mr. R. D. Banerji points out that as the book mentions a Musalman king named Hasan Śāha, evidently a mistake for Sultān Alāuddin Husain Śhāh, the only king of that name who ruled over Bengal, it cannot be earlier than the 16th century (*JBORS.* XIV. 522). The book cannot by any means be regarded as a reliable source of historical information, though it refers to some historical figures and events. Mr. Banerji, however, goes too far when he asserts that the work does not contain a single passage which may be taken to be historically accurate (*op. cit.* pp. 522-23). The statement, for example, that Rāmapāla drowned himself in the Ganges (pp. 60-61) is corroborated by *Rāmacharita* (IV. 9), and Halāyudha, Dhoyī, Govardhana, and Umāpatidhara are correctly stated to be contemporaries of Lakshmaṇasena.

[282] *IHQ.* III. 583 ; VI. 160-61 ; XVII. 222.

[283] *RC.*[1] 16.

[284] *PB.* 103.

[285] *IHQ.* V. 35-48.

[286] This Appendix is abridged from an article by the author published in *IHQ.* XVI 219 ff. The account is based on the German translation of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* by A. Schiefner (*Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus dem Tibetischen ubersetzt* von Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869). Figures within brackets refer to the pages of this book. Portions of this book were translated into English in *Indian Antiquary* (IV. 361 ff.), but the translation is not always accurate as the following pages will show.

[287] Attention may be drawn to the following passages : (1) In Oḍivisa, Bhaṅgala, and Rāḍhā (p. 72) ; (2) In the land Puṇḍravardhana, lying between Magadha and Bhaṅgala (p. 99) ; (3) In Bhaṅgala and in Varendra (p. 211) ; (4) Vimalachandra ruled over the three provinces, Bhaṅgala, Kāmarūpa, and Tīrahuti (p. 172).

In one passage Gauḍa is referred to as a part of Bhaṅgala (p. 82), but it is not clear whether it means that Gauḍa was included within the kingdom of Bhaṅgala, or formed geographically a part of it. The former seems to be the intended meaning.

Tāranātha's geographical notion is clearly indicated in the following passage: "Eastern India consists of three parts ; Bhaṅgala and Oḍivisa belong to Aparāntaka and are called its eastern part. The north-eastern provinces, Kāmarūpa, Tripura and Hasama are called Girivarta, adorned with mountains. Proceeding towards the east near the Northern Hills are the provinces Nangaṭa Pukham on the sea-coast, Balgu etc., Rakhang, Haṁsavatī and the remaining parts of the kingdom of Munjang ; further off are Champā, Kāmboja and the rest. All these are called by the general name Koki" (p. 262).

For further discussion of Tāranātha's account of Bhaṅgala and the light it throws on the location of the original kingdom of the Pālas cf. *IHQ*. XVI. 219 ff.

[288] Rai Bahadur S. C. Das gives a different version of this account (*JASB*. 1898, p. 22).

[289] The translation of this passage as given in *IA*. IV. 365-66 *viz*., 'In Oḍivisa, in Bengal, and the other five provinces of the east.....etc.' is wrong. This has been followed in *Gauḍarājamālā* (p.21), and *Bāṅglār Itihāsa* (p. 162) by R. D. Banerji. The original German passage is "In den funf ostlichen Ländergebieten Bhaṅgala, Oḍivisa und den übrigen...."

[290] "A shepherdess" according to Buston (p. 156).

[291] Cf. *supra* f. n. 287 above, examples (2) and (3).

[292] For the account of the Chandra dynasty that ruled in Bengal in the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D., and in Arakan since seventh century A.D., cf. Ch. VI. Confused traditions about the relation between Pāla and Chandra kings are preserved in Bengal folklore. In the famous song of Mānik Chandra, of which a critical account has been given by G.A. Grierson (*JASB*. XLVII (1878), Part I, pp. 135 ff.), he is represented as brother of Dharmapāla. The following extracts from Grierson's article give the substance of the story :

"In the Dimla *thana*, situated to the north-west of Rangpur and nine or ten miles to the S. E. of the sub-divisional head-quarters of Bāgḍokarā, is the city of Dharmapāl (Dharmapur). To the west of this city, at a distance of two miles, was the city of Mānik Chandra, now, however, called after his more famous wife 'Maynā-matir Koṭ.'

"Between Dharmapāl and Mānik Chandra a war arose which ended in the defeat and disappearance of the former, and triumph of the latter.

"After this victory Mānik Chandra took up his residence at Dharmapur, while his wife Maynā remained at her old home 'Maynā-matir Koṭ.'

"After the death of Mānik Chandra, Maynā gave birth to a son Gopīchandra. He married Adunā and Padunā, two daughters of Harischandra (Harischandra Rājār Pāt is shown in village Charchara, 7 or 8 miles south of the ruins of Dharmapur)."

The rest of the story narrates how the king abdicated the throne, took to an ascetic life, and left home as disciple of a Guru of low caste called Hāḍi Siddhā.

Mr. Bisvesvar Bhattacharya (*JASB*. N. S. VI. 131-34) gives a somewhat different account. He refers to the West Bengal version by Durlabha Mallika according to which Gopīchandra's capital was at Pāṭikānagar, and his grandfather and great-grandfather were named respectively Suvarṇachandra and

Dhārichandra. Mr. Bhattacharya identifies Pātikāngar with Patkāpārā, which lies close to Maynā-matir Koṭ.

Mr. Bhattacharya says that he could not find any trace of the tradition, among the Jugis, that Dharmapāla and Mānik Chandra were brothers : on the other hand, some ballads refer to Mānik Chandra as the grandson of Dharmapāla. The story of the fight between Maynāmatī and Dharmapāla is also unknown to the Jugis.

Many ballads are current in Bengal about Gopīchandra and Maynāmatī. Some of these have been collected by Dr. D. C. Sen in *Gopīchandrer Gāna*, Vols. I, II. (published by the Calcutta University). Reference may also be made to the following : 1. *Mīnachetana*, edited by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali (Dacca Sāhitya Parisat) and 2. *Gopīchānder Sannyāsa*, by Abdul Sukur Muhammad. Gopīchandra is sometimes referred to as a ruler of Mṛikula now called Mehārkula in Tippera district. This agrees with the tradition preserved by Tāranātha.

For a critical discussion on the legend of Gopīchānd cf. *PTOC.* VI. 265 ff.

[293] The former view is upheld by A. K. Maitreya (*GL.* 67 f.n.) following Hoernle (*Centenary Review*, *JASB.* App. II. 206). The latter view, originally propounded by Dr. Kielhorn (*EI.* VIII. App. I. 17), is supported by R. D. Banerji (*BI.* 215-219).

[294] Hoernle, *op. cit.*

[295] *EI.* XXII. 152.

[296] *Modern Review*, September 1937, pp. 323-24.

[297] *EI.* XXIV. 43.

[298] *Ibid.* f. n. 6.

[299] *JIH.* XV. 270 ; *Kāyastha Patrikā* (Bengali), Śrāvaṇa, 1344 pp. 111-13.

[300] I have discussed the question at length in *DUS.* I. No. II., pp. 131 ff.

[301] *IHQ.* XV. 508 ff.

[302] *EI.* XXI. 173.

[303] *IC.* I. 71.

[304] *EI.* XXII. 153 ; *IHQ.* XV. 511 ; *DHNI.* I. 311, f. n. 1 ; *DUS.* I. No. II. p. 131.

[305] *GR.* 37. The view that Tibet was called Kāmboja is based on a statement made by Foucher (*Icon.* 134) on the authority of the Nepalese Pandit of B. H. Hodgson. But it is supported by two MSS. (Nos 7763 and 7777) described in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit* MSS. *in the Library of India Office*, Vol. II, Part II.

[306] *IHQ.* XV. 511 ; *DHNI.* I. 309, f.n. 2.

[307] *VJI.* 172.

[308] *EI.* XXIV. 45.

[309] *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, pp. 278-79.

CHAPTER VI

MINOR INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS DURING THE PĀLA PERIOD

Reference has been made in the last chapter to several independent and semi-independent powers that flourished in Bengal and Bihar during the period of the Pāla supremacy. Among these the Chandras and the Varmans require a more detailed treatment.

I. The Chandras

Lāmā Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, gives prominence, in his *Hisiory of Buddhism*, to a long line of kings ruling in Bengal, whose names end in *-chandra* and who are specifically referred to as belonging to the Chandra dynasty. In fact, this is the only dynasty in Bengal, before the Pālas, to which he has referred in his book. His account of this dynasty has already been given above (*v. supra* pp. 166-7) and need not be referred to again.

The existence of a Chandra dynasty in Eastern Bengal from about the sixth to eighth century A.D., as recorded by Tāranātha, has not yet been corroborated by any reliable evidence. But it may be noted in this connection that inscriptions, coins, and Burmese chronicles testify to the rule of a long line of kings, with names ending in *-chandra*, in the Arakan region.

An inscription of king Ānandachandra of Arakan refers to his twenty-four predecessors (of whom the names of 21 are given) who ruled for a period of 350 years. On the basis of this account, and assuming, on palaeographic grounds, that Ānandachandra ascended the throne about A.D. 720, the rule of the Chandras of Arakan may be said to have begun about A.D. 370.[1] According to the Burmese Chronicles the Shans invaded Arakan in the 10th century A. D., and North Arakan was conquered by the Burmese king Aniruddha (1044-77 A.D.). It has been suggested that when the Chandra kings were ousted from Arakan a branch of them settled at Paṭṭikerā (Tripura District) and founded new kingdom there.[2] This suggestion seems to have no other basis than the very close relation between the royal families of Burma and Paṭṭikerā, to which refer-

ence will be made later, and the similarity of coins of the Chandra kings of Arakan and Bengal. But too much importance should not be given to this view until more positive evidence is forthcoming. For the present it is better to treat the history of the Chandra kings without any reference to Arakan.

Thirteen inscriptions (B. 75-87) found in East Bengal enable us to reconstruct the history of a family of kings whose names end in 'Chandra' and who ruled between c. 825 to 1035 A.D. For the sake of convenience we give below the genealogical list of these kings with known reign-periods and approximate dates. Each of these kings was the son of his predecessor.

Name	*Maximum regnal year known*	*Approximate date* (A.D.)
Pūrṇachandra		
Suvarṇachandra		
Trailokyachandra		875—905
Śrīchandra	44 (46)	905—955
Kalyāṇachandra	24	955—985
Laḍahachandra	18	985—1010
Govindachandra	23	1010—1035[3]

All that we know of the origin and early history of the family is contained in the following passage in a verse occurring in several Inscriptions (B. 77, 79).

"In the family of the Chandras, (who were) rulers of Rohitāgiri, and (were) possessed of enormous fortune, Pūrṇachandra, who was like full moon, became illustrious in this world."

The verse seems to imply that Pūrṇachandra was an independent king. His forefathers are said to be rulers of Rohitāgiri, and the natural presumption is that Pūrṇachandra also ruled there. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that Trailokyachandra, the grandson of Pūrṇachandra, is said to have become king of Chandradvīpa. It would thus appear that Pūrṇachandra and his son Suvarṇachandra were both kings of Rohitāgiri.

Rohitāgiri is generally identified with Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar. But this identification is by no means certain, and as Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has suggested, Rohitāgiri may be Sanskritised form of *Lāl-māṭi* and refer to the Lalmai Hills near Comilla.[4] In any case, there is not sufficient reason to conclude that the Chandras came from outside Bengal, and in view of the traditions of the

long line of Chandra kings in Bhaṅgala or Eastern Bengal, it is more reasonable to hold that Rohitāgiri, the seat of the ancestral dominions of the Chandras, was somewhere in Eastern Bengal, and probably near Comilla.

According to verse 3 of the Rampal copper plate (B. 77), "Suvarṇachandra became a follower of the Buddha". It is probable, therefore, that until his time the family followed Brāhmanical religion. But henceforth the family was undoubtedly Buddhist, as is evidenced by the invocation to the Buddha at the beginning of all their copper-plate grants, the epithet *paramasaugata* before the names of kings, and the emblem of the Wheel of Law in their seal like that of the Pāla kings.

Both Suvarṇachandra and his father were presumably petty local rulers, but Suvarṇachandra's son Trailokyachandra laid the foundation of the greatness of his family. In a verse occurring in two inscriptions (B. 77 and 79), he is said to have become king of Chandradvīpa, and is also described as "*ādhāro Harikela-rāja-kakuda-chchhatra-smitānāṁ śriyāṁ*". This phrase has been differently interpreted. Dr. Basak took it to mean "the support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela" Mr. N. G. Majumdar translated it as "the support of Fortune Goddesses (of other kings) smiling at (i. e., joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of the king of Harikela". According to the first interpretation, Trailokyachandra was the *de facto*, if not *de jure*, ruler of Harikela while according to the second, he was both *de facto* and *de jure* king of Harikela, with a number of other rulers subordinate to him. The latter view seems to be preferable. Thus Trailokyachandra added Chandradvīpa and Harikela to his paternal dominions, and felt justified in assuming the title *Mahārājādhirājā*.

Fifteen years later Dr. Basak edited the Madanpur Plate of Śrīchandra (B.76) dated year 44 (corrected to 46 by Dr. D.C. Sircar). It is evident that Dr. Basak now held the second view for he observes : 'The net result of the political achievements of Trailokyachandra seems to be that he was at first a king of Chandradvīpa but later became the ruler over the whole of Harikela.'[5] In his comments on the article of Dr. Basak, Dr. D. C. Sircar observes : "The real import of the passage in question has escaped the notice of all the three scholars referred to above (i.e., Dr. Basak, N. G. Majumdar and myself). He interprets the passage to mean that 'the Chandra

king Trailokyachandra of Chandradvīpa was feudatory or ally of the king of the Harikela country".[6] Two years later, he further elucidated his views in the following passage : "It appears that the Chandras of Rohitāgiri were originally the feudatories of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar and that one of the Chandra princes came to Bengal in connection with his services under the Pāla master. But Trailokyachandra seems to have transferred his allegiance to the king of Harikela and was rewarded by the Viceroyalty of Chandradvīpa."[7] These series of suppositions are not supported by any positive evidence. But what is strange is that after the publication of the new copper plates, referred to above, Dr. Sircar sticks to this view and says that the new data supplied by them is not inconsistent with his theory that both Trailokyachandra and Śrīchandra were subordinate allies (*laghumitra*) or feudatories, respectively, of the king of Harikela and of the Pālas.

It would suffice to draw attention to the following data supplied by the newly discovered Grants :

1. Trailokyachandra was a great ruler and defeated the Gauḍas (B.81,84).
2. Śrīchandra's kingdom included the region round Sylhet (B.75).
3. Śrīchandra defeated the rulers of Gauḍa and Prāgjyotisa (B.83), reinstated Gopāla (on the throne) and restored the captive Pāla queen (B.81).[8]
4. Kalyāṇachandra defeated the Mlechchhas on the Lauhitya river as well as the Gauḍas (B. 83, 84, 85).

Besides, Śrīchandra and his three successors call themselves *Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* in their own grants and refer to the preceding king as *Mahārājādhirāja.*

We do not possess any grant of Trailokyachandra but he is referred to as *Mahārājādhirāja* in the grant of his son Śrīchandra. It is, therefore, certain that Śrīchandra and his three successors certainly, and Trailokyachandra probably, assumed *full* imperial titles. This fact, taken along with the others supplied by the newly-discovered records, seems to be conclusive on the point that the Chandras, from the time of Trailokyachandra, were independent rulers of South and East Bengal, known as Vaṅgāla.

We learn from verse 7 of the Paschimbhag CP (B. 75) that Trailokyachandra conquered Samataṭa and his soldiers at Devaparvata

on the Kshīrodā river heard with wonder the strange exploits of the Kāmbojas. It may be reasonably concluded that the reference is to the Kāmboja conquest of Gauḍa. Further, the reference to Devaparvata is of great interest. As we have seen above, it was the capital, first of the kings of the Rāta Dynasty and then of Bhavadeva, and probably also of Kāntideva. Most probably Trailokyachandra conquered Samataṭa from this dynasty during the period of chaos and confusion caused by the conquest of Gauḍa by the Kāmbojas. It is very likely that he was a prominent chief subordinate to Kāntideva or his successor, and declared his independence after the Kalachuri invasions. For we know from the Kalachuri records that Kokkalla raided the treasuries of Vaṅga and his great-grandson Lakshmaṇarāja conquered Vaṅgāla. The Chandras might have taken advantage of all these political troubles to consolidate their rule in Bengal.

The data furnished by the inscriptions enable us to form a rough idea of the extent of the kingdom of Śrīchandra. Chandradvīpa and Harikela, over which he ruled, may be regarded as covering approximately the whole of Eastern Bengal and the coastal regions of Southern Bengal.[9] All the four copper-plate grants were issued from Vikramapura, which presumably became the capital of the family either during the reign of Trailokyachandra or that of his son Śrīchandra. In two of the inscriptions (B. 74, 77) of Śrīchandra, the lands granted were situated in the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. This does not necessarily mean that Śrīchandra's supremacy extended over North Bengal. For although originally that was the connotation of Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, later (*e.g.* during the time of the Senas), it included the whole of Southern Bengal right up to the sea, and this might have been the case even in the time of Śrīchandra. The land granted by B. 80 was situated in the Kumāratalaka-*maṇḍala* in the Sataṭa-Padmāvatī-*vishaya*. The Padmāvatī seems to refer to the well-known river Padmā, whose existence in the tenth century A.D. is thus proved. The name Kumāratalaka is perhaps connected with the river Kumāra and still preserved in Kumārakhāli, in Faridpur District, not far from the old bed of the river Padmā. Thus the details of the land confirm the view, mentioned above, about the extent of Śrīchandra's dominions.

Reference has been made above (pp. 124 ff.) to the disintegration of the Pāla empire in the tenth century due mainly to foreign

invasions, and the rise of three independent kingdoms in Bengal, namely Gauḍa, Rāḍhā, and Vaṅgāla—though sometimes the first two were united under the Kāmboja Pāla Dynasty—while the dominions of the Imperial Pālas were confined to East and South Bihar.

As mentioned above, three generations of the Chandra kings—Trailokyachandra, Śrīchandra and Kalyāṇachandra—claimed to have defeated the Gauḍas. It has been tacitly assumed by A. H. Dani and D. C. Sircar that the rulers of Gauḍa were the Pāla kings. They have ignored the well-known fact that the Pāla kings of the Kāmboja family ruling over North and West Bengal during the tenth century called themselves 'Lords of Gauḍa'. (see p. 126) As Gauḍa was, strictly speaking and originally, the name of this region (though later it denoted the whole of Bengal), the Kāmboja claim was fully justified. That the Chandras fought with the Kāmbojas rather than with the Pālas receives some support from the fact that Śrīchandra restored Gopāla to his throne. This Gopāla was undoubtedly Gopāla II of the Pāla dynasty who ruled from *c.* A.D. 940 to 960 and was, therefore, a contemporary of Śrīchandra. It is a reasonable assumption that Gopāla II was deprived of his kingdom (or a part of it) by the Gauḍa lord of Kāmboja dynasty and Śrīchandra defeated him and restored the Pāla king to his kingdom. Of course it is also not unlikely that Śrīchandra himself defeated the Pāla king and then restored his kingdom to him. But in view of the fact that Gauḍa was at that time actually in possession of the Kāmboja family and the Chandras are said to have fought the Gauḍas, the first hypothesis seems to be more reasonable. In any case this possibility must be kept in view so long as there is no positive evidence of the conflict between the Chandras and the Pālas.

The grants of land by Śrīchandra in the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* mentioned above, may refer to a temporary occupation by him of a part of North Bengal. Most probably these territories were lost by the Pālas during the disasters that befell the Pāla kingdom during the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla towards the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A. D. Evidently the Pāla kings, Rājyapāla (A. D. 908-940) and Gopāla II (A. D. 940-960), who followed Nārāyaṇapāla strove hard to maintain or recover their kingdom or portions of it. Hence there followed a prolonged struggle between the Pālas, Kāmbojas and Chandras in course of which territories probably changed hands and alliance was shifted from time to time. This satisfactorily explains the sovereignty exercised by the

Pāla king, Rājyapāla. in North Bengal (B.27) and Gopāla II in portions of North and East Bengal (B. 29-30) during the period when the Kāmbojas were rulers of Gauḍa and the Chandras were rulers of Vaṅgāla. As rulers of both these dynasties assumed full imperial titles it would be unreasonable to assume that the two Pāla kings mentioned above exercised uninterrupted sway over any considerable portion of North or East Bengal. Such a hypothesis would also go against the mention of several kingdoms in Bengal proper in the records of the Kalachuris and the Chandellas.

As mentioned above (p. 132) Mahīpāla I recovered a part of East Bengal ; probably he wrested it from Laḷahachandra, but that the latter recovered it is proved by the Bharella Image Inscription (B. 82).

It has been suggested above (p. 203) that the invasion of Bengal by Kalachuri king Kokkalla facilitated the rise of the Chandras as an independent power. But the Kalachuris also proved a great danger. The Kalachuri king Yuvarāja who flourished in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. invaded Gauḍa and defeated its king, who was probably Gopāla II. Lakshmaṇarāja. son of Yuvarāja, is said to have plundered Gauḍa and raided Vaṅgāla.[10] The king of Vaṅgāla at this time was most probably Śrīchandra, who, as mentioned above (p. 204), is said to have re-instated Gopāla on the throne. Probably it was the help rendered to Gopāla by the Chandra king that brought about this invasion of Vaṅgāla by the Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja ; or it may be that both Gopāla II and Śrīchandra made a common cause against the Kalachuris and provoked this invasion. But the tangled history of the Pālas and Chandras, or of Gauḍa and Vaṅgāla, highlighted by the successive Kalachuri invasions in these regions, cannot be properly understood in the present state of our knowledge. In any case the Kalachuri success against Gauḍa and Vaṅgāla seems to be temporary and did not leave any trace behind.

We learn from the newly-discovered plates that the Chandras had hostile relations not only with the Gauḍas but also with Kāmarūpa. Śrīchandra's army entered the valley of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in order to conquer Kāmarūpa and evidently reached the interior of the country. He is also said to have defeated the king of Prāgjyotisha. Kalyāṇachandra, the son of Śrīchandra, is also said to have defeated the Mlechchhas who lived on the Lauhitya river.

Kāmarūpa was ruled in the tenth century by kings of the dynasty founded by Prālambha, who probably belonged to the dynasty of the Mlechchha Sālastambha, though according to some records he belonged to the dynasty founded by Asura Naraka, the mythological founder of the early royal dynasty of Kāmarūpa, to which belonged Bhāskaravarman. The specific reference in the Chandra plates to the Mlechchha ruler of Kāmarūpa supports the view that the ruling kings belonged to the dynasty of Sālastambha. But towards the close of the tenth century A. D. there was a change of dynasty as well as of the capital of the kingdom from Tezpur or its neighbourhood to Gauhati, the original capital of Kāmarūpa. Whether these were due in any way to the invasion of the Chandras cannot be determined.

King Govindachandra, the last Chandra king of Vaṅgāla known so far, must be identified with the homonymous king who was defeated by the army of Rājendra Choḷa, and is said to have fled from the battlefield (p. 133). But there is no reason to suppose that this had any permanent effect upon the fortunes of the Chandras. But the death-blow to the power of the Chandras was probably dealt by their old enemy, the Kalachuris.

The great Kalachuri ruler Karṇa (1041-*c* 1070 A.D.) is credited with successful military campaign against Vaṅga, and is said to have achieved a decisive victory over the king of the Eastern country[11] who probably lost his life in the fierce fight. In both cases, the reference seems to be to the Chandra kingdom, and the adversary of Karṇa was most probably Govindachandra or his successor. It is very likely that the Chandra kingdom was finally destroyed by the invasions of Karṇa.[12] In any case, it does not appear in the history of Bengal after the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

II The Varmans

There is hardly any doubt that the Varman dynasty succeeded the Chandras in Eastern Bengal. Our information about this dynasty is derived chiefly from a single inscription, the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman (B. 88). It begins with the Purāṇic genealogy of Yadu from Brahmā through Atri, Chandra, Budha, Purūravas, Āyu, Nahusha and Yayāti. Reference is then made to Hari, of the family of Yadu, who appeared as Kṛishṇa, The relatives of Hari were the Varmans who were zealous in their support of the three Vedas and dominated over Siṁhapura.

The Varman kings of Bengal thus claim to be descended from a branch of the Yādava dynasty ruling over Siṁhapura. Various opinions have been entertained regarding the location of Siṁhapura and the choice seems to lie between three known cities bearing that name : one to the north of the Salt Range in the Punjab,[13] a second in Kaliṅga, perhaps identical with the modern Siṅgupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeṭa ;[14] and the third in Rāḍhā, generally identified with Singur in the Hoogly district.[15] The first is too far away, and there is no evidence that it existed after the seventh century A.D. The third is only known from the legendary account of Vijayasiṁha, contained in *Mahāvaṁsa*, which can hardly be accepted as sober history. The kingdom of Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga, on the other hand, is known to exist as early as the fifth century A.D., and as late as the twelfth century A.D.[16]

The probability, therefore, lies in favour of the kingdom of Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga being the original home of the Varman kings of Bengal.[17] It may be noted that kings with names ending in *-varman* are known to have ruled in this kingdom of Siṁhapura[18] in the fifth century A.D., though they never claimed to belong to the Yādava dynasty.

How the Varmans came to occupy Eastern Bengal is not told in the Belāva copper-plate. But the way in which it refers to the conquests of Jātavarman hardly leaves any doubt that it was during his reign that the foundations were laid of the greatness of the family. As a matter of fact, he seems to have been the first independent ruler of the dynasty, as his father, Vajravarman, the first ancestor named in the Grant, is not referred to as a king, though he is eulogised as a brave warrior, a poet among poets, and a scholar among scholars.[19]

The conquests of Jātavarman are referred to in a poetic way in the following passage in Belāva Grant :

"He spread his paramount sovereignty, by eclipsing (even) the glory of Prithu son of Veṇa, marrying Vīraśrī (daughter) of Karṇa, by extending his domination over the Aṅgas, by humiliating the dignity of Kāmarūpa, by bringing to disgrace the strength of the arms of Divya, by damaging the fortune of Govardhana, and by vesting wealth in Brāhmaṇs versed in the Vedas" (v. 8).

Karṇa, whose daughter Vīraśrī was married by Jātavarman, was undoubledly the Kalachuri king of that name who ruled from A.D. 1041 to *c.* 1070 A.D.[20] It may be remembered that another

daughter of the same king was married by the Pāla king Vigrahapāla III. This enables us to place the reign of Jātavarman, with a tolerable degree of certainty, in the second half, probably the third quarter, of the eleventh century A.D.

Of the defeated enemies mentioned in the above passage, we can easily identify Divya with the great Kaivarta leader who usurped the throne of the Pālas as the result of a successful revolt against Mahīpāla II.[21] It is obvious that Jātavarman took full advantage of the anarchy and confusion that set in after that revolt, and carved out a kingdom for himself. As the Aṅga country, conquered by him, was almost certainly under the Pālas, it appears that he fought against both the Pālas and the rebellious chief Divya. It is presumably by his victory over both that he gained the kingdom of Eastern Bengal, though there is also the possibility that he first secured the kingdom of Eastern Bengal, and then turned his arms against them. His struggle with Kāmarūpa, evidently leading to no decisive result, must have taken place after his conquest of Eastern Bengal. Govardhana, whose fortune is said to have been damaged by him, cannot be identified with certainty.[22] Most probably he was another adventurer like Jātavarman who tried to fish in the troubled waters of Bengal.

It is difficult to believe that Jātavarman, a petty chief coming from outside, could have undertaken all these military expeditions on his own account. It has accordingly been suggested that he accompanied the Kalachuri-king Karṇa in his expedition against Bengal.[23] Perhaps it would be more reasonable to regard him as a follower of both Gāṅgeyadeva and his son Karṇa. Gāṅgeya claims to have defeated the rulers of both Aṅga and Utkala,[24] and Karṇa is said to have exercised some sort of supremacy over Gauḍa, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga.[25] The Paikor Inscription[26] proves that Karṇa's conquests certainly extended up to the Bhāgīrathī river, and the Rewa Stone Inscription[27] refers to his complete victory over a king of an eastern country, probably Vaṅga. It is said that the ship of the king of the eastern country sank into the sea. This may be a mere hyperbole, but may also mean the final extinction of the ruling Chandra Dynasty in Eastern Bengal which seems to be probable on other grounds also.[28] If we assume Jātavarman to have been the ruler of Siṁhapura in Orissa he might have joined the great Kalachuri rulers in their eastern expeditions, and ultimately carved out an independent kingdom for himself in Eastern Bengal by

supplanting the Chandras. Jātavarman's claim to have conquered the Aṅgas and defeated Divya might mean no more than that he took part in the battles of Gāṅgeya and Karṇa against Aṅga and Gauḍa, and the same may be the case in regard to his defeat of Govardhana. It must be remembered, however, that all this is pure conjecture, and we do not possess sufficient data to arrive at a definite conclusion about the sudden rise of this military adventurer to fame and power in Bengal.

Immediately after Jātavarman the Belāva copper-plate mentions his son by Vīraśrī, named Sāmalavarmadeva. The natural presumption, therefore, is that Jātavarman was succeeded by Sāmalavarman. A fragment of a copper-plate of Sāmalavarman, recently discovered at Vajrayoginī (B. 91),[29] raises, however, some doubts on this point, and makes it probable that Jātavarman was succeeded by king Harivarman.

The name of Harivarman was known long ago from colophons of two Buddhist manuscripts, copied respectively in his 19th[30] and 39th[31] regnal years. In the former he is given the titles *Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka.* He is mentioned in the Bhuvaneśvara inscription of his minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (B. 90) and is also known from the Sāmantasāra copper-plate Grant (B. 89) issued by him from Vikramapura.[32] The plate gives him all the imperial titles, and refers to his father's name, which was formerly read by Mr. N. Vasu as Jyotirvarman, and doubtfully restored by Dr. Bhattasali as Jātavarman.[33] If this latter reading is correct, he must be regarded as a brother of Sāmalavarman. This view is strengthened by the Vajrayoginī fragmentary copper-plate, mentioned above, which contains the names of both Harivarman and Sāmalavarman. Unfortunately the portion of the record indicating the relation between the two is missing. But as the plate seems to have been issued in the reign of Sāmalavarmadeva, Harivarman presumably flourished before him. The view, based on Dr. Bhattasali's tentative reading of Jātavarman in the Sāmantasāra Plate, that Harivarman was the elder brother and predecessor of Sāmalavarman, may be accepted for the present, as a reasonable working hypothesis, although it cannot be regarded as an established fact.

The only definite information that we possess about Harivarman is that he ruled over Eastern Bengal with Vikramapura[34] as his capital, and that he had a long reign extending over forty-six years or even more. In line 5 of the Fragmentary Vajrayogini Plate

(B. 91) Harivarman is said to have devastated his enemies. It has already been suggested above, that the chief Hari, to whom great prominence is given in the *Rāmacharita*, and who allied himself first with Bhīma and then with Rāmapāla, was probably the Varman ruler Harivarman, and that he is to be identified with the Varman king who, for his own safety, propitiated Rāmapāla by gift of chariot and elephants.[35] Harivarman was succeeded by his son, but his name is not known.[36]

A few words may be said of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the great Brāhmaṇa minister of Harivarman, who has left a long account of himself and seven generations of his family in the stone inscription referred to above. The family was settled in the village Siddhala in Rāḍhā. Ādideva, the grandfather of Bhavadeva, was a minister to his Royal Majesty, the king of Vaṅga. The name of the king is not mentioned, but he may be Jātavarman. Bhavadeva's father Govardhana was a great scholar and warrior, but does not seem to have held any high office. Bhavadeva himself was the minister of peace and war to Harivarman, and also to his son. The inscription gives a detailed account of his profound learning in various branches of knowledge, and that this is no mere empty boast is proved by at least two extant Smṛiti treatises composed by him. On the whole Bhavadeva must be regarded as a remarkable personality, combining in himself the high qualities of a statesman, warrior, scholar and author.[37]

Bhavadeva was also known as *Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga*. The first part, Bālavalabhī, is usually taken to be the name of a kingdom referred to in the *Rāmacharita* (see p. 189), but the exact sense of the whole compound is obscure and has been a subject of protracted controversy. D. C. Bhattacharya cited an old tradition recorded in the *Sudhāsāgara* of Bhīmasena Dikshīta to the effect that the boy Bhavadeva, being the most intelligent among his fellow-students who took their lessons in a *valabhī* (the topmost part of a house) with a sharp tongue, was a veritable terror to the other boys and hence his *guru* (preceptor) gave him the title *Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga*. Bhattacharya pointed out that this is in a way corroborated by Bhavadeva himself, and opposed the current view on the ground that "*Bhujaṅga* makes no sense when joined with a place-name without a word like *Vilāsinī*".[38] D. C. Sircar, however, regards Bhīmasena's interpretation as fantastic and supports the older view that Bāla-valabhī was the name of a city in which Bhavadeva was a student (*bhujaṅga*).[39]

Dr. M. Ghosh cites a Prakrit passage in the *Karpūra-mañjarī* in which a ruler is called a *bhujaṅga* of the eastern region (*pūrva-digaṅgānā-bhujaṅga*), and takes the word *bhujaṅga* to mean a victor. He, therefore, thinks the compound means that Bhavadeva, the *Sāndhi-vigrāhika* of Harivarman, led his master's forces against Bāla-valabhī, the capital of Vikramarāja, mentioned in the *Rāmacharita*.[40] It is to be noted that in the expression on which he relies, the word *bhujaṅga* is joined with *aṅganā*, and thus he does not meet with the objection of D. C. Bhattacharya.

Hardly anything is known of the son of Harivarman[41] or of the circumstances under which the kingdom passed to Sāmalavarman, the other son of Jātavarman. But Sāmalavarman is one of the few kings of Bengal who have survived in local traditions. The Vaidika Brāhmaṇs of Bengal claim that their ancestors first settled in Bengal during the reign of Sāmalavarman, though, according to one version of the story, the event took place during the reign of Harivarman. According to most of the genealogical books of the Vaidika Brāhmaṇs, the first of their line came to Bengal at the invitation of Sāmalavarman in Śaka 1001 (=1079 A.D.). This date, correct within half a century, shows that some genuine traditions about Sāmalavarman were preserved in Bengal.

We learn from the Belāva copper-plate (B. 88) that Sāmalavarman had many queens, the chief among them being Mālavyadevī.[42] By her he had a son called Bhojavarman who issued the Belāva copper-plate Grant in the fifth year of his reign from his capital city Vikramapura. He is given the imperial titles and the epithet '*parama-Vaishṇava*'. This, as well as the reference to *Vishṇu-chakra-mudrā* in line 48, proves that the family were Vaishṇavas. They were orthodox supporters of the Vedas, as already mentioned above, and the replacement of the Buddhist dynasty of the Chandras by the orthodox Brāhmanical dynasty of the Varmans was fully in keeping with the spirit of the times. It may not be a mere coincidence that the two Buddhist ruling dynasties in Bengal, *viz.*, the Pālas and the Chandras, were supplanted by two foreign dynasties (Senas and Varmans) of orthodox faith within a century.

The land granted by Bhojavarman was situated in the Pauṇḍra-*bhukti* and Kauśāmbī-Ashṭagachchha-*khaṇḍala*. Reference has already been made to a capital city called Kauśāmbī in connection with the feudatories of Rāmapāla. If Kauśāmbī of this inscription is identical with that, Bhojavarman's kingdom might have included

a portion of Varendra, the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti par excellence.* But this is by no means certain.[43] For all we know, the kingdom of the Varmans might have been confined to Eastern Bengal with Vikramapura as its capital.

As already noted above, Jātavarman must have flourished in the second-half, and probably in the third-quarter, of the eleventh century A.D. If he was succeeded by Harivarman who had a long reign of at least forty-six years, Sāmalavarman and Bhojavarman must have ruled in the first-half of the twelfth century A.D. There is little doubt that the Varmans were ousted from East Bengal by the Senas during, or shortly after, the reign of Bhojavarman.

III. The Rāṇakas of Eastern Bihar

An inscription engraved on the pedestal of a Buddhist image in the village of Kāndī about 8½ miles from the Sikandrā Police Station in the Jāmuī subdivision of the Monghyr District, Bihar, refers to the gift of *Rāṇaka* Samudrāditya, son of *Rāṇaka* Nanda.[44] The word *Rāṇaka* (Pali equivalent of Sanskrit *Rājanaka* and modern *Rāṇā*) denotes normally a subordinate ruler, but as there is no reference to any overlord, the donor was probably a *de facto*, if not *de jure*, independent Chief. The inscription may be referred on palaeographic grounds to the twelfth century A.D. and Dr. D. C. Sircar, who edited it, suggests a date not far removed from that of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla (B.64).[45] Evidently *Rāṇaka* Samudrāditya and his father were feudatory chiefs of the Pālas but assumed independence during the decline of the Pāla authority in the Monghyr region.

Footnotes

[1] The traditional account of the nine Chandra kings of Arakan ruling from A. D. 788 to 957, as preserved in the later chronicles, is given by Phayre (*History of Burma*, p. 45). For the names of these kings and an account of the coins, cf. Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma* (*Numismata Orientalia*) pp. 28-29, 43. A brief account of the inscriptions found on the platform of the Shitthaung temple at Morahaung is given in *ASI.* 1925-6 ; pp. 146-7.
The latest account of the Chandra kings of Arakan is that by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.* XXXII, pp. 103-9.

[2] Tis suggestion has been made by Mr. Syed Murtaza Ali in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol. VI (1961), pp. 267-274. He also holds the view that after coming from Arakan the Chandras "reduced Harikela first by ousting the descendants of Kāntideva. Later they transferred their capital to Paṭṭikerā reducing that area. Finally they occupied Dacca District and had their seat of Government at Vikrampur which was the capital during the time of their greatest glory" (*Ibid.* p. 272). He has also drawn attention to the fact that Laḍahachandra issued a Grant from Śrī Paṭṭikeraka in Samataṭa *maṇḍala* in Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* (*ibid.* p. 270).

[3] Professor Dani places the reign-period of Govindachandra between 1020 and 1050. His view is based mainly on the statement of the author of the *Śabda-pradīpa* that his father served Rāmapāla, Lord of Vaṅga (Vaṅgeśvara), and his grandfather served Govindachandra as a court physician. Dani identifies these two kings, respectively, with Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty and Govindachandra of the Chandra dynasty, and naturally concludes that there was probably not more than a generation's gap between them. But from what we know of the history of Rāmapāla he could not have possibly asserted his sovereignty over Vaṅga till long after the Varmans had occupied, the country, presumably after defeating Govindachandra or his successor. There are good grounds for the belief that the Varmans were in occupation of East Bengal some time before A. D. 1048. Jātavarman, the first or second king of this dynasty, was a contemporary of Rāmapala's father, Vigraṅapāla, and Bhojavarman, Jātavarman's grandson and second in succession after him, who used full imperial titles, had his capital at Vikramapura, the capital of the Chandras. So Rāmapāla, Lord of Vaṅga, could not be entitled to this epithet till more than one or two generations after Govindachandra. The date suggested above by me for Govindachandra is, therefore, more in consonance with the known facts of the rule of the Varmans in the territory of the Chandras. King Rāmapāla, mentioned in the *Śabda-pradīpa*, was perhaps a local ruler like Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti who was defeated, like Govindachandra, by the Cholas. It is interesting to note in this connection that the kings of the Kāmboja family, who also ruled over Daṇḍabhukti, bore well-known names of the imperial Pāla family.

The commencement of the reign of Govindachandra cannot be A. D. 1020, as Professor Dani suggested and Dr. D. C. Sircar accepted, for the Chola expedition to Bengal is referred to in the Tiruvalangadu Plates dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Chola, i.e., A. D. 1017.

The approximate dates suggested above are based on the fact that the last king, Govindachandra, was defeated by the Choḷa general some time before A. D. 1017 and the Varmans had ousted the Chandras before *c.* A. D. 1040. The other dates are calculated on the basis of the known length of each reign. No dates are suggested for the first two rulers, of whom practically nothing is known and who are not likely to have wielded much power. This chronological scheme may be provisionally accepted with a margin of error of about 10 to 20 years. It gives an average of 32 years for each generation, i.e., three generations for a century.

[4] For the controversy about the correct reading of the name Rohitāgiri and its identification, cf. *IHQ*. II, 317-18, 325-27, 655-56; III. 217, 418. The identification of Rohitāgiri with Rohtasgarh is generally accepted, but there is no definite evidence in support of it, and the correct form of the old name of Rohtasgarh is Rohitāśvagiri. The fact that quite a large number of inscriptions of this family have been found in the region of Lalmai Hills near Comilla strongly supports the identification proposed by Bhattasali. The Lalmai Hills are about five miles to the west of Comilla, and extended for about eleven miles with an average height of about 30 feet, though some peaks rise to a height of 100 feet. An account of the locality and its antiquities is given by Dr. N.K. Bhattasali (*Bhatt. Cat.* pp. 9-11). It is interesting to note that two kings of Orissa viz., Gayāḍatuṅga and Vinītatuṅga II, refer in their records to Rohitāgiri as the home of their ancestors (*JBORS.* VI, 238 ; *JASB.* 1909, p. 347 ; 1916. p. 291 ; *IHQ*. II. 655).

[5] *Ep. Ind.* XXVIII, p. 54.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 338.

[7] *Ibid.* XXXIII, p. 135.

[8] Professor Dani takes a verse (in B. 81) to mean that Śrīchandra helped Gopāla to recover his throne by removing the obstacle created by Pṛithvīpāla and suggests that Gopāla and Pṛithvīpāla were brothers who fought among themselves. Even assuming that Pṛithvīpāla was a person and not used as a synonym for 'king', it would be more reasonable to take him to be a ruler of the Kāmboja family, for, as mentioned above, the names of its kings ended in pāla. But none of these two conjectures is supported by any evidence.

[9] *Supra*. pp. 9-10 ; also *supra*. pp. 129-30. According to some old Bengali texts, Chandradvīpa was bounded by the Padmā and the Dhaleswarī rivers on the north and the west and the sea in the south (*Miśrī-grantha* quoted in *Bākla* by R. K. Sen, p. 247).

[10] Bilhari Ins. v. 24. *Ep. Ind.* I. 256, 265. Goharwa. C.P. v. 8. *Ep. Ind.* XI. 142.

[11] Bheraghat Ins. v. 12 (*EI.* II. 11,15); Rewa Stone Ins. v. 23 (*EI.* XXIV. 105,112).

[12] This point will be further discussed in connection with the history of the Varmans in the next section.

[13] According to the Lakhāmaṇḍal Praśasti (*Ep. Ind.* I. 10-15), the queen of Jālandhara (Punjab) was descended from a line of Yādava kings of Siṁhapura, and this Siṁhapura has been identified by Buhler with Seng-ha-pu-lo in the Punjab mentioned by Hiuen Tsang (Watters I. 248-49). R. D. Banerji points out that there were other towns of this name, *e.g.*, one in Malwa (*JASB.* N. S. X. 124).

[14] *Ep. Ind.* IV. 143.

[15] *JASB.* 1910, p. 604.

[16] Two kings of Kaliṅga, *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍavarman and *Mahārāja* Umāvarman, ruling between 350 and 550 A. D., issued their Grants from Siṁhapura (*DUS.* II. No. II. pp. 2, 3, 9-10). According to Siṁhalese inscriptions, the two kings Nissankamalla and Sāhasamalla, the second of whom ascended the throne in A. D. 1200, were sons of the Kaliṅga king Goparāja of Siṁhapura. According to *Mahāvaṁśa*, Tilokasundarī, queen of Vijayabāhu I (acc. *c.* 1059 A.D.) was a princess of Kaliṅga, and three relatives of her came to Ceylon from Siṁhapura (*EI.* XII. 4).

[17] Dr. D. C. Ganguly maintains that Siṁhapura may be located in Eastern Bengal, and be even regarded as the capital of the Varmans. He contends that there is nothing in v. 5 of the Beḷāva Grant to warrant the assertion that Siṁhapura was the original home of the Varmans and lay outside Bengal (*IHQ.* XII. 608-9).

[18] Cf. Chaṇḍavarman and Umāvarman in f.n. 16.

[19] Both Mr. R. D. Banerji and Dr. D. C. Ganguly maintain that the Varman kingdom in Eastern Bengal was founded by Vajravarman (*BI.* 276; *IHQ.* V. 225). Mr. R.D. Banerji, however, formerly stated that there is nothing to show that Vajravarman was a king himself (*JASB.* N. S. X. 124).

[20] The date of the death of Karṇa is not definitely known, but it must have taken place in or before 1073 A. D., the earliest known date of his successor (*DHNI.* II. 777, 782).

[21] Perhaps a reminiscence of the fight between Divya and Jātavarman is preserved in a Nālandā Stone Ins. (*EI.* XXI. 97). It relates about an ascetic of Somapura (Pāhārpur in Rajshahi district) that "when his house was burning, (being) set on fire by the approaching armies of Vaṅgāla, he attached (himself) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha (and) went to heaven." It would then follow that Jātavarman invaded Northern Bengal (*IC.* VI. 55).

[22] Dr. R. G. Basak's suggestion that this Govardhana may be the father of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the prime-minister of Harivarman (*EI.* XII.38), has been endorsed by Dr. H. C. Ray (*DHNI.* I. 335) and Mr. R. D. Banerji, but the assumption involves too many difficulties and rests on very slender foundations. Mr. Banerji has made an alternative suggestion that Govardhana may be the ruler of Kauśāmbī, who helped Rāmapāla in his fight against Bhīma, and whose name, probably through copyist's mistake, occurs as Dvorapavardhana (*JASB.* N. S. X. 124).

[23] R. D. Banerji suggested that Vajravarman accompanied one of the three foreign conquerors of Bengal, *viz.*, Rājendra Choḷa, Jayasiṁha II, or Gāṅgeya-deva (*BI.* 276; *JASB.* N. S. X. 124). Mr. P. L. Paul suggests that Jātavarman followed Karṇa into Bengal. He even proposes the identification of Jātavarman with the 'illustrious Jāta' who is said in the Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha to have helped Karṇadeva in vanquishing his foes (*IHQ.* XII. 473). Professor V. V. Mirashi, while editing the Rewa Stone Ins. of Karṇa (*EI.* XXIV.105) remarks in connection with v. 23; "Stripped of its metaphor the verse means that Karṇa achieved a decisive victory over the king of the Eastern country, who lost his life in the fierce fight." From this he infers "that Karṇa killed the last king of the Chandra dynasty, who was either Govindachandra or his successor, placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory, and married his daughter to Jātavarman to cement the

political alliance." If this view is accepted, the Chandras must have been supplanted by the Varmans before 1048-49 A. D., the date of the Rewa Ins.

[24] *DHNI.* II. 772.

[25] *Ibid.* 778.

[26] *ASI.* 1921-22, pp. 78-80.

[27] See f. n. 23.

[28] See p. 206.

[29] Only a fourth part of the plate—the right lower half—has been recovered, containing last parts of fifteen lines on the obverse, and first parts of fifteen lines on the reverse.

[30] *PB.* 97 ; *IB.* 28.

[31] This MS. is described in Sāstrī-*Cat.* I. 79. The date is given in the post-colophon as "*Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmat-Harivarmma-deva-pādīya samvat* 39." (Dr. N. K. Bhattasali reads the figure as 32.). This is followed by three verses, written in a different hand, according to which 'when forty-six years of Harivarman had elapsed,' the MS was five times recited (?) in seven years on the bank of the Veng river. Although the meaning of the latter part is not certain, the reference to 46 years is important. The first expression denoting date may mean 39th regnal year or year 39 of an era founded by Harivarman. No such era is known, but the absence of any reference to *Vijaya-rājya etc.*, is striking. If 39 is taken as regnal year, 46 should also be taken as regnal year, and it would show that Harivarman ruled at least for 46 years. Besides, the astronomical data given in this manuscript make this date correspond with 1119 A. D., and in that case the accession of Harivarman falls in A. D. 1073-4 (*IHQ.* XXII. 135).

The river Veng is placed by MM. H. P. Śāstrī in Jessore. If true, it probably indicates that Central Bengal was included in the kingdom of Harivarman.

[32] The Grant (B. 89) was originally edited by late Mr. N. N. Vasu (*VJI.* II. 215). Mr. Vasu gave a very indistinct photograph and a tentative reading of the inscription, according to which the Grant was issued from Vikramapura in the year 42 of *Parama-Vaishṇava, Paramevśara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* Harivarman, son and successor of *Mahārājādhirāja* Jyotirvarman. The plate was lost sight of for a long time, but was later traced in Sāmantasāra, a village in the Faridpur district, and purchased for the Dacca Museum. The plate was evidently burnt, and has become almost illegible. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has edited it *Ep. Ind.* XXX, pp. 255 ff. The name Harivarman is quite clear, and he is said to have meditated on the feet of Jātavarman, but there is no date.

[33] Dr. Bhattasali remarked that the only letter in the name that can be distinctly read is *-rmma*, and all the other letters are hopelessly indistinct. He added that the proposed restoration of the name as 'Jatavarman' should not be regarded as a definite conclusion (*Bhāratavarsha*, Māgha, 1344, p. 171). But while editing the Grant in *Ep. Ind.* (XXX. 257) he reads the name definitely as Jātavarman.

[34] This follows from the reading "*iha khalu Vikramapura-samāvāsita*" in the Sāmantasāra copper-plate.

[35] See *supra* p. 150.

[36] The son of Harivarman is referred to in v. 16 of the Bhuvaneśvara *praśasti*, and perhaps also in the fragmentary Vajrayoginī copper-plate (B. 91). Mr. N. G. Majumdar concluded from verse 15 of the Bhuvaneśvara Ins. of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva that either Harivarman or his son 'made himself master of Utkala by overthrowing the Nāgavaṁśī dynasty which ruled over Bastar in Central Provinces in the eleventh century A. D.' (*IB.* 29-30). This point has already been discussed above (*supra* p. 191, f.n. 230). He further maintained, on the strength of certain verses (III. 42-44) of *Rāmacharita*, that 'Rāmapāla encountered somewhere in Orissa Harivarman of Bengal or his son' (*IB.* 30). The view that Harivarman or his son ruled in Orissa is primarily based on the stone inscription of his minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. There is nothing in the record itself to connect Harivarman or Bhavadeva with Orissa, but the generally accepted view that the inscription was 'originally fixed on the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri district, Orissa', led scholars to suppose that the pious constructions referred to in the inscription were situated in the same locality, and Harivarman's political supremacy extended over this region. To Mr. P. Acharya belongs the credit of removing the century-old misapprehension about the original situation of the stone inscription. He has shown by cogent arguments the erroneous character of the belief that the stone slab containing the inscription was ever fixed on any temple at Bhuvaneśvara. He has also shown the unreliable character of the literary evidence cited by Mr. N. Vasu in favour of the supposition that Bhavadeva erected temples and did other pious works in Orissa (*Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 3rd Session, pp. 287 ff). In view of Mr. Acharya's explanation, we cannot regard either Harivarman or his son as ruler of Orissa, until more positive evidence is forthcoming than the very doubtful interpretation of verse 15 of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's inscription. For even if we endorse the view of Mr. N. G. Majumdar that the verse in question refers to the defeat of the Nāgas by Bhavadeva, we should look for their territory near Eastern Bengal, and it is more reasonable to identify them with the Nāgās of Assam hills. More light has been thrown on this question by D. C. Bhattacharya. He has shown that the inscription was brought to Dacca by Mr. D. Paterson who was the judge and magistrate of Dacca during the period 1791-95. It was exhibited in a learned assembly at Dacca and was deciphered by one Pandit Rājchandra. Śrī Bhattacharya has argued that verses 26-27 of the inscription show that the temple of Bhavadeva on which it was fixed could not be in Rāḍhā and suggests that it was possibly at Vikramapura (*IHQ.* XXII, 134-5).

[37] Cf. *IB.* 30-31 ; also Ch. XI.

[38] *IHQ.* XXII, 136.

[39] *IHQ.* XXVII, 81.

[40] *IHQ.* XXVII, 339.

[41] Cf. *IHQ.* XXII. p. 133.

[42] The verses 9-11 of the Belāva copper-plate (B.88) are rather difficult to understand. According to the interpretation of MM. H. P. Śāstrī and R. D. Banerji (*JASB.* N. S. X. 125), Mālavyadevī was the daughter of Jagadvijayamalla, son of Udayin. According to Dr. R.G. Basak, Mālavyadevī was the daughter of Udayin (*EI.* XII. 42). According to Mr. N. G. Majumdar and Dr. D. R.

Bhandarkar, Mālavyadevī was the daughter of Jagadvijayamalla, and Udayin was the son of Sāmalavarman by another queen (*IB.* 191).

MM. Śāstrī further identifies Udayin and Jagadvijayamalla, respectively, with the Paramāra king Udayāditya and his son Jagaddeva or Jagdeo, and Mr. Banerji is also inclined to take the same view. This view is also endorsed by Dr. D. C. Ganguly in his *History of the Paramāras* (p. 141). As Udayāditya ruled during the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D., there is no chronological difficulty in the proposed identification, but the difference between the names Jagaddeva and Jagadvijayamalla cannot be ignored. Besides, the interpretation of MM. Śāstrī and Mr. Banerji involves the emendation of the word '*tasya*' in v. 10 of the Belāva copper-plate as '*tathā*'. On the whole, it would be safe not to accept definitely the proposed identification until further evidence is available.

Attention may also be drawn in this connection to the expression '*Trailokya-sundarī*' in v. 11. In all the interpretations referred to above, the word has been taken as an adjective to Mālavyadevī meaning "the most beautiful in the three worlds." It is, however, possible to interpret the verse so as to make Trailokya-sundarī the name of the daughter of Sāmalavarman and Mālavyadevī. Indeed this was the interpretation originally proposed by Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*IB.* 23). In this connection he remarked : "The name Trailokyasundarī is by no means uncommon. One of the queens of Vijayabāhu I of Ceylon was a princess of Kaliṅga named Tilokasundarī" (*IB.* 18). Now, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Vijayabāhu married Tiloka-sundarī of the Kaliṅga royal race. If we identify Siṁhapura, the home-land of the Varmans of Bengal, with the royal city of that name in Kaliṅga, it would not be unreasonable to identify Trailokyasundarī, daughter of Sāmalavarman, with the queen of Vijayabāhu. Apart from agreement in dates, it would explain the very queer reference to the calamity befalling the king of Laṅkā, and a prayer for his welfare in v. 14 of the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman. It is difficult to explain this reference to the king of Laṅkā unless there was some association between that kingdom and the Varmans.

[43] See above, p. 190 f. n. 220.

[44] *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, p. 7.

[45] *Ibid.* p. 9.

CHAPTER VII

THE SENAS

I. The Origin of the Sena Kings

The Sena family, that ruled in Bengal after the Pālas, appears from the official records to have originally belonged to Karṇāṭa in South India. According to the Deopārā Inscription (C. 2), Vīrasena and others, born in the family of the Moon, were rulers of the Southern region[1] whose achievements were sung by Vyāsa, and in that Sena family was born Sāmantasena, the head-garland of the Brahma-Kshatriyas. The same account is repeated in the Mādhāinagar Grant (C. 13) in a slightly modified form :

"In the family of Vīrasena, which has become illustrious through the legends recorded in the Purāṇas, was born Sāmantasena, the head-garland of the clan of the Karṇāṭa-Kshatriyas."

The Karṇāṭa origin is further supported by the statement in the Deopārā Inscription (v. 8) that Sāmantasena 'slaughtered the wicked despoilers of the Lakshmī (*i.e.* wealth) of Karṇāṭa' in battles waged in Southern India.[2]

These statements leave no doubt that the original home of the family was in Karṇāṭa, *i.e.*, the region in modern Mysore and neighbouring States where Kanarese is the spoken language, and that it belonged to the well-known 'Brahma-Kshatri' caste.

After referring to the martial exploits of Sāmantasena in South India, the Deopārā Inscription adds that "in his last days he frequented the sacred hermitages situated in forests on the banks of the Ganges" (v. 9). As Sāmantasena's descendants ruled in Bengal, it is natural to conclude from the above that he was the first of the Karṇāṭa-Sena family to migrate from the south and settle in Bengal. But this view is opposed to the following statement in vv. 3-4 of the Naihati copper-plate (C 5) :

"In his (*i.e.*, Moon's) prosperous family were born princes, who adorned Rāḍhā (*i.e.*, Western Bengal).....and in their family was born the mighty Sāmantasena."

This certainly implies that the Sena family had settled in Western Bengal before Sāmantasena was born.

The only way to reconcile these contradictory statements is to suppose that a Sena family from Karṇāṭa had settled in Western Bengal but kept itself in touch with its motherland ; that one of its members, Sāmantasena, spent his early life in Karṇāṭa, distinguishing himself in various warfares in South India, and betook himself in old age to the family seat in Bengal. Evidently his exploits made the family so powerful that his son was able to carve out a kingdom in Bengal ; for Hemantasena, the son of Sāmantasena, is the first of the family to whom royal epithets are given in the family records. It is true that Sāmantasena's predecessors are referred to as princes who ruled over the surface of the earth [3] but beyond these vague general phrases there is nothing to indicate that they really held the rank of independent kings.

The records of the Senas call them Brahma-Kshatriya,[4] Karṇāṭa-Kshatriya,[5] and sometimes simply Kshatriya.[6] The term Brahma-Kshatriya, applied to the Senas, was first correctly explained by Dr. D. R Bhandarkar as denoting the well-known caste Brahma-Kshatri. He has shown that no less than five royal families were designated Brahma-Kshatri. The nomenclature was given to 'those who were Brāhmaṇas first and became Kshatriyas afterwards' *i.e.*, 'those who exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits.' [7] There are broad hints in the Sena records that this was true of the Sena family. Sāmantasena is called *Brahma-vādī*,[8] a term usually applied to one who teaches or expounds the Vedas, but the poet uses it to signify his skill in the extermination of opposing soldiers. In the Mādhāinagar Grant (C. 13), the Sena princes are said to have "made preparations for sacrifices (*kratu*) befitting a conquest of the three worlds and thereby checked the priests serving in the Sessional Soma sacrifices of the gods." [9] Here, again, technical Brāhmanical terms are used to denote the martial exploits. Mr. N. G. Majumdar very rightly remarked with reference to the word '*Brahma-vādī*,' that 'here probably it is indicated that Sāmantasena was as much Brāhmaṇa as Kshatriya, thus bringing out the etymological meaning of Brahma-Kshatriya *i.e.*, Brāhmaṇa as well as Kshatriya.[10] The same remark might apply to the other expression in the Mādhāinagar Grant.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that a number of epigraphic records refer to one or more lines of Jaina teachers

belonging to 'Sena family,' settled in the Dharwar district in the heart of the Karṇāṭa country. The names of these teachers all end in *-sena*, and the family is specifically named *Senānvaya*, and in one case also *Chandra-kavāṭānvaya*. About eleven members of this family are known to us who flourished between *c.* 850 and *c.* 1050 A.D. One of the earliest of them is Vīrasena, a name which is recorded as that of a remote ancestor of the Senas in the Deopārā Inscription. All these make it highly probable that the Senas of Bengal belonged to this Karṇāṭaka family of Jaina teachers, but, in the absence of any positive evidence, it cannot be regarded as anything more than a mere hypothesis.[11]

The brief account of the early history of the Senas recorded above raises one important question. How could the Karṇāṭa family of the Senas come to settle and wield royal power in Bengal ? While it is impossible to give a definite answer to this question, we may refer to several circumstances which would render such a thing quite feasible.

It appears from the Pāla records that they employed foreigners who were numerous enough to be specifically mentioned in the inscriptions. Thus the phrase '*Gauḍa-Mālava-Khaśa-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-chāṭa-bhāṭa*' occurs regulary in the Pāla inscriptions in the list of royal officials from the time of Devapāla down to the time of Madanapāla.[12] It is not unlikely that some Karṇāṭa official gradually acquired sufficient power to set up as an independent king when the central authority became weak. As already noted above, the Kāmboja rule in Bengal in the tenth century A.D. may be explained in a similar way. The Abyssynian rule in Bengal in the fifteenth century A.D. is a well-known instance of the same type. This hypothesis is supported by the statement in the Naihati copper-plate (C.5) that the Senas were settled in Rāḍhā for a long time before Sāmantasena.

The Senas might also have come in the wake of some foreign invasions, and established independent principalities in conquered territories in very much the same way as the Maraṭha chiefs like Holkar and Sindhia did in Northern India during the eighteenth century A.D. As noted above, [13] the Karṇāṭa prince Vikramāditya led a victorious expedition against Bengal and Assam some time about 1068 A.D., and this was preceded and succeeded by others. Similar expeditions were sent to other parts of Northern India during his reign. 'A record of A.D. 1088-89 speaks of Vikram-

āditya VI crossing the Narmadā and conquering kings on the other side of the river.'[14] His feudatory chief Ācha is represented to have made "the kings of Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Maru, Gūrjara, Mālava, Chera, and Choḷa subject to his sovereign."[15] As this Ācha was the Governor of a province in A.D. 1122-23,[16] his expedition against Vaṅga can hardly refer to that undertaken by his master in *c.* 1068 A.D., but probably took place much later, in the last decade of the eleventh or the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Inscriptions dated 1121 and 1124 A.D. also refer to the conquest of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Gauḍa, Magadha, and Nepāla by Vikramāditya.[17]

Reference may be made in this connection to the boast of Someśvara III (1127-38 A.D.) that he placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Draviḍa, Magadha, and Nepāla.[18] Vijjala (*c.*1145-1167) also claims to have conquered Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Magadha, and Nepāla.[19] Even his son Soma is said to have conquered Nepāla and Kaliṅga, and received homage of the Gauḍas.[20] From what we know of these rulers it is hardly likely that they could send directly any expedition to Vaṅga, Magadha or Nepāla. Probably they took the credit of what was done by the Karṇāṭa chiefs who still paid a nominal homage to their distant overlord.

It is interesting to note that about the same time when the Senas were establishing their supremacy in Bengal, another Karṇāṭa chief, Nānyadeva, was doing the same in Bihar and Nepal. It is also probable that the Gāhaḍavālas, who founded about the same time a powerful kingdom with Kanauj as capital were of Karnatic origin.[21]

The fact seems to be that by storming the capital of the Paramāra king Bhoja I, and utterly destroying the Kalachuri king Karṇa, the Chālukya king Someśvara I paved the way for the Karṇāṭa domination in North Indian politics, and, as a result, powerful Karṇāṭa principalities were established in Northern India. It is most probable, therefore, that the Sena chief Sāmantasena or his successor, as well as Nānyadeva, came to establish powerful kingdoms in Northern India in the sweeping tide of the military successes of the Karṇāṭa kings of the Chālukya dynasty.

It has been suggested on the other hand that the Karṇāṭas in Bengal and Bihar were the remnants, either of Rājendra Choḷa's army[22] or of the Karṇāṭa allies of Karṇa,[23] the Kalachuri king. The first view is highly improbable as there is nothing to show that the

Karṇāṭas formed part of Rājendra Choḷa's army. Even assuming that they did, it is very unlikely that the Karṇāṭa chiefs would be preferred to Choḷas in the selection of generals or governors who were left behind by the victorious Choḷa army to rule over conquered countries. As regards the latter view, Karṇa's alliance with the Karṇāṭas was of a temporary character.[24] Besides, the second part of the objection applies in his case also. On the whole, the most reasonable view seems to be to connect the rise of the Senas in Bengal and of Nāyadeva in Bihar with the Chālukya invasions of Northern India during the rule of Someśvara I and Vikramāditya VI, in the second-half of the eleventh century A.D., and the early years of the next century.

II. The Sena Kings

The history of the Sena family begins with Sāmantasena. As noted above, he proved his valour in various wars in Karṇāṭa and settled in old age on the banks of the Ganges, evidently in some part of Rāḍhā, or the modern Burdwan Division. No royal title is given to him, and there is nothing to show that he founded a kingdom.

Hemantasena, the son of Sāmantasena, seems to have been a ruling chief. He lived in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. and the disruption of the Pāla kingdom after the revolt of Divvoka probably enabled him to carve out an independent principality in Rāḍhā. No record of Hemantasena has come to light, but he is given the title *Mahārājādhirāja* in the Barrackpur copper-plate (C.1) of his son Vijayasena, and reference is made to his great queen Yaśodevī in the Deopārā Inscription (C. 2) of the same monarch. But while these references indicate that he probably founded an independent principality, there is nothing to show that he was either very powerful or ruled over an extensive kingdom. His position was probably like that of the many other ruling chiefs of Rāḍhā who rallied round Rāmapāla in his expedition against Varendra.

Vijayasena (C. 1095-1158)

Hemantasena was succeeded by his son Vijayasena of whom we possess only two records mentioned above. He had probably a long reign of more than sixty years[25] (*c.* 1095-1158 A.D.), and he

married Vilāsadevī. a princess of the Śūra family,[26] probably the one which was ruling in southern Rāḍhā at the time of the invasion of Rājendra Choḷa and also during the reign of Rāmapāla.[27] Vijayasena, too, must have begun his career as a chief. But he laid the foundation of the greatness of his family by conquering nearly the whole of Bengal. The circumstances which enabled him to defeat the other chiefs of Rāḍhā, and ultimately conquer East Bengal from the Varmans and at least a part of North Bengal from the Pālas, are not definitely known to us. But his success in Bengal, like that of the other Karṇāṭa chief Nānyadeva (*c.* 1097-*c.* 1147 A.D.)[28] in Bihar, may not unreasonably be connected with the Karṇāṭa domination in Northern India referred to above.[29]

Vijayasena was a contemporary of Nānyadeva, but does not appear to have scored any great success till the second quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Assuming that he had ascended the throne about A.D. 1095,[30] the part played by him in contemporary politics during the early years of his reign is extremely obscure. He was probably on the throne when Rāmapāla purchased the help of independent chiefs of Rāḍhā, in his campaign against Bhīma, by a lavish gift of money and territories. It has been suggested that Vijayarāja of Nidrāvalī, one of the allied feudatory chiefs mentioned in *Rāmacharita*, refers to Vijayasena. This is, however, not certain. It is probable that his marriage with a daughter of the Śūra royal family which ruled over Apara-Mandāra enabled him to attain political greatness. That he was helped by the invasion of the Karṇāṭas under Ācha in establishing his supremacy over Vaṅga may be guessed on general grounds but, cannot be established by any positive evidence. He might have entered into an alliance with Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and profited by it in establishing his supremacy in Raḍhā. Such an inference may be drawn from the expression '*Choḍagaṅga-sakhaḥ*,' 'friend of Choḍagaṅga,' used in respect of him in Ānandabhaṭṭa's *Vallāla-charita* (Life of his son Vallālasena), but the genuineness of the book has been doubted on good grounds.[31] All that we can, therefore, say is that he fished in the troubled waters of Bengal politics and came out successful.

That he had to fight with several independent chiefs is expressly referred to in the Deopārā Inscription. Among them specific mention is made of his victory over Nānya, Vīra, Rāghava, Vardhana, and the kings of Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa, and Kaliṅga. Of these Vardhana may be identified with Dvorapavardhana, ruler of Kauśāmbī, and

Vīra with Vīraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī, two of the allied chiefs who had joined Rāmapāla. Rāghava and the king of Kaliṅga, mentioned in different verses, probably refer to the same person. In that case, we can identify him with the second son of Anantavarman Choḍa-gaṅga who ruled from 1156 to 1170 A.D.[32] This expedition must then have been undertaken towards the close of his reign.

The most notable of his adversaries were Nānya and the lord of Gauḍa. Nānya is undoubtedly the Karṇāṭa chief who had conquered Mithilā about 1097 A.D. It is mentioned in the colophon of a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyasūtra*, composed by Nānya,[33] that he had broken the powers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa. It is reasonable to hold therefore that Nānyadeva, after he had consolidated his dominion in North Bihar, turned his attention towards Bengal, which was then in a process of political disintegration. He might have obtained some successes at first both against the Pāla king of Gauḍa and the Sena king Vijayasena of Vaṅga, but was ultimately defeated by the latter and fell on his own dominions in Mithilā. It is, of course, an equally plausible assumption that the two Karṇāṭa chiefs Vijayāsena and Nānya at first combined their forces to break the powers of Vaṅga aud Gauḍa, but ultimately fell out and fought over the prize which went to the victor Vijayasena. The way in which the memory of the Sena king has been kept up in Mithilā and the traditions current at a later date[34] make it highly probable that Vijayasena pursued an aggressive campaign against Nānya in the latter's dominions and brought Mithilā under his own rule.

The lord of Gauḍa who, according to Deopārā Inscription, fled before Vijayasena, was almost certainly Madanapāla whose dominions in Bengal were at that time confined to North Bengal. That inscription records the erection by Vijayasena of the magnificent temple of Pradyumneśvara whose ruins now lie on the bank of an enormous tank, known as Padumshahr, at Deopārā, about seven miles to the west of the town of Rajshahi. This proves the effective conquest, by Vijayasena, of at least a part of North Bengal. It was perhaps in connection with this expedition to North Bengal that Vijayasena came into conflict with Vardhana, king of Kauśāmbī, and defeated him. It is very probable that Vijayasena's young grandson, Lakshmaṇasena, took part in this expedition to North Bengal.[35]

In spite of his eminent success, it does not appear that the final conquest of Gauḍa was achieved by Vijayasena. His son and

grandson had to continue the struggle, and the latter was perhaps the first to assume formally the proud title of *Gauḍeśvara*. For although this title is applied to both Vijayasena and Vallālasena in the records of the latter's grandsons, and to Vallālasena in the existing manuscripts of his literary works, it is not associated with these two kings in their own official records or those of Lakshmaṇasena. The title is not also applied to Lakshmaṇasena in his earlier records, and appears for the first time in the Bhowal and Mādhāinagar Grants (C. 12-13) which belong to the latter part of his reign. It is, therefore, very likely that the long-drawn struggle with the Pāla kings was not finally concluded, and their pretensions to the sovereignty of Gauḍa definitely abandoned, till the reign of Lakshmaṇasena. But this does not necessarily mean that Vijayasena or Vallālasena had not virtually conquered the greater part, if not the whole of Gauḍa, for, as the example of Govindapāla shows, the last Pāla kings, who called themselves *Gaudeśvaras*, could carry on the fight from their base in Southern Bihar.

The original seat of the Sena power, and the base from which they proceeded to the conquest of the whole province, was Rāḍhā, but soon they consolidated their power in Vaṅga. Their early land-grants are all issued from Vikramapura, the capital city of Vaṅga, and it was there that the queen of Vijayasena performed the elaborate sacrifice known as *Tulāpurusha Mahādāna*. This shows that the Varmans who ruled in Vaṅga with Vikramapura as capital must have ceased to reign in that region. Whether the Varmans were ousted by Vijayasena, or lost their kingdom before, there is no means to determine, but the former view appears more probable.

The statement in the Deopārā inscription that Vijayasena drove away the king of Kāmarūpa does not necessarily mean that he invaded the province, although that is not improbable. The king of Assam, perhaps Vaidyadeva[36] (who was appointed as such by Kumārapāla) or his successor, might have invaded the newly founded dominions of the Senas and was driven away. According to the Mādhāinagar Grant, this kingdom was subdued by strength by Lakshmaṇasena. Here, again, it may be a reference to the expedition undertaken by him during the reign of Vijayasena or a subsequent and separate one. In the latter case, Vijayasena's defeat of the king of Kāmarūpa was neither final nor decisive.

Similar uncertainty hangs over another episode of the reign of Vijayasena *viz.*, the conquest of Kaliṅga and the victory over its

king Rāghava. For Lakshmaṇasena is said to have planted pillars of victory in Purī.[37] If he had done so during the reign of his grandfather,[38] the claims of Vijayasena that he conquered Kaliṅga and defeated its king cannot be regarded as an empty boast. It was Bengal's retaliation for Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga's conquests in Southern Rāḍhā. But if Lakshmaṇasena's Kaliṅga expedition is to be regarded as a separate event, we cannot define the nature and extent of Vijayasena's success in this southern expedition. The defeat of Vīra of Koṭāṭavī, assuming that the kingdom formed a part of Orissa, may be an episode in the great Kaliṅga expedition of Vijayasena.

While the Deopārā inscription mentions the victorious expeditions of Vijayasena to the north (Gauḍa and Mithilā), east (Kāmarūpa), and south (Kaliṅga), it contains merely a vague allusion to his victory in the west. We are told in verse 22, that 'his fleet in its play of conquest of the dominions in the west advanced along the course of the Ganges.' The course of the Ganges flows north to south from a point to the north of Rājmahal, and east to west beyond that, and we may infer from the above passage that Vijayasena's victorious fleet sailed westwards beyond Rājmahal. But we are not told anything about the object of the naval expedition and the extent of its success. The inscription is silent on both these points. The naval expedition, probably as an auxiliary to a land force, must have been despatched against a ruling power in Bihar, though it is uncertain whether the enemy was Nānyadeva, the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra, or the Pāla king (Madanapāla or Govindapāla) still ruling in a part of Southern Bihar. The fact that even Umāpatidhara, the author of the inscription, who is noted for his fulsome praise of everything connected with Vijayasena, has not a word to say about the victorious achievements of Vijayasena's fleet in the west, would naturally lead to the inference that the western expedition was not crowned with any conspicuous success.

The long and prosperous reign of Vijayasena was a momentous episode in the history of Bengal. The Pāla rule came to an end after four centuries of eventful history, and the troubles and miseries caused by internal disruption and foreign invasions towards the close of this period were terminated by the establishment of a strong monarchy. The achievements of Vijayasena in this respect are comparable to those of Gopāla, though there is one significant

difference. For while the Pāla dynasty was founded on the sacrifices of the chiefs and the common consent of the people, the Senas imposed their rule by ruthless wars and conquests. This does not necessarily cast a slur on Vijayasena's career, or take away from the credit that is justly due to him. For the times were changed and perhaps nothing but a policy of blood and iron could keep up the political fabric which was crumbling to dust. The self-seeking chiefs of Bengal had lost all political wisdom, and, guided by motives of petty self-interest, lost the noble ideal of a strong united motherland which had inspired their ancestors four hundred years ago. The policy, imposed by necessity on Rāmapāla, of securing their alliance by lavish gifts merely increased their self-importance and whetted their appetite. They required a strong master to keep them down, and fortunately for Bengal a sturdy Karṇāṭa chief proved equal to the task. Vijayasena, possessed of uncommon courage and military genius, put down these petty chiefs and was fully justified in assuming the imperial titles *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and the proud epithet '*Arirāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara.*'

The long and memorable reign of Vijayasena which restored peace and prosperity in Bengal made a deep impression upon its people. This feeling is echoed in the remarkable poetic composition of Umāpatidhara preserved on a slab of stone found at Deopārā (C. 2). In spite of its rhetoric excesses, it is a fine poetic expression of high tribute willingly paid to a remarkable career. It has also been suggested on good grounds that the *Gauḍ-orvīśa-kula-praśasti*, (eulogy of the royal family of Gauḍa) and the *Vijaya-praśasti* (eulogy of Vijaya) of the famous poet Śrīharsha were inspired by the career of Vijayasena.[39]

Vallālasena (C. 1158—1179)

Vijayasena died about 1158 A.D, and was succeeded by his son Vallālasena. We possess only two inscriptions of his reign (C.4-5) but they do not contain any record of victory. There are, however, good grounds for the belief that Vallālasena had some positive military successes to his credit. It has been pointed out above that Govindapāla, the last Pāla ruler of Magadha, lost his kingdom in 1162 A.D. As this date falls in the reign of Vallālasena, the final defeat of the Pālas in Magadha may be ascribed to him. The reference in *Adbhutasāgara* that the arms of Vallālasena were pillars for chaining the

elephant. *viz.*, the lord of Gauḍa,[40] refers to his successful conflict with the Gauḍa king, and this may be no other than Govindapāla himself, who assumed the title of *Gauḍeśvara*, though his records are found only in Magadha.

According to traditions current in Bengal[41] Vallālasena conquered Magadha and Mithilā (See Appendix III). The possession of Magadha or at least a part of it is proved by an inscription (C. 4) on the metal cover of an image dated in the 9th regnal year of Vallālasena, recovered from the bed of an old tank at Sanokhar about 10 miles from Colgong in the district of Bhagalpur. The Sena rule in Mithilā during the reigns of Vallālasena and his successor is indirectly supported, among other things,[42] by the obscurity in the history of Mithilā after Nānyadeva[43] and the tenacity with which Mithilā of all provinces used an era associated with the name of Laskshmaṇasena.

The epigraphic evidence and tradition, however, leave the impression that Vallālasena's reign was chiefly marked by peaceful pursuits. Traditions in Bengal associate his name with important social reforms and revival of orthodox Hindu rites to which detailed references will be made in subsequent chapters. He was also a great scholar and an author of repute, and two of his works *Dānāsāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* have come down to us.[44] He married Rāmadevī the daughter of a Chālukya king,[45] most probably Jagadekamalla II. This fact is interesting in more ways than one. It proves the growing strength and prestige of the Senas as a political power and also shows that they had still kept contact with their ancestral land Karṇāṭa. In imitation of his father, Vallālasena assumed the epithet *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara* along with the other imperial titles. Whether Vallālasena carried on any aggressive military campaign or not, there is hardly any doubt that he maintained intact the dominions inherited from his father. This roughly comprised the whole of West Bengal and East Pakistan probably with Bihar. According to a tradition current in Bengal, the dominions of Vallālasena comprised five provinces, *viz.*, Vaṅga, Varendra, Rāḍhā, Bāgḍī and Mithilā.[46] The first three comprise Bengal proper, while the last corresponds to North Bihar. As regards Bāgḍī, it is generally identified with a portion of the modern Presidency Division in W. Bengal[47] including the Sundarbans, but no satisfactory evidence has been produced is support of it. It is probably to be identified with the *Mahāl* Bāgḷī in north Midnapur[48] mentioned in *Aini-i-Akbari*,

and also shown in Rennell's Atlas,[49] and was the borderland between Rāḷhā and Utkala. As it lay outside the well-known divisions of Bengal, *viz.*, Rāḷhā, Varendra and Vaṅga, a new name was probably given to it.

There is no direct epigraphic evidence in support of the boundaries of the Sena kingdom depicted above. But the campaigns against Kaliṅga and Kāmarūpa attributed to both Vijayasena and Lakshmaṇasena, the successful wars of the former against Nānya of Mithilā, the advance of the latter up to Benares and Allahabad and the Ins. No. C 4 support the limits of the kingdom of Vallālasena described above.

A passage [50] in *Adbhutasāgara* contains a reference to the end of the life or reign of Vallālasena, but unfortunately its interpretation is not free from difficulty. It says that Vallālasena commenced the composition of *Adbhutasāgara* in Śaka 1090 (or 1089) ; but before it was completed he, accompanied by his queen, went to '*Nirjarapura*' at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā, leaving to his son Lakshmaṇasena the great tasks of maintaining his empire and completing his literary work. Now, *Nirjarapura* means the city of Gods *i.e.*, *heaven*, but may also be the name of a locality. If we take the first meaning, we must conclude that the old king and queen voluntarily ended their lives at Triveṇī by drowning themselves in the holy water of the Ganges, as Rāmapāla did a little more than half a century before. If we take the latter meaning, we must conclude that the aged king left the cares of government to his son, and with his queen spent his last days in retirement on the bank of the Ganges at a locality near Triveṇī. Whether he formally abdicated the throne and performed the coronation ceremony of his son, as has been suggested by some,[51] it is difficult to decide, though the expression '*sāmrājya-rakshā-mahā-dīkshā-parva*' lends colour to this view. There is, however, no warrant for the assumption that the abdication took place in Śaka 1090.[52] The mere fact that a book, begun in that year, was left unfinished when Vallālasena died or abdicated, does not prove that such an incident took place immediately, or even shortly after that date, for a royal author might take many years to finish an abstruse astronomical work. Vallālasena was certainly ruling in 1091 Śaka when he composed *Dānasāgara*, and the assumption that he died or ceased to rule in 1179 A.D., is not imcompatible with the fact that he could not complete *Adbhutasāgara* in his lifetime.

Lakshmaṇasena (C. 1179—1207)

Lakshmaṇasena, son of Vallālasena and Rāmadevī, succeeded his father about 1179 A.D. He must have been fairly old at this time, being about sixty according to *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiṛī* (See App. III). Eight of his records have come down to us (C. 6-13). He assumed the epithet *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara*, and added *Gauḍeśvara* to the imperial titles. There was another significant change. For whereas the title *Parama-Māheśvara* is applied to both Vijayasena and Vallālasena in their own official records, the word '*Parama-Vaishṇava*' or '*Parama-Narasiṁha*' is substituted for it in the official records of Lakshmaṇasena. What is stranger still, the title *Parama-Vaishṇava* is also applied to Vallālasena in the records of his son (C. 6, 12). This incidentally proves how titles assumed by later kings are occasionally applied to their predecessors, though the latter probably never used them themselves. The title *Gauḍeśvara* applied to Vijayasena and Vallālasena in the records of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena (C. 14-16) is perhaps another instance in point.

The sudden change in the imperial title and the commencement of official records by an invocation to Nārāyaṇa, instead of to Śiva as before, show that Lakshmaṇasena become a devout Vaishṇava although his predecessors were Śaivas.[53] This is supported by the fact that Jayadeva, the most famous Vaishṇava poet of Bengal, lived in his court. Lakshmaṇasena's court was also graced by other eminent poets such as Dhoyī, Śaraṇa, Umāpatidhara and Govardhana. The great scholar Halāyudha, who served as Chief Minister and Chief Judge, was another distinguished member of the entourage of the king. The king himself and other members of the royal family were literary men, and some of their verses are still preserved in the anthology of Sanskrit verses, called *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, complied by Śrīdharadāsa. As noted above, Lakshmaṇasena also completed the astronomical work *Adbhutasāgara* begun by his father.

But Lakshmaṇasena was no less distinguished in military than in peaceful pursuits. His own copper-plates (C. 12, 13) and those of his sons (C. 14-16) refer to his victories over the neighbouring kings in all directions. He may also be regarded as the unnamed hero whose great military triumphs are praised in isolated verses composed by his court-poets Śaraṇa and Umāpatidhara.[54]

Particular references are made in his own records to his victories over the kings of Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga, and Kāśī. His success

against the last two is emphasised in the records of his sons. For we are told that he planted pillars commemorating military victory at Purī, Benares and Allahabad.

As already noted above, Lakshmaṇasena's campaign against Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa, and Kaliṅga might refer to expeditions which he led or accompanied during the reign of his grandfather. Otherwise we have to assume that these provinces, although conquered by Vijayasena, were not fully subdued or had rebelled, and Lakshmaṇasena had to conquer them afresh. At all events we may regard the Sena suzerainty as well established over these three regions in the North, East and South.

It was in the fourth region, on the West, that Lakshmaṇasena achieved conspicuous success during his reign. From what has been said above in connection with the reign of Madanpāla, it may be assumed that at the time the Senas consolidated their power in Bengal, the Pālas were ruling in Central and Eastern Magadha, while the northern part of that kingdom had passed into the hands of the Gāhaḍavālas. Vijayasena's efforts to extend the Sena power to Magadha were not attended with much success. The extent of Vallālasena's success in this direction cannot be exactly determined, though, as noted above (p. 160), he ruled in South, and probably also North Bihar after defeating Govindapāla. But the success of Vallālasena was shortlived and probably indirectly helped the Gāhaḍavāla by destroying the Pāla power in Bihar. For it appears that shortly afterwards nearly the whole of Magadha passed into the hands of the Gāhaḍavālas. An inscription found in the neighbourhood of Sasaram[55] shows that the region was included in 1169 A.D. in the dominions of king Vijayachandra. The Sihvar Plate,[56] dated 1175 A.D., refers to a grant of king Jayachandra, probably in the Patna district, while another record of the same king, found at Bodh-Gayā, incised some time between 1183 and 1192 A.D.[57] shows the extension of the Gāhaḍavāla power in Central Magadha.

The progress of the Gāhaḍavāla power in Magadha was a direct menace to the Senas. So the struggle begun in the time of Vijayasena must have been continued by his successors. Although the details of this struggle are lacking, and the part played by Vallālasena is not fully known, there is hardly any doubt that Lakshmaṇasena succeeded in driving away the Gāhaḍavālas from Magadha, and even carried his victorious arms right into the heart of the Gāhaḍavāla dominions.

The king of Kāśī mentioned in Lakshmaṇasena's records undoubtedly refers to the Gāhaḍavāla king, and by defeating him Lakshmaṇasena ousted him from Magadha. The Sena conquest of the Gayā district is indubitably proved by the two records of Aśokachalla found in Gayā. These are dated in the years 51 and 74 of the '*atīta-rājya*' of Lakshmaṇasena. Although the correct interpretation of the dates is open to doubt, there is a general consensus of opinion that the expression used in these two records undoubtedly proves that Gayā was included within the dominions of Lakshmaṇasena.[58] It may be mentioned here, that the laudatory verse of Umāpatidhara, referred to above, includes Magadha among the conquests of his hero, who is probably no other than Lakshmaṇasena.

The conquest of the Gayā region, if not the whole of Magadha, was evidently only the first stage in the successful campaign of Lakshmaṇasena against Kāśirāja, *i. e.*, the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra. The planting of the pillars of victory in Benares and Allahabad, referred to in the records of Lakshmaṇasena's sons, represents the succeeding stages in the same campaign, which led him into the heart of his adversary's dominions.

The permanent result of this campaign of Lakshmaṇasena against the Gāhaḍavāla king cannot be determined. According to the interpretation of Aśokachalla's records suggested later, the Gayā district remained in possession of Lakshmaṇasena till it was conquered by the Muslims.[59] His advance up to Benares and Allahabad was probably more in the nature of a daring raid than a regular conquest. But it might have resulted in weakening the power and prestige of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler, and keeping him busy at a time when he required peace and his full strength to join the confederacy against the Muslim invaders.

The victories mentioned by Śaraṇa (f.n. 54) include one against the Chedi king. Now Vallabharāja, a feudatory of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur, claims to have reduced the king of Gauḍa.[60] As Vallabharāja flourished in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., it is probable that Śaraṇa also refers to the same contest. In any case, Vallabharāja's reference to a fight with Gauḍa gives an historical character to Śaraṇa's statement which might otherwise have been regarded as purely imaginary. The genesis of the hostility between Gauḍa and the Kalachuri kingdom and the scene of conflict are alike unknown to us. Further, since both the parties claim victory, the result of the struggle may be regarded as indecisive.

It would thus appear that Lakshmaṇasena carried on military expeditions far away from the frontiers of Bengal in all directions. Since the days of Dharmapāla and Devapāla no other ruler in Bengal had carried on such wide and extensive military campaigns, and so far as we can judge from extant evidence, his efforts were crowned with a fair degree of success. Under him Bengal played an important part in North Indian politics, and nearly six hundred years were to elapse before she was destined again to play a similar role under a strange combination of circumstances.

But although Lakshmaṇasena began with a brilliant career of conquest, his reign ended in a sea of troubles that overwhelmed him and his kingdom. Unfortunately, sufficient details are not known to enable us to explain the sudden collapse of his power or give an intelligent account of it. An inscription (C. 24), found in Western Sundarbans, shows that Ḍommaṇapāla had set up as an independent chief in the eastern part of Khāḍī (in Sundarbans) in 1196 A.D.[61] Khāḍī district is mentioned as an integral part of the Sena dominions in the records of both Vijayasena and Lakshmaṇasena, and the revolution of Ḍommaṇapāla is an important indication of the weakness of the authority of Lakshmaṇasena and the disruption of his kingdom in his old age. Perhaps the Deva family also set up an independent kingdom to the east of the Meghnā river about the same time.[62] During this period of turmoil, some time about 1202 A.D., when Lakshmaṇasena was probably very old, Bengal was invaded by the Muslims who had by that time conquered nearly the whole of Northern India. The detailed account of this invasion led by Muhammad Bakhtyār Khilji, is given in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*. The date and nature of this raid and the reliability of the account in the *Tabaqāt* are subjects of keen controversy, and the whole question has been dealt with in detail in Appendix III to this chapter. It will suffice here to give a short account of the episode as described in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*.

Muhammad Bakhtyār Khilji, a Turkish soldier of fortune, took advantage of the general collapse of Hindu kingdoms of Northern India to make plundering raids in Eastern India on his own account. In the course of one of these he seized the great Buddhist monastery at Bihar (Patna district), and later he reduced the whole of Magadha. We do not know what arrangement Lakshmaṇasena had made to protect Magadha which belonged to him, or to defend Bengal which was obviously open to a similar attack and justly apprehended to

be the next objective of Muhammad. It is probable that forces were posted on the military route that led from Bihar to Bengal along the Ganges, through the passes of the Rājmahal Hills. Muhammad Bakhtyār, however, led a cavalry force through unfrequented hills and jungles of Jharkhand, and by forced marches suddenly appeared before Nadiyā where Lakshmaṇasena was staying at the time. So swift were his movements that when he reached the city-gate, he was accompanied by only eighteen of his followers. They were regarded as horse-dealers, and Muhammad kept up the pretension by moving slowly through the city. By the time he reached the gate of the palace, more of his soldiers had entered the city, and then a simultaneous attack was made on the palace and the city. Lakshmaṇasena was taking his midday meal when a loud cry arose from the gate of the palace and the interior of the city. When he realised the critical situation, he left the palace and retired to Eastern Bengal. Muhammad Bakhtyār met with no opposition, and as soon as his whole army arrived he took possession of the city and fixed up his quarters there. Later, he left Nadiyā in desolation and removed his capital to Lakhnawati. No mention is made of any further struggle with the Senas, nor is there any definite statement about the region that formed the dominions of Muhammad Bakhtyār. The disastrous Tibetan expedition of Muhammad, followed shortly by his death, must have considerably weakened the hold of Muslim rule in Bengal. In any case it does not appear to have taken root anywhere outside North Bengal. The career of Mughisuddin Yuzbek shows that even Rāḍhā, including Nadiyā, could not be conquered by the Muslims before 1255 A.D., i.e., during half a century that followed their first raid.[62a]

Lakshmaṇasena certainly continued to rule in Eastern Bengal, at least for three or four years after the raid on Nadiyā. Although to-day we rightly regard this incident as an epoch-making event marking the end of independent Hindu rule in Bengal, it does not appear to have been taken in that light by the contemporaries. One, if not two, of the land-grants of Lakshmaṇasena (C. 12) was issued some years after the conquest of Muhammad Bakhtyār. It gives the usual high-sounding royal titles to Lakshmaṇasena and eulogises his great military achievements. The laudatory verse of Śaraṇa (f.n. 54) even refers to Lakshmaṇasena's victory against a Mlechchha king, who may be regarded as a Muslim ruler in Bengal. The sons of Lakshmaṇasena also claim victory over the Yavanas,

and their records (C. 14-16) are drawn up in the right old style with all the high-sounding royal titles. It is difficult to say whether all these are to be explained by the false court etiquette that clings to a royal dynasty even after its downfall, or should be taken to indicate that the Muslim chroniclers have given an exaggerated account of the extent and importance of Muhammad's conquests in Bengal.

Whatever view we might take of the nature and consequences of the Muslim raid on Nadiyā and Lakshmaṇasena's responsibility for the same, his name should go down in history as that of a great and noble, though unfortunate, ruler. In spite of popular views to the contrary, based on a superficial knowledge of the account given in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, he must be regarded as the last great Hindu hero in Bengal of whom his country might well feel proud. Even a perusal of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* leaves the impression that the aged king showed far greater courage and patriotism than his counsellors and chieftains. It is not perhaps without significance that while the author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* passed over in silence even such a famous king as Pṛithvīrāja, he went out of his way to bestow very high praises upon Lakshmaṇasena, 'the great Rāe of Bengal' and even compared him with Sultan Qutbuddin. There must also be some good reason why the people of Gayā region clung fondly to his name for nearly a century after his death, and his memory was perpetuated in Mithilā (North Bihar) by the naming of an era after him.

III. The successors of Lakshmaṇasena

Lakshmaṇasena ruled for at least 27 years and died some time after 1205 A.D.[63] His two sons Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena[64] ruled in succession after him.[65] The latter is known from a single record (C. 14) dated in his third regnal year, while we possess two records of the former, one dated in the 14th regnal year (C. 15) and the other (C. 16) somewhat later.[66] Probably Viśvarūpasena was the elder of the two brothers and succeeded his father.[67] Although no details of their reigns are known to us, it is clear from their records that they ruled at least over Eastern and Southern Bengal. For the first two inscriptions referred to above record grants of land in Vikramapura, and the third in marshy lands of Southern Bengal on the sea-coast.

Both the kings are given the usual imperial titles while, in addition, Viśvarūpasena is called *'Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara,'* and Keśavasena, *'Arirāja-asahya-śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara.'* The epithet *'Saura,'* applied to these kings seems to indicate that they were sun-worshippers. Thus the Sena royal family transferred their allegiance in turn to the three important religious sects, Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Saura.

The records describe the military prowess of both the kings in vague general terms, but offer no details except a reference to their victory over the Muslims. In a verse, contained in all the three records,[68] the two kings are eulogised as 'the day of destruction to the Yavanas," *i.e.*, Muslims. The qualifying epithet applied to the Yavanas reads *'sagarga'* in the record of Viśvarūpasena and *'sagandha*[69] in that of Keśavasena. The meaning of these terms is not quite clear,[70] but there is hardly any doubt that the verse refers to the struggle between the two Sena kings and the Muslim chiefs who were ruling over Northern Bengal.

The inference from these records about the political condition of Bengal is supported by *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*. It states that the Muslim chiefs ruled over "the territory of Lakhnawati" which had "two wings on either side of the river Gang," *viz.*, 'Ral' (Rāḍhā) on the western side, and 'Barind' (Varendra) on the the eastern (p. 584), while 'Bang,' *i.e.*, (Vaṅga or Eastern and Southern Bengal) was ruled by the descendants of Lakshmaṇasena even when that work was composed.[71] Regarding the relations of the Muslim kingdom with Vaṅga, we have two different statements in the book. With reference to the Sultan Ghiyāsuddin 'Iwaz, we are told that "the parts round about the State of Lakhnawati such as Jajnagar, the countries of Bang, Kāmrud (Kāmarūpa), and Tirhut, all sent tribute to him ; and the whole of that territory named Gaur passed under his control" (pp. 587-88). A few pages later we are informed that when in 624 A.H. (=1226-27 A.D.) Nāsiruddin Mahmud, son of Iltutmish, the Sultan of Delhi, invaded Lakhnawati, this city was left unprotected as 'Sultan Ghiyāsuddin had led an army towards the territory of Kāmrud and Bang.' Nāsiruddin easily captured Lakhnawati, and Ghiyāsuddin had to return from his expedition to Kámrud and Bang (pp. 594-95). Thus we may safely infer from the Hindu and Muslim evidences, that for nearly half a century Bang could not be subdued by the Muslim rulers of Lakhnawati, and though they might have occasionally gained some

successes against it and levied tribute, they sometimes also met with failure, and the Sena rulers could justly claim victory against them. Rāḍhā was probably a battle-ground between the Muslims of N. Bengal, the Senas of Vaṅga and the rulers of Orissa who had advanced and occupied the southern part of it.[71a]

The known reign-periods of the two brothers Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena exceed seventeen years, and their rule probably covered at least a quarter of a century. As Lakshmaṇasena was on the throne in A.D. 1205, his two sons may be regarded as having ruled till at least A.D. 1230. One of the records of Viśvarūpasena refers to Kumāra Sūryasena and Kumāra Purushottamasena[72] as donors of lands to Brāhmaṇas. They were evidently members of the royal family and probably sons of Viśvarūpasena, but there is no evidence to show that they ever ascended the throne. But as we learn from *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* that the descendants of Lakshmaṇasena ruled in Bengal (Bang) at least up to 1245 A.D., and probably up to 1260 A.D.,[73] it is almost certain that Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena were succeeded by other members of the family. Nothing is, however, definitely known about them.[74]

There is no doubt that the final extinction of the Sena power is due as much to the pressure of the Muslim invaders as to the rebellions of feudal chiefs. The rise of an independent chief Dommaṇapāla in the Khāḍī district in or some time before 1196 A.D. has already been referred to abovo.[75] The loss of power and prestige after the conquest of Western and Northern Bengal by the rulers of Orissa and the Muslims induced other local chiefs to assert their independence. One such chief was Raṇavaṅkamalla Śrī-Harikāladeva who ruled over the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in Tippera in A.D. 1221.[76] About the same time the Deva family established a powerful kingdom beyond the Meghnā river, to which reference will be made later.[77]

All the while the Senas seem to have maintained a precarious existence. The name of a king Madhusena is found in the colophon of a MS. of *Pañcharakshā*.[78] He is styled '*parama-saugata-parama-rājādhirāja*' and '*Gauḍeśvara*,' and the date is given as Śaka 1211. Whether this Buddhist king Madhusena, ruling in 1289 A.D., belonged to the well-known royal Sena family, it is difficult to say. The locality over which he ruled is also difficult to determine. For Northern and Western Bengal now formed the dominions of the Muslim rulers of Lakhnawati, and Eastern Bengal had passed into the hands of the Deva family. It is just possible that he was ruling

in an obscure corner of Southern or Western Bengal, or had seized Eastern Bengal from Daśarathadeva or his successor. Madhusena, who flourished in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., is the last known ruler[79] of Bengal with the name-ending *sena* who might have inherited the pretensions, if not the power, of the Senas, and kept up the traditions of their mighty and powerful kingdom. In any case, the great Sena family passes out of the history of Bengal with the close of the thirteenth century A.D.

In spite of its ignoble end, the short period of Sena rule in Bengal constitutes an important landmark in its history. A succession of three able and vigorous rulers consolidated the whole province into a united and powerful kingdom such as probably it had never been since the death of Devapāla three hundred and fifty years before. By their strong advocacy of the orthodox Hindu faith, the Senas helped it to attain the position of supremacy in Bengal which it had long ago secured in the rest of India. The Sena period also saw the high-water mark of development of Sanskrit literature in Bengal. Buddhism, in its last phase, was a disintegrating force in religion and society, and there can be hardly any doubt that its predominance in Bengal was the main contributing factor to the phenomenal success of Islam in this region. That Hindu society, religion, and culture in Bengal even partially succeeded in surviving the onslaughts of Islam is mainly due to the new vigour and life infused into them by the sturdy Hindu ruling family of Karṇāṭa. But in spite of all the good that they had done, their foreign origin and thes hort duration of their rule perhaps stood in the way of the growth of that united national life which alone could have enabled Bengal to withstand the irresistible advance of the Muslims in a manner more befitting its past history. The Muslim conquest of Bengal, after the overthrow of the rest of Northern India, was perhaps inevitable in the long run, but the way in which Bihar and half of Bengal passed into their hands, almost without any opposition worth the name, has cast a slur on the courage, the prowess, and the political organisation of the people. Even the most heroic resistance and successful defence of East Bengal for nearly a century against the Muslim power ruling over the rest of Northern India have not succeeded in removing the stain from the fair name of Bengal. History, in this respect, may be said to have repeated itself five and a half centuries later. For we mark the same contrast between the ease with which Bengal was conquered

by the British and the sturdy opposition they received in Upper and Central India, the Deccan, and South Indian Peninsula. Whether it is a mere chance coincidence or due to some fatal inherent defects in national character, it is difficult to say. We may attribute the evil to that unknown and unknowable factor called fate or destiny which sometimes plays no inconsiderable part in the affairs of men, or it may be that the genius of the people of Bengal, in spite of their intellectual brilliance and other virtues, is not amenable to even an elementary sense of discipline and organisation calling for unity in the face of a common danger. Facts may be cited in favour of both the view-points, and in the absence of necessary data for a correct judgment on these and allied problems of the history of Bengal, it is a fruitless task to pursue these speculations to any length. There is, however, no justification for the current view that makes Lakshmaṇasena and Siraj-ud-daula scape-goats for all the disasters that befell Bengal. They were certainly more courageous and patriotic than most of their counsellors and officials, and were perhaps more sinned against than sinning. A large share of the blame must also attach to the people at large, but for whose moral and political lapse we could hardly expect the development of a situation like those to which the unfortunate kings succumbed.

APPENDIX I

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENA KINGS

There are, broadly speaking, two radically different views about the dates of the Sena kings. One is based on the assumption that the era current in North Bihar and known as *Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat or* in its contracted form *La Saṁ*, started from 1119-20 A. D. and commemorates the accession of Lakshmaṇasena.[80] The other is based on the identification of 'Rāe Lakhmaṇīah' of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* with king Lakshmanasena, and on certain passages in two literary works of Vallālasena, *viz.*, *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*. These refer to Śaka 1081 or 1082 (1159 or 1160 A. D.) as the beginning of Vallālasena's reign, Śaka 1091 (1169 A. D.) as the date of the composition of *Dānasāgara*, and 1089 or 1090 (1167 or 1168 A. D,) as the commencement of *Aḍbhutasāgara*.[81] The two different view-points, with full references, were summed up in 1921 by the author of the present work who opposed the first and expounded at length the second view.[82] Since then important arguments have been brought forward in support of it. Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has shown that according to the correct reading of the colophon of an anthological work called *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, it was composed by Śrīdharadāsa, the court-poet of Lakshmaṇasena, in Śāka 1127 (1205 A. D.) during the reign of that king.[83] Further, Mr. R. D. Banerji's contention that the specific dates found in the literary works of Vallālasena are spurious, as they are not found in some manuscripts of the texts, has been considerably weakened. For these dates also occur in a newly discovered manuscript of one of these works, and are referred to not only in certain introductory or concluding passages which are omitted in certain manuscripts of the text, but are scattered throughout the text of *Adbhutasāgara*.[84] These passages were evidently known to Rājā Todarmall who refers to "the position of the Great Bear, according to the *Adbhutasāgara*, in the Śaka year 1082 (1160-61 A.D.) while Vallālasena was ruling."[85] Some of the passages containing the dates are also quoted by the famous Smṛiti writer Śrīnātha Āchārya Chūḍāmaṇi who flourished about 1500 A.D.[86]

On the whole, the first view, maintained by R. D. Banerji, is hardly supported now by any scholar, and the chronology of the Sena kings, based on the dates furnished by the literary works for

Vallālasena and Lakshmaṇasena, is now generally accepted. The chronology of the Sena kings may thus be drawn up as follows :—

Name of king.	*Known duration of reign.*	*Year of accession (approximate).*
Vijayasena	62 (? or 32)	A. D. 1095 (1125)
Vallālasena	11	,, 1158
Lakshmaṇasena	27	,, 1179
Viśvarūpasena	14	,, 1206
Keśavasena	3	,, 1225

Mr. J. C. Ghosh[87] fixes the date of Vijayasena's accession in A.D. 1088 on the strength of astronomical data contained in the Barrackpur Grant. His arguments, particularly as they involve emendation of the text of the inscription, do not carry much weight. It may be added that calculating on the same astronomical data, Mr. C. C. Das Gupta places the accession of Vijaysena in 1095 A.D.[88]

On the other hand, as already noted above,[89] there are grave doubts about the reading of the date in Barrackpur Grant as 62, and regarding it as his regnal year. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion to refer it to Vlkrama-Chālukya era would give the date 1137-38 A.D. for Vijayasena, and we may place his accession approximately at 1125 A.D. The same result is attained if we read the date as 32, and regard it as his regnal year. On the whole, a date near about 1125 A.D. appears to be more reasonable than the date *c.* 1095 A.D. now generally assumed.

A passage in *Adbhuta sāgara* refers to the year *'bhuja-vasu-daśa*—1081' as the beginning (*rājyādi*) of Vallālasena's reign. Unfortunately the interpretation of this short passage involves two difficulties. In the first place, it is uncertain whether the expression *rājyādi* should be taken literally to mean the first year of the reign,[90] or, in a general way, to denote the earlier part of the reign.[91] Secondly, the date given in words means 1082, while it is given in figures as 1081. One of these must be wrong. It has been suggested that the expression *bhuja* (=2) is a mistake for *bhū* (=1).[92] On the other hand, it is equally plausible that 1081 in figures is an error for 1082. It is not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion on any of these points. Although it is difficult to attach much weight to the argument based on astronomical grounds by which Mr. J.C.Ghosh accepts 1081 Śaka current (1158 A.D.) as the year I of Vallālasena's reign,[93] it may provisionally be accepted on general grounds.

The exact date of the accession of Lakshmaṇasena depends upon the correct interpretation of the colophon of *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*. It gives the Śaka year 1127 (1205 A.D.) as corresponding to the regnal year of Lakshmaṇasena expressed by the somewhat unusual and ambiguous chronogram *"rasaika-viṁśebde."* Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, who arrived at this reading by a collation of different manuscripts, interpreted it to mean 27 (*i.e. rasa*=6+21).[94] Mr. Girindra Mohan Sarkar emended the expression to *rājyaika-viṁśebde*[95] and took it to mean the 21st year. Both the suggestions are equally plausible, but the first one is preferred on the ground that according to *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Lakshmṇasena was eighty years old in or about 1200 A.D, and it is less likely that he lived beyond the age of 90.[96] Here, again, it is interesting to note that both the dates have been supported on astronomical grounds.[97] In view of many instances of this kind, it is difficult to accept Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya's view, based on astronomical grounds, that Viśvarūpasena was ruling in 1247 A.D.[98] though the date is not an improbable one.

Lakshmaṇasena Era

In view of the chronology adopted above, the epoch of Lakshmaṇa *Saṁvat, viz.* 1108 or 1119-20 A.D.,[99] cannot be regarded as the date of the accession of Lakshmaṇasena. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss the origin of that Era.

The first point to remember in this connection is that no Sena king, not even the two sons of Lakshmaṇasena, ever used that era, and that there is no evidence that it was ever known, far less used, in Bengal during the Sena period, or within the next three centuries.[100] This raises grave doubts about the foundation of the era by Lakshmaṇasena or any other Sena ruler of Bengal.

The second point to be noted is the somewhat peculiar phraseology used in the early inscriptions dated in this era. The dates of two inscriptions of Aśokachalla at Bodh-Gayā and one of Jayasena, son of Buddhasena, lord of Pīṭhī, at Jānibighā are expressed as follows :

1. *Śrīmal-Lakhvaṇa (kshmaṇa)-senasy=ātīta-rājye Saṁ* 51.[101]
2. *Śrīmal-Lakhmaṇasena-deva-pādānām=ātītā-rājye Saṁ* 74.[102]
3. *Lakshmaṇasenasy=ātīta-rājye Saṁ* 83.[103]

Dr. Kielhorn,[104] and following him Mr. R. D. Banerji,[105] held that in the above expressions the years were counted from the commencement of the Era of Lakshmaṇasena, but his reign was a thing of

the past. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri also accepted this view,[106] but he rightly recognised that as Lakshmaṇasena, king of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, was ruling after the years 51 and 74 of the Era which commenced in 1119-20 A.D., king Lakshmaṇasena, who founded this Era and died before its 51st year (*i.e.*, 1170 A.D.) must be a different ruler of that name. The fact that Jayasena, lord of Pīṭhī, issued one of the three records containing a date in that Era, and his father Buddhasena is mentioned in an inscription as a contemporary of Aśokachalla during whose reign the other two records were issued, led Dr. Raychaudhuri to conclude that king Laksmaṇasena who founded the Era 'must have been the founder of the Sena dynasty of Pīṭhī.[107] The suggestion is, no doubt, a valuable one, but there is no evidence that the Sena dynasty of Pīṭhī existed as early as 1119-20 A.D.[108] far less that its founder was powerful enough to establish an Era which remained in use for centuries.

The main question, however, is whether we are justified in interpreting the dates of Both-Gayā and Jānibighā inscriptions in the manner suggested by Kielhorn. Reference may be made in this connection to similar expressions for indicating dates used with the name of Govindapāla, noted above.[109] On the analogy of the interpretation adopted by Kielhorn, Banerji, and Raychaudhuri, we have to assume that an Era was founded by Govindapāla, and that he died before year 14 of that Era. It would, therefore, follow that two different Eras were founded within a few years, and both were current together in Gayā from 1161 to 1199 A.D. Further, if the Senas of Pīṭhī had set up the Era in 1119 A.D., their rule as well as the use of their Era must have been in abeyance in Gayā during the period of Govindapāla's rule.

Before we can accept the interpretation suggested by Kielhorn, it must be satisfactorily explained why the inscription refers to the *atīta-rājya* of Lakshmaṇasena, and ignores altogether the name of the kings (Viśvarūpasena or Keśavasena, if we accept the view of Mr. Banerji, and Buddhasena and Jayasena, if we accept the view or Dr. Raychaudhuri) of the same dynasty who were reigning at the time the records were actually drawn up. In the case of the Gupta records, the date in the Gupta Era is used along with the name of the reigning king and not a single record uses an expression like "*Chandraguptasy=ātīta-rājye saṁ.*"

It is difficult on these grounds to accept either the interpretation of the above dates proposed by Dr. Kielhorn, or the theory of

Dr. Raychaudhuri which is based on it. As regards the latter, it may be pointed out that we have no evidence of the existence of a king named Lakshmaṇasena, other than the Sena ruler of Bengal, who reigned in Mithilā or the Gayā district, where the Era associated with this name is known to have been in use. We should not, therefore, presume the existence of a new king of that name, until it proves impossible to give a rational interpretation of the association of the well-known king Lakshmaṇasena with that Era. Further, as early as the fifteenth century A.D., Lakshmaṇasena of the era is definitely stated to be the lord of Gauḍa.[110]

The only way by which we can reconcile the known facts is to suppose that the Era was started in Bihar, and though associated with the name of the Sena king Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal, it was not founded by him ; as otherwise it would have been in use also in his home-province of Bengal.

The exact circumstances under which an Era was set up in Bihar and associated with the famous king Laksmaṇasena of Bengal are not known to us.[111] But some plausible suggestions may be offered.

It is probable that when the Pāla kingdom in Gayā was finally destroyed, the people, specially the Buddhists, continued for some time to count their dates with reference to the last Buddhist Pāla king,—Govindapāla. Again when the Muslim invaders destroyed the Hindu kingdoms in Bihar and Bengal, the people, unwilling to refer to the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* of the foreign conquerors, counted the dates with reference to the destruction of the last Hindu kingdom.[112] Roughly speaking, therefore, the Era referred to in the records of Aśokachalla and Jayasena may be regarded as having started about 1200 A.D.

This is corroborated by the fact that Aśokachalla is mentioned in an inscription found at Gayā and dated in the year 1813 of the Buddhist Nirvāṇa Era.[113] It is well-known that the Buddhists of Ceylon have preserved a reckoning according to which the Nirvāṇa Era started in 543 B.C., and no other Nirvāṇa Era is known to have been current in twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. in India. The influence of the Ceylonese monks in Gayā at this time is indicated by the reference to Siṁhalese community of Buddhist monks at Bodh-Gayā in the inscriptions of Aśokachalla. The village granted, by Jayasena to the Bodh-Gayā temple was for the residence of a Ceylonese monk, and his father Buddhasena made grants to a number of Ceylonese *sthaviras* at Bodh-Gayā. It is, therefore, natural to

take the year 1813 of the Nirvāṇa Era as equivalent to 1270 A.D. This would fit in with the dates 51 and 74 of Aśokachalla referred to an era commencing about 1200 A.D.

This view did not find favour with most of the scholars who held that Aśokachalla flourished between A.D. 1170 and 1193, and Jayasena, son of Buddhasena, ruled at Pīṭhī in A.D. 1202-3. But the question has been finally decided by the biography of a Tibetan monk, Dharmasvāmin, who came to India and spent two years (A.D. 1234-6) in Bihar. He met king Buddhasena of Gayā, described as Pīṭhī-pati. The older views have thus been proved to be wrong and the interpretation of *atīta-rājya-saṁvat*, as given above, has been fully justified. This has been acknowledged by Dr. A. S. Altekar who first published the account of Dharmasvāmin.[114]

It is interesting to note that eras dating from about the same epoch were current also in Bengal. One of them is known as Balāli San and the other Parganāti San. The epoch of the former falls in A.D. 1199 and that of the latter, 1202-3 A.D. Considering that the known instances of the use of these eras are all of later date, it may be presumed that both these eras commemorated the destruction of the Hindu kingdom in Northern and Western Bengal at about 1200 A.D.[115]

The view propounded above does not, however, explain the epoch of the *La Saṁ* current in Mithilā, *viz.* 1119-20 A.D. But here, too, we may trace the same idea of deliberately setting up an artificial era associated with the last Hindu ruler ; only, instead of counting from the end of the reign, which always evokes a painful memory, people of a later age counted from his birth. It has been stated by Minhaj that at the time of the Muslim raid on Nadiyā Lakshmaṇasena was eighty years old.[116] As the event took place within a few years of 1200 A.D., we may place the birth of Lakshmaṇasena about 1120 A.D., which agrees remarkably well with the epoch of the *La Saṁ* suggested by Kielhorn, *viz.*, 1119-20 A.D. It may be a mere coincidence that the birth of Lakshmaṇasena falls in a year with reference to which an era called *Lakshmaṇa Samvat* is current in Mithilā. But then it must be regarded as a very strange coincidence indeed. On the whole, in the present state of our knowledge this seems to be the least objectionable way of explaining the origin of the *La Saṁ* in Mithilā. We must, however, reject the view, held by some, that Vallālasena founded the Era on the occasion of the birth of his son Lakshmaṇasena.[117] For then it is very likely that the Era would have gained currency also in Bengal.

The artificial character of the Era, set up at a later time with reference to a past event, perhaps explains the great discrepancy in the initial years of that era as calculated from the different instances of its use. Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion, now generally accepted, that the first year of this era began in A.D. 1119-20, was based on a study of six records where the dates could be verified by astronomical calculations. On the other hand, modern reckoning, current in Mithilā, would place the beginning of *La Saṁ* in 1108 A.D.[118] Mr. P. N. Misra has shown after an elaborate analysis, that out of sixteen dates of the *Lakshmaṇa Samvat* hitherto found with data for verification. only nine dates work out satisfactorily with the epoch 1119-20 A.D., and only ten with the epoch 1107-8 A.D.[119] An analysis of eighteen dates in *La Saṁ*, occurring along with equivalent dates in *Śaka* or *Samvat* or both, gives the following results as to the intial year.[120]

Initial year in A. D.	*Number of records*
1120	3
1119	2
1115	2
1113	1
1112	1
1110	2
1108	3
1107	4

In order to explain these discrepancies, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal propounded the view that in the time of Akbar, beginning with 1556 A.D., the Fasli era—a lunar reckoning—was promulgated under the name *San*, and since that time '*La Saṁ* received a lunar calculation' and a 'fixed figure was deducted from the current *San* year to obtain *La Saṁ*.' This, in his opinion, explains the varying, gradually increasing, difference in the eighteen *La Saṁ* years, referred to above. This theory is not, however, borne out by facts as the following examples will show:

La Saṁ.	*Year in* A. D. *as counted by the equivalent Saka era.*	*Differ*
(1) 505	1624	1119
(2) 522	1637	1115
(3) 614	1724	1110
(4) 624	1737	1113
(5) 633	1741	1108
(6) 727	1837	1110

it will be seen that in one case (Nos. 1 and 2), within a period of seventeen years, there was a difference of four years in the reckoning of *La Saṁ*, whereas in another case (Nos. 3 and 6) there was no difference after an interval of 113 years. Again during ten years (Nos. 3 and 4), the difference was three years, but during the next nine years (Nos. 4 and 5) the difference is one of five years. Besides, the difference is not one of gradual increase or decrease with each passing year, as Nos. 3-6 would show.

Mr. Jayaswal concluded from an examination of the eighteen dates mentioned above that up to 1624 A.D. the dating in *La Saṁ* was on the basis of the era commencing in 1119-20 A.D.[121] Indeed this was the most vital part of his theory which sought to explain the discrepancy by the introduction of lunar year in Akbar's time. But he ignored a verse ascribed to Vidayāpati in which the date of the death of king Devasiṁha of Mithilā is given as *La Saṁ* 293 and *Śaka* 1324. This would mean that in the fifteenth century A.D. the initial year of *La Saṁ* was reckoned to be 1109 A.D.[122]

Even if we disregard this solitary verse, it is impossible, on the grounds mentioned above, to explain the discrepancy in the initial years of *La Saṁ* in the way suggested by Mr. Jayaswal. We must, therefore, hold that the initial year of the Era, as reckoned at different times and places, varied between 1108 and 1120 A.D. This can best be explained on the supposition that the *La Saṁ* was an artificial reckoning associated with an event of remote past, the date of which was not definitely known at the time when people first began to use the era. Considering that the error was within a limit of twelve years, the birth of Lakshmaṇasena may be regarded as the event.[123]

APPENDIX II

THE SUCCESSORS OF LAKSHMANASENA

Reference has been made above (p. 236) to three CP. Grants of the two sons and successors of Lakshmaṇasena, namely, Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena (C. 14, 15, 16). The first two records, however, are marked by a singularity, namely, erasure of the name of the original king engraved on the Plate and the substitution of another in its place. Not much was thought of these erasures till the discovery of the third plate (C. 16), and Dr. D. C. Sircar's attempt to revolutionise the view about the reigns of Lakshmaṇasena and his successors by propounding an ingenious theory[124] which, in spite of its novelty and boldness, cannot be ignored, and must be taken into consideration before the discovery of fresh evidence decides the question one way or the other.

Dr. Sircar starts with the proposition that the first two records (C. 14, 15) were originally issued by Sūryasena, son, of Viśvarūpasena, mentioned as *Kumāra* in the third Plate (C. 16), and the name of Viśvarūpasena was subsequently inserted in place of Sūryasena after erasing the name of the latter. He holds that the Plate No. C. 15 was originally issued by Sūryasena in his second regnal year and the corrections, after erasure, were inserted in the plate in the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpa himself.[125]

As regards the Plate No. C. 14, Dr. Sircar thinks that the name of the king has been erroneously read as Keśavasena, whereas it is really Viśvarūpasena, engraved after erasing the name of Sūryasena, exactly as in the case of Plate No. C. 15.[126]

By way of a plausible explanation of this unusual procedure Dr. Sircar suggests that after Viśvarūpasena had been on the throne for some years, his son Sūryasena was raised to the throne, and after about three years, Viśvarūpasena again became king. In his opinion this may be accounted for by one of the three following circumstances[127] :

1. Revolt of Sūryasena and his temporary success.
2. Viśvarūpasena was incapacitated by the attack of a disease from which his recovery was not expected.
3. Captivity of Viśvarūpasena in the hands of his enemies for some years.

Dr. Sircar prefers the second alternative and holds that Sūryasena "ruled at least for about three years since the Idilpur Plate (No. C. 14)

was issued in his 3rd regnal year. The period of the son's rule seems to have corresponded roughly to the years 11-13 of the father's reign."[128]

One may accept as possible all the three eventualities mentioned by Dr. Sircar and even agree with his preference for the second. It is, however, difficult to admit, without positive evidence, that the Secretariat of the Sena kings would fail to realize the absurdity of the whole procedure of the substitution of royal names, particularly, as Dr. Sircar himself points out, when such changes resulted in the victories achieved by Viśvarūpasena in Purī, Vārāṇasī, and Prayāga being attributed to his father,[129] not to speak of other anomalies and absurdities which have been committed in the process. Further, we are to suppose that the third Copper-plate (C. 16), though engraved after Viśvarūpasena had re-ascended the throne, contains all these absurdities simply because its introductory part "is merely a copy of the modified draft of the introductory section of his son's records and is not a fresh independent composition."[130] When we remember that all these irregularities and absurdities could have been easily avoided by simply using a new Copper-plate and discarding the old one, two inevitable conclusions follow, namely, (1) that the Secretariat of the Sena kings was managed by people who lacked common sense not to speak of even a modicum of intelligence ; and (2) that their sense of economy bordered on niggardliness, for a new Copper-plate would not have cost much.

While, therefore, we must admit that Dr. Sircar has justly stressed the abnormal features in the two Copper-plate Grants (C. 14, 15) and his view about the non-existence of Keśavasena has a great deal in its favour, his other views, particularly the attribution of the victories in Purī, Vārāṇasī and Prayāga to Viśvarūpasena rather than to Lakshmaṇasena, cannot be regarded even as plausible until more positive evidence is forthcoming. It should be remembered that after the conquests of Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyār Khilji in Bihar and Bengal, and of Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghurī up to Vārāṇasī in the east—all during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena—it is hardly conceivable that his son and successor Viśvarūpasena could carry his victorious campaigns to Vārāṇasī and Prayāga, which is an integral part of the new hypothesis. This fact alone seems to be a very strong argument against the proposed reconstruction of history of the period after the death of Lakshmaṇasena on the basis of the new interpretation of the three Copper-plate Grants (C. 14, 15, 16).

APPENDIX III

VALLĀLA-CHARITA

The text of *Vallāla-charita* was edited by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1904, and an English translation of it by the same scholar was published three years earlier. The work was composed by Ānandabhaṭṭa in 1510 A.D. at the command of the ruler of Navadavīpa named Buddhimanta Khān,[131] an influential Rājā in Bengal. The author, Ānandabhaṭṭa claims to be a descendant of one Anantabhaṭṭa, a Brāhmaṇa belonging to Southern India.[132]

Another work bearing the same name and edited by Hariśchandra Kaviratna was published in 1889, but it was pronounced by MM. Sāstrī to be spurious and unreliable. MM. Śāstrī says that he was not without suspicion that the text edited by him might be equally spurious. But on a careful examination of the two manuscripts copied in 1707 A.D. and the Bengali year 1198(=1790-91 A.D.) he pronounced them to be genuine.[133]

MM. Śāstrī does not say on what grounds he declared the text edited by Kaviratna [to be referred henceforward at Text (I)] as spurious, but so far as can be judged from the internal evidence, both the texts stand on the same footing, and have drawn upon a common source of floating traditions. The Text (I) is divided into three parts, *Pūrva-khaṇḍam*, *Uttara-khaṇḍam* and *Pariśishṭam*. The first two are said to have been composed by Gopālabhaṭṭa, a teacher of the Vaidya king Vallālasena, at the command of his royal pupil in Śaka 1300[134] (Part II. vv. 163-165). The colophon of Part I, however, says that it was composed by Gopālabhaṭṭa and corrected by Ānandabhaṭṭa. The third part was composed by Ānandabhaṭṭa, a descendant of Gopālabhaṭṭa, in 1500 Śaka at the command of the ruler of Navadvīpa (Part III. vv. 39-42). We are told that Gopālabhaṭṭa could not complete the work for fear of punishment by the king (III. 1), and Ānandabhaṭṭa completed the work after the destruction of the Senas (III. 40). This text consists mostly of genealogical topics and the crude accounts of the origin of various castes, but it also gives in a condensed form the main story of *Vallāla-charita* edited by MM. Śāstrī.[135]

This story may be summed up as follows :

"Once Vallālasena borrowed a crore of Rupees (*nishka*) from Vallabhānanda, the richest merchant of his time, for the purpose of conquering the king of Udantapura ; but repeatedly defeated in battle in the neighbourhood of Maṇipur (or Faṇipur), he determined to make a grand effort and sent a messenger to Vallabha, who was a resident of Saṅkakoṭa, demanding a fresh loan. The demand was made with the following preamble : 'Because it has become absolutely necessary for us to march against the country of Kīkaṭa with a grand army composed of six divisions, Vallabha should immediately send a crore and a half of *Suvarṇas*.' In reply Vallabha agreed to pay the money only if the revenues of Harikelī were assigned to him in payment of the debts. This enraged Vallālasena who forcibly took possession of the wealth of a large number of *vaṇiks* (merchants) (Ch. II), and inflicted other hardships on them.

"Later, the *vaṇiks* offended the king by refusing to partake of dinner at the palace as no separate place was assigned to the Vaiśyas as distinct from the Sat-Śūdras (Ch. XXII). In this connection it was reported to Vallālasena that 'Vallabha, the leader of all the *vaṇiks*, was siding with the Pālas, and he was highly arrogant because the king of Magadha was his son-in-law.' On hearing this report the king became furious and declared that henceforth the Suvarṇa-vaṇiks should be regarded as Śūdras, and any Brāhmaṇa, who officiates in their ceremonies, teaches them, or accepts gifts from them, will be degraded.

"In retaliation the *vaṇiks* got hold of all the slaves by giving twice or thrice the ordinary price, and all the other castes were in great distress for want of servants. Thereupon Vallālasena raised the social status of the Kaivartas and ordered that menial service should be their livelihood. Maheśa, the headman of the Kaivartas, was honoured with the rank and title of *Mahāmāṇḍalika*. Similarly, the Mālākāras (garland-makers), the Kumbhakāras (potters), and the Karmakāras (blacksmiths) were raised to the status of Sat-Śūdras. Finally, the king ordered that the Suvarṇavaṇiks should be deprived of their holy threads. Many *vaṇiks* thereupon migrated to other countries. At the same time, observing great irregularities in higher ranks of society, Vallāla consulted those versed in the Vedas, and compelled many Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas to pass through purifying ceremonies. The low Brāhmaṇas, who were traders, were degraded from Brāhmaṇ-hood altogether (Ch. XXIII)."

It will be clear from the above summary, that like many other similar works composed in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D., *Vallāla-charita* was written definitely with a view to demonsrtating that the Suvarṇavaṇiks[136] occupied a high status in society and were unjustly degraded to the present position by the capricious tyranny of Vallālasena. That *Vallāla-charita* cannot, therefore, be regarded as an historical text admits of no doubt. On the other hand, there is no reasonable ground for thinking that "it is a modern forgery palmed off on the unsuspecting editor," as Mr. R.D. Banerji says.[137]

We have definite evidence[138] that true facts of the history of Bengal during the Hindu period were not preserved, at least not available to the general people, in the 16th century A.D., and writers, mostly on social matters, tried to build up an historical account on the basis of current traditions, some of which probably had historical basis. So we may well believe, in the case of *Vallāla-charita*, that it has preserved some genuine traditions, but it is difficult to glean them out of a mass of legends. The caste (Brahmakshatra) and genealogy of the Senas are correctly stated.[139] The description of Vallālasena as a friend of Choḍagaṅga[140] may be accepted, because we know now that the two were contemporaries. The reference to the war with the Pālas fits in well with the history of the period, and is partly corroborated by the extinction of the Pāla rule in Magadha during the reign of Vallālasena. Further, as noted above,[141] the reference in *Vallāla-charita* to Vallālasena's expedition against Mithilā is supported by other traditions and historical facts. Finally, it must be admitted that the special favour shown by Vallālasena towards the Kaivartas, who so recently rebelled against the Pālas, and his particular animosity against the Suvarṇavaṇiks who were allies of, and related to, the Pālas, furnished an admirable background to the story in a correct historical setting, and it is difficult to believe that a modern forgerer was capable of doing this, specially before the discovery of *Rāmacharita*. Perhaps the *Vallāla-charita* contains the distorted echo of an internal disruption caused by the partisans of the Pāla dynasty which proved an important factor in the collapse of the Sena rule in Bengal.

APPENDIX IV

MUSLIM INVASION OF BENGAL DURING THE REIGN OF LAKSHMANASENA

The only detailed account of the Muslim invasion of Bengal during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena is supplied by *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*,[142] a historical work composed by Maulānā Minhāj-ud-din Abū-Umar-i-Usmān who held various high offices under the Sultans of Delhi. In 639 A.H. (=1241 A.D.), he was appointed Chief Qāzi of the Delhi kingdom and of the capital (p. xxvi). Next year he resigned the post and proceeded to Lakhnawati where he remained for two years (p. xxvii). It was evidently during this period that the author got his information about the history of Bengal chronicled by him. The work was actually composed later, and narrates historical events down to 658 A.H. (=1260 A.D.) (p. xxviii).

After referring to a successful attack on the monastery at the city of Bihār by Muhammad Bakhtyār [143] (pp. 551-52), the author narrates a silly anecdote about the birth of Rāe Lakhmanīah[144] (Lakshmaṇasena), whose seat of government was the city of 'Nūdīah,' and who was a very great 'Rāe' and had been on the throne for eighty years (p. 554). The author then proceeds to say that after the final conquest of the province of Bihar [145] by Muhammad, his fame reached the ears of king Lakshmaṇasena and his subjects. Then a number of astrologers, wise men, and counsellors advised the king to leave the country as, according to the Śāstras (sacred scriptures), the country would shortly fall into the hands of the Turks (p. 556). On inquiry it was learnt that the external appearance of Muhammad tallied with the description of the Turkish conqueror as given in the Śāstras (p. 557). Thereupon most of the Brāhmaṇs and wealthy merchants fled to Eastern Bengal, Assam and other places, but Lakshmaṇasena did not follow their cowardly advice or example (p. 557). What followed may be best described in the author's own words :

"The following year after that, Muhammad Bakhtyār caused a force to be prepared, pressed on from Bihar, and suddenly appeared before the city of Nūdīah, in such wise that no more than eighteen horsemen could keep up with him, and the other troops followed after him. On reaching the gate of the city Muhammad Bakhtyār did not molest any one, and proceeded onwards steadily and sedately,

in such manner that the people of the place imagined that mayhap his party were merchants and had brought horses for sale, and did not imagine that it was Muhammad Bakhtyār, until he reached the entrance to the palace of Rāe Lakhmanīah, when he drew his sword and commenced an onslaught on the unbelievers." (p. 557).

Lakshmaṇasena was taking his meals "when a cry arose from the gateway of the Rāe's palace and the interior of the city" (p. 557). The cry from the city certainly indicates that the main army of Muhammad or at least a considerable portion of it had already entered into the city. By the time Lakshmaṇasena realised the actual state of affairs.

"Muhammd Bakhtyār had dashed forwards through the gateway into the palace, and had put several persons to the sword. The Rāe fled barefooted by the back part of his palace.....When the whole of Muhammad Bakhtyār's army arrived, and the city and round about had been taken possession of, he there took up his quarters ; and Rāe Lakhmanīah got away towards Sankanāt[146] and Bang, and there the period of his reign shortly afterwards came to a termination. His descendants, up to this time, are rulers in the country of Bang" (p. 558).

"After Muhammad Bakhtyār possessed himself of that territory (Rāe Lakhmanīah's), he left the city of Nadiyāh in desolation, and the place which is (now) Lakhnawati he made the seat of Government" (p. 559).

It is obvious from the above account that Muhammad Bakhtyār made a sudden raid upon the city of Nadiyā where Lakshmaṇasena was staying. He evidently came by an unexpected route by forced marches. The story of Minhāj has given rise to the popular myth of the conquest of Bengal by eighteen Muslims. But even Minhāj says no such thing. Although only eighteen horsemen, according to him, formed the party of Muhammad when he entered the city, the main part of his army followed him at a short distance, and had penetrated into the interior of the city before the general reached the palace and unsheathed his sword. The entire army was in the city before the raid was over.

The story of the unopposed entry of Muhammad and his eighteen followers into the city raises grave doubts about the truth of the details of the campaign. At a time when Nadiyā was apprehending an attack from the Turks, it is difficult to believe that the royal officers would remain ignorant of the movements of Muhammad even when he had crossed the frontiers of the Sena kingdom, and would readily admit a band of foreigners without any question. It would further appear from Minhāj's account that there was no

military engagement even when the main army arrived. Indeed Minhāj would have us believe that the capital city of the Senas surrendered without a blow and there was neither any army nor a general to defend it. It is admitted by Minhāj himseif, that for nearly half a century after the raid the descendants of Lakshmaṇasena continued to rule in East Bengal. If the Sena political organisation could survive the occupation of half their kingdom by the Turks, and their army was strong enough to fight for half a century the Turkish power entrenched at their very door, it is difficult to accept the story of the fall of Nadiyā which presupposes a complete collapse of civil and military organisation of the Senas. It is very likely that the Senas were expecting Muhammad to advance from Bihar along the Ganges through the mountain passes near Rājmahal, and their main forces were posted there to intercept him when, by following unfrequented routes through the hills and jungles of Santal Parganas Muhammad emerged into the plains of Bengal, and by forced marches reached Nadiyā before the news of his invasion could reach the main Sena army. But even making due allowance for such a strategy, and the inefficiency of the intelligence department of the Sena kings, it is difficult to believe that even the most ordinary precautions were not taken to defend the capital city, specially when the king himself was staying there. Minhāj himself tells us that for about a year Nadiyā was fearing a Turkish invasion, and hence a large number of its inhabitants had left the city. Yet we are to believe that the old king, who bravely chose to remain in the capital city, made absolutely no preparation for its defence, and the enemy had not to unsheathe their swords before they entered within its gates and began to massacre its inhabitants.

On the other hand, considering the antecedents of Minhāj, and the general nature of his historical work, it is hard to dismiss his account as a pure invention. The fact seems to be that he had no access to the contemporary official records, if there were any, in respect of Muhammad's campaign in Bengal and Bihar. The absence of such records is easily explained when we remember that Muhammad was not an agent of the Delhi government, and no regular account of his expedition was likely to be preserved in the archives of Delhi. Nor did Muhammad found a royal dynasty in Bengal which could be expected to keep a systematic account of the career of that great adventurer. Minhāj was accordingly obliged to derive his account of the conquest of Bengal and Bihar

from the oral evidence of persons nearly half a century after the events had taken place. In the case of Bihar, he tells us that he had the opportunity of meeting two old soldiers who took part in the expedition (p. 552). In the case of the raid on Nadiyā, Minhāj had evidently no such source, and, as he tells us, he got his information from 'trustworthy persons.' The mental calibre of these 'trustworthy persons' may be judged from the silly stories they told him about the birth of Lakshmaṇasena and the astrologers' prediction about the impending invasion of the Turks.[147] The lack of their historical knowledge is also proved by the statement that Lakshmaṇasena reigned for eighty years, which is palpably absurd. More than forty years had passed since the raid of Nadiyā and the establishment of the Muslim rule, and the story of the first Muslim conquest must have been embellished by popular imagination and the fire-side tales of old soldiers who naturally distorted the accounts of the old campaigns in order to paint in glowing colours their own valour and heroism. That various legends were current about this expedition is proved by the silly story recorded a century later by the author of *Futuh-us-sālātin*,[148] who did not evidently believe the account of Minhāj. It is probable that similar other stories were also current. Considering the materials on which Minhāj had to rely, we can hardly blame him for his account, but cannot certainly accept it in all its details, specially when these are in conflict with the probable and commonsense view of things. That Nadiyā was the first conquest of Muhammad Bakhtyār may be readily accepted as a fact, but the details of the campaign must be taken with a great deal of reserve.[149]

Even if we take the account of Minhāj at its face value, it is impossible to subscribe to the popular view that Lakshmaṇasena's cowardice was mainly responsible for the Muslim conquest of Bengal. The old king certainly showed more courage and determination than his subjects who deserted the city of Nadiyā in panic as soon as they heard of Muhammad's expedition in Bihar. He displayed greater wisdom, rationality and statesmanship than his counsellors who advised him to leave the country on the pretext that it was ordained in the *Śāstras* that this country would fall into the hands of the Turks. If he really fled from Nadiyā barefooted, it was only after the invaders had already taken possession of the city and a hostile force had actually entered into the palace. It is difficult to imagine what other course was open to him. If the

story is true in all its details, which there are grave reasons to doubt, the judgment of posterity must go against the generals and ministers of State who either betrayed their king and master, or were guilty of culpable negligence in performing duties entrusted to them. The incidents of the Nadiyā raid, even as described by Minhāj, do not diminish in any way the credit for bravery and heroism which is justly due to the king who displayed his courage and military skill in numerous battlefields in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Assam, and had led his victorious army as far as Banaras and Allahabad. Minhāj, obviously echoing the popular notion current even forty years later, has described Lakshmaṇasena as a 'very great Rāe (king)' (p. 554), and it was reserved for poets, artists [150] and historians of our own time to tarnish the name and fame of this great king. The author of a thesis approved for the Ph. D. Degree of London University has even gone so far as to assert, with reference to Lakshmaṇasena's pillars of victories in Banaras and Allahabad, that in view of "Lakshmaṇasena's craven flight without offering any resistance to the small force led by Bakhtyār Khiliji," we may unhesitatingly say that "the monuments of his greatness never existed elsewhere than in the poet's imagination."[151] Such statements need no comment.

It is interesting to quote, in this connection, the following appreciation of Lakshmaṇasena by Minhāj :

"Trustworthy persons have related to this effect, that little or much, never did any tyranny proceed from his hand.....The least gift he used to bestow was a *lak* of *kauṛis*. The Almighty mitigate his punishment (in hell) !" (p. 555-56).

Thus although Minhāj knew better than modern authors of the details of the "craven flight," he did not hesitate to bestow high praises upon Lakshmaṇasena. He even compared him with the great Sultan Qutb-ud-din, and prayed to God to mitigate his punishment in hell, a very unusual concession for a Muslim writer in respect of a Hindu ruler.

On the whole, in spite of the account of Minhāj, which must be regarded as of doubtful value, Lakshmaṇasena must be regarded as a great king endowed with manifold virtues. A brave warrior and a powerful ruler, he was at the same time a poet and a great patron of arts and letters : and his fame for charity and other personal virtues was long cherished with affection undiminished even by the

grim tragedy which overtook him and his kingdom towards the close of his life.

The exact date of the raid on Nadiyā is a subject of keen controversy among scholars and cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. There is, however, a general consensus of opinion that it took place shortly before or after 1200 A.D. Now a verse in *Seka-śubhodayā* gives the date of the expedition as 1124 Śaka = 1202 A.D.[152] and the same date is given in *Pag Sam Jon Zang*.[153] We may, therefore, provisionally accept this date for the Muslim conquest of Nadiyā.[154]

APPENDIX V

TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT OF THE LATER SENA KINGS OF BENGAL

Traditions have preserved the names of various kings who succeeded Lakshmaṇasena. But they possess very little historical value. This will be evident from the genealogy of the Sena kings preserved in *Rājāvalī*,[155] one of the best texts of this kind. It begins with Dhīsena, daughter's son of king Jagatpāla of Rāḍhā, which was then subordinate to the empire of Delhi. Dhīsena, having become king of Rāḍhā, Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Varendra, easily obtained the throne of Delhi when his suzerain retired to forest. As he gained the empire without contest he became known as Vijayasena. Having himself become lord of Delhi, he made his eldest son Śukasena, ruler of Rāḍhā *etc.* Śukasena ruled for three years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Vallālasena, who ruled for twelve years (presumably at Rāḍhā). Then Vallālasena's son Lakshmaṇasena became ruler of Delhi and made his younger brother Keśava, ruler of Rāḍhā *etc.* Lakshmaṇasena ruled as suzerain for ten years and his successors ruled as suzerains in Delhi and subordinate rulers in Rāḍhā *etc.*, as shown in the following table :

Suzerains of Delhi.		*Rulers of Rāḍhā etc.*	
1. Keśava	(16 years)	1. Mādhava (son of Keśava)	
2. Mādhava	(11 years)	2. Sadāsena (younger brother of Mādhava)	
3. Śūrasena	(8 years)		
4. Bhīmasena			
5. Kārtika			
6. Harisena			
7. Śatrughna			
8. Nārāyaṇasena ..			
9. Lakshmaṇa II ..	(36 years)	3. Jayasena (son of Nārāyaṇasena, No. 8)	
10. Dāmodara	(11 years)		

Dāmodara was dethroned by the Chauhān ruler Dvīpasiṁha. He and his five successors ruled in Delhi for 150 years, when the last of them, Pṛithurāja was killed by Yavana Shāhāb-ud-din who became ruler of Delhi.

An account like this is a travesty of history, and does not deserve serious consideration even though it may contain some real historical names. The account of the Sena kings given in *Ain-i-Akbari* [156] is presumably based upon a text like this, for 'Madhu Sen and Sadā

Sen' mentioned in it are evidently same as the two kings of Rāḍhā, Mādhava and Sadāsena, mentioned in the above genealogical list, while 'Kesu Sen and Raja Naujah (Nārāyaṇ)' probably represent Keśava and Nārāyaṇasena. Madhusena and Naujah may also refer to kings Madhusena (p.238) and Danuja-Mādhava-Daśaratha referred to in Ch. VIII, Section I.

The account of Tāranātha[157] is equally disappointing. He mentions four early Sena kings, Lavasena, Kāśasena, Maṇitasena, and Rāthikasena, who together ruled for about eighty years. They were followed by the four kings Lavasena, Buddhasena, Haritasena and Pratītasena, who were minor kings, subordinate to the Turushkas. None of these can be safely regarded as a member of the Sena family ruling in Vaṅga after Lakshmaṇasena.

An echo of the final conquest of the Sena territory in Eastern Bengal by the Muslims is perhaps preserved in the tradition about Vallālasena's fight with Vāyādumba. The story is preserved in various forms, and the one given in *Vallāla-charita* may be regarded as typical of the rest. It may be summed up as follows :[158]

"King Vallālasena banished Dharmagiri, the *Mohant* (chief priest) of a Śaiva temple at Mahāsthāna, with all his followers, as the latter had insulted the royal priest. Bent upon revenge, Dharmagiri approached Vāyādumba, the lord of the Mlechchhas, and induced him to attack Vikramapura. When Vallāla went to fight, he took a couple of pigeons with him. He told the queens and other members of his family that the return of the pigeons without him would imply his defeat and death, and then they should save their honour by throwing themselves into fire. In the fiercely contested battle that followed, Vallāla gained a complete victory and the Mlechchha army was routed. But unfortunately the pigeons flew away from the cage, and the queens, on seeing them return without the king, threw themselves into fire. As soon as the king saw the cage empty, he hastened towards his capital Rāmapāla, but he was too late. Unable to bear the misery Vallāla also jumped into the fire."

Now, such a story cannot be true of Vallālasena, as the Muslims never approached Vikramapura or Rāmapāla during his reign. So it has been taken to refer to Vallālasena II, who is mentioned as having ruled in 1312 A.D. in a text called *Viprakalpa-latikā*. But the account, specially the date and genealogy, contained in this book may hardly be relied upon. Dr. James Buchanan heard the story in 1809, but it referred not to Vallālasena, but to Susena, the last king of the Sena dynasty. In any case, it is difficult to derive any historical conclusion from stories of this kind.[159] It is not necessary to refer to similar other stories preserved in old Bengali works.

APPENDIX VI

THE CAPITAL OF THE SENA KINGS

Like the Palas, the Sena kings also seem to have several capitals in Bengal.[160] The most important of them seems to have been Vikramapura near Dacca in East Bengal. Apart from traditions, associating local ruins with Vallālasena, it is a noteworthy fact that the two known Grants of Vijayasena and Vallālasena, and all the five Grants of Lakshmaṇasena dated within the first six years of his reign, were issued from the royal camp at Vikramapura. It was again in this city that the chief queen of Vijayasena performed the elaborate *Tulāpurusha Mahādāna*.[161] As Mr. N. G. Majumdar justly pointed out, it proves that Vikramapura cannot be regarded as a temporary camp, but Vijayasena had something like a permanent residence there.[162]

It is to be noted, however, that the two later Grants of Lakshmaṇasena, and those of his successors, are issued, not from Vikramapura, but respectively from Dhāryagrāma and Phalgugrāma, none of which can be identified. Whether it is merely accidental, or indicates a definite abandonment of Vikramapura as the capital, it is difficult to say. At present an extensive area in the Munshiganj sub-division (Dacca district) is known as Vikramapura. A village called Vikramapura is mentioned in old records, but it has completely disappeared.

Gauḍa was another capital city at least from the time of Lakshmaṇasena. As already noted above, it was probably named Lakshmaṇāvatī after Lakshmaṇasena, in imitation of Rāmāvatī founded by Rāmapāla. The Muslims fixed their capital in this city.

Nadiyā is described in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* as another city of royal residence, during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena.[163] Mr. R. D. Banerji very emphatically maintained, as one of the grounds of discrediting the accounts of *Tabaqāt*, that there was no evidence that Nadiyā was ever the capital of the Sena kings.[164] But Nadiyā is referred to as one of the capitals of the Sena kings in the genealogical treatises (*kulajis*) in Bengal.[165] It is true that these accounts cannot be regarded as of great historical value unless corroborated by other evidence, but the *Tabaqāt* seems to confirm their statement. In the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī, Vijayapura on the Ganges is referred to as

the capital of Lakshmaṇasena. Mr. M. Chakravarti identifies it with Nadiyā,[166] which agrees well with the directions contained in the poem. Mr. R. P. Chanda identifies it with Vijayanagar, about 10 miles to the west of Rampur-Boalia, the headquarters of the Rajshahi district.[167] But as Vijayapura is mentioned immediately after the description of Triveṇī-saṅgama and there is no reference to the crossing of the river, its identification with Nadiyā appears to be preferable.[168]

Footnotes

[1] The original expression is "*Dākshiṇātya-kshauṇīndra.*" Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*IB.* 50) translates it as "kings of the Deccan." I have followed Kielhorn (*EI.* I. 305).

[2] Dr. D. C. Ganguly maintains that v. 8 of the Deopārā Ins. "does not indicate that the fight between Sāmantasena and the despoiler of the Lakshmī of the Karṇāṭa country took place in the Karṇāṭa country. It simply means that Sāmantasena vanquished a king or a freebooter, who had already plundered the Karṇāṭa country." Later he suggests that possibly Rājendra Choḷa, who had already defeated the Karṇāṭa king, was repulsed by Sāmantasena somewhere in Northern Rāḍhā in which the latter's kingdom was situated (*IHQ.* XII. 611-12).

Dr. Ganguly overlooks the very significant statement (v. 1) of the poet that Sāmantasena slaughtered the hostile soldiers to such an extent that the lord of goblins did not leave the southern quarter. This undoubtedly implies that the dead bodies of the enemy's soldiers lay in the south, and therefore the battle also must have been waged in that region. The same inference may be made from the other statement (v. 5) of the poet that war-ballads were sung in honour of Sāmantasena near Setubandha Rāmeśvara. Reference like this indicates a region near the battlefield (*cf. e.g.*, Aphsad Stone Ins. l. 11. *CII.* III. 203).

Mr. G. M. Sarkar holds a diametrically opposite view to that of Dr. Ganguly. He maintains "that Sāmantasena's activity was confined only to the southern region," and that he "was in no way connected with any part of Bengal" (*JL.* XVI. 6, 8).

[3] In Barrackpur CP., v. 3 (*IB.* 61-62, 64), and Mādhāinagar CP., v. 3 (*IB.* 110, 113), the predecessors of Sāmantāsena are called kings in a general way. In Naihati CP. (v. 3) alone (*IB.* 71-72, 76), these princes are specifically said to have adorned Rāḍhā. It is, therefore, difficult to conclude definitely, as Dr. D. C. Ganguly has done, that the forefathers of Sāmantasena were royal personages in the Deccan (*IHQ.* XII. 611).

[4] Deopārā Ins. v. 5 (*IB.* 46).

[5] Mādhāinagar CP. v. 4 (*IB.* 110).

[6] Barrackpur CP. v. 4 (*IB.* 62).

[7] *IB.* 44 and f.n. 3, App. p. 192.

[8] Deopārā Ins. v. 5, (*IB.* 46, 50-51).

[9] v. 3, (*IB.* 109-110, 113).

[10] *IB.* 51. f.n. 1.

[11] For a fuller discussion of this matter cf. *PTOC.* II. Calcutta (1922), pp. 343 ff. For *Chandra-kavāṭānvaya*, cf. *EI.* XVI. 55. Winternitz refers to a Jaina Kaṇakasena (10th cent. A. D.) as the author of *Yaśodhara-charita* (*Hist. Ind. Lit.* II. 338). Cf. also *ASI.* 1921-22, p. 114 ; *Ep. Car.* IX. 145, Ins. Nos. 69, 70 ; p. 173, No. 34. It must be understood that even if this theory be adopted, it leaves open the question whether the priestly family took to Kshatriya profession before or after its migration to Bengal.

[12] The Khālimpur CP. of Dharmapāla does not contain any such phrase, but it occurs in the Nālandā CP. of the same king (*EI.* XXIII. 290). It is interesting to note, however, that Karṇāṭa is omitted from this list.

[13] *Supra* pp. 140, 152.
[14] *BG.* Vol. I, Part II. p. 452.
[15] *Ibid.* p. 219.
[16] *Ibid.* p. 452.
[17] Ins. of Devanagere Taluq, Nos. 2, 3. *Ep. Carn.* XI.
[18] *JBoBrRAS.* XI. 268.
[19] Ablur Ins. l. 51 (*EI.* V. 257).
[20] Madagihal Ins. vv. 12-16 (*EI.* XV. 315).
[21] *IHQ.* VII. 681 ff.
[22] *PB.* 99.
[23] *JBORS.* IX. 306.
[24] Cf. *IHQ.* XII. 475-76.
[25] The date of the Barrackpur CP. (1. 49) was read by Mr. R. D. Banerji first as 37 (*PB.* 105), then as 31 (*BI.* 292), and finally as 32 (*EI.* XV. 284). Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya proposed the reading 61 (*IA.*LI. 157), on grounds which cannot be regarded as conclusive. Mr. N.G. Majumdar subsequently read the date as 62 (*IB.65*) without giving any reason why he differed from Mr. Banerji. Although Mr. N. G. Majumdar's view is now generally accepted, and Vijayasena is credited with a long reign of at least 62 years, the matter cannot be regarded as finally settled (Cf. *JRASBL.* VII. 217 ; also p. 242 *infra.*) although Dr. D. C. Sircar, the latest writer on the subject, categorically states that the correct reading is certainly 62 (*Ep. Ind.* XXX, p. 80, f.n. 1).
[26] Barrackpur CP. v. 7 (*IB.* 62). In Naihati CP. v. 10 (*IB.* 72-73), Vilāsadevī is called *Pradhānā-mahishī.*
[27] Raṇasūra is mentioned as ruler of Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā in the Ins. of Rājendra Choḷa (*supra* p. 133). Lakshmīśūra, the ruler of Apara-Mandāra, was one of the allied chiefs who joined Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma (*supra* p. 148).
[28] *IHQ.* VII. 679 ff.
[29] *Supra* pp. 221-2.
[30] This is based on the view that he ruled for 62 years.
[31] Cf. App. III. *infra.*
[32] For the identifications proposed, cf. *IB.* 45.
[33] For a detailed account cf. *IHQ.* VII. 679 ff. Dr. K. C. Pandey has pointed out that as Abhinavagupta refers to Nānyadeva and quotes a passage from his commentary, this Nānyadeva must have flourished before 1014-15 A.D., the date of one of Abhinavagupta's works [*Abhinavagupta—An Historical and Philosophical Study* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series) pp. 121-23]. This point undoubtedly requires further investigation, but as no other Nānya, king of Mithilā and belonging to the Karṇāṭa family, is known to us, we have accepted the identity of the two and fixed his date on the basis of more reliable data.
[34] *La Sam* or Lakshmaṇasena Era has been current in Mithilā. According to *Laghubhārata* (Part II, p. 140. *JASB.* LXV. 26) Vallālasena undertook a military expedition to Mithilā. As he is said to have heard on the way the news of the birth of his son Lakshmaṇasena, the expedition evidently took place during the reign of Vijayasena. The Mithilā expedition is also referred to in *Vallāla-charita* (Ch. XXVII. vv. 5-8) in which it is distinctly said that Vallāla accompanied his father and obtained victory. According to traditions current in Bengal, Mithilā was one of the five provinces of the kingdom of

Vallālasena (*Vallāla-charita*, I. 8). He is definitely known to have ruled over some parts of Bihar (Ins. No. C. 9).

[35] It is said in the Mādhāinagar (C. 13) and Bhowal CP. (C. 12) that Lakshmaṇasena suddenly seized the goddess of fortune of the king of Gauḍa, while he was a Kumāra, and sported with the women of Kaliṅga while he was young. It would thus appear that Lakshmaṇasena undertook an expedition against Gauḍa even before he attained his full youth.

[36] It has been suggested (*DHNI*. I. 259-60) that the adversary was Rāyārideva who is mentioned in Tezpur Plate as having defeated the force of a king of Vaṅga (*EI*. V. 186). But most probably Rāyārideva fought as a feudatory of the king of Kāmarūpa (*HK*. 197).

[37] Edilpur CP. v. 13. (*IB*. 122, 128).

[38] This appears very probable from the statement referred to in f.n. 35.

[39] Cf. *IC*. II. 578. Bhandarkar identifies Vijaya of the Praśasti with Vijayachandra, father of Jayachandra of Kanauj (*IA*. 1913, p. 84). But the 'Gauḍa royal family' almost certainly refers to the Senas, and Śrīharsha was a contemporary of Vijayasena. Gopinatha Acharya, in his commentary on *Naishadhīya* explains Vijaya-*praśasti* as the *praśasti* of the king of Gauḍa named Vijayasena [for this and other evidences, cf. Nalininath Das Gupta, *Purātanī* (in Bengali) pp. 48-53].

[40] *IB*. 174.

[41] Cf. Appendix III. *infra*. p. 251.

[42] Cf. f.n. 34.

[43] After Nānyadeva, the next king of the Karṇāṭa-*kula*, authentically recorded, is Harasiṁhadeva ruling in 1314 A.D. (*JASB*. N. S. XI. 410-11 ; cf. *DHNI*. I. 205-6).

[44] For a fuller account cf. Ch. XI. Section 3.

[45] Mādhāinagar CP. v. 9 (*IB*. 110).

[46] *Cf. e.g.*, *Vallāla-charita*, Ch. I. v. 8. The authenticity of this work is questionable, and it is difficult to say whether the tradition is old and genuine (See App. III. *infra*).

[47] The identification proposed by Cunningham (*ASC*. XV. 145-46) is now generally accepted. Dr. S. N. Majumdar derived the name from Vyāghrataṭī (Cunningham's *Geography*, Ed. by S. N. Majumdar, p. 731), referred to as a *maṇḍala* in the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in the Khalimpur CP. of Dharmapāla (*Ins*. B. No. 2) and also mentioned in the Nālandā CP. of Devapāla (B. No. 7) and the Ānuliā CP. of Lakshmaṇasena (C. 9). The derivation, though probable, is not certain. But Southern Bengal, where Bāgḍī or Vyāghrataṭī is located, was included in Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla.

[48] For a detailed account of Bāgḍī-mahāl and its later history cf. *JASB*. N. S. XII 49.

[49] In Rennell's Atlas, Plate No. VI, "Bagree" is shown as a large tract of country in Vishnupur and Midnapur, between the Rupnarayan and Cossai rivers.

[50] The verses in Bombay MSS. (*GR*. 63) are somewhat different from those in Muralidhar Jha's edition (*IB*. 174). The general sense, however, is clear.

[51] *IC*. IV. 231.

[52] *JRAS*. 1930, pp. 5-9.

[53] It is to be noted, however, that the representation of Sadāśiva on the royal seal was continued.

[54] Two stanzas of Umāpatidhara refer to the victories against Prāgjyotisha (*i.e.*, Kāmarūpa or Assam) and Kāśī (*JASB.* N. S. II. 161). A verse of Śaraṇa also mentions the conquest of Gauḍa, Kaliṅga, Kāmarūpa, Kāśī and Magadha, and victory against the Chedi king and a Mlechchha ruler (*JASB.* N.S. II. 174). The name of the victorious king is not mentioned in any of these poems, but as the authors lived in the court of Lakshmaṇasena, and the conquest of Kāmarūpa, Kāśī, Kaliṅga and Gauḍa are ascribed to that king in the inscriptions, he may be regarded as the hero lauded by the poets. In that case the defeat of the Mlechchha king most probably refers to a conflict with the Muslim invaders. Mr. J.M. Roy, however, records a tradition that the Mags of Arakan claimed suzerainty over Bengal during the reign of Galaya (1133-1153 A.D.) and is of opinion that there was probably a conflict between Lakshmaṇasena and the Mags (*Ḍhākār Itihāsa*, II. 366).

[55] Tārāchaṇḍī Rock Ins. (*JAOS.* VI. 547-49). Substance given in *DHNI.* 534. For the date, cf. *EI.* v. App. No. 153, p. 22 ; Bhandarkar's *List.* No. 340.

[56] *IA.* XVIII. 129 ; *DHNI.* I. 537-38.

[57] *IHQ.* V. 14. The date of this grant is expressed in words as v.s. 124x, the word for the unit figure being lost. It might then be any year between 1240 and 1249 v.s. (1183-1192 A.D.).

[58] For a full discussion on this point cf. *JASB.* N. S. XVII. 8 ff. and also Appendix I. *infra.*

[59] *JASB.* N. S. XVII. 14.

[60] Kotgarh, now Akaltara Ins. (Cf. Hiralal, *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar*, pp. 109-110).

[61] *IHQ.* X. 321 ff. *Ep. Ind.* XXVII. 119 ; XXX. 42. The name of the chief is given as Śrī-Maḍommanapāla. I suggested in a letter to one of the editors that the name should be read as Śrīma (d)-Ḍommanapāla. The same suggestion has been made by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*IC.* I. 679). Dr. Sircar seems to imply (*Ibid.* p. 680, f.n. 2) that Ḍommanapāla was a feudal chief of Lakshmaṇasena, but the whole tenor of the inscription leaves no doubt that Ḍommanapāla was for all practical purposes an independent chief. I agree with Dr. Sircar that the word *Mahārājādhirāja* in 1,2 is an epithet of Ḍommanapāla, and should not be construed, as the editors have done, with *vipaksha* to indicate that Ḍommanapāla was hostile to the *Mahārājādhirāja i.e.*, his suzerain ruler. Such an interpretation would be most curious, to say the least of it.

The inscription tells us that the Pāla family to which Ḍommanapāla belonged migrated from Ayodhyā (*IC.* I. 679, II. 151, 158.) and acquired the possession (*upārjjita*) of Pūrva-khāṭikā, whether by conquest or other means, it is not clear. It refers to only two rulers. The proper name of the first ruler cannot be read in full. It begins with Śrī and ends in *-pāladeva*, with about three letters missing or indistinct after Śrī. The first of these letters has been read as *Śrī*, but looks more like *Gṛi*. The next letter has been peeled off, and the following one is almost certainly *la*. This person is styled *Parama-Māheśvara, Mahāmāṇḍalika*. He was succeeded by Ḍommanapāla, who is called *Mahāsāmantādhipati, Mahārājādhirāja*, and something else which is not clearly intelligible.

Whether the family was connected in any way with the Pāla rulers of Bengal it is impossible to say. It is very likely that Ḍommanapāla, son of a provincial Governor or feudal chief under the Senas, assumed independence and founded a principality in eastern Khāḍī which is now represented by the Sundarbans where the plate was found. The subsequent history of the family is unknown.

[62] For an account of the Deva family, Cf. Ch. VIII § 1 *infra*.

[62a] Rāḍhā was not conquered by the Muslims till 1255 A.D. and formed a battleground between them and the rulers of Orissa (H.B. II. 50).

[63] According to *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Lakshmaṇasena died shortly after the raid on Nadiyā (p. 558). But the colophon of *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* refers to Lakshmaṇasena as the ruling king in A.D. 1205 (*IHQ*. III. 188).

[64] This and the account that follows represent the current view. For a very different reconstruction of the history of the period after Lakshmaṇasena, cf. Appendix II of this chapter.

[65] As both of them granted land in Vikramapura they evidently ruled in the same region, one after the other.

[66] Madhyapāḍā (Calcutta Sāhitya Parishat) CP. (C. 16). This is not dated but in 1.58 it refers to a grant made in year 14. So it must have been engraved in year 14 or later.

[67] Mr. R. D. Banerji came to this conclusion on the ground that the grant of Keśavasena contained all the verses found in the Madanapāḍā Grant of Viśvarūpasena and some additional verses (*JASB*. N.S. X. 98). But the Madhyapāḍa CP. of Viśvarūpasena, which has since been discovered, contains these additional verses (*IB*. 140 ff). The real ground for regarding Viśvarūpasena as the elder brother and predecessor of Keśavasena is v. 10 of Edilpur CP. I agree with Mr. N.G. Majumdar's interpretation of this verse (*IB*.127; cf. also p. 120), according to which it contains a reference to king Viśvarūpasena and he must, therefore, have preceded Keśavasena who issued the Edilpur CP.

[68] v. 21 of Edilpur CP. (*IB*. 123-24) ; v. 17 of Madanapāḍā CP. (*IB*. 125).

[69] This was the reading of James Prinsep in 1838 (*JASB*. VII. 43 ff). As the plate is lost and the facsimile published by Prinsep (in which some spots were retouched by him) is the only available reproduction of the record, it is difficult to be sure of the reading. As this verse is reproduced in Madanapāḍā CP. where the corresponding word reads clearly as '*sagarga*,' it is very probable that Prinsep misread this word as '*sagandha*.' Mr. N. G. Majumdar in his edition of Edilpur CP. accepts the word as '*sagarga*' (*IB*. 124).

[70] Mr. Jayaswal took 'Garga' to mean 'Garjha' *i.e.*, Gharjistan and held that Keśavasena defeated Muslim raiders led by Muhammad Ghori (*JBORS*. 1918, p. 171). This is, however, a pure guess.

[71] p. 558. As the author refers to events of 658 A.H. (1260 A.D.), the work must have been finished in or after that year. He visited Lakhnawati between 640 and 643 A.H. (1242-1245 A.D.) and it is just possible that his statement about Lakshmaṇasena's descendants ruling in Bengal may refer to this period.

[71a] Cf. HB. II, 51-52.

[72] Madhyapāḍā (Sāhitya Parishat) CP. ll. 54, 57-58 (*IB*. 147). MM. Śāstrī read the first name as Sadāsena (*IHQ*. II. 77).

[73] Cf. f.n. 71.

[74] For an account of the Sena kings preserved in Bengali traditions see App. v. N. Vasu refers to a king called Mādhavasena who issued a Grant in Śaka 1145 (=1223 A. D.). He says that a facsimile of the plate is given on p. 516 of Atkinson's *Kumayun* (*JASB.* LXV.28). But this book, consisting of only 48 pages, contains no reference to the king or the CP. Atkinson, however, refers elsewhere to "an inscription at the great temple of Jageswar beyond Almora which, though very imperfect, allows the name Mādhavasena to be read." (*Notes on the History of the Himalaya of the N. W. P. of India*, Ch. III. 50, IV. 15). No facsimile of the inscription is given, and Atkinson assigns the date 1123 A.D. to this king on the authority of Prinsep. It is difficult to regard Mādhavasena as a Sena king of Bengal on the basis of Atkinson's statement or the tradition that chiefs of Sukhet and Mandi were descended from Sena kings. A verse of Mādhavasena is quoted in *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* (*JASB.* N. S. II. 172) and he may belong to the royal Sena family. But we have as yet no definite evidence of it.

[75] *Supra*. p. 234.

[76] For a detailed account with reference to authorities cf. Chap. VIII. § II.

[77] Cf. Chap. VIII. § I.

[78] The colophon runs thus : "*Parameśvara-parama-saugata-parama-rājādhirāja-Śrīmad-Gauḍeśvara-Madhusena-devakānāṁ pravardhamāna-vijayarājye yatrāṅkenāpi Śaka-narapateḥ Śakābdāḥ* 1211 *Bhādra di* 2." MM. H. P. Śāstrī who has given an account of the MSS (Sastri *Cat.* I. 117 ; Entry No. 77. MS. No. 4078) wrongly read *parama-mahārajādhirāja.*' He also read ; '*Śrīmān-Gauḍeśvara.*' There seems to be a letter after Madhusena, which MM. Śāstrī ignores and I am unable to read. Perhaps, N. Vasu had this Madhusena in mind when he stated that one Madhusena is referred to in a manuscript as having ruled in Vikramapura in A.D. 1272 (*VJI.* 358).

[79] The name of a king of Bengal named Chandrasena is said to have been mentioned in a Sanskrit Ins., which is now broken up and built into a mosque at Mangalkot in the Katwa sub-division of Burdwan district [*AS(E).* 1911-12, p. 8, para 9]. No further account of this inscription or of the king has appeared as yet.

[80] This view was propounded by Kielhorn (*IA.* XIX. 1 ff). Its staunchest supporter was Mr. R. D. Banerji (*JASB.* IX. 271 ff. and numerous other articles). It was followed by Mr. S. Kumar (*IA.* 1915, pp. 215. ff.), Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*IA.* 1919, pp. 171-76) and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS.* IV. 267) among others.

[81] The date of the commencement of *Adbhutasāgara* is given as 1090 Śaka (1168 A.D.) in the Bombay MSS. of that work (Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit* MSS. *during* 1887-88, *and* 1890-91, p. LXXXV) and as 1089 Śaka (1167 A.D.) in the text edited by Muralidhar Jha (Prabhakari Co., Benares 1905).

[82] *JASB.* N. S. XVII(1921), pp. 7-16. The passages in the literary works of Vallālasena, and a detailed discussion of Mr. R. D. Banerji's views will be found there. Some passages were originally noticed by Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti (*JASB.* 1906, p. 17) and discussed by Mr. Banerji (*JASB.* N. S. IX. 277). Other passages were noted and discussed by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti (*IHQ.* III. 186; v. 133) and Mr D.C. Bhattacharya (*IHQ.* III. 547 ff. ; *IA.* LI. 145 ff).

[83] *IHQ.* III. 188.

[84] *IHQ.* III. 574 ff ; v. 133-35 ; *JRAS.* 1930, 3 ff ; *IA.* LI. 145 ff. 153 ff.

[85] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, p. 300. Todarmall's reference to Vallālasena ruling in 1160-61 A.D. takes away the force of the argument based on Abu-'l-Fazl's statement in *Akbarnāmā* (II. 13) that the *La Saṁ* commemorates the accession of Lakshmaṇasena in 1119 A.D.

[86] *JASB.* N. S. XI. 347.

[87] *IC.* IV. 227.

[88] *ABI.* XIII. 217.

[89] Cf. above, f.n. 25.

[90] This is the view of Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti (*op. cit.*), R. P. Chanda (GR. 62) and Mr. J. C. Ghosh (*IC.* IV. 228).

[91] *JASB.* N. S. XVII. 11, f.n. 6.

[92] *IC.* IV. 228-29.

[93] *Ibid.* It is curious to note that Mr. C. C. Das Gupta gives 1157 A.D. as the beginning of Vallālasena's reign, although, like Mr. Ghosh, he bases his argument on the astronomical data furnished by the Naihati copper-plate and cites the authority of S. Pillai (*ABI.* XIII. 215-16.).

[94] *IHQ.* III. 188.

[95] *JL.* XVI. 18-19 ; cf. also *IC.* IV. 231.

[96] For he would be aged 91 in 1211 A.D. which, according to the second view, would correspond to his 27th regnal year when the Bhāwal CP. was issued.

[97] *EI.* XXI. 215-16 ; *IC.* IV. 231.

[98] *IHQ.* III. 576.

[99] The different views about the epoch of the Era have been discussed later (See *infra* pp. 246-8).

[100] MM. H.P. Śāstrī points out that Bengali MSS. dated in *La Saṁ* are not met with in South and East Bengal, and have only been found in Dinajpur. 'Most of these MSS. are on palm-leaves and above two hundred years old' (*Notices of Sanskrit* MSS., Vol. XI. p. 12). He refers to two MSS. dated 435 and 372 *La Saṁ* (*Cat. Durbar Library, Nepal*, I. 33, 51.).

Three MSS. of the Dacca University (Nos. 139, 523, and 2589) bear dates in *La Saṁ*. In the first only the hundredth figure 4 is legible. The second gives the date 449. The third is dated in the year 424 of the Gauḍa king. The Era was probably introduced into Bengal from Mithilā in the course of the fifteenth century A.D. when there was a close association between the two provinces in connection with studies in Nyāya.

[101] *EI.* XII. 29.

[102] *EI.* XII. 30.

[103] *IA.* XLVIII. 47.

[104] *IA.* XIX. 2.

[105] *JASB.* N. S. IX. 2.

[106] *AJV.* Part 2, p. 4.

[107] *AJV.* Part 2, p. 5.

[108] Cf. *IC.* II. 579.

[109] See *supra* p. 194. f.n. 263.

[110] *JASB.* N. S. XXII. 373. See f.n. 100 above.

[111] For the different views on the origin of *La Saṁ* cf. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 418 ff. ; *BI.* 328.

[113] For a full discussion on this point cf. *JASB.* N.S. XVII. 9-10. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya accepts this interpretation of *gata-rājya* (*IHQ.* VI. 166-67).

[114] *Indian Antiquary*, 1881, p. 341.

[115] For a full discussion of this point, cf. *J. N. Banerjea Volume* (published by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University in 1960), pp. 71 ff. and pp. 113-115.

[116] For a detailed account of these eras, cf. Mr.J. Roy. *Ḍhākār Itihāsa*, II. 393 ; Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, *IA.* LII. 314 ff. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya has given an account of some old documents in Noakhali and Tippera districts, dated in that era. He finds by calculation that the era started from 1201-2 A.D., but "in Sarail Pargana of Tippera district, where also the era was in regular use, it started from 1199 A.D." A MS. dated in Parganāti Era 327 and Śaka 1451 (=1529 A.D.) shows that it was the current local era in parts of Bengal, before Bengali *San* came to be introduced in Akbar's time (*IHQ.*XIV. 741). Sometimes the era was named after a particular locality : *e. g.*, in a Bengali MS. the era is referred to as 'Pargane Bhulua *San*' 287 (Bengali MS. No. 2025 of the Dacca University).

[117] *Nāsirī*. trans. pp. 554-55.

[118] A verse in *Loghubhārata* says that while Vallāla was engaged in warfare in Mithilā, Lakhmaṇasena was born at Vikramapura. Mr. N. Vasu suggests that Vallāla introduced the *La Saṁ* to commemorate the birth of his son (*VJI.* 351-52). The same view is upheld on the same ground by Mr. P. C. Barat in *JRAS.* 1930, p. 8. But this cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the Pāla and Sena kings suggested above.

[119] *JASB.* N. S. XXII. 365. On this ground Mr. G. R. Grierson (*IA.* 1899, p. 57) regarded 1108-9 A.D. as the initial year of *La Saṁ* in opposition to the views of Kielhorn.

[120] *JASB.* N. S. XXII. 385.

[121] The list was compiled by Mr. K. P. Jayswal (*JBORS.* XX. 21).

[122] *JBORS.* XX. 22.

[123] *JASB.* N. S. XI. 418-9. Mr. Chakravarti expressed doubts about the genuineness of the verse on the ground that the date in *La Saṁ* does not agree with the Śaka date, according to the views of Kielhorn, which was then universally accepted. The other objection that Śivasiṁha, the successor of Devasiṁha, is referred to as the ruling king in a manuscript dated *La Saṁ* 291 is met by himself when he says that if both the dates be true, it indicates that Śivasiṁha was ruling jointly with his father (*op. cit.* p. 422).

[124] The problem concerning the epoch of *La Saṁ* has been discussed elaborately by Sukhamay Mukhopadhyaya in his Bengali Book *Prāchīn Bāṅglā Sāhityer Kālakrama* (Calcutta, 1958). He has shown that the commencement of *La Saṁ* era varied between A.D. 1079 and 1129.

[125] *Ep. Ind.* XXXIII, pp. 315-321.

[126] *Ibid*, 319.

[127] *Ibid.* 320.

[128] *Ibid*, 321.

[129] *Ibid.*

[130] *Ibid*, 320.

[131] *Ibid.*

[131] This is stated in ch. XXVII, second part, vv. 15-16. According to the colophons, chs. XXI-XXIII were taken from *Vallāla-charita*, by Śaraṇadatta. Ch. XXV. is said to have been composed by Kālidāsa Nandī. The existing text is the *uttara-khaṇḍa*, *i.e.*, second part (ch. I. v. 1). Chs. XXVI-XXVII are said to be *khila* or additions.

[132] Cf. colophon of ch. XXVII.

[133] Introduction to English translation, pp. v-vi.

[134] This date obviously does not agree with the statement that Gopālabhaṭṭa was a contemporary of Vallālasena. This is not necessarily a proof of modern forgery, but of the lateness and unhistorical character of the work. A modern forgerer would probably have given the correct date for Vallālasena.

[135] There are some differences in detail in the two accounts, but they are not material for our present purpose (cf. J. M. Roy, *Ḍhākār Itihāsa*, II. 446 ff. for these differences). The story in the *khila* or supplement is given in App. III, p. 252.

[136] And also the Yugis, in Text (I) of *Vallāla-charita*.

[137] *EI.* XV. 281. Mr. J. M. Roy has also expressed similar views after pointing out the discrepancies between the different texts and the inaccuracies contained in them (*Ḍhākār Itihāsa*, 446-454). It is probable that the text was tampered with in recent times. For example, the date assigned to the death of Vallālasena—1028 Śaka (1106 A.D.)—in Ch. XXVII, v. 4, fits in with the theory generally held at the time the text was discovered, but is not supported by any old tradition, and is now definitely proved to be wrong. But J. C. Ghosh and N. K. Dutt opposed the view and laid stress on the accuracy of historical details contained in it (*IHQ*, XIII. 581 ; XVI. 708).

[138] Cf. *An Indigenous History of Bengal* (*Proc. Ind. Hist. Records Commission*, Sixteenth Session, p. 59).

[139] Ch. XII. vv. 45, 48, 50-54.

[140] Ch. XII. v. 52.

[141] *Supra* p. 229.

But J. C. Ghosh and N. K. Dutt opposed the view and laid stress on the accuracy of historical details contained in it (*IHQ*. XIII. 581 ; XVI. 708).

[142] The text was printed in Calcutta in 1864 and translated into English by Major H. G. Raverty in 1881. The following account is based on this English translation, and references to its pages are given within brackets. A critical translation of the passage relating to the raid on Nadiyā has been published in *IHQ*. XVII. 92 ff. The points of difference, for our present purpose, are not very material.

[143] Raverty writes 'Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār,' but the simpler form has been used throughout the text.

[144] This is the name given by Minhāj and there is hardly any doubt that it refers to Lakshmaṇasena. The anecdote runs thus : "When the birth of Lakshmaṇa drew near, the astrologers observed that if the child were born then, he would never become king, but if born two hours later, he would reign for eighty years. The queen-mother having heard this commanded that she should be suspended with her head downwards, with her two legs bound together. At the auspicious hour she was taken down but died after giving birth to the child" (p. 555).

[146] It appears that Muhammad first captured by assault a large monastery, Uddaṇḍapura-vihāra, in Bihar, which he originally mistook for a fortified city (p. 552). He then visited Sultan Qutb-ud-Din at Delhi (p. 552). After his return from Delhi, Muhammad subjugated Bihar (556). Minhāj does not say to whom this province belonged, nor does he refer to any actual battle waged for its conquest.

[146] There is a great deal of controversy about the identification of Sankanāt. The most reasonable view seems to be that it is the same place which is referred to as Sankakoṭa in the *Vallāla-charita* and described as a stronghold of the Vaṇik community. It has been located in the district of Suvarṇagrāma, at the junction of the Brahmaputra and the Meghna in East Pakistan, not far from Vikramapura, the capital of the Sena kings (*IHQ*. XVI. 705-6).

[147] A similar story is related in *Chach-nāma* in connection with the conquest of Sind by Muhammad-ibn-Kāsim. When he was besieging Debal, the famous sea-port, a Brāhmaṇ came to him and said, "We have learnt from our science of the stars that the country of Sind will be conquered by the army of Islam..... But as long as that flagstaff stands on the dome of the temple, it is impossible for you to take the fort." The standard was accordingly removed by throwing stones from the catapult (*Chach-nāma*, p. 81). It is, however, interesting to note that the historian Balādhuri relates this incident but makes no mention of the prophecy of the Brāhmaṇ. It would thus appear that the story of the astrologer's prophecy about the conquest of India by the Muslims was widely current all over India for a long time, and the 'trustworthy persons' who gave a graphic account of the raid of Nadiyā to Minhāj merely drew upon the usual stock-in-trade of gossip-mongers. It is to be regretted that Minhāj did not possess the true instincts of an historian like Balādhuri ; otherwise he would have found out the real character of his 'trustworthy persons' and rejected most of their stories as popular gossips.

[148] *IHQ*. XVII. 95-96.

[149] For a critical account cf. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, published by the Dacca University, pp. 5-8.

[150] Poets like Nabin Chandra Sen and D. L. Roy, and the artist Surendra Nath Ganguli have given wide currency to this baseless slander among the people of Bengal.

[151] *TK*. 325.

[152] P. 9 of the text edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen.

[153] Index, p. x.

[154] The date is given as 1204-5 by Dr. A. L. Srivastava (*Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 109). According to HB. II (p. 32) the raid on Nadiyā took place about January, 1201, and North Bengal was occupied between October, 1201, and January, 1203.

[155] For the account of *Rājāvalī*, cf. '*An Indigenous History of Bengal*' by R. C. Majumdar (*Proceedings of the Sixteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1939, pp. 59 ff) ; also *SPP*. Vol. 46 (1346 B.S.) pp. 233 ff.

[156] *Ain*. Transl. II. 146.

[157] *Tar*. p. 252, 255, 256.

[158] Chs. XXVI-XXVII. These two chapters are described as '*khila*' or supplement to *Vallāla-charita*.

[159] For a fuller account of these stories and their different versions, cf. *Ḍhākār Itihāsa*, II. 438 ff.

For an account of the Sena kings of Suket and Mandi in the Punjab hills, cf. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Report*. XIV. 123 ; *JPASB*, XXVI, 279.

[160] *Vallāla-charita*, ch. I. vv. 9-10.

[161] Barrackpur CP. (C. 1).

[162] *IB*. 60.

[163] *Nāsirī*-transl. p. 554.

[164] *BI*. 357.

[165] According to some genealogical accounts, Navadvīpa was the capital of Vallālasena in his old age (*Sambandha-nirṇaya* by Lalmohan Bhattacharya, 3rd edition, p. 608). Cf. also *Vallāla-charita*, ch. XXVII, second part, v. I. (p. 122).

[166] *JASB*. N. S. I. 45.

[167] *GR*. 75.

[168] A place called Vijayanagara (also written as Vijayānagara) is referred to in mediaeval Bengali works such as *Goraksha-vijaya* (pp. 39, 101, 130), *Mīna-chetana* (p. 8), and *Padma-purāṇa* (p. 437). It was not far from the Dāmodar river and to the north of it (*Gopīchānder Gāna*, edited by Dr. D.C. Sen, Vol. II, p. 428). The identity of Vijayanagara and Vijayapura may be presumed, but cannot be definitely proved.

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR RULING DYNASTIES DURING THE SENA PERIOD

I. The Deva Dynasty

A line of kings belonging to the Deva family is known to us from five copper-plate Grants (C. 17-21). They introduce us to a dynasty whose genealogical list is given below :

Purushottama
|
Madhumathana-deva[1]
|
Vāsudeva
|
Dāmodara-deva
|
Daśaratha-deva.

The family is said to have descended from the moon and was follower of the Vaishṇava cult. The founder of the family, Purushottama, is described as the chief of the Deva family (*Dev-ānvaya-grāmaṇī*) (Grant No. C. 17). No Grant gives any royal title to him, and it may be assumed that the kingdom was founded by his son Madhumathana-deva who is referred to as a king. No details are given either of him or of his son Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva's son Dāmodara, during whose reign three Grants (C. 17-19) were issued, ascended the throne in 1153 Saka or 1231 A.D.,[2] and ruled till at least 1243 A.D. when the Grant No. 19 was issued. It may thus be assumed that Madhumathana-deva, the grandfather of Dāmodara, set up as an independent king shortly before or after the Muslim raid on Nadiyā.

So far as we can judge from the probable identification of localities mentioned in Grants Nos. 17, 18 and 19, Dāmodara's kingdom roughly comprised the territory corresponding to the modern districts of Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong. Dāmodara seems to have been a powerful ruler. He is described as the suzerain of kings (*sakala-bhūpati-chakravartī*), and assumed, in imitation of the Sena kings, the high-sounding epithet *Arirāja-Chānūra-Mādhava.*

Whether the area of his kingdom, indicated above, represents the kingdom inherited by him or also includes the territories added in his reign, is difficult to say. According to the Grant No. C. 21 he had performed a great festival in Gauḍa. As this is not mentioned in any of his own inscriptions he must have extended his dominions or political influence to Gauḍa towards the end of his reign, and this was undoubtedly helped by the decline of the power of the Senas. But in view of the existence of the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā, down at least to A.D. 1220, a portion of the district of Tippera must have been outside the jurisdiction of the family till that date.

Dāmodara-deva was succeeded by his son Daśaratha-deva, two of whose Grants are known (C. 20, 21). He is called *Parameśvara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Arirāja-Danuja-Mādhava,* the illustrious Daśaratha-deva. He is also given other high-sounding titles which are all faithfully copied from the records of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena. Further, corresponding to the expression *Senakula-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara* of the records of the two Sena kings, Daśaratha is called *Dev-ānvaya-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara.* It would thus follow that Daśaratha, who belonged to the Deva family, was a Vaishṇava. As the Grant was issued from Vikramapura, and the lands granted were also situated near it, there is no doubt that Daśaratha came into possession of the Sena kingdom in East Bengal. We are further told that Daśaratha obtained the kingdom of Gauḍa through the grace of Nārāyaṇa. What is exactly meant by Gauḍa is difficult to say. The Gauḍa proper, *i. e.*, North and West Bengal, was in possession of the Muslim rulers, and there is no evidence to show that the name was used at this time in an extended sense so as to cover Eastern Bengal. It is, therefore, to be presumed that Daśaratha claims to have conquered a portion of West or North Bengal. This claim need not be regarded as a fantastic one, for it is quite likely that an enterprising Hindu ruler of Eastern Bengal occasionally led successful raids to the Muslim domains in his neighbourhood. Further, as stated above, his father had already established some kind of authority in Gauḍa. It has to be remembered also that the Muslim rulers had to carry on several military operations in order to consolidate their rule over the whole of Bengal, and there were occasionally internecine quarrels among them. Daśaratha-deva might have taken advantage of all this to seize a part of Gauḍa (North or West Bengal).

The close agreement in the titles shows that Daśaratha was not probably far removed from the time of Keśavasena. This is in full agreement with the palaeography of the record. If Minhāj is to be believed, the descendants of Lakshmaṇasena were ruling in Bang or East Bengal till 1245 or 1260 A.D., and we have to presume that Daśaratha-deva conquered Vikramapura after that date.

The title *Arirāja-Danuja-Mādhava* borne by Daśaratha makes it very probable that he is identical with king Danujamādhava, mentioned in the genealogical records of Bengal, and also with Danuj Rāi, the Rājā of Sonārgāon, near Dacca, who, according to Ziauddin Barni, entered into an agreement with Ghiyāsuddin Balban that he would guard against the escape of the rebellious Tughril Khān by water (1283 A.D.)[3] The date 1283 A.D. would not be unsuitable for Daśaratha as his predecessor Dāmodara-deva ruled till at least 1243 A.D. (C. 19). If we accept the identity, we have to regard Sonārgāon as the capital of Daśaratha. It is probable, in that case, that Sonārgāon represents the capital city of Vikramapura mentioned in the records of the Senas. As is well known, the name Vikramapura is now applied to a wide area round about the modern town of Munshiganj in the Dacca district, and the designation originated from a village called Vikramapura, which undoubtedly existed in the neighbourhood of Munshiganj, though its exact location is not known at present. Sonārgāon is situated on the bank of the Dhaleswarī just opposite Munshiganj, close to the confluence of that river with the Lakhia, the old Brahmaputra and the Meghnā. Sonārgāon thus occupied a strategic position, and although it is separated today by a river from the localities chiefly associated with the traditions of the Sena kings, the known changes in the courses of rivers in that region do not make it at all unlikely that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., it was contiguous to the Munshiganj and Rāmpāl area. In any event, if we accept the identity of Daśaratha, whose capital was Vikramapura, with Danuj Rāi, whose seat of government was Sonārgāon, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the ruins of Sonārgāon represent at least a part of the famous capital of Bengal.

Two copper-plates (C. 22-3)[4] discovered at Bhāṭerā, about twenty miles from Sylhet, introduce us to a line of kings who may be represented by the following genealogical table :

In the family of the Moon

I. Kharavāṇa (Navagīrvvāṇa)[5] (not mentioned in No. 23).
|
II. Gokula-deva (Gokulabhūmipāla in 23).
|
III. Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇa-deva in 23).
|
IV. Keśava-deva (Keśava-deva-deva in 23 *alias* Ripu-Rāja-gopī-Govinda, Donor of 22).
|
V. Īśāna-deva (Donor of 23).

Keśavadeva is described as a great warrior who performed *Tulāpurusha* sacrifice.

The second Grant was issued in year 17, evidently the regnal year of Īśānadeva. As to the date of the first plate, opinions differ regarding the correct reading of the figures.[6] But on palaeographical grounds the plates can hardly be regarded as earlier than the 13th century A.D., and may be even somewhat later. According to tradition, the *ṭilā* (mound), where the plate (C. 22) was found, is the place which belonged to Rājā Gauragovinda *alias* Govinda Siṁha. The prince was overthrown by Shah Jellal who invaded Sylhet in 1257 A.D., and brought some of the independent Rājās under his control.

Dr. R. L. Mitra held that the Govinda of the *ṭilā* is the same as No. IV in the above genealogical list, and the date proposed by him fits in well with the story of Shah Jellal's invasion.

The names of all the kings of the dyansty, excepting the doubtful No 1, end in *deva*, and in Plate C. 23 we have Keśavadeva-deva. It is not impossible, therefore, that they also belong to the Deva family.

II. The Kingdom of Paṭṭikerā

The existence of the small principality of Paṭṭikerā, in the district of Tippera, may be traced as far back as the 11th century A.D. The earliest reference to it occurs in a manuscript of *Aṣhṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramītā* preserved in the library of the Cambridge University. This MS. (Add. 1643), copied in the year 1015 A.D. contains the picture of a sixteen-armed goddess with the label "*Paṭṭikere Chundāvarabhavane Chundā.*"[7] It proves that early in the 11th

century A.D., the image of the Buddhist goddess Chundā in Paṭṭikerā was widely known.

The Burmese chronicles contain many references to this kingdom.[8] According to *Hmannan*, the kingdom of Anoratha (1044-1077 A.D.) was bounded on the west by Patikkara, the country of Kalas (foreigners). The same text narrates the romantic story of love between the Prince of Paṭṭikerā and Sweinthi, the daughter of king Kyanzittha (1086-1112). The Burmese king was agreeable, but his minister objected to the marriage and the Prince, baffled in love, committed suicide. It forms the theme of Burmese poems and two melodramas, one of which runs up to three volumes and is acted on the Burmese stage even up to the present day. Although Sweinthi's love for the prince of Paṭṭikera had to be sacrificed to the welfare of the State, her son Alaungsithu, who succeeded Kyanzittha and ruled from 1112 to 1167 A.D., married a princess of Paṭṭikerā. According to Burmese chronicles, Narathu, the son and successor of Alaungsithu, slew with his own hand this princess of Paṭṭikerā, the widow of his father. The Arakanese chronic'es, however, give a different version of this incident. We are told that 'a certain king Pateikkara of the kingdom of Marawa' sent his two daughters as presents to the kings, respectively, of Arakan and Tampadipa. The general of Arakan sent the latter princess to Pagan with a request to king Narathu to send her to Tampadipa. Narathu, however, forcibly detained her in his seraglio. The princess having rebuked Narathu for his disgraceful conduct, the latter forthwith drew his sword and killed her.

Both the Burmese and the Arakanese chronicles agree about the sequel to the story. The king of Paṭṭikerā

"on hearing of the murder of his daughter, disguised as Brāhmaṇs eight soldiers who were sworn to avenge the crime. They arrived at Pagan, and were introduced into the palace under pretence of blessing the king. They killed him with a sword, after which they either killed each other or committed suicide, so that all died in the palace."

How far the above stories may be regarded as historical it is difficult to say. But it is evident that there was an intimate intercourse between the kingdoms of Burma and Paṭṭikera during the twelfth century A.D. The existence of the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the thirteenth century is proved by an inscription engraved on a copper-plate found in the neighbourhood of Comilla (C. 25). It

records a grant of land in favour of a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Paṭṭikerā, by Śrī Dhaḍi-eba, the Chief Minister of Raṇavaṅkamalla Śrī-Harikāladeva, in A.D. 1220, in the 17th year of his reign. There is no doubt that this Paṭṭikerā was the capital of the kingdom which has been referred to in the Burmese chronicles as Patikkara or Pateikkara.[9] Although the city of Paṭṭikerā cannot be identified, it must have been situated within the district of Tippera, for an important *pargaṇā* of this district which extends up to the Maināmatī Hills, five miles to the west of Comilla, is still known as Pāṭikārā or Pāiṭkārā. In older documents this *pargaṇā* is called Pāṭikerā or Pāiṭkerā which more closely resembles the old name.

It is difficult to ascertain the status of this kingdom during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. *vis-a-vis* the Pāla and Sena kings of Bengal. The references in the Burmese chronicles imply, but do not certainly prove, that it was an independent State. Harikāla-deva Raṇavaṅkamalla, who ascended the throne in 1204 A.D. and was ruling till 1220 A.D., was undoubtedly an independent king. As we have seen above, the founder of another royal line, the Deva family, also set up an independent kingdom about the same time in the immediate neighourhood. Both of them might have taken advantage of the decline of the Senas to establish their independence. The name-ending *-deva* in Harikāladeva tempts us to regard this king also as belonging to the same Deva family, though *Deva*, in this case, might be nothing more than the usual honorific ending of a royal name. The existence of at least three ruling families in the 13th century A.D., with name-ending *-deva*, two of whom are definitely said to belong to the Deva family, is however, not without significance. It is probable that they were all important feudatory chiefs and attained to high position after the collapse of the Sena power.

Whether Raṇavaṅkamalla belonged to the old royal family of Paṭṭikerā referred to in the Burmese chronicles cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. In any case, we do not hear of the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā after him. It was most probably absorbed in the growing kingdom of the Deva family.

III. The Kingdom of Pīṭhī

A family of kings with names ending in *-sena* are known to have ruled over a kingdom called Pīṭhī. An inscription found at

Jānibighā,[10] about six miles to the east of Bodh-Gayā, records the grant of a village to the Vajrāsana (*i.e.*, Mahābodhi temple) by king Āchārya Jayasena, lord of Pīṭhī, and son of Buddhasena. The latter must be identfied with Āchārya Buddhasena, lord of Pīṭhī, who is mentioned in an inscription found at Bodh-Gayā as having issued some directions to the inhabitants of Mahābodhi in respect of some grant made to Śrī-Dharmarakshita, the religious preceptor of Aśokachalla, king of Kamā.[11]

The two inscriptions leave no doubt that the kingdom of Pīṭhī, over which Buddhasena ruled, certainly comprised the Gayā district.[12] As already noted above, Bhīmayaśas, one of the feudal chiefs who helped Rāmapāla in his expedition against Bhīma, is called in *Rāmacharita*[13] both *Pīṭhī-pati*, lord of Pīṭhī, and *Magadh-ādhipati*, suzerain of Magadha. From this Mr. K. P. Jayaswal,[14] and following him Mr. N. G. Majumdar,[15] held that Pīṭhī and Magadha are practically identical. This does not, however, follow from the statement in *Rāmacharita* which merely implies that Bhīmayaśas, lord of Pīṭhī, was also overlord of Magadha. On the whole, all that we can definitely assert is that Pīṭhi included the region round Gayā. An inscription of Pīṭhī-pati Devasena dated in the 14th regnal year of Madanapāla has been found at Ārmā, in the Monghyr District.[16]

The date of the Sena kings of Pīṭhī is not free from doubt. The Jānibighā inscription is dated in the year 83 of *'Lakshmaṇa-senasy-ātītarājya.'* The true meaning of this expression has been discussed above (see *supra* pp. 243 ff.). The most reasonable view seems to be that the year is to be counted from the end of Lakshmaṇasena's rule in the Gayā region *i.e.*, about 1200 A.D., and hence Jayasena's reign falls in *c.* 1283 A.D. (see p. 246).

There is no evidence in support of Mr. Jayaswal's view that Buddhasena and Jayasena were scions of the great Sena family in Bengal.[17] He identified Buddhasena with the king of that name mentioned by Tāranātha along with three other Sena kings, as noted above.[18] The fact that Tāranātha refers to them as minor kings, subordinate to the Turushkas, shows that their reigns must be placed later than 1200 A.D. As such Buddhasena of his list might not improbably be the Pīṭhī king of that name. For though the name of the successor of Buddhasena of Tāranātha's list is different from Jayasena, such errors occur even in Tāranātha's account of the Pāla kings where we have no doubt that names like Gopāla,

Devapāla and Dharmapāla were really historical. But even if we accept the identification, which is at best doubtful, there is nothing to support the contention that Buddhasena aud Jayasena of Pīṭhī were related in any way to the Senas of Bengal,[19] though this cannot be regarded as altogether beyond the bounds of probability.[20]

A special importance has been added to the history of this petty dynasty of Pīṭhī chiefs on account of the theory propounded by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri that the well-known era *La saṁ*, starting in 1119 A.D., was founded by king Lakshmaṇasena, the founder of the royal house of Pīṭhī, to which Buddhasena and Jayasena belonged. This view has been already discussed,[21] and does not appear to be a very probable one.

IV. The Minor Gupta Dynasty

The Panchobh copper-plate of Saṁgrāma-Gupta[22] introduces us to a line of kings which is represented by the following genealogical tree :

i. Yajñeśa-Gupta
|
ii. Dāmodara-Gupta
|
iii. Deva-Gupta
|
iv. Rājāditya-Gupta
|
v. Kiṛshṇa-Gupta
|
vi. Saṁgrāma-Gupta

Nos. i-iii are simply referred to as kings. No. vi, the donor, is called *paramabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara*, as well as *mahāmāṇḍalika*. He is said to be the son of the illustrious prince Kṛishṇa-Gupta, meditating on the feet of Rājāditya-Gupta, who is given the same title as Saṁgrāma-Gupta. Both are described as *parama-māheśvara-vṛishabhadhvaja-Somānvayaj-Arjuna-vaṁśodbhava Jayapura-parameśvara*. In other words these kings were Saivas, had bull as their insignia or emblem, claimed descent from Arjuna of lunar family, and were lords of Jayapura. This line of rulers, we are told, became reputed as Gupta (*vaṁśo Gupta*)'.

The inscription may be referred on palaeographical grounds to the 12th century A.D., its characters resembling those of the grants of Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal.

Jayapura, the seat of the family, has been identified with modern Jayanagar near Lakhisarai in the Monghyr district.

The use of the title *Mahāmāṇḍalika* along with the imperial titles in the case of Nos. IV and VI indicates that the family had at first been feudatories (of the Pālas or Senas or of both) and assumed independence after the defeat of Lakshmaṇasena by Muhammad Bakhtyār Khilji.

The mention of the word *Gupta-vaṁśa* indicates that perhaps the dynasty claimed descent from the Imperial or Later Guptas.

It is interesting to note that the grandfather of the Brāhmaṇa to whom Saṁgrāma-Gupta granted land was an immigrant from Kolāñcha.

Footnotes

[1] This is the reading of Grant No. C. 17. In Grant No. C. 19 the name is given as Madhusūdana. But as the original Grant is missing, and we have to depend upon an artificially prepared facsimile (*IB.* 158), the reading of Grant No. 17 may be accepted.

[2] Grant No. 17 was issued in 1156 Śaka, in the fourth year of his reign.

[3] *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī* (2nd Edition of Eng. Transl. by E & D., by S. Gupta, 1953), p. 27.

[4] Edited by Dr. R. L. Mitra in *Proc. ASB* 1880, pp. 141 ff. No. 1 was re-edited by Dr. K. M. Gupta (*EI.* XIX. 277 ff). and K. Gupta, *Copper-plates of Sylhet*, p. 153.

[5] Dr. Mitra remarks, "The words *Navagīrvāna* and *Kharavāṇa* are so placed that either of them may pass for a proper name, or both of them may be epithets" (*op. cit.* 145 f.n.). Dr. Gupta takes *Kharavāṇa* as proper name and reads the other word as '*na* (*ra*)-*gīrvvāṇa*'.

[6] Dr. R. L. Mitra observes as follows : "The date of the record has been read by Pandit Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī to be the year 2928 of the era of the first Pāṇḍava king : *Pāṇḍavakulādipālābda sam 2928*. But in the original the first figure is very unlike the third, and has been moreover scratched over and is abundantly doubtful. The second is also open to question. I am disposed to take the first for a 4 and the second for 3, which would make the date 4328= A.D. 1245" (*op. cit.*).

Dr. K. M. Gupta (*op. cit.*) read the date as 4151 (=1049 A. D.). So far as can be judged from the facsimile of the plate the reading of both Dr. Mitra and Dr. Gupta must be regarded as conjectural, as none of the figures is clearly legible. But the paleography of the inscription is decidedly against the view of Dr. Gupta.

[7] Foucher-*Icon.* p. 199, pl. VIII. 4.

[8] The references in Burmese chronicles are summed up in *AS.—Burma*, 1921-22, pp. 61-62 ; 1922-23, pp. 31-32 ; cf. also Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 49-50, from which the account of Narathu is quoted.

[9] Attention has justly been drawn by the Editor of the Plate to the "extraordinary nature of the three names of the grantor 'Dhaḍi-eba', his father 'Heḍi-eba' and the writer 'Meḍinī-eba'. There is a great deal to be said in favour of his "conjecture that here we have evidence of a respectable family of Burmese origin" settled in this region. "For 'ba' and 'ye-ba' (modified to 'e-va') seem to be the characteristic of Burmese names even now." (*IHQ.* IX, pp. 284-5). It is also interesting to note that Śrī-Harikāladeva ascended the throne of Paṭṭikerā in 1203-4 A.D., i.e., only 33 years after the tragic episode of the murder of the Burmese king at the instance of the king of Paṭṭikerā, as narrated in the Burmese chronicles.

[10] Edited by H. Panday, *JBORS.* IV. 273 ff ; commented on by Jayaswal, *ibid.*, 266 ff ; re-edited by N. G. Majumdar, *IA.* XLVIII (1919), 43 ff. For another inscription of Jayasena dated in the year 70 of the new era of the Gauḍa king, cf. *Ep. Ind.* XXXV. p. 79. The reading of the date is, however, very doubtful.

[11] This is the interpretation of N. G. Majumdar (*op. cit.* 44-46).

[12] Panday pointed out that the village Jānibighā must have been included in the

dominions of Jayasena. Buddhasena's Ins. at Bodh-Gayā, containing an order to the people of Gayā, also confirms the view.

Mr. S. S. Majumdar has discussed at length the identification of Pīṭhī, and does not agree that it included the Gayā district. He locates Pīṭhī in the region lying between the modern railway stations Colgong and Sakrigali Junction on E. I. Ry. Loop line, and identifies it with Pīrpainti (*IC.* V. 379 ff.).

[13] Commentary to v. 5, Ch. II.

[14] Mr. Jayaswal writes (*op. cit.* p. 267) : "There cannot be any doubt that in the early Sena times Pīṭhī denoted the whole of the province of Bihar (except Mithilā)."

[15] *Op. cit.* p. 44.

[16] *Ep. Ind.* XXXVI. 42.

[17] *JBORS.* IV. 266.

[18] See *supra.* p. 261.

[19] This view is also maintained by Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*op. cit.* p. 46).

[20] The Gayā inscription, dated 1813 of the Nirvāṇa Era, records the construction or restoration of a temple at Gayā by Purushottamasiṁha, chief of Kamā (Kumaon), and reference is made to the permission or help he received from his overlord king Aśokachalla and 'here from the Indra-like Chhinda King.' It has been suggested that the allusion, in the latter case, is to king Buddhasena in whose kingdom Bodh-Gayā was situated. If this view be accepted, we have to regard Buddhasena and his son Jayasena as belonging to the Chhinda family. This view is held by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*IA.* 1913, p. 84) and N. G. Majumdar (*op. cit.* p. 46). The Chhinda family is known from two other records, but they belong to an earlier date (*IA.* 1881, p. 345 ; 1880, pp. 143-144). It appears from one of these records that the Chhindas were ruling in Gayā region as early as the 10th or 11th century A.D.

[21] See *supra* pp. 244-5.

[22] The copper-plate was found, while digging earth, by one Amiri Chaudhuri about two and a half miles from Panchobh, situated about five or six miles to the west of Laheria Sarai, the chief town of the Darbhanga district in Bihar. It was edited in *JBORS.* V. 582 ff.

CHAPTER IX

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

I. Pre-Gupta Period

No definite information is available regarding the system of administration prevailing in Bengal before the 4th century A.D. All that we may reasonably infer from stories and legends preserved in later literature is that monarchy was the prevailing form of government. If, as suggested above,[1] the Gangaridai of the classical authors be taken to refer to the people of Bengal, we may reasonably conclude that their king ruled over a vast empire extending up to the borders of the Punjab. If, further, we may rely on the testimony of the Purāṇas and regard the then ruler of Bengal as belonging to the Śūdra dynasty founded by Mahāpadma Nanda, we may deduce the very important and interesting conclusion that even by the end of the fourth century B.C. the immigrant Aryans had not been able to establish their undisputed supremacy over the original inhabitants of the land, either politically or culturally. In view of the recent discoveries of the remains of a high degree of material civilisation in West Bengal before the advent of the Aryans[2] we may well believe that the Bengalis had already developed a powerful political organisation which culminated in the establishment of the first great historical empire in North India. Unfortunately, no details of its gradual evolution are known to us.

The strength and efficiency of the military force of the Gangaridai necessarily indicate a highly developed form of State-organisation. An advanced stage in the general political consciousness and State-craft may also be inferred from the references in the political alliance of petty States against a common enemy, the occasional establishment of a strong monarchy by the combination of a number of smaller kingdoms, and the diplomatic relations maintained by kings of Bengal with foreign potentates.[3]

For nearly a thousand years after this Bengal never attained the status of a great independent political State. It probably formed a part of the mighty Maurya Empire and was certainly incorporated in the vast Gupta Empire. The essential features of

the administrative systems of the Mauryas and the Guptas are well-known, and we may well believe that the system of Provincial administration developed by them also prevailed in Bengal. But we have no definite knowledge of the system prevailing during the Maurya period, nor are we better informed about the system of administration in the independent States that flourished in Bengal during the period of more than five hundred years that intervened between the fall of the Mauryas and the incorporation of Bengal within Gupta Empire.

"The reference to a *mahāmātra* in the Mahāsthān Inscription,[4] the single epigraphic record that we possess of the period, seems to indicate that both in theory and in practice the government in Bengal partook of the general character of the Maurya administration of which we possess an abundant knowledge from various sources. The inscription records some beneficent activities of the ruling power and indicates a concern for the good government and welfare of the people which is so characteristic of the Maurya emperors, particularly Aśoka. The inscription records the grant of paddy, and probably also of money, to the people, by way of loan, in order to relieve the distress caused apparently by famine. The clear indication therein of the Government store-house (*koṭhāgāle*) being provided with grains for the relief of the people during flood or famine finds its support from instructions laid down in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (11. xv) to the effect that the Government store-keeper (*koshṭhāgārādhyaksha*) shall keep apart one-half of the stores of agricultural products for meeting such emergencies."[5]

II. Gupta Period

We are more fortunate in regard to the system prevailing under the Imperial Guptas. For although we do not possess any detailed or even general account of the administrative system of Bengal as a whole, its essential features and some very interesting details are supplied by no less than eleven copper-plate Grants (A. 4-14) issued during the rule of the Gupta Emperors between G.E. 113 and 159 (433-479 A.D.). Five of these copper-plates (A. 6-10), found in the village Dāmodarpur in the District of Dinajpur in North Bengal, refer to sale of lands in the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* and Koṭivarsha-*Vishaya* (the name of the *Vishaya* in one case being omitted). An idea of the general style and purport of these

records may be obtained from the following translation of the earliest of them.

"In the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 4 (=124), on the 7th of *Phālguna*, while *parama-daivata, parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja* Srī-Kumāra-gupta was the ruler of the earth, and *uparika* Chirātadatta was the receiver of favours from him (lit. was accepted by his Majesty's feet) in the province (*bhukti*) of Puṇḍravardhana and *kumārāmātya* Vetravarman, appointed by him (Chirātadatta), was, in the ever-prospering district (*vishaya*) of Koṭivarsha, administering the government of the locality, in the company of Dhṛitipāla, the guild-president of the town, Bandhumitra, the merchant, Dhṛitimitra, the chief artisan, and Śāmbapāla, the chief scribe, whereas the Brāhmaṇa Karpaṭika (thus) addressed (them)—"Deign to make a gift, according to *nīvī-dharma*, of *khila* land, as yet unploughed and not (already) given (to any one), (receiving a price) at the rate of three *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa*, for the convenience of my *agnihotra* rites,—to be enjoyed (by me) for ever, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars (exist)." When, according to the determination of the record-keepers, Riśidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta, it was ascertained "(Land) may thus be given", one *kulyavāpa* of land was given to him in the region north-west of Ḍoṅgā, after three *dīnāras* had been received (from him). Here apply the verses regarding grants of land : "He who confiscates land given by him or by another, becomes a worm in ordure and rots with his forefathers".[6]

We may easily envisage the general framework of administration prevailing in Bengal from these records. It appears that the whole of Bengal was not directly administered by the Gupta Emperors. Large slices of territory were ruled by feudal chiefs referrred to as *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*. Reference may be made to the cases of *Mahāsāmanta* Saśāṅka[7] and *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Vijayasena.[8] The various titles assumed by Vijayasena, such as *Dūtaka, Mahāpratīhāra, Mahāpīlupati* etc.,[9] show that sometimes important State-functions were entrusted to them.

The territory directly administered by the Gupta Emperors was divided into a series of well-defined units, such as *Bhukti, Vishaya, Maṇḍala, Vīthī, Grāma*, and other minor subdivisions, each of which generally comprised a number of the next following units.

The two administrative divisions, *Bhukti* and *Vishaya* may be taken to be somewhat akin to the '*Division*' and '*District*'

of the modern period, and the *Uparika* and *Kumārāmātya* corresponded to modern Commissioner and Collector. The lowest administrative unit was a village, and there were intermediate units like *Vīthīs*, *Maṇḍalas* etc.

Each of these units seems to have an *adhikaraṇa* or office of its own.

Some changes in the title of the local rulers and the procedure of sale of land are noticed in later Grants. Thus the title *Uparika* is changed to *Uparika-Mahārāja* (Nos. A 8-9) and *Kumārāmātya* is substituted by *Ayuktaka* (A. 9, 12) and *Vishayapati* in A. 10.

As regards procedure we find in the plate, dated 163 (A. 8), that there is no reference to the District Officer at all and "the *mahattaras*, the *ashṭa-kul-ādhikaraṇas*, the village heads (*grāmikas*) and the householders (*kuṭumbas*)", being approached by the intending purchaser, and after receiving a report from the Record-keeper, informs the chief Brāhmaṇas and the prominent subjects and householders (*kuṭumba*) that the land applied for has been sold subject to the inspection "by the *mahattaras* and others, the officers and householders," and demarcation of the land after proper measurement. This indicates that in some localities even villages and other units, smaller than a *Vishaya* or disirict, exercised independent administrative authority.

The Divisional Commissioner was undoubtedly appointed by the King-Emperor, and in A. 10 he is styled *Rājaputradeva-bhaṭṭāraka*, evidently either a prince or a member of the Imperial family.

That the District Officer, whether called *Kumārāmātya* or *Āyuktaka*, was appointed by the Divisional Commissioner (*Uparika-Mahārāja*) is distinctly mentioned in all the four plates (A. 6, 7, 9, 10) which refer to the District Officer. But the language of a similar Grant found at Baigrām (A. 5) seems to indicate otherwise. In this plate, there is no reference to *Uparika-Mahārāja*, and the *Kumārāmātya* is said to have meditated on the feet of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the King-Emperor. This Grant is dated in the same year as a Dāmodarpur Plate (No. 7) and the land granted is connected with Vāyigrāma, a village mentioned in another Dāmodarpur Plate (A. 8). In view of the nearness of the locality and the contemporaneity of the records it is difficult to explain the anomaly. It has been suggested that the *Vishayapati* was appointed by the King on the advice or recommendation of the Governor of the *Bhukti*. But this does not satis-

factorily explain the anomaly. It is not unlikely, therefore, that in some cases the king directly appointed the District Officer, for reasons not known to us. It may be due to the relative importance of the particular post (perhaps in any special circumstance) or to the importance and dignity of the person appointed (perhaps a member of the imperial family was directly appointed by the Emperor and made directly responsible to him). But, in any case, we get a clear idea of the general framework of the administrative system, viz., the division of the province into one or more *Bhuktis* and each *Bhukti* into a number of *Vishayas*, corresponding to modern District, (with minor sub-divisions down to a village), and while the Commissioner of the Division—*Uparika-Mahārāja*—was appointed by the King-Emperor, the Collector of the District was ordinarily appointed by the Commissioner, though in some cases the appointment was probably made directly by the king.

We learn from the Dāmodarpur Plates (A. 6-10) that the Collector had a regular office or *adhikaraṇa* (collectorate) situated in an *adhishṭhāna* (town), and a staff of officers working under him, among whom the *Pustapālas* (keepers of Records) naturally played an important role in the transactions of land sale. There were several Record-keepers, one of whom was regarded as chief (A. 12). It is interesting to note that apart from these officers a large number of other persons, certainly not regular officials, were consulted in connection with the transaction of the sale of land.

An extreme case is furnished by the Plate No. A. 8, mentioned above, where the District Officer is altogether eliminated. But even where there was a District Officer he had to consult these non-official bodies.

It is said in the Baigrām CP. (A.5) that the Collector, as soon as he received the application for purchase of land, not only referred the matter to his office (*Vishay-ādhikaraṇa*), but also informed the "Village-householders along with the Brāhmaṇas and Chief Officers of the locality where the land to be sold was situated." Their exact functions and locus standii in the matter cannot be ascertained except what may be gathered from the Collector's order to them to the following effect.

"(So) you shall make over (*to the two applicants the portion of land*) by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having defined (*the area*) by the measurement of 8×9 reeds by the hands of *Darvvīkarmma*,

in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit."[10] It is, however, interesting to note that sometimes the persons and bodies mentioned above themselves offered to purchase the land. Thus the Kalaikuri CP (A. 11) narrates how the *Āyuktaka* and the (members of the *Vīthī*) Board (of administration) attended by the *Vīthīmahattaras* and Householders (a large number of individuals named) were approached by the *Kulika*, six *Kāyasthas* (names given) and two *Pustapālas* (names given) with a proposal to purchase a piece of land which they desired to offer as *akshayanīvī* to three Brāhmaṇas of Puṇḍravardhana, well versed in the four Vedas, so that they might perform their *Pañcha-mahāyajñas* (five sacrifices) uninterruptedly. As the applicants or donors themselves are referred to in other records as included in bodies deciding upon such application, it is a singular instance of the obligation imposed upon one and all to strictly observe the rules of procedure. It is also not unlikely that the lands asked for lay outside the jurisdiction of the body of applicants, and this view would lend some support to the view that the *Ayuktakas* were officers in charge of sub-divisions, several of which were comprised in the District. In that case the administration of sub-divisions had also an element of popular control like the districts, *Vīthīs* and villages.

It seems to be clear from the Dāmodarpur Grants (particularly Nos. A. 6, 7, 9, 10) that the Collector was aided in his administrative work (*saṁvyavahāra*) by a Board of Advisers, which is found to have been constituted of four members, representing the various important interests of those days, *viz.*, (1) the *nagara-śreshṭhin*, the most wealthy man of the town, representing, perhaps, the rich urban population, and the President of the town guild of bankers, (2) the *sārthavāha* (the chief merchant), representing, perhaps, the merchant class or the various trade-guilds, (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the chief artisan), representing, perhaps, the various artisan classes, and (4) the *prathama-Kāyastha* (the chief scribe), who may either have represented the *Kāyasthas* as a class or have been a Government official in the capacity of a Chief Secretary of the present day."[11]

The existence of such an advisory body of four members attached to the District Officer is, perhaps, the most interesting feature in

the whole system of administration. It is very unfortunate that so little is known of them, and of their functions, excepting their association with the District Officer in regard to the sale of lands.

The constitution of the district *adhikaraṇas* raises several interesting problems. First, even assuming that three of the four additional members represented the trade, industry and banking corporations, we do not know whether they were nominated by the Governor or elected by their respective constituencies. The fact that each of these bodies had a *nigama* or a corporation of its own, makes it very likely that the presidents of these corporations became automatically members of the *adhikaraṇa*. But whether these presidents were elected by the associations or nominated by the king we have no definite means to determine. It appears, however, from a study of the *Dharmasūtras* by Nārada and Bṛihaspati, which belong approximately to the same period with which we are dealing, that the presidents of these associations were elected by their members.[12]

The second problem relates to the position of the additional members *vis-a-vis* the District Officer. It has been held by some that the direct responsibility for managing the affairs of the *adhikaraṇa* lay in the hands of the District Officer, but he carried out his duties in the presence of the additional members.[13] Other scholars regard the latter as a Board of Advisers[14] to the District Officer. This is certainly a more reasonable view than the former. But the word '*puroga*' used after the names and designations of the additional members would rather seem to indicate that they formed an integral part of the *adhikaraṇa* and possessed rights and prerogatives beyond those of mere advisers. Although their exact constitutional position is difficult to determine, it would not be unreasonable to assume that they held concurrent authority with the District Officer in the general administration or at least in certain specified branches of it.

There is, however, no doubt that the existence of such advisory bodies indicates the popular control over the Government and the democratic principle followed in local administration, of which we possess abundant evidence, both literary and epigraphic, in various parts of India in ancient times.[15]

Perhaps an extreme type of popular control is illustrated by the procedure in the Dāmodarpur Plate A. 8, described above (p. 289). Palāśa-vṛindaka, mentioned in this record, was probably the type of an important village, or rather something between a town (*adhishṭhāna*)

and a village (*grāma*). For, here no reference is made to *Vishayapati* or his Board of Advisers, but their function, as agents of Government land, is exercised by the *Mahattaras*, the *Ashṭakulādhikaraṇa*, the *grāmikas* and the householders as mentioned above (p. 289). It is they who inform the Chief Brāhmaṇs, the prominent subjects and house-holders in the village Chaṇḍa-grāma, about the application for buying land.[16] There is no doubt that this Chaṇḍa-grāma was a village, and the inscription proves the importance of a village as an organised political unit.

The Copper Plate No. A. 4 refers to an application received by the *Ashṭakulādhikaraṇa* of a certain village and its prominent or leading persons. The *Vishay-ādhikaraṇa* also referred applications for purchase of land to village authorities, presumably because the land asked for lay in the jurisdiction of that village (A. 5, 12). It has been suggested that the above instances refer to a village community, a rural institution, which exercised great authority in local affairs without any official control. It was often a powerful body which managed all the local affairs of the village and exercised not only executive but also judicial functions within some limitations imposed by the Government.[17]

Dr. U.N. Ghoshal, however, takes a different view. He observes : "It is possible that we have here two sets of administrative arrangements for disposal of the unappropriated waste. In the one group (Nos. A. 4 and A. 8) the administrative authority consists of the officers in charge of the eight *kulas*, the leading men, the heads of families, the village headman and so forth. Evidently we have to deal with a mixed body of officials and non-officials. As regards the other group (Nos. A. 6, 7, 10 and 12) it will be noticed that No 12 expressly contemplates the District Officer and the office of the district headquarters as receiving the application. Moreover, in No. 10 which alone has preserved the seal intact the legend shows that the charter was issued by the office of the district headquarters of Koṭivarsha. From this it would follow that the authority charged with the disposal of the waste lands was, at least in the first instance, the headquarters office of the district in whose jurisdiction the land was situated. A connecting link between these two groups is furnished by Nos. A. 8 and 12, which contemplate the Brāhmaṇas, the leading men and the heads of families, apparently of the nearmost village, as receiving information of the application for purchase, possibly to enable them to offer their objections, if any."[18]

Even if we accept the view that the *Ashṭakulādhikaraṇa* and others were regular officials—a question which will be discussed later—there is no doubt that the people exercised great authority, at least over the sale of lands.

As mentioned above, we learn from other records that the *Vishaya* or District was subdivided into *Maṇḍalas*, *Vīthīs* and villages (*grāmas*), and perhaps there were other minor sub-divisions.

These sub-divisions, except perhaps village, varied in different ages. Thus *Bhukti* and *Vishaya* as well as *Vishaya* and *Maṇḍala* were sometimes used as synonymous ; a *Vishaya* was sometimes included in a *Maṇḍala* and sometimes the case was just the reverse. Daṇḍa-*bhukti* is referred to as a *Maṇḍala* of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*.

The exact connotation of Vīthī in the Gupta age is not quite clear. Later, it denoted a sub-division of the *Bhukti* or of a *Maṇḍala*.

"Other sub-divisions of *maṇḍalas* referred to in epigraphs are *khaṇḍala*, *āvṛitti*, and apparently, *bhāga*. The *āvṛitti* was further sub-divided into *chaturakas* and the latter into *pāṭakas*. The *chaturaka* is mentioned in certain grants as a sub-division of a *maṇḍala*, and the *pāṭaka*, of a *bhāga*. The *pāṭaka* seems to have been the lowest administrative unit. Hemachandra defines it as one-half of a *grāma* or village.

"Inscriptions of the Gupta age disclose or imply the existence of three *bhuktis* in the area now known as Bengal *viz.*, Puṇḍravardhana, Vardhamāna, and an unnamed *bhukti* which included Suvarṇa-vīthī and Navyāvakāśikā. The first two of these along with five others, *viz.*, Tīra-*bhukti*, Śrīnagara-*bhukti*, Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*, Daṇḍa-*bhukti* and Prāgjyotisha-*bhukti* are known from the Pāla and Sena records to have formed part of the Gauḍa empire. Of these Tīra-*bhūkti* (Tirhut in North Bihar), Śrīnagara-*bhukti* or Magadha-*bhukti* (in South Bihar), and Prāgjyotisha-*bhukti* (in Assam) in the main lay beyond the limits of Bengal proper. An old *bhukti* was sometimes incorporated with a neighbouring division, and a new *bhukti* carved out of an older one. In the Irda record of the tenth century A.D., Daṇḍa-*bhukti* forms part of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. In the time of Lakshmaṇasena the northern part of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, together perhaps with some adjacent tracts, was constituted into a separate administrative division styled Kaṇkagrāma-*bhukti*."[19]

Although the epigraphic records make special reference to the *adhikaraṇa* of the Vishaya alone, it may be taken for granted that other administrative units like *Bhuktis* and *Vīthīs* had also *adhikaraṇa* at their headquarters. We have clear reference to the *Mahattara adhikaraṇa* (A. 22) and *Vīthī-adhikaraṇa* in the epigraphs of the period immediately after the Guptas. As regards the *Bhukti* we have reference to an *adhikaraṇa* of the town of the Puṇḍravardhana, presumably the headquarters of the *bhuktī* named after it. It is natural to regard it as the *adhikaraṇa* of the *bhukti* corresponding to that of a *vishaya*, though it is not specifically referred to as such. It is clear, therefore, that the *adhikaraṇa* of Puṇḍravardhana performed the same function, in regard to sale of lands, as that of a *vishaya*. The only difference is that the Governor of the *bhukti* is not referred to at all in connection with this *adhikaraṇa*. It has been suggested that "the head of the provincial government of Puṇḍravardhana was not directly connected with his *adhikaraṇa* at least in so far as it concerned itself with transactions of land sale."[19a] This is very unlikely. It may be mentioned in this connection that a seal (No. 20) discovered amid the ruins of the ancient city of Vaiśālī refers to the *adhikaraṇa* of a Governor.[20]

Of course, the records specifically refer only to the *adhikaraṇa* of the *Vishaya*. The details leave no doubt that the District Officer was advised, if not controlled, by a Board, and so far at least as the sale of the land was concerned, also by a large number of popular non-official elements. No definite idea can be formed of their other functions, as all the records deal with the sale of lands alone.

The role of the *Pustapālas* or Record-keepers, whose number was five in some cases, is briefly stated in the Dāmodarpur Plates. But it is a little more elaborated in the Baigrām CP. (A. 5). After the application for the purchase of land was received by the Collector of the District, he referred the matter to the Record-keepers and made the following announcement to the householders and others mentioned above.

"Since we inform you that it has been determined by the Record-keepers, Durgādatta and Arkkadāsa (*thus*),—there exists in this *vishaya* (*the procedure of*) sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue (*to the king*), to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.[21] Moreover,

there can be no objection (*out of fear of any loss*) on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of *khila* fields, free from taxes ; (*rather*) there is (*possibility of*) some income for the *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* (or *the king*) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit (*accruing from such an act*). Hence the (land) should be given (by sale)." [22]

The above passage refers to the sale of fallow-lands (*khila*). But the object of the purchaser being the endowment of temple he also required homestead lands to serve as an endowment "to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes etc. required for daily worship and occasional repairs of the temple (A. 5).

The procedure described above for the sale of land was continued even after the end of Gupta rule in Bengal. For we have similar records of a later period at least for a century or more (Nos. A. 18, 20-23)

The sixteen CP. Grants, mentioned above, recording sale of lands supply interesting information. For example, the price of land was paid in a foreign coin called '*Dīnāra*'. The following observations of Dr. R. G. Basak, who edited the Baigrām CP, throw interesting light not only on this question but also on varying prices of lands.

"A note on the relation in value between a *dīnāra* and a *rūpaka* coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name *dīnāra* is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin *denarius*, as we all know. The word *rūpaka* occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two *droṇavāpas* of land are priced at 8 *rūpakas* in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 *rūpakas* are equivalent in value to ½ *dīnāra*, because 1 *kulyavāpa* (8 *droṇas*) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 *dīnāras* according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence one full *dīnāra* will be equal to 16 *rūpakas*. We may, therefore, surmise that the term *rūpaka*, which may ordinarily stand for coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the word *rūpa* seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, i.e., *rūpyā-rūpa* (silver coin, e.g, *paṇas*) and *tāmra-rūpa* (copper coin, e.g., *māsha*). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called *Rūpa-darśaka* in that work.

"As regards the different rate of price of *khila* and *vāstu* land we find that in some of the Dāmodarpur Plates the rate

was three *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*tridīnārikya-kulyavāpa*), but in our inscription, as in the Pāhārpur one, we have the rate of two *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*dvidīnārikya-kulyavāpa*) ; whereas in almost all the Faridpur Plates the rate is that of four *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*chaturdīnārikya-kulyavāpa*). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

"From the Pāhārpur Inscription it has become clear that one *kulyavāpa* of land is equal to 8 *droṇavāpas*, for there 12 *droṇas* are totalised as one and a half *kulyavāpas*; and the same result is also obtained even by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one *kulyavāpa* being equal to 8 *droṇas* is therefore, established."[23]

The differences of price were undoubtedly due either to the quality of the land or the prevalence of different rates in different localities. The term *kulyavāpa*, as a measure of land, is also an interesting one. It denoted, literally, as much land as could be sown with a *kulya* measure of grain. A *kulyavāpa*, according to various authorities, was equivalent to 8 *droṇas* and this is proved by the Pāhārpur Grant (A. 12) in which 12 *droṇas* are regarded as equivalent to one and a half *kulyavāpa*.[24]

The principle governing the transfer of land was known as *nīvī-dharma* which has been explained as a perpetual grant, but "non-transferable ; that is to say, the donee had all the right given to him by the donor, except perhaps the right of making further transfer of the property in future."[25] It seems, however, that this limitation might be avoided by destroying the *nīvī-dharma* at the time of purchase, i.e., with the right of alienation. But the term *akshaya-nīvī-dharma* seems to indicate a perpetual restraint from transfer.

The applicants for purchase of lands had to specify whether he wanted cultivable or homestead lands. Some lands described as *aprada* (not given, unoccupied), *aprahata* and *khila* (fallow) were exempt from payment of customary dues and extra-taxes. The prices of lands, settled beforehand, were paid to the District or Village authorities to whom application was made for purchase.

There is no doubt that there was a regular system of measurement of land. Two *nalas*, nine and eight cubits long, were used for measuring, respectively, the length and breadth of the area. Taking

the average measurement of a *hasta* to be 19 inches, the area would be $19\times8\times19\times9$ or 25992 square inches. It is not possible to determine how many times this area a *kulyavāpa* contained.

Lands were of three varieties : *Kshetra*, *Khila* and *Vāstu*. The first denoted a field under cultivation and the third, a dwelling site.

According to *Amarakośa* (II. 105) and Halāyudha (233) *Khila* was synonymous with *aprahata*, meaning waste or fallow land. But such lands were not to be deemed unfertile as Roth supposed.[26] According to the *Nārada Smṛiti* (XI. 24) "a tract of land which has not been cultivated for a year is called *ardha-khila*. That which has not been cultivated for three years is called *khila* (waste)."

Incidentally, the records of land-sale referred to above throw some light on the question of the ownership of land in ancient India on which very different opinions have been expressed. It is an intriguing problem, on which a vast literature has grown,[27] and it is not necessary to discuss the theoretical question in all its aspects. We may, therefore, discuss only the bearing of the transactions of land-sale, described above, on this very controversial question.

Dr. R. G. Basak sought to reject the theory of the State-ownership of land on the following grounds :

(*a*) The State could not alienate lands "without the consent or approval of the peoples' representatives, the *mahattaras* and other businessmen of the province and the district, and sometimes even the common folk."

(*b*) The Faridpur Grant (A. 20) "mentions in very clear terms that 1/6 of the sale proceeds in these transactions will go to the royal exchequer according to the law." "It seems very clear, then, that the remaining 5/6 of the price used to go to the funds of the village assemblies."[28]

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has challenged this view. He has successfully refuted the second argument by pointing out that the king did not get one-sixth of the sale proceeds, but of the spiritual merit acquired by the donee for the religious endowment for which the land was acquired. This is clearly proved, as he says, among other things, by the express statements in A. 12 that by selling the land the Emperor would acquire wealth as well as one-sixth of the spiritual merit. Reference may also be made to similar statements in Plates, A. 5 and 19.

But Dr. U. N. Ghosal's attempt to demolish the first objection is not equally successful. He observes: "We have already shown reasons for holding that the persons whom Mr. Basak understands to be the peoples' representatives were more likely minor officials. In the two instances (A. 8 and A. 12) in which the Brāhmaṇas, the principal subjects and the heads of families are mentioned, they merely receive information of the application for purchase, it may be, for the hearing of any possible objections on their part. In any case the idea of "consent or approval" of these persons being necessary for the performance of the sale is not warranted by the evidence."[29]

The first argument, as has been shown elsewhere in the chapter, is not valid, and as he himself admits, it is only "more likely." As regards 'the consent or approval', it may not be strictly proved one way or the other. But the question may justly be asked, what was the object or necessity of this complicated process of summoning leading men and other individuals if it were purely a transaction of sale, by the State, of the land owned absolutely by it. The plea that it was resorted to "for the hearing of any possible objections on their part" does not carry great weight : on the other hand, the fact that the proceeds of the sale went to the royal exchequer prove the ownership of the king. But there is a great deal of force in Dr. Basak's final and positive conclusion that the Grants "belong to a period when the Crown began to be recognised as absolute owner of all land" in place of the people who were the original proprietor. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the people, taken collectively, as represented by the Village Assembly, had at least some limited right in the ownership of the land, to the extent of accepting or rejecting a new-comer in occupation of the land within its jurisdiction. Instances of this are found in South India in ancient period.

III. Period of Vaṅga as an independent State after the end of Gupta rule (C. 550-750 A.D.)

The essential features of the administrative framework, described above, continued under the independent rulers of Bengal. There must have been notable changes, but there are not sufficient materials to indicate them in detail. The old division into *Bhuktis*, *Vishayas Vīthīs* etc. continued. Probably new *Bhuktis* were created. As

mentioned above, reference is made to Vardhamāna-*bhukti* and another with its headquarters at Navyāvakāśikā, though both of these *probably* existed even during the Gupta rule. The Governor of the latter is called *Uparika* as well as *Mahāpratīhāra*, and also *Antaraṅga* in one case. The Faridpur Grants (A. 18, 20, 21, 23) do not mention *Bhukti* but to officers enjoying a higher status than that of *Vishayapati*. They were appointed directly by the king. Their titles are (*a*) *Mahārāja* (*b*) *Mahāpratīhāra* (defender of frontiers) and (*c*) *Uparika*, to which some more (including *Kumārāmātya* ?) appear to be added. In A. 23 we find *Antaraṅga* and *Uparika*. In three out of the four Plates from Faridpur, '*Uparika*' is used which shows their status to be like that of *Uparika* of Dāmodarpur.

There were also feudatories under the independent rulers of Bengal. They were known as *Sāmantas* or *Mahā-Sāmantas*.

The administrative unit, *Vīthī*, comes into prominence. *Suvarṇa-Vīthī* in A. 23 was taken to mean "the bullion market," but it is definitely used in the sense of an administrative unit in A. 19 and 13, and we must also take it in the same sense in 23 (cf. for example, Suvarṇa-grāma, as a well-known place-name) where it was included in the Province of Navyāvakāśikā whose Governor enjoyed a higher status than that of the Vāraka-*maṇḍala Vishaya*. In A. 19 also a village is described as in the Vakkattakka-*Vīthī* in the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, without any reference to a *Vishaya*. The Dakshiṇāmśaka-*Vīthī* in A. 12 is also referred to as lying within the jurisdiction of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, but Nāgiraṭṭa-*Maṇḍala* was probably comprised in it. But that *Vīthī* also denoted a much smaller area is proved by A 16, in which Nanda-*Vīthī* is comprised within the jurisdiction of Ambila-*grām-āgrahāra*, probably the headquarters of the *Vishayapati*.

A *Vīthī* mentioned in a copper-plate of this period (A. 19) and two others of earlier and later periods, are said to be situated on a river. Hence it has been suggested by N. G. Majumdar that *Vīthī* denoted a tract of land bordering on a river.[30]

There are specific references not only to the *adhikaraṇa* of the *Vishayas*, but also of the *Vīthīs*. The latter consisted of *mahattaras*, *agrahāriṇs*, *khāḍgīs*, and at least one *vāha-nāyaka* (A. 19).[31]

The village, generally speaking, was the smallest administrative unit, but some villages, with names ending in *agrāhara*, seem to have enjoyed a much higher status as is proved by the Ambila-*grām-*

āgrahāra mentioned above, which comprised a *Vīthī* and was probably the headquarters of a *Vishaya*.

The procedure for the sale of lands, mentioned above, is also continued in this period (A. 20-23). Reference has been made above to office of the District Officer in the town, called *adhishṭhānādhikaraṇa* in the Dāmodarpur Plates (A. 6, 7, 9, 10), where he carried on the administration together with four members (the guild-president, the leading merchant, the leading banker or artisan and the leading scribe). Opinions differ regarding the exact nature of this institution and it has been translated as 'an administrative board of the district,' 'the royal tribunal in a city', 'the office and probably the court of a District Officer', and a 'Secretariat and Advisory Council.' Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has drawn attention to 'a court of justice called *adhikaraṇa*, mentioned in the drama, '*Daśa-Kumāra-Charita*, and to Act IX of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, describing the famous trial scene. He observes : "It refers to the king's judges (called *adhikaraṇikas* and *adhikaraṇabhojakas*) sitting in the court-house (*adhikaraṇamaṇḍapa*), who are assisted by the guild-president (*śreshṭhin*), the scribes (*Kāyasthas*) and so forth. It will be noticed that the leading scribe of the epigraphs is represented by the 'scribes' of the drama, while the guild-president is common to both. It would thus appear that the *adhishṭhānādhikaraṇa* of the Gupta Empire had its prototype in the *adhikaraṇa* at the capital contemplated in the drama, which by a natural extension of meaning (such as is seen in the later word *cutchery*) came to be applied to the office of the district headquarters as well. The above comparison, moreover, shows that in the place of the vague list of unspecified officers of the drama the inscriptions mention 'the leading artisan' and 'the leading merchant', besides the guild-president and the chief scribe. If it be supposed that the *adhikaraṇa* of the drama represents the loosely organised institution of earlier times, that of the Gupta Empire would be a development of the same with a well-defined organisation and with the addition of administrative functions as well. The reversion of the Gupta institution to the type of administrative boards described by Megasthenes for the Maurya Empire is no doubt a witness to the enduring influence of the popular *pañchāyats*."[32]

During the period under review the authority disposing of the land is in every case the *adhikaraṇa*, and the seals of the plates, wherever preserved (A. 20, 21, 22) refer to the office of the

District, in which, presumably, the land sold was situated. But the *adhikaraṇa* is headed by the chief Scribe (*Jyeshṭha-Kāyastha*) and leading men of the District (A-21) whose names are given. To these are added unnamed principal *Vyapāriṇs* (A. 18) or *Vyavahāriṇs* (A.23) and *Mahattaras*. The *Prakṛitis* headed by 18 leading men of the district (names given) is mentioned in A. 20.

"It has been suggested that the *mahattaras* represented the landed gentry and the *vyavahāriṇs*, the industrial or commercial interests of the district. This is plausible enough, but cannot be regarded as certain. As to the *adhikaraṇa* itself, it is described as headed by '*jyeshṭha-kāyastha*' in two cases, and 'the chief *adhikaraṇika*' in another case. The other members of the *adhikaraṇa* are not specified. It has been inferred from the two descriptive expressions of *adhikaraṇa* that the *Vishayapati* did not control the affairs of the *adhikaraṇa*, and his functions were separated from those connected with the *adhikaraṇa*. It is difficult to accept this theory, which stands on the same footing as the view upheld by the same scholar, on similar grounds, that the provincial Governor had no connection with the *adhikaraṇa* of the headquarters of the *bhukti*. But whatever might have been the actual constitution of the *adhikaraṇa* of the district of this period, its association with the leading men of the district while exercising its authority shows that the old democratic spirit in local administration was still the characteristic feature of the government. That the same spirit prevailed in the *vīthī-adhikaraṇas* of this period has already been mentioned above."[33] Dr. U. N. Ghoshal identifies the *Vyavahāriṇs* with the *Vyapāriṇs* and regards them as 'administrative agents' on the analogy of the *vyavahāri-janapadas* (A. 36) and *vishayavyavahāriṇs* (B. 2). Far less justifiable is his view that the 'Prakṛitis' and 'leading men' were also not private individuals but persons concerned with the administrative functions'. It is, therefore, difficult to accept his theory that during the period under review "the authority charged with the administration of the lands concerned consisted of the District Officer and many named and unnamed minor officials."[34] There is no valid ground to suppose that the popular element in administration of the earlier period disappeared and the popular representatives were replaced by minor officials.

Dr. Ghoshal's view has not met with general acceptance and has been criticised by several scholars.

It is only natural to expect that the independent kings of Bengal, would assume the titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* which, though less pretentious than the imperial titles of the Guptas, was more dignified than the simple title of *Mahārāja* assumed by Chandra-varman, Simha-Varman and even Vainyagupta. The independent kings had also feudal chiefs under them called *Sāmanta*. There are references to *sāmantas* in the records of Samāchāradeva, Devakhadga and Jayanāga. In the last case, the *sāmanta* was a powerful chief, with a *mahāpratīhāra* ruling over a *vishaya* or district under him. When Śaśāṅka established an empire, the independent kings conquered by him became feudatory chiefs. One such ruler, called *mahārāja mahāsāmanta*, is known to us, but there were probably others.

Some light is thrown on the organisation of the central administration by the list of officials mentioned in the Malla Sarul C. P. (A. 19) given in Appendix A.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that some parts of the independent kingdom of Bengal were ruled by feudal chiefs or vassal rulers who enjoyed autonomy in internal administration. Vijayasena of the Malla Sarul C.P. (A 19) is a striking illustration. He had the title of *Mahārāja*, used his own seal, and communicated his orders to the officials (Appendix A). It may be mentioned that he was probably the same person mentioned as *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* and *Dūtaka* of Vainyagupta (A. 14)

IV. Pāla Administration

The Pālas ruled over Bengal and Bihar for nearly four hundred years, and during a part of this period their sway extended over a large part of Northern India. There cannot be any reasonable doubt that a highly developed and stable administrative system had grown up gradually during this period. Unfortunately, as in the earlier periods, we do not possess any detailed account of it, and are almost entirely dependent for such information as we possess upon the stereotyped list of officials given in the land-grants, and others casually mentioned in epigraphic records.[35] These cannot obviously enable us to draw even a detailed outline, far less a complete picture, of the system of administration during their rule, and we have to rest content with a few characteristic general features and a number of isolated facts throwing glimpses upon the nature of the administration. We shall deal mainly with the

administration of the home provinces comprising Bengal and Bihar, only casually referring to the system of administering the empire of which we know very little.

The system was based on a strong central hereditary monarchy with practically unlimited powers vested—at least theoretically—in the hands of the king. The enhanced power and prestige of the head of the State is indicated by the assumption of new royal titles introduced for the first time in Bengal, namely *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, evidently on the model of the Imperial Guptas. The same thing is also evident from the grandiloquent description of the royal camp at Pāṭaliputra (Patna) in the Khalimpur C.P. which has been quoted above.[36]

As usual, the king was helped by a group of officials at the head of which stood the Ministers, called *mantrī* or *sachiva*. But it seems that the position or status of the *mantrī* was highly developed and there was occasionally, if not always, one of them, with high dignity, occupying the position of that of a Prime Minister of the present day. This is revealed by a unique Inscription (B. 20) engraved on a pillar at Bādal.

This inscription contains the panegyric of a line of four or five [37] hereditary ministers who served under Dharmapāla, Devapāla, Śūrapāla (probably Vigrahapāla I) and Nārāyaṇapāla. In view of the great importance of the record, a summary of its contents, bereft of rhetorics and details, not necessary for our present purpose, is given below.

It begins with a reference to one Garga belonging to a highly respectable Brāhmaṇa family tracing descent from the mythical Jamadagni. To Garga is given the credit of making Dharma (Dharmapāla), who was only the lord of the East, the master of all the other three directions. His son was Darbhapāṇi, by following whose policy, Devapāla was able to make tributary the earth as far as the Narmadā in the south, the Himālayas in the north, and the two oceans on the east and the west. Even this Devapāla, who was usually attended by princes from all quarters, "stood at the gate of Darbhapāṇi, awaiting his leisure" and "first offered to him a chair of State and then sat upon his own throne, while trembling."

The son of Darbhapāṇi was Someśvara, and the latter's son was Kedāramiśra. By attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas, and scattered the

conceits of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara. The sacrificial ceremony performed by Kedāramiśra was often attended by Śūrapāla of his own accord and he "with bent head received the pure water."

Guravamiśra, the son of Kedāramiśra, was possessed of great valour and showed it in the battlefield by destroying the conceit of the bravery of enemies. He was held in high esteem by Nārāyaṇapāla.

The learning and other virtues of these Brāhamaṇa ministers are described in most extravagant language and the record would furnish an excellent example of hyperbole.

This unique record furnishes much interesting historical information, but raises several intriguing problems.

In the first place, it seems to be difficult to assess the real historical value of the part alleged to be played by Garga, Darbhapāṇi and Kedāramiśra in the expansion of the empire during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. One would naturally be tempted to discard, wholly or to a very large extent, the credit given to the three Brāhmaṇas for brilliant military victories. But it should be remembered that the record was a public document, open to all, and composed at a time when the Pāla dynasty was still ruling and the victories of Dharmapāla and Devapāla were almost in public memory. It is hardly likely that such a story, involving considerable disparagement of the two great Pāla emperors, would be fabricated and given publicity at a time when the people at large would have no difficulty to realise the falsehood and absurdity of the whole thing.

On the other hand, we must remember that the record must have been set up during or shortly after the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla when the Pāla Empire and its glory were things of the past, and for all we know, this ruler and his predecessor were probably worthless rulers—almost nonentities—who depended entirely upon their ministers, somewhat akin to the *rois faineants* who sat on the throne of Delhi after the death of Aurangzīb. The proverbial short memory of the public perhaps accounts for the fact that the relations subsisting between the rulers and their ministers at the time when the record was set up was taken to be a fair image of what prevailed in olden days. In support of this it may be pointed out that the Khālimpur CP. of Dharmapāla (B. 2) and the Monghyr CP. of Devapāla (B. 8), issued towards the end of their reigns, do not associate either Garga, Darbhapāṇi or Kedāramiśra with the

brilliant victories of these two rulers. On the other hand, the Khālimpur CP. expressly states that the praise of Dhramapāla—not his minister—was sung everywhere by all types of people.

On the whole, we may well believe that the four Brāhmaṇas mentioned above served as the ministers of the Pāla kings with great credit, and, as a reward of this, for at least five generations from Garga to Guravamiśra were hereditary ministers of the Pālas. It is to be noted that the record which extols them beyond measure nowhere refers to any of them as holding the office of *Mantri* (Minister), but there is little doubt that they not only held this office, but their position probably resembled, practically, if not theoretically, that of Chief or Prime Ministers (*Mahāmantrī*, a term referred to in B. 40, 90). The description of their scholarship and manifold virtues, though highly exaggerated, may have some basis in fact as, otherwise they could not have been hereditary ministers for at least five generations. Their case has a precedent in Kauṭilya *vis-a-vis* Chandragupta Maurya. As a matter of fact the appointment of wise learned Brāhmaṇa as a minister, as well as hereditary offices, including those of Ministers, may be regarded as traditional in India, and the Pāla kings either initiated or followed a well-known policy. The predominance of the Prime Minister during the reigns of Vigrahapāla and Nārayaṇapāla may be due, partly to the adoption of the hereditary principle in the appointment of ministers, and partly to the lack of capacity and personality of the rulers.

A modified form of hereditary occupation of the office of ministers is illustrated by Bhuvaneśvara Praśasti of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (B. 90) which gives an account of seven generations of a distinguished family of Brāhmaṇas, who claimed descent from the sage Sāvarṇṇa, and lived in the village of Siddhala in Rāḍha (W. Bengal). One of them Ādideva was a minister of the king of Vaṅga and was successful as (his) supreme councillor and supreme official in peace and war (*Mahāmantrī*, *Mahāpātra*, *Sandhi-Vigrahī*). His grandson was Bhavadeva "who for a long time served under king Harivarman as his minister of peace and war."

The Pāla Emperors had numerous vassal kings and feudal chiefs under them who are referred to as *Rājan*, *Rājanyaka*, *Rājanaka* *Rāṇaka*, *Sāmanta*, and *Mahāsāmanta*. It is not possible to determine the difference in status indicated by these designations. They might have included some of the independent kings defeated by the Pālas

and then re-instated on their thrones, with some obligations the precise nature of which is not known. But they were certainly required to attend the *Durbara*, vivid description of one of which is given in the Khālimpur CP. (B. 2) and quoted above (p. 109). It has been suggested that *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, mentioned in the Khālimpur CP. (B. 2), was an officer appointed to exercise a general control over the feudatories.[38] But it is certain that their relation with the Emperors varied in accordance with the increase or decrease in the power of the central authority. In the dark days of the Pālas caused by the Kaivarta revolt in North Bengal the vassal kings were *de facto* independent rulers. This is definitely proved by the detailed account of the *Sāmantas* who responded to the appeal of Rāmapāla as described in the *Rāmacharita*.[39] A more positive evidence is furnished by Ramganj CP. of Īśvaraghosha (B. 97) who calls himself *Mahāmāṇḍalika*. The following comments of N. G. Majumdar, who edited the plate, clearly bring out the importance of the record and the status of the donor.

"The donor Īśvaraghosha does not possess any of the titles of a paramount sovereign. Indeed he has not even the epithet of 'a king', although, curiously enough, he arrogates to himself the privilege of issuing orders to *Rājans, Rājanyakas, Rājñīs, Rāṇakas, Rājaputras* and so forth who are supposed to be under his authority. No stress can, of course, be laid on this stereotyped form of the court language, found more or less in all land grants. Hence the title *Mahāmāṇḍalika* assumed by Īśvaraghosha can alone be considered to determine his real position. Mr. Maitra has brought forward two important data from the *Rāmacharita* in this connection : Firstly Ḍhekkarī, whence this copper-plate was issued by Īśvaraghosha, was the seat of one of the *sāmantas* or a vassal king (of the Pālas) ; and secondly, these *sāmantas* were known as *maṇḍalādhipati*, which is the same as *māṇḍalika*. He, therefore, concludes that Īśvaraghosha, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika*, held the position of a vassal king under the suzerainty of the Pāla dynasty."[40]

The Plate expressly refers to the *Vishaya* as a sub-unit of *Maṇḍala*, which may, therefore, be regarded as akin to the territorial unit called *Bhukti*. The *Bhukti* is also referred to in the Pāla records which mention Puṇḍravardhana, Vardhamāna, and Daṇḍa-*bhuktis* in Bengal, Tīra-*bhukti* (Trihut or North Bihar) and Śrīnagara-*bhukti* in Bihar, and Prāgjyotīsha-*bhukti* in Assam. It seems that the *Bhukti*, as of old, denoted a large administrative unit, directly ruled by the

Pāla kings, while *Maṇḍala* denoted the territory of a *Sāmanta* or vassal-chief enjoying internal autonomy. The Nālandā CP. of Devapāla (B.5) refers to Balavarman, as the ruler (*adhipati*) of Vyāghrataṭī-*maṇḍala* and describes him as the right-hand person of king Devapāla. He evidently held a position superior to that of the Governor of a *Bhukti*. So there were powerful feudal chiefs, enjoying local autonomy even in the palmy days of the Pālas. No wonder that their powers and pretentions grew in the same proportion as those of the Pālas declined, till they were regarded more as subordinate allies than feudal vassals. The case of Vijayasena, mentioned above (p. 42), shows that there were probably similar feudal chiefs, in fact if not in name, in Bengal during the post-Gupta period of independence. Leaving aside the semi-independent dominions of the feudal or vassal chiefs of various categories mentioned above, the territory directly administered by the Pāla kings was divided into administrative units like *Bhuktis*, *Vishayas*, *Maṇḍalas* and other smaller units. The exact connotation of *Vishayas* and *Maṇḍalas* is very puzzling, for sometimes the former comprises the latter, and sometimes the case was just the reverse. The records also refer to a large number of smaller units such as *Khaṇḍala*, *Avṛitti*, and *Bhāga*. The *Avṛitti* was subdivided into *Chaturakas*, and the latter into *Pāṭakas*. The precise nature of none of these is known to us. The *Pāṭaka* is defined by Hemachandra as one-half of a *grāma* or village, and is most probably the origin of the modern division of a Bengal village (and town) called *Pāḍā*, denoting a part inhabited generally by a particular category of people belonging to a social or professional unit. In any case *Pāṭaka* may be taken as the smallest administrative unit named in the epigraphic records.

The most important part of the administrative machinery of the Pālas is the organisation of the Central Government directly under the king. There was no question of such an organisation so long as Bengal formed only a part of the Gupta Empire. But it must have been an important part of the administrative system when Bengal became an independent kingdom in the sixth century A.D. Unfortunately the only clue to such an organisation is furnished by the list of officials mentioned in the Malla Sārul CP. (A. 19) issued by Vijayasena during the reign of Gopachandra. Curiously enough, no such list occurs in the epigraphic records of the other independent kings of Bengal. Whether the Secretariat of Vijayasena, who propably served previously under Vainyagupta, simply repeated the

stereotyped list used in Gupta records, or gave a genuine list of officials actually serving under Gopachandra or Vijayasena, it is difficult to say. In any case a perusal of the list which is given in the Appendix I to this chapter with the probable meaning of the official designations—which in some cases is purely conjectural—gives us some idea of the main departments of the Central administrative organisation. So far as the Pāla period is concerned we are also dependent to a very large extent on the list of officials. As could be expected, the list of officials[41] in the Pāla records contains a larger number of designations which may be grouped under the following broad heads.

1. Central—Civil
   - 1A. Revenue.
   - 1B. Judicial.
   - 1C. Police.
2. Central—Military.
3. Provincial and Local.
4. Of doubtful significance.

1. Central—Civil—General

The election of Gopāla as king in order to save the country from chaos and anarchy constitutes a very intriguing problem in the administrative and constitutional history of Bengal. The state of anarchy has been described above and needs no further comment. But the procedure of election referred to in the Khālimpur CP. (B. 2) and by Lāmā Tāranātha raises an intriguing question and has been discussed in some detail by Dr. B. C. Sen.[42] The difficulty is caused by the use of the word '*Prakṛiti*' as the agent of election in B. 2. *Prakṛiti* denotes 'people' as well as the seven elements of sovereignty. The former sense is preferable on two grounds. In the first place, it agrees with the view of Tāranātha who clearly says that the people elected him. Secondly, while describing a political situation similar to that prevailing in Bengal which led to the election of Gopāla, Kauṭilya uses the same term *Mātsyanyāya* and adds, that in order to avert it the '*Prajā*' elected Manu as king. The word *Prajā* can only denote people.

But though we might, therefore, accept the election of Gopāla by the people, it is difficult to take this literally, as, so far as we know

there was no machinery in those days to take the votes, or otherwise ascertain the views, of the people. We may, therefore, hold that recognised leaders of the people or representatives of popular assemblies met together and chose Gopāla as king, and this was tacitly accepted by the people by vocal expression or demonstrations. Indeed Tāranātha also, in his account, at first refers to the choice of Gopāla by the 'leaders'.

Dr. B. C. Sen is also more or less in agreement with the above view, though he puts it in a somewhat modified form. He says: "It can be shown that in the earlier period local leadership in villages and districts had been quite an effective and serviceable factor of the prevailing system of administration. In such limited regions individuals designated *Mahattara* and various institutions of local self-government had been accustomed for centuries to functions of a responsible character. It is probable that local authorities of such types connected with a comparatively small area joined together or took the initiative in electing a sovereign, who afterwards gradually extended his sphere of authority, so that the whole country came to accept his rule."[43]

The strength of popular element in the administration is not only proved by the election of Gopāla, but probably also by the rebellion against Mahīpāla which cost him his life and throne.[44]

But apart from these two instances a stable Government based on hereditary monarchy and succession on principles of primogeniture characterised the Government from the eighth century till the end of the Hindu rule.

Under this system the *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent naturally played an important role. But unfortunately we know very little about his functions and activities, either in the Pāla or post-Pāla period. The available informations have been summed up as follows by Dr. B C. Sen.

"The king's eldest son, as usual, was meant for heir-apparency (*yauvarājyam*). As to his duties and functions, no detailed information is supplied. One such *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent, Tribhuvanapāla, carried out the duties of a messenger in connexion with the Khālimpur Grant ; another, viz., Rājyapāla, was entrusted with similar business in the matter of the Monghyr Grant. Vigrahapāla, the Pāla king, abdicated in favour of his son Nārāyaṇapāla who was acting as the *Yuvarāja* at the time of the renunciation of the throne by his father. The term *Kumāra* was applied to a son of the

king, appointed to a high administrative post such as a provincial governorship. The *Kūmāra* sometimes gave a good account of himself by taking part in the reigning king's military campaigns. Thus Lakshmaṇasena in his youth, before his installation as a king, appears to have participated in some victorious expeditions (Mādhāinagar Grant). Rāmapāla used to hold consultations with his sons, particularly Rājyapala, in connexion with his war-preparations against the Kaivartas, the collapse of whose power was not only the greatest achievement of his reign but one of the most notable episodes of the closing period of Pāla history.

"Not only the king and his son or sons were interested in the government, but the former's cousins sometimes intimately associated themselves with its policy and activities. Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla were each, in turn, assisted generously by their respective cousins, Vākpāla and Jayapāla, in the prosecution of their military plans. The Sāhitya Parishat Grant of Viśvarūpasena gives the names of two Kumāras, Sūryasena and Purushottamasena, recording the gift of a plot of land measuring 10 *udānas* by the former to Halāyudha on his birth-day (*varshavriddhau* 1.54), and the gift of another plot measuring 24 *udānas* by the other *Kumāra*. The Kumāra used to have his own *amātyas*, styled *Kumārāmātyas*. Whether such *Amātyas*, distinguished from the Rājāmātyas, were to be attached only to those among the princes who had been appointed to provincial governorships, or to all such persons whether free or in such service, is not clear. From the inscriptions of the earlier period it appears that the *Kumārāmātyas* used to be appointed as *Vishayapatis* or district officers. This was perhaps because the administration of a province was generally regarded as a matter principally reserved for a *Kumāra*. Consequently, those who were to be appointed as *Vishayapatis* were usually recruited from the rank of the *Kumārāmātyas*."[45]

Dr. Sen's views about *Kumārāmātya* are somewhat conjectural and may justly be questioned, but cannot be regarded as unreasonable and deserve serious consideration.

The Ministers referred to above not merely possessed vast learning and scholarship, but some of them were also distinguished for their military skill. Thus Guravamiśra is not only compared to Paraśurāma but is also credited with having achieved victory in battlefield by his valour (B. 20). But he is not a solitary example. Vaidyadeva, who was a *Sachiva*, obtained a great victory in a naval

battle in South Bengal and his constant care and anxiety for properly maintaining the 'seven limbs' of the State made him dearer than life to his royal master (B. 94). As noted above, when the vassal ruler, Timgyadeva of Kāmarūpa (Assam) rose in rebellion against Kumārapāla, Vaidyadeva was sent at the head of an army to suppress it, and, after forced marches, he defeated the rebel and became king of Kamarūpa (p. 156). Whether king Kumārapāla, as a reward for his valour, appointed him ruler of Kāmarūpa, or he himself ascended the throne of Kāmārūpa, is not definitely known, but there is no doubt that he was practically an independent king when he issued the Kamauli CP (B. 94), for it refers to him as *Parama-Māheśvara, Parama-Vaishṇava, Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* and is drafted in the right royal style and is dated in the fourth year of his reign.

The earliest Pāla CP. Grant (B. 2) mentions *Yuvaraja* as *Dūtaka*, but several later Pāla Grants mention a '*Mantrī*' as *Dūtaka* (B. 18, 40, 50). This shows the dignity of the office as well as the importance of the *Mantrī*. The function of the *Dūtaka* seems to be to place before the king formally the request for grant of lands. In the Khālimpur CP (B. 2) the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* communicates his application for grant of land to the Emperor through the *Yuvarāja. Mahārāja* Vijayasena acted as such *Dūtaka* to Vainyagupta. There are other references to high dignitaries acting as *Dūtaka* or (envoy of the Grant).

The long list of officials and courtiers to whom the royal order in land-grants was communicated begins with *Rāja, Rājanaka* (or *Rājanyaka*) and *Rājaputra*. The first two of these denote feudal chiefs who probably happened to be in the court. *Rājanaka* has been equated with *Rāṇaka* by some, but both designations sometimes occur together in the same record. A more plausible suggestion is that *Rajanaka* is a corrupt form of *Rājanyaka* and both may be regarded as a diminutive form of *Rājanya*. It has been suggested that *Rāṇaka* is possibly more or less equivalent to *Rāṇā* of the Chamba inscriptions denoting vassals of the *Rājā*. But the engraver of a Sena record (C. 2), Śūlapāṇi, is called a *Rāṇaka* and the head of the guild of artisans of Varendra. This is hardly compatible with the above view. The third, *Rājaputra*, of course, denotes a Prince.

What part, if any, the first two played in the administration is not quite clear. As regards the third, as we have also reference to *Yuvarāja* in the Pāla records, *Rājaputra* probably means a younger

prince who carried on some regular duties or functions assigned to him. But as regards the Feudal chiefs or Princes (other than *Yuvarāja*) their names were probably included as they normally happened to be present in the Court and the royal order was formally communicated to those present (*samupagatān*).

After the above three occurs the name of *Rājāmātya*. He must, therefore, be regarded as a very high official, and it has, accordingly, been suggested that he was the Prime Minister (who is elsewhere probably referred to as *Mahāmantrī*), other Ministers being referred to as *Sachiva* or *Mantrī*. Another suggestion is that the *Rājāmātyas* denoted companions of the king who probably also advised him, and this term "is to be understood in contradistinction from the term *Kumārāmātya*, the two denoting member of the staff attached, respectively, to the king and the *Kumāra* (Prince)."[46] But this is very unlikely as *Kumārāmātya* is often associated with district administration.

The Irdā CP. (B. 92), issued by a ruler of the Kāmboja tribe, mentions the *Mahishī* (queen), the *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince), and *Purohita* (priest) along with the *Ritviks* (engaged in sacrifices), the *dharmajñas* (persons versed in religious scriptures), and the *Pradeshṭris* (probably the *Pradeśikas* of Aśoka).

Next in rank were *Amātyas*, a general term which probably denotes the officials of high rank—something like the members of the I. A. S. of the present day. They were assisted by *adhyakshas* (heads of Departments) with a staff of clerks (*Karaṇas*) mentioned in Irdā CP. (B. 92).

Then there were special officers in different departments. To the foreign department belongs *Sāndhi-Vigrahika* which literally means one who deals with peace and war. To this and the designation of some other officials, the prefix '*mahā*' is sometimes attached, evidently denoting the chief officer or the head of the department. *Mahā-Sāndhi-Vigrahika* may, therefore, denote Foreign Minister. To this Department also belongs the *Dūta* or envoys. The designation is sometimes written as *Dūta-praishaṇika*. Literally it would mean 'one who sends out a messenger. But it probably consists of two separate words *Dūta*' and *Praishaṇika*, somewhat akin to modern 'Ambassador' and Messenger or a special envoy sent to a foreign court with a specific or special message. An analogous instance of such errors is probably furnished by *Rājasthānīya* and *Uparika* both of which mean the Governor or Viceroy. Generally they are

used as one and the same name, but at least in one inscription (B. 8) they are treated as different. The exact function of the official called *Khola* cannot be determined. It is not to be found in Sanskrit dictionary, but it is translated in the Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary, on the authority of *Piṇḍa-niryukti* of Bhadrabāhu, as 'spy'. This is very probable, as espionage has always been regarded as an essential department of Government, and there is no other term in the long list of officials which may be regarded as belonging to the Intelligence Department, with the exception of *Gūḍha-purusha* mentioned in the Irdā CP. (B. 92).

The officials named *Pramātṛi* and *Kshetrapa* probably refer to surveyors of land. Evidently, there was regular office for survey of lands which may be regarded as indispensable for purposes of fixing the land-revenue. But *Pramātṛi* has been taken by some to be a judicial officer trying civil cases only.

A class of officers described as *adhyakshas* or supervisors of elephants, horses, colts, mules, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep, must be distinguished from army officers in charge of some of these referred to later.[47] They may be regarded as Superintendents of elephant, horses *etc.* maintained by the State, and their functions and duties may be similar to those of functionaries of the same names described in the Kauṭilīya *Arthaśastra.*[48]

1A. *Revenue Department* : There were different classes of officers for collecting revenues from different sources. Those from agricultural lands must have been mainly collected through the heads of territorial units, such as *Uparika, Vishayapati, Dāśagrāmika* and *Grāmapati.* The exact nature of these revenues is not known to us, but they are referred to in general terms as *bhāga, bhoga, kara hiraṇya, uparikara etc.*[49] in the land-grants. We have a specific reference to an officer called *Shashṭh-ādhikṛita,* and it is probable that he collected the sixth part of various articles which belonged to the king according to *Manu-smṛiti.*[50] Another officer, called *Bhogapati* probably collected the tax referred to as *bhoga.* The other kinds of taxes and revenues may be inferred from the designations of officials employed to collect them. If our interpretations of these terms are correct, the following taxes were imposed during the Pāla period.

1. Tax payable by the villagers for protection against thieves and robbers.[51]

2. Customs and tolls.
3. Fine for criminal offences.[52]
4. Ferry-dues.

These taxes were collected respectively by *Chauroddhāraṇika*, *Śaulkika*, *Dāśāparādhika*, and *Tarika*.

The Accounts (and probably also Records) Department was in charge of *Mahākshapaṭalika*. He was probably assisted by *Jyeshṭha-kāyastha*.

Official names like *Kshetrapa* and *Pramāṭṛi* seem to refer to a department of land-survey.

1B. The Judicial Department was in charge of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (called *Dharmādhikāra* in Ins. No. B. 94).

1C. The Police Department had several officers such as *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Daṇḍika*, *Daṇḍapāśika* and *Daṇḍaśakti*. The first was probably in charge of the palace, but the duties of the others cannot be defined. Another officer *Khola* was probably in charge of the Intelligence Department, as mentioned above.

2. *Central—Military.*

The Military Department was in charge of *Senāpati* or *Mahāsenāpati*. There were separate officers under him in charge of infantry, cavalry, elephants, camels, and ships which formed the chief divisions of the army.[53] The names of some special officers are also mentioned such as *Koṭṭapāla* in charge of forts, and *Prāntapāla*, the Warden of the Marches.

In the Irdā CP (B. 90) the royal order is communicated, among others, to the *Senāpatis* and the *Sainika-Saṅghamukhyas*, both in the plural number. This raises some intriguing problems about the organisation of the army. In the first place, the existence of more than one *senāpati* shows that this term denotes, not the Commander-in-Chief, but only one of several Commanders, and one would like to know whether there was any Commander-in-Chief, or the king himself assumed that position. The title *Mahāsenāpati* supports the former view.

Sainika-Saṅgha literally means organised corporations of soldiers, of whom again there were several, each with a head. As the Grant was issued by a ruler of Kāmboja race, one is naturally reminded of the *Saṅghas* of Kāmbojas who lived by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons.[54] Such Corporations within the army itself are

otherwise unknown, and nothing can be definitely said about their nature and organisation.

That cavalry and elephant forces formed an important part of the army in Bengal from very early times is quite clear from the classical accounts of the Gangaridai mentioned above.[55]

A few interesting details about the military force may be gathered from epigraphic records. Onc inscription (B. 8) distinctly says that horses for the army of Devapāla were imported from Kāmboja, a region noted in ancient times for horses of good breed. Still more interesting is the enumeration of different tribal elements in the army of the Pālas.

The mention in the Pāla records of a number of tribal names along with the officials may be taken as referring to the military units recruited from those tribes. These are *Gauḍa*, *Mālava*, *Khaśa*, *Kulika* and *Hūṇa* in the Nālandā CP. of Dharmapāla (B. 3). *Karnāṭa* and *Lāṭa* are added in the records of subsequent kings, while *Choḍa* occurs in a single inscription (B. 66) of the time of Madanapāla, the last Pāla king.[56] The fact that there is no reference to these tribes in the Khālimpur CP. of Dharmapāla (B. 2) might lead one to presume that this military organisation was not fully developed till towards the close of his reign. The name *Gauḍa* in the list is certainly very interesting and possibly refers to the soldiers recruited in the home territory of the Pālas. *Kulika* cannot be obviously taken as an artisan or merchant and must be regarded as the name of a people.[57] The other tribes are well-known. It is obvious from this list that the Pāla kings recruited mercenary soldiers from all parts of India.

The words *chāṭa* and *bhaṭa* which follow the tribal names mentioned above, perhaps refer to 'regular' and 'irregular' troops.

It is somewhat surprising that Pālas also maintained a camel-force (B. 4, 8).

Reference may be made in this connection to the fact that the epigraphic records refer to the five traditional branches of the military force, namely, elephant, horse, chariots, infantry and navy. There is, however, reference to the officers in charge of all of them except chariots. But chariots are illustrated in the sculptures of Pāhārpur, along with armed soldiers. Bowmen are also represented, but not mentioned in the records. In Bengal, full of rivers, navy must have played an important part and the epigraphic records refer to naval battles.

3. *Provincial and Local*

While the Pāla records furnish more details of the Central Government, the information about the Provincial and local Governments is very meagre. That the territorial divisions like *Bhukti*, *Vishaya Maṇḍala* and *Grāma* still continued is proved by reference to these terms as well as to *Rājasthānika*, *Uparika*, *Kumārmātya*, *Vishayapati* add *Grāmapati*. Possibly *Tadāyuktaka* and *Viniyuktaka* correspond, at least to some extent, to the official designation of *Āyuktaka*. Some new features are introduced by the designation *Daśa-grāmika*, which literally means head of ten villages, an officer mentioned in the *Manu-Smṛiti* (VII. 115-120) along with heads of twenty, hundred and even thousand villages. There might have been some such gradation, but we have specific reference to only the head of ten villages.

There is a reference to *Mahā-Kumārāmātya*, which probably means the same officials of a higher status, or a supervisor of the works of several *Kumārāmātyas*, somewhat like a Divisional Commissioner of the present day over a number of Magistrate-Collectors of districts.

Various minor officials are mentioned indicating new departments. The Superintendents (*aḍhyaksha*) of elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, and goats, undoubtedly refer to civil officers for looking after them. Military officers in charge of some of these (elephants and horses) were referred to as *Vyāpṛitaka* (B. 8).

There is no clear reference to the popular element in the administration of districts and smaller local units. But the Khālimpur CP. of Dharmapāla (B. 2) refers to *Jyeshṭha-Kāyastha Mahā-Mahattara*, *Mahattara* and *Daśa-grāmika* as administering the *Vishaya* (*Vishaya-Vyavahāriṇaḥ*). This is an indication that the democratic element in the administration of districts and other minor localities had not altogether disappeared. It may be noted that even *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kuṭumbinyas* are mentioned in some records. The lack of land-sale records, like those of the Gupta-period, giving the details, may be purely due to accident rather than non-existence of old system. This view is strengthened by the fact that the strength of popular element in political affairs is reflected in the election of Gopāla, mentioned above.

4. *Miscellaneous*

The designations of some officials are somewhat obscure, and their functions cannot be exactly determined. *Khaṇḍaraksha*, for

example, may denote an officer of the Public Works Department, specially charged with the construction and repairs of buildings. The term *Śaunika* occurs only in one inscription (B. 66) in the place where we would expect *Śaulkika*, and may be a mistake for it. But it may be equivalent to *Śūnādhyaksha* mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and denote the Superintendent of slaughter-house. The designation *Gaulmika* is also of very uncertain significance. It may mean "an officer in charge of a military squadron called *gulma*, consisting of 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses and 45 foot-soldiers." *Gulma*, however, also means a wood, fort and a police-staion. Dr. Fleet translates *gaulmika* as 'superintendent of woods and forest' [58]. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal [59] takes *gaulmika* as collector of customs duties and refers to '*gulmadeya*' used in the *Arthaśāstra* in the sense of 'dues paid at the military or the police-stations'. His view is evidently based on the fact that *Śaulkika* is immediately followed by *gaulmika* in the Pāla records ; but, in Sena records *gaulmika* immediately follows the names of military officials."[60]

The Irdā CP. (B. 92) refers to *Mantrapāla* along with the *Mantrī*. The former has been translated as 'political advisers', but this is somewhat vague. *Dauḥsādha-sādhanika*, denothing one or two official designations, *Gamāgamika*, *Karttākṛittika*, *Abhitvaramāna*, *Śarabhaṅga*, *Sarvādhikṛita*, etc. are obscure designations, and conjectures, based on their literal meaning, have been made of their functions, though these carry little weight. But the very large number of official designations, even though their real meaning or function is at present unknown, indicate a highly organised and complicated administrative machinery.

V. Administration of Chandras, Varmans and Senas.

The land-grants of the Chandras and Varmans, who were contemporaries of the Pālas and of the Senas who succeeded them in the sovereignty of Bengal, contain lists of officials which show a large measure of agreement with those of the Pālas. The discrepancies[61] do not seem to be of vital importance, except in a few cases. The omission of *Grāmika* may be significant if we regard it as indicating a decline in the importance of local rural administration. But this is not a necessary inference. The addition of *Rājñī* may indicate greater political importance of the queen. Other new additions are *Mahāvyūhapati* and *Mahāpilupati* in the military department, stressing perhaps the importance of *Vyūha* or military formation in the

battlefield, and elephant-force. Similarly *Mahā-Dharmādhyaksha* (Chief Justice), *Mahā-Purohita* (Chief Priest) and *Mahā-Sarvādhikṛita* (probably Supervisor of general administration of a high rank) are probably indicative of greater or better organisation rather than any innovation.

Many new grandiloquent titles were assumed by the Sena Kings and even minor ruling dynasties in imitation of them. To these usual titles some of the Sena kings added their own *birudas*. The *birudas* assumed by Vijayasena, Vallālasena, Lakshmaṇasena, Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena were, respectively, *Ari-vṛishabha-śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-Niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-Madana-Śaṅkara*, *Arirāja-Vṛishabhāṅka-Śaṅkara*, and *Arirāja-Asahya-Śaṅkara*. The title *Parameśvara* is assumed by Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakshmaṇasena, and the epithet *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati rājatrayādhipati* is bestowed upon Viśvarūpasena.

The territorial divisions like *Bhukti*, *Vishaya*, *Maṇḍala* and *Grāma* etc., continued, though the *Maṇḍala* was sometimes a big area comprising several *Vishayas*. A notable change was the gradual extension of the Puṇḍra-vardhana-*bhukti* which probably began under the Pālas.• In any case it ultimately comprised not only North Bengal, to which it was originally applied, but also included Samataṭa and Vaṅga which corresponded, respectively, to South-East and East Bengal. The Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* included a large number of *Maṇḍalas* each comprising several *Vishayas*, and of *Vishayas* of which each comprised several *Maṇḍalas*. So the meanings and areas of these units varied from time to time or in different localities. The following *Vishayas* and *Maṇḍalas* were included in the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*.[62]

1-2. Vyāghrataṭī-*Maṇḍala* to which was attached the Mahantā-prakāśa-*Vishaya*.
3-5. Sthālīkkaṭa-*Vishaya* to which was attached the Āmra-shaṇḍikā-*Maṇḍala* near the Uḍragrāma-*Maṇḍala*.
6. Kuddālakhāta-*Vishaya*.
7-9. Koṭīvarsha-*Vishaya* in which were included the Gokalikā- and Halāvarta-*Maṇḍalas*.
10. Brāhmaṇīgrāma-*Maṇḍala*.
11. Nānya-*Maṇḍala*.
12-13. Khediravallī-*Vishaya* which included the Vallîmuṇḍā *Maṇḍala*.

14-15. Ikkaḍāsī-*Vishaya* which included the Yolā-*Maṇḍala.*
16-17. Sataṭa-Padmāvatī-*Vishaya* in which was included the Kumāratālaka-*Maṇḍala.*
18. Pañchavāsa-*Maṇḍala.*
19. Adhaḥpattana-*Maṇḍala.*
20. Khāḍī-*Vishaya* or *Maṇḍala.*
21. Varendra or Varendrī-*Maṇḍala.*
22. Vaṅga which included the Vikramapura-*Bhāga* and Nāvya.
23-24. Samataṭa-*Maṇḍala* which included the Paraṇāyi-*Vishaya.*

The most important *Vishaya* was that named Koṭīvarsha which is also mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. The city from which it derives its name is referred to in the *Vāyu Purāna.* The Jaina *Prajñāpanā* places it in Rāḍhā (Lāḍha). But Gupta and Pāla inscriptions invariably include it within the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti.* The headquarters of the *vishaya* have been identified with mediaeval Diw-kot (Devakoṭa or Devīkoṭa). The ruins of the city are found about eighteen miles south of Dinājpur town in the village of Bāngarh. Several names of the famous city are mentioned by lexicographers, e.g., Umā (Ushā-?) vana, Bāṇapura and Śonitapura.

The name Sataṭa-Padmāvatī-*Vishaya* (No. 16) is of great interest, as it indicates the existence of the river now known as Padmā. Khāḍī, lit. estuary, is referred to as a *vishaya* in the Barrackpore Grant of Vijayasena and as a *maṇḍala* in the Sundarban Grant of Lakshmaṇasena. It is known to the *Dākārṇava* as one of the sixty-four *pīṭhas* or sacred seats and is distinguished from *Rāḍhā,* Vaṅgāla and Harikela. The name survives in the Khāḍi *parganā* of the Diamond Harbour sub-division of the district of Twenty-four Parganas.

Khāḍī or Khāṭikā was split up into two parts by the Ganges. The eastern part, Pūrva-khāṭikā or Khāḍī proper, was included within the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti.* But Paśchima-khāṭikā which lay to the west of the Bhāgirathī in the present Howrah district was a sub-division of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti.*

The area of the Vardhamāna-*bhukti* also seems to have been gradually extended, and during the period under review it stretched at one time from the Mor river in the north to Suvarṇarekhā in the South. But in the time of Lakshmaṇasena the northern part (Uttara-Rāḍhā) formed part of the Kaṅka-grāma-*bhukti,* the name of which is not found in any other record.

The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* included a number of administrative areas styled *vīthī*. In the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, the *maṇḍala* came between the *bhukti* and the *vīthī*. But the new *bhukti* seems to have been split up directly into *vīthīs*. Like many of the older territories of Bengal, Kaṅkagrāma had a northern and a southern sub-division. The southern part (*Dakshiṇavīthī*) embraced Uttara-Rāḍha or at least that portion of it which was watered by the river Mor.

The names of a large number of cities in ancient Bengal are known from epigraphic records, but the location of most of them is doubtful. We may locate with a tolerable degree of certainty Tāmralipti (Tamluk), Puṇḍranagara (Mahāsthāngarh), and Karṇasuvarṇa, (p. 7), but other towns named in the epigraphic records, including the metropolitan city, cannot be located.

Curiously enough, the records of the earliest Pāla kings do not afford any clue as to the location of their metropolis. We have only reference to a few camps of victory, mostly in the neighbouring province of Bihar. In the time of Dharmapāla, who is referred to as Vaṅgapati in a Rāshṭrakūṭa and a Pratīhāra record,[63] the ancestral capital may have been in Eastern Bengal. But from the time of Devapāla, who is styled Gauḍeśvara in the Bādāl Pillar Inscription (B. 20), Gauḍa seems to have been the metropolitan *Vishaya* or city.

Gauḍa was also the capital of the Senas at least from the time of Lakshmaṇasena, and it was probably he who renamed it Lakshmaṇāvatī. As Gauḍa is mentioned by Pāṇini, it may be regarded as the Eternal City of Bengal. Its ruins lie near the town of Māldah. Rāmapāla founded a new capital city, named after him Rāmāvatī, which is referred to in the *Rāmacharita*. It was probably not far from Gauḍa.

The Senas, and probably also Chandras and Varmans, had another capital at Vikramapura, which is even to-day the name of a locality in East Pakistan not very far from Munshigunj in Dacca District. Nadīyā or Navadvīpa was also a capital city at the time of Lakshmaṇasena. The *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī places the capital of Lakshmaṇasena at Vijayapura probably named after Vijayasena. It stood on the Ganges not far from Triveni (Hooghly District), but its exact position is uncertain.

The epigraphic records throw some light on the system of measurement of lands. The available information has been thus summed up :

"The system of measurement shows an accuracy, which could have been possible under an administration that paid due attention to surveys of land for purposes of taxation, and also to the

necessity of preserving all relevant documents bearing on the history of any assignment that might be contemplated. Every copper-plate Grant was to be stamped with Royal Seal, which must have been in the keeping of the *Mahāmudrādhikṛita*. As regards measurement, a uniform system was followed in the particular area where the grant may have been situated. Thus measurement on the basis of the standard represented by the *Samataṭīya Nala* was current in Samataṭa. The use of the *Vṛishabha-Śaṅkara Nala* was current in the days of Vallālasena, as known from his Naihati Grant (C. 5). In some Grants, however, there is no mention of any specific standard of measurement, but it is clearly stated that the *Nala* system which seems to have been universally based on the accepted unit was current in a particular locality (*tad-deśīya-saṁvyavahāra-shaṭ-pañchāśat-hasta-parimita-Nalena* ; *tatratya deśa-vyavahāra-nalena*). The unit in every case must have been the *hasta* or cubit. But two points are to be specially noticed in connexion with this system of measurement. First, a standard *hasta* must have determined the unit of the measurement. The name Vṛishabha-Saṅkara-*Nala* shows that the *hasta* of the king Vallālasena was the unit followed, while in those cases where no such definite indication is given, it is to be understood that some fixed standard must have been followed, although it may not be known whose *hasta* supplied the unit in those instances. Secondly, with regard to the measurement of a *Nala*, the Govindapur inscription of Lakshmaṇasena (C. 6) shows that it was equivalent to 56 cubits. Entire plots of lands or even villages were to be measured by the application of the *Nala* standard locally current. Thus the Barrackpur Grant (C. 1) mentions that four *Pāṭakas* of land were given away as measured by the *Nala* used in Samataṭa."[64]

We are equally ill-informed about the currency of Bengal in the Pāla and post-Pāla period. Reference is made to *Kaparddaka-Purāṇa* in connection with the income derived from land. "The discovery of a number of silver coins with their weight varying approximately from 52 to 58 grains with the legend Śrī-Vigra (ha), Srī-Vi or simply Śrī, including those found in 'Devapāla' temple at Ghoshrawa, show that silver coins of the weight fixed for a *Purāṇa* were in use in the Pāla period. It is quite probable that the name *Dramma* was given to this type of coinage. The restoration of the older name to the silver coins used in the dominion by the Senas who came from the Deccan is proved by the references to *Purāṇas* or *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* to be found in their inscriptions."[65]

APPENDIX

A

List of officials mentioned in the Malla Sārul Copper-plate of the time of king Gopachandra (Ins. A. 19).

1. Āgrahārika—Supervisor of *agrahāra* land, *i.e.*, lands offered as free gifts to Brāhmaṇas for their subsistence or settlement therein, or for some religious purposes.
2. Audraṅgika—Collector of *Udraṅga* which is probably a tax on permanent tenants (U. N. Ghoshal—*Hindu Revenue System*, 210)
3. Aurṇasthānika—Officer in charge of woollen articles (?) (*IC.* VI. 160).
4. Āvasathika—Probably the supervisor of royal palace and other government buildings, including temples, rest-houses *etc.*
5. Bhogapatika (p. 314)—Kielhorn takes *bhoga* as equivalent to *bhukti* (*EI.* IV. 253, f.n. 6).
6. Chauroddharaṇika—Some regard him as a high police official (*EHBP.* 146). Cf. pp. 314, 348, f.n. 15.
7. Devadroṇī-sambaddha—Officer entrusted with *deva-droṇī* (probably temples and sacred tanks).
8. Hiraṇyasāmudāyika—Probably collector of taxes paid in cash.
9. Kārtākṛitika.
10. Kumārāmātya—District Officer. For other meanings of this term, cf. R. D. Banerji—*Imperial Guptas*, pp. 71 ff. His contention that some of the *Kumārāmātyas* were equal in rank to the heir-apparent and even to His Majesty the king is highly improbable. The word *-pādīya*, which Mr. Banerji interprets as 'equal in rank,' should rather be taken as 'belonging to the foot of.' In other words, *Knmārāmātya* was the general name of a class of officials some of whom were directly under the king or the crown-prince. It is difficult to accept the usual interpretation of *Kumārāmātya* as Prince's Minister. The term probably refers to one who has hereditary right to a high office of State.

11. Pattalaka—*Pattalā* denotes a territorial unit in Gāhaḍavāla records (*EI.* XIX. 293).
12. Tadāyuktaka—This may be a class of officials called *āyuktaka* (pp. 289, 291, 317).
13. Uparika—Provincial Governor; probably also used in the sense of a superior officer.
14. Vāhanāyaka—Superintendent of transport (?)
15. Vishayapati—District-Officer.

B

List of officials mentioned in the land-grants of Pāla kings (excluding the compound terms noted on p. 330, f.n. 47.).

1. Abhitvaramāṇa (also with suffix '*ka*').
2. Amātya—Probably a general designation of a class of high officials.
3. Aṅgaraksha.
4. Balādhyaksha—Officer in charge of infantry (f.n. 47).
5. Bhogapati—(cf. Appendix A. 5).
6. Chauroddharaṇika—p. 315 (cf. Appendix A. 6).
7. Daṇḍapāśika—p. 315.
8. Daṇḍaśakti—p. 315.
9. Dāṇḍika—p. 315.
10. Dāśagrāmika—Head of ten villages.
11. Dāśāparādhika—Probably an officer who collected fines for ten specified kinds of criminal offences (p. 315).
12 Dauḥsādha-sādhanika.
13. Dūta—Ambassador.
14. Dūta-praishaṇika—This is written as one name, but as *Rājasthānīya* and *Uparika* are treated as different in Ins. No. B. 8, and as one name in other inscriptions, *dūta-praishaṇika* may be really names of two officials, *dūta* and *praishaṇika*. As a compound word it literally means 'one who sends out a messenger' (*IB.* 185).
15. Gamāgamika.
16. Gaulmika—cf. p. 318.
17. Grāmapati—Headman of a village.

18. Jyeshṭha-kāyastha (cf. *prathama-Kāyastha*, p. 291).
19. Khaṇḍaraksha—p. 317. The *Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary* translates it as 'Customs-Inspector or Superintendent of Police.' Dr. U. N. Ghoshal regards it as a military official (*IHQ* XIV. 839).
20. Khola—p. 315. Spy (according to *Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary*, on the authority of *Piṇḍa-niryukti* attributed to Bhadrabāhu).
21. Koṭṭapāla (also Koṭapāla)—Officer in charge of forts.
22. Kshetrapa—Probably an officer in charge of lands under cultivation.
23. Kumārāmātya (cf. Appendix A. I0).
24. Mahā-daṇḍanāyaka—Chief Judge, General, or Magistrate.
25. Mahā-dauḥsādha-sādhanika—(cf. No. 12 above).
26. Mahā-kārtākṛitika—(cf. App. A. 9).
27. Mahākshapaṭalika.
28. Mahā-kumārāmātya—Higher class of Kumārāmātya (cf. App. A. 10).
29. Mahā-pratīhāra—*Pratīhāra* means a door-keeper. Mahā-pratīhāra was evidently a high official in the Police or Military department. The title is applied to both military and civil administrative officers and feudatories (p. 300).
30. Mahā sāndhivigrahika—Sāndhivigrahika occurs in Ins. No. B. 66 as the *dūtaka* of the Grant, but is not included in the regular list. (cf. App. C. No. 13).
31. Mahā-senāpati—Commander-in-Chief.
32. Nākādhyaksha (probably a mistake for Nāvādhyaksha or Naukādhyaksha—Superintendent of ships).
33. Pramāṭṛi—Probably an officer in charge of land-survey. According to some, he was a judicial officer in charge of recording evidence.
34. Prāntapāla—Warden of Marches.
35. Rājāmātya—*Amātya* generally denotes high officials of State. As this name occurs immediately after Rājaputra, it has been taken by some as denoting a high minister of State, probably the 'Prime Minister' (*EHBP*. 114), cf. p. 313.
36. Rājasthānīya—Regent or Viceroy.
37. Samāgamika—It occurs only once in Ins. No. B 2 and is probably a mistake for No. 15 above.

38. Sa(or Śa)rabhaṅga.
39. Śaulkika—Collector of tolls and custom dues.
40. Saunika—This term occurs only in Ins. No. B. 66 in the place where we would expect *Śaulkika*. So it may be a mistake for this term. Otherwise it probably denotes the Superintendent of slaughter-house (cf. *Śūnādhyaksha* in *Arthaśāstra*, II. Ch. XXVI).
41. Senāpati—Commander of the army.
42. Shashṭhādhikṛita—p. 314.
43. Tadāyuktaka—(cf. App. A. 12).
44. Tarapati (also Tarapatika)—Probably supervisor of ferries.
45. Tarika—Probably collector of ferry dues.
46. Uparika—Provincial Governor. It is usually preceded by *rājasthānīya* (No. 36) as mentioned above (pp. 313-4), and the two together probably have the sense of a Viceroy and a Governor.
47. Viniyuktaka—(cf. App. A. 12).
48. Vishayapati—District-Officer.

C

List of officials mentioned in the land-grants of Chandra, Varman, and Sena kings excluding (1) the compound term 'nau-bala-hasty-aśva-go-mahish-āj-āvikādi-vyāpṛitaka' (for which see f.n. 47) and (2) the names already noted in App. B (Nos. 6, 7, 13, 16, 21, 27, 29, 31, 35, 39, 48). For notes and interpretations, cf. IB 183 ff. The following notes may be regarded as only supplementary.

1. Antaraṅga—For various suggestions about its meaning cf. *IC.* I. 684 ; *EHBP.* 118. Cf. *supra*, p. 300.
2. Bṛihad-uparika—cf. App. A. 13 . B. 46.
3. Daṇḍanāyaka—cf. App. B. 24.
4. Dauḥ-sādhanika (also, Dauḥ-sādhyasādhanika)—cf. App. B. 12.
5. Mahā-bhogika—cf. App. A. 5, B. 5.
6. Mahā-dharmādhyaksha—Chief Justice.
7. Mahā-duḥsādhika (cf. 4 above).
8. Mahā-gaṇastha—Probably a military officer. *Gaṇa* denotes a body of troops consisting of 27 chariots, as many ele-

phants, 81 horses, and 135 foot. Mr. N. G. Majumdar interprets it differently (*IB.* 186).

9. Mahā-mahattaka –It has been interpreted as Prime Minister (*IB.* 131), but this is very doubtful.
10. Mahā-mudrādhikṛita—Some take it as the *Mudrādhyaksha* of the *Arthaśāstra, i.e.*, the Superintendent of Passports. It does not, however, seem to have any connection with coins or currency, as the use of *mudrā*, in the sense of a coin, belongs to a later period.
11. Mahā-pīlupati—Probably the chief trainer of elephants.
12. Mahā-purohita—Chief Priest. The prefix 'Mahā' probably indicates the great importance attached to religious and social aspects of administration during the rule of the orthodox Hindu Kings.
13. Mahā-sāndhivigrahika—This name also occurs in the Pāla records. But the office was one of great importance during this period. Both Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and Ādideva, his grandfather, were *Sāndhivigrahika* and Prime Minister of kings of Vaṅga. In the Bhāwāl CP. of Lakshmaṇasena (C. 12), Śaṅkaradhara, the *Mahā-sāndhivigrahika* of Gauḍa, is said to be the chief of a hundred *mantrīs* (*El.* XXVI. 10, 13). This officer was also generally the *dūtaka* of the Sena grants.
14. Mahā-sarvādhikṛita—p. 391.
15. Mahā-vyūhapati—Military officer in charge of battle-arrays (*vyūha*).
16. Maṇḍala-pati—Officer in charge of a *maṇḍala*.
17. Pīṭhikāvitta—Probably an officer concerned with the arrangement of seats in an assembly or the royal court according to rank and status of their occupiers.
18. Purohita—Priest (above No. 12)
19. Sāndhivigrahika—cf. No. 13 above.

D

List of officials mentioned in the Rāmganj CP. of Iśvaraghosha, and not met with in any other record in Bengal.

1. Ābhyantarika—Probably an official of the Harem.
2. Aṅgikaraṇika—Officer for administering oaths (?)

3. Antaḥ-pratīhāra—Probably guard of the Harem.
4. Autthitāsanika—Officer in charge of arranging seats (?)
5. Bhuktipati—Head of a Province. But "*Uparika*" is also mentioned separately.
6. Daṇḍapāla—Probably the same as App. C. 3.
7. Dāṇḍapāṇika—Cf. B. 7-9.
8. Ekasaraka.
9. Haṭṭapati—Supervisor of markets.
10. Karmakara—Was he an Officer in charge of Labour ? It has been taken to mean artisan (*IB.* 183).
11. Khaḍgagrāha—Body-guard (?)
12. Khaṇḍapāla—Probably the same as App. B. 19. It has been translated as Superintendent of repairs (*IB.* 180).
13. Koṭṭapati—Probably the same as App. B. 21.
14. Lekhaka—Scribe.
15. Maha-balādhikaraṇika—Military officer.
16. Mahā-balākoshṭhika—Military officer
17. Mahā-bhogapati—Cf. App. B. 5.
18. Mahā-karaṇādhyaksha—Chief of the secretariat, or keeper of Records.
19. Mahā-kaṭuka.
20. Mahā-kāyastha—Chief Scribe or Clerk (Cf. App. B. 18).
21. Mahā-pādamūlika—Chief Attendant (?)
22. Mahā-tantrādhikṛita—Probably the High Priest in charge of religious rites.
23. Pānīyāgārika—Superintendent of rest houses (?)
24. Sāntakika.
25. Śirorakshika—Chief of the royal Body-guards.
26. Tadāniyuktaka—Probably the same as B. 43.
27. Thakkura, c.f. *IB.* 184.
28. Vāsāgārika—Officer in charge of residential buildings (?)
29. Vṛiddha-dhānushka—Military officer in charge of bowmen.

Footnotes

[1] See pp. 29-30.
[2] See pp. 22-4.
[3] See p. 27.
[4] *Sel., Ins.*, p. 79.
[5] *HB.*, p. 264.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 131-2.
[7] See p. 49.
[8] See p. 42.
[9] *Inss.* Nos. A. 14, 19.
[10] *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 83.
[11] *Ibid*, XV. 128 ; *HNI*, p. 69.
[12] Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 3rd Edition, pp. 49 ff.
[13] *IC.*, VI. 161.
[14] *HNI.*, p. 68.
[15] Majumdar, *op cit.*, pp. 134 ff.
[16] *IC.* VI. 168.
[17] Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.
[18] U. N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (1929), pp. 201-2.
[19] *HB.*, 23-4.
[19a] *IC.* VI. 159-60.
[20] *ASI.*, 1903-4, p. 109.
[21] Cf. *IC.*, VI. 169.
[22] *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 83.
[23] *Ibid*, 80.
[24] Cf. Pushpa Niyogi, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India*, pp. 81-107.
[25] *IC.*, IX, 182.
[26] *Vedic Index*, I. 216.
[27] For a recent discussion on the subject by Dr. D. C. Sircar and others, cf. *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India* (Edited by D. C. Sircar and published by the University of Calcutta).
[28] *Ashutosh Mookherjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, III. pp. 486-91.
[29] Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-7.
[30] *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, 159.
[31] *IC.*, VI. 156.
[32] Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.
[33] *HB.*, 272. cf. *IC.* VI. 163. For *Vīthī* see above, p. 300.
[34] Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
[35] There are slight divergences in the lists in different land-grants. The list in Inscription No. B. 3, somewhat different from that in B. 2, is generally followed in later Grants. Sometimes *Mahā* is prefixed to a designation.
[36] See p. 109. For lists of officials see Appendices at the end of this Chapter.
[37] Names of five generations are mentioned, but there is no specific statement as regards one of them that he was a minister.
[38] B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 542.

[39] See pp. 147-8.

[40] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 150-151.

[41] See Appendix B.

[42] *Op. cit.*, pp. 525 ff.

[43] *Ibid*, p. 527.

[44] See p. 143.

[45] B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 529-30.

[46] *Ibid*, p. 537.

[47] In the Khālimpur CP. (No. 2) we have the compound '*hasty-aśva-go-mahishy-aj-āvik-ādhyaksha*' as well as *balādhyaksha* and *nākādhyaksha* (eivdently a mistake for *nāvādhyaksha* or *naukādhyaksha*). In the Nālandā CP. of Dharmapāla (No. 3) we have '*hasty-aśv-oshṭra-bala-vyāpṛitaka*' as well as '*kiśora-vaḍavā-go-mahishy-adhikṛita.*' The Monghyr CP. of Devapāla (No. 6) has '*hasty-aśv-oshṭra-bala-vyāpṛitaka*' and '*kiśora-vaḍavā-go-mashishy-aj-āvik-ādhyaksha.*' With the addition of '*nau*' before '*bala*' in the first, these two expressions become stereotyped in the later Pāla Grants. It is obvious that we have to deal with two sets of officers, referred to respectively as '*vyāpṛitaka*' and either '*adhikṛita*' or '*adhyaksha.*' The use of the words '*nau*' and '*bala*' indicates the military character of the former. *Adhyaksha* should then be taken in the sense of a superintendent in the civil administration.

[48] Bk. II. Chs. xxix-xxxi.

[49] The meaning of these terms is not definitely known, but the following suggestions may be provisionally accepted :

Bhāga=Land-revenues paid in kind.

Bhoga=Periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers and the like which the villagers had to furnish to the king.

Kara=A general property tax levied periodically.

Hiraṇya=Tax in *cash* levied upon certain special kinds of crops as distinguished from the tax in *kind* (*bhāga*) which was charged upon the ordinary crops.

Uparikara=Impost levied on temporary tenants.

For discussion, with references, cf. U. N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 237, 36, 60, 210. There are, in addition, two kinds of taxes, each mentioned only in a single record, *piṇḍaka* (Ins. No. B. 2) and *ratnatraya-sambhoga* (No. B. 66) the meaning of which is unknown. Dr. Ghoshal's interpretation (*op. cit.* p. 244) of these two terms is hardly convincing.

[50] Ch. VII. V. 131.

[51] For this interpretation of *Chauroddharaṇa*, cf. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 243, f.n. 2.

[52] For the different views on the interpretation of the term *daśāparādha*, cf. Ghoshal, *op. cit.* pp. 219-20.

[53] Cf. Footnote 47.

[54] Mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Book XI, Chapter I.

[55] See p. 30 above. According to Curtius Rufus Quintas, the King of the Gangaridae and the Prasii "kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of 3,000 elephants" (*Classical Accounts of India*, by R.C. Majumdar, p. 128).

[56] The word 'Gauḍa' was wrongly read as 'Oḍra' in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, 321, and hence Oḍra has been added to this list by some (cf. *EHBP.* I. 142).

[57] 'Kulika' is mentioned as the name of a people, along with Yavanas, Gandhāras etc., in the *Brahma Purāṇa* (Ch. XXVII, vv. 45-50). It is explained as 'hunter' in Monier William's Dictionary on the authority of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X. 47-19.

[58] *CII.* III. p. 52, footnote 4.

[59] *Op. cit.*, pp. 246, 292.

[60] *HB.* pp. 285-6.

[61] For details, cf. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 550 ff.

[62] For the details that follow, cf. *HB.* pp. 24-29.

[63] See p. 99.

[64] B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 571.

CHAPTER X

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

I. Rural Economy

The economic system in Bengal has always been based on land tenure. That this was so in ancient times is definitely proved, among others, by reference, in a large number of inscriptions, to *pustapālas*, a class of officers who were attached both to the villages and other administrative units right up to the District headquarters. It is quite obvious from epigraphic records that these officers maintained permanent registers about different plots of lands, in which were carefully noted boundaries, demarcations, titles, sales and other transactions etc. It seems to be also quite clear that the main object of such elaborate system was to ensure the realization of land-revenues due to the Government.[1] There was nothing special in this, for we learn from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* that the Government appointed an official called *Gopa*, with jurisdiction over five or ten villages, whose duty is defined as follows :

"By setting up boundaries to villages, by numbering plots of grounds as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, gardens vegetable gardens, fences (*vāṭa*), forests, altars, temples of gods, irrigation works, cremation grounds, feeding houses (*sattra*), places of pilgrimage, pasture grounds and roads, and thereby fixing the boundaries of various villages, of fields, of forests, and of roads, he shall register gifts, sales, charities, and remission of taxes regarding fields.

"Also having numbered the houses as taxpaying or non-taxpaying, he shall not only register the total number of the inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, but also keep an account of the exact number of cultivators, cow-herds, merchants, citizens, labourers, slaves, and biped and quadruped animals, fixing at the same time the amount of gold, free labour, toll and fines that can be collected from it (each house)."

"He shall also keep an account of the number of young and old men that reside in each house, their history (*charitra*), occupation (*ājīva*), income (*āya*), and expenditure (*vyaya*)."[2]

An elaborate system of supervising the work of the *Gopas* was devised in order to ensure that they did their duty, and maintain their accounts and registers in a proper manner.

The epigraphic records in Bengal indicate that a similar system of maintaining detailed registers prevailed in Bengal, though, unfortunately, these records have not reached us.[3]

There are also clear indications that the organisation of villages into well-defined administrative units, such as existed in ancient India, was also prevalent in Bengal. This has been noted in the preceding Chapter in connection with administration. A fairly good picture of the village is supplied by the early inscriptions discovered in Bengal. A typical instance is furnished by an inscription dated in the second regnal year of Lakshmaṇasena (C. 6) which refers to the donated village as follows, beginning with the boundaries : "To the east, the river Ganges, half boundary ; to the south, the temple (*maṇḍapa*) of Leṅghadeva, another boundary ; to the west, the orchard of pomegranates, another boundary ; to the north, Dharmanagara, another boundary,—measuring 60 *bhū-droṇas* and 17 *unmānas*, according to the standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region, and yielding annually 900 *purāṇas*, at the rate of 15 *purāṇas* to the *droṇa*, along with forest and branches, land and water, pits and barren land, betelnut and cocoanut trees, ...as well as with grass *pūti* plant and grazing land...."[4]

The area of the village as well as the income derived from it is also given in other records (C. 5, 7). Villages must have been of various sizes. There are references to *Pāṭakas* (C. 13, 16) which probably meant small villages from which the modern Bengali word *Pāḍā*, denoting a particular quarter of a village, seems to have been derived. It appears from these records that "the villages usually consisted of certain well defined parts, *viz.*, village settlement or habitat (*vāstu*), arable land (*kshetra*), and natural meadow-land (*go-chara*), which provided pasture for live-stock. The expression *tṛiṇa-pūti-go-chara-paryantaḥ*, mentioned in most of the Pāla and Sena land-grants, suggests that the pasture-ground produced various kinds of grass, and was usually located in a corner of the villages or along the village boundaries. Apart from these, most of the villages also contained pits and canals (*garta* and *nālā*), which might have served the purpose of drainage, barren tracts (*ushara*), tanks, reservoirs and temples, besides cattle-tracks (*go-patha* or *go-mārga*) and ordinary roads and paths. A few villages are also stated to have been in

possession of woodlands or jungles,[5] where the common folk probably went to gather their fire-wood and litter. It is thus clear that the various types of land, attached to the village, were not only distinguished and classified from the point of view of their usefulness to man, but were organised for exploitation according to certain system and customary practices so as best to satisfy human needs."[6]

.We have no definite knowledge of the system of land-tenure in Bengal in ancient times. Such problems as the ownership of land, the fixity of tenure, the respective rights possessed by the actual cultivator, the owner by gift or purchase, and the State, have been discussed in the preceding chapter. In particular, attention may be drawn to the *akshaya-nīvī-dharma* as well as to the system of sale and gift of land for pious purposes, and the details of the boundary marks, either natural or by such devices as permanent marks by chaff and charcoal[7] or pegs (*kīlaka*) of beaufiful design[8] referred to in epigraphic records.

Though it is not possible to give a definite and comprehensive account of the nature of lands, conditions of tenure etc., the following data supplied by the epigraphic records in Bengal throw a good deal of light.[9]

As regards the inscriptions of the Gupta and other pre-Pāla records, the most complete description is given in Ins. No. A. 10 about the nature of the lands. It comprises the following items :—

revenue-free (*samudayabāhya*),
untilled (*aprahata*)
fallow land (*khila kshetra*).

These terms evidently refer to the unappropriated waste lands lying on the outskirts of the settled villages. As these lands, at the time of being made over to the assignees, were required to be severed according to specified measures,[10] it is clear that they had, before this time, formed part and parcel of the unappropriated waste. Whether such lands after their disposal continued to be revenue-free, cannot be definitely ascertained. The probability is that they became subject to a progressively increased taxation till the normal rate was reached.

As regards conditions of the sales, these lands were contemplated or declared to be held—

according to the custom of non-destruction of the principal[11] (Ins. No. A. 4)

in perpetuity, according to the custom of (non-destruction of) the principal (A.6),

with the right of perpetual endowment, and according to the custom of non-destruction (as above)[12] (A. 7),

in perpetuity, according to the custom of non-destruction (as above), and without the right of alienation[13] (A. 8),

with the right of perpetual endowment (A. 10).

It would thus appear that the conditions of tenure are more or less the same in all the early inscriptions, namely, the alienations in every case are perpetual, but non-transferable, and the State reserved its right to the unappropriated waste to such an extent as to deny even the possessors the right of alienation of their holdings. Similar information is supplied by the later Grants.

"The known Grants of the Pāla kings, which are made with regard to whole villages and in favour of Brāhmaṇas or religious foundations, usually mention that the land is granted—

'with the rent of temporary tenats' (*uparikara*)[14] 'with the (immunity from) penalties for the ten offences' (*daśāparādha* or *daśāpachāra*), 'with the police-tax,'[15] 'with immunity from all burdens,' 'with the prohibition of entrance by irregular and regular troops,' 'with exemption from all taxes', 'with all revenues due to the king,' 'according to the maxim of the uncultivable land', 'to last as long as the Sun and the Moon shall endure'.

In connection with the above the resident cultivators are ordered to pay to the donee the follwing specific taxes besides others not mentioned :—*kara* and *piṇḍaka* (*EP. Ind.*, IV, No. 34), *bhāgabhoga-kara* and *hiraṇya* (*IA*, XV, p. 306; *JASB*, LXIII, pt. I, p. 39; *JASB*, 1900), *kara* and *hiraṇya* (*IA*, XXI, p. 256). In some of the above Grants (*IA*, XV; *JASB*. 1900; *Ep. Ind.* XIV, No. 23) the *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiraṇya* are mentioned in the list of revenues assigned in general terms to the donee. To the above one of these Grants (*JASB*, 1900) further adds the item 'with exemption from the king's enjoyment of the three jewels' (*ratnatrayarājasambhogavarjjita*). This term has not yet been properly explained, but it may refer to some kind of royal contribution from the villages in support

of the Buddhist faith which, as is well-known, was professed by the Pāla kings. In the above list *kara* is apparently an abbreviation of the more usual *bhāgabhogakara*, which probably means the king's grain-share, or the contribution in kind paid by the villagers.[16] The term *piṇḍaka* is identified by Kielhorn [17] with *bhāgabhogakara*, but it more probably stands for the *hiraṇya* (or the contribution in cash)[18] of other inscriptions. The *kara* and the *hiraṇya* are evidently singled out because they were the two most important taxes on the villages.

"The clauses in the Grant No. B. 97 include the items that the land 'is to be exempted from all burdens,' that it 'is not to be entered by the irregular and regular troops,' that it is 'to be exempted from all taxes,' and that it is 'to last as long as the Sun and the Moon etc., shall endure.' In the same connection the resident cultivators are ordered to pay to the donee the customary *kara* tax and all other revenues (*pratyāya*).

"The Grant No. B. 77 contains the clause that the land is granted—
'with mango and jackfruit trees, with betelnut and cocoanut trees,'
'with remission of penalties for the ten offences,' [19]
'with the police-tax (*chauroddharaṇa*),'
'with the immunity from all burdens,
'with the exemption from entrance by irregular and regular troops,'
'with the immunity from all taxes,'
'with all revenues consisting of the king's grain-share and the taxes in cash,' [20]
'to last as long as the Sun and the Moon shall endure,'
'according to the maxim of the uncultivated land', "

More or less the same clauses occur in the Grant No. B. 88.

The religious grants of the Pālas and their contemporaries thus continued to be made, more or less on the same conditions as before. "They were perpetual and hereditary, and were not only revenue-free, but also carried with them the assignment of the royal revenue from the villages. Again, the heads of revenue and the other charges imposed upon the villages would seem to have been the same as in earlier times. They comprise not only the older grain-share (*bhāgabhogakara*), the tax in cash (*hiraṇya*) and the

police-tax, but also the more recent fines imposed on villagers for committing any of the ten crimes (*daśāparadha*) mentioned above. It would appear from the title of one of the officers mentioned in the grant of Dharmapāla (B. 2) *viz.*, 'the officers in charge of the sixth' (*shashṭhādhikṛita*), that the grain-share used to be levied at the old traditional rate. The mention of the officer called *śaulkika* in most of the Pāla Grants points to two well-known sources of revenue coming down from earlier times, viz., the tolls and customs duties." [21]

The epigraphic records which supply the above data refer to lands granted for some specific and pious purposes. But such lands must have formed only a small portion of the agricultural land of Bengal. The express provision for exemptions from obligations of various kinds in the above Grants necessarily implies that the ordinary land-owners or cultivators were subject to these obligations, or at least to many of them, unless specifically exempted by the condition of their holdings. Special interest attaches to two of these obligations, namely (1) *parihṛita-sarva-pīḍā* translated above as 'immunity from all burdens and (2) entrance by irregular and regular troops (*achāṭabhaṭa-prāveśya*).

The first expression was translated by Dr. N. G. Majumdar as immune from all kinds of forced labour, but as Dr. U. N. Ghoshal observes : "This unnecessarily restricts the sense, since the burdens comprised in this term are shown by the earlier illustrative examples to include many other items of oppression as well."[22]

As regards the second, it has been suggested that *bhaṭa* refers to "certain services which the cultivators had occasionally to render to an army such as provisions of quarters and supply of provisions or labour. The exact purport of the other term *chāṭa* is not known, but is was evidently of the same nature and might have included the provision of food on the occasion of a king or high official visiting the locality and 'milk-money' i. e., the perquisite paid on the occasion of the birth of a prince, marriage of a princess etc. These were not regular taxes, but customary dues paid on specific occasions. On the other hand, the land-grants indicate that the possession of land carried with it certain inherent privileges. These included the right to everything under the ground and above it, such as mines, salt, wood, bush and trees including fruits. The right may have extended to the use of adjoining water, i. e., tanks or rivers and fishing therein."[23]

As regards the system of agriculture we have no special information regarding Bengal. As mentioned above, the lands are classified as fertile, i. e., cultivable, and those that are unsettled, uncultivated and fallow (*aprada, aprahata and khila*). There is no doubt that since remote antiquity paddy was cultivated as the staple food crop of the people. Most of the other food grains and fruits which are known today were also grown, and some of them are incidentally mentioned in the records. 'Paddy plants of various kinds are mentioned in the *Rāmacharita*, and inscriptions of the Sena period refer to "smooth fields growing excellent paddy," (C. 14) and "myriads of villages, consisting of land growing paddy in excessive quantities" (C. 9). Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 37) affords us a glimpse into the method of rice cultivation. Describing Raghu's conquest of the Vaṅgas, the poet remarks that Raghu uprooted and replanted them (*utkhāta-pratiropita*) like rice plants. Rice, as is well known, is sown in three different ways—broadcast, by drill, and by transplantation from a seed-bed where it has been broadcast sown. Of these the third method is, as a rule, the least risky and the most profitable. That it was known and practised in this province at least as early as the fifth century A.D. seems clear from the aforesaid statement of the great Sanskrit poet. The different processes of reaping and threshing also appear to have been similar to those prevailing at present. The *Rāmacharita* (*Kavi-praśasti*, v. 13) refers to the threshing floor where the 'reaped crops were spread out and threshed by means of bullocks which went round and round over them.'

"Another food-crop cultivated was probably sugar-cane. The classical author, Aelian, speaks of a kind of honey expressed from reeds which grew among the Prasioi. Lucan says that the Indians near the Ganges used to quaff sweet juices from tender reeds.[24] Suśruta (45, 138-40) mentions a variety of sugar-cane called *pauṇḍraka* : and most commentators of Sanskrit lexicons agree that it was so named because it was grown in the Pauṇḍra country (North Bengal). These statements, taken together, naturally suggest the inference that certain species of sugar-cane were cultivated in Bengal from very early times. It is also not improbable, as a writer has pointed out, that from the term *pauṇḍraka* have been derived such modern Vernacular names as *pauṇḍiā, pauṇḍā, puṇḍi, etc.*—a celebrated variety of sugar-cane cultivated in almost all parts of India.[25]

"Besides the above, contemporary records mention a variety of other crops grown in different parts of Bengal. These include malabathrum and spikenard, mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* among the exports of this province.[26] These were obviously of an excellent quality, and were grown on an extensive scale in the Eastern Himalayas. Another cultivated crop appears to have been mustard. The Vappaghoshavāṭa Grant of Jayanāga of the 7th century A.D. (A. 32) mentions the existence of a *sarshapa-yānaka* (mustard-channel) in the Audambarika-*vishaya* of Karṇa-suvarṇa. Further, epigraphic records, ranging from the eighth to the thirteenth century, tell us that betel-nut palm (*guvāka*) and cocoanut (*nārikela*) were extensively grown up and down the land.[27] Betel-vines were also cultivated in the form of plantations (*barojas*) and formed, under the Sena kings, a source of revenue to the State (C. 16). Cotton was also cultivated to feed an important industry of the province.[28] Fruits like mango (*āmra*), bread-fruit (*panasa*), pomegranate (*ḍālimva*), plantain, *bassia latifolia* (*madhūka*), date (*kharjura*), citron (*vīja*) and figs (*parkaṭi*) were also widely cultivated." [29]

There are references in the epigraphic records to various kinds of measurements, but it is not easy to understand them properly. Some general ideas of it have been given in the preceding chapter (p. 322).

II. Urban Economy

In spite of undoubted bias or emphasis on rural life, towns also formed an important feature in the economic life of ancient Bengal. In particular the towns that grew up along trade-routes by land and water, and a few like Tāmarlipti that served as good harbours on or near the sea-coast, played a very important role in the economic life of Bengal. There were many towns that were originally established for political or administrative reasons (such as Puṇḍravardhana, Gauḍa) and gradually developed for that very reason, as important centres of trade and business.

In addition to Tāmralipti, Puṇḍravardhana, Gauḍa or Laksh-maṇāvatī, Vikramapura, Karṇasuvarṇa, Pushkaraṇa, Koṭivarsha, Vardhamāna, Navyāvakāśikā, Pañchanagarī, Jaya-Karmānta, Priyaṅgu, Rohitāgiri, Paṭṭikera, Meharakula, Vijayapura, Triveṇī, Nadiyā, Suvarṇagrāma, Saptagrāma etc. figuring prominently in

political history, we have reference to many other towns in old records. The Greek writers of the first and second century A.D. refer to the royal city of Gange, a market town on the Ganges,[30] and the Ceylonese Chronicles refer to Vaṅganagara and Siṅhapura. The first two cannot be identified but the last may be identified with Singur in Serampore Sub-division of the Hooghly District. The Grant of Vainyagupta (A. 14) refers to the royal residence of Kṛipura and the naval port of Chūḍāmaṇi.

There were also some big monastic establishments which developed almost into towns. The Somapura (Pāhārpur) and Raktamṛittikā (near Karṇasuvarṇa) *Vihāras*, whose ruins have been excavated, give us some idea of these big establishments which were probably not unlike the temple cities of South India like Mādurā, Śrīraṅgam, Rāmeśvaram etc.

In addition to the large number of cities specifically mentioned in the records, there must have been many more, of which no memory has been preserved. In any case there is hardly any doubt that the town was an important factor in the economic development of Bengal, as elsewhere, and more or less possessed the same characteristic features. "Both literary and epigraphic evidences make it clear that whereas the rural population was mainly dependent on the soil and its produce, the towns, although not perhaps wholly divorced from agricultural activity, tended to serve a wide variety of functions, commercial, industrial, political, judicial and military. But in contemporary estimation the most distinctive characteristic of the towns was their comparative richness and luxury. The *Rāmacharita* (III. 31-32) refers to Rāmāvatī, founded by Rāmapāla, as "a city of rows of palaces" and as possessing "an immense mass of gems". The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 422) mentions the "wealth of the citizens of Puṇḍravardhana." The Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena (C. 2) draws pointed attention to the simplicity of the (village-dwelling) Brāhmaṇas in contradistinction to the luxury of the townsfolk. "Through the grace of Vijayasena", runs the epigraph, "the Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas have become the possessors of so much wealth that their wives have to be trained by the wives of the townspeople (to recognise) pearls, pieces of emerald, silver coins, jewels and gold from their similarity, respectively, with seeds of cotton, leaves of *śāka*, bottle-gourd flowers, the developed seeds of pomegranates and the blooming flowers of the creepers of pumpkin-gourd."[31]

III. Crafts and Industries.

Though agriculture formed the most predominant feature of Bengal's economy, various arts and crafts were also developed in the course of time. Some of these, whose existence may be proved by definite evidence, are noted below, though there must have been many others of which no record has survived.

A. Textile Industy

Bengal achieved great fame for her textile industry in remote antiquity. This is testified to by the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya [32] which includes the following among the best varieties available in India.

1. White and soft fabric (*dukūla*) manufactured in the country Vaṅga (*Vaṅgaka*)
2. That of Pauṇḍra (*Pauṇḍraka*) manufacture is black and as soft as the surface of a gem.
3. *Kshauma* manufactured in Pauṇḍra (North Bengal).
4. *Patrorṇa* of Pauṇḍra.
5. Kārpāsika (cotton fabrics).

As regards the last, Vaṅga is enumerated as one of the seven regions in India which produce the best variety.

Kshauma probably denoted linen of coarse variety, the finer form being known as *Dukūla* manufactured in East and North Bengal (Pauṇḍra), both of which were distinguished centres of textile industry from very early times,—before, and probably long before, the beginning of the Christian Era.

The nature of *Patrorṇa* is not known. It is generally taken to be a type of 'wild silk'. "Amara (II.VI, 3. 14) defines it as 'a bleached or white *kauśeya*,' while the commentator says that it was a fibre produced by the saliva of a worm on the leaves of certain trees. According to Kauṭilya, *nāga* tree, *likucha* (*artocarpus lakoocha*) *Vakula* (*mimusops elengi*) and *vaṭa* (*ficus bengalensis*) were the sources of these fibres. The author adds that *patrorṇa* was produced in three regions. viz., Magadha, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya. It is significant that wild silk of the best quality is still produced in these districts."[33]

It would thus appear that silk, linen and cotton fabrics had all attained a high degree of excellence in Bengal even more than two thousand years ago.

Bengal maintained her reputation for textile industry throughout the ancient (and medieval) period. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written by a Greek sailor who visited the coastal regions of India from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges in the first century A.D., refers to the "Muslins of the finest sorts" exported from Bengal. The high reputation of Bengal for textile industry is also testified to by the Arab writers. The Arab merchant Sulaiman wrote in the ninth century A.D. that there was 'a stuff made in this country (Ruhmi, located in Bengal) which is not to be found elsewhere ; so fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring.' Sulaiman adds that it was made of cotton, and that he was not speaking from hearsay, but had himself seen a piece of it. According to Marco Polo, who visited India in the thirteenth century, Bengal still plied a lucrative trade in cotton goods.[34]

B. Other Industries

Reference has been made above to the cultivation of sugar-cane. That it was exported from Bengal in large quantities is mentioned by Marco Polo.

The manufacture of salt is referred to in several epigraphic records (B.77, 88, 92).

The existence of several arts, crafts and industry, and the high level of excellence to which they reached, are proved by the numerous finds of pottery of various sizes and designs, terracotta plaques with beautiful figures engraved thereon, metal works of various kinds, specially weapons of war[35] and images of bronze or octo-alloy, as well as stone images, to which reference will be made in the chapter on Art. Jewellery also formed one of the most distinguished branches of craft and industry. Epigraphic records as well as literary works testify beyond doubt to the fashion of the rich to use gold and silver dishes and ornaments made of pearls and precious stones and metals for personal adornment. Inscription No. C. 2 mentions 'flowers made of precious stones, necklaces, ear-rings, anklets, garlands and golden bracelets," worn by the wives of the king's servants, and the jewellery worn by the temple girls. No. C. 5 refers to necklaces

of pearls worn by ladies of royal blood. The *Rāmacharita* (III. 33-34) mentions "Jewelled anklet-bells," "charming ornaments set with diamonds, *lapis lazuli*, pearls, emeralds, rubies and sapphires," and "necklaces with central gems and pure pearls of round and big shape." According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* "golden and silver dishes' were used in the palace of Lakshmaṇasena.[36]

Various other arts, crafts, professions and industries are casually referred to in literature and epigraphic records, among which mention may be made of workers in wood and ivory, and others of comparatively minor importance, such as conchshell-workers, braziers, goldsmiths etc.

Many of the minor professions may be traced in the various castes and sub-castes in Bengal, for many of the so-called mixed castes, outside the pale of the primitive four castes of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, were really formed by the transformation of organised guilds of these crafts, professions and industries into social groups. Reference may be made to the growth of the following castes, among others, by this process, namely florists, garland-makers, carpenters, masons, painters, braziers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths potters, weavers, oilmen, barbers, cobblers, butchers, distillers of wine etc.

The so-called "thirty-six" castes of Bengal, which must have evolved before the end of the Hindu period, are living testimonies to the industrial and professional organisations known as trade and craft guilds which are referred to in the early *Smṛiti* literature. Their existence in Bengal is proved by the expressions *prathama-kulika*, *prathama-kāyastha*, mentioned above[37] in connection with local administration, for these can only refer to the chiefs of an organised profession. Of particular interest and significance is the description of Rāṇaka Śūlapāṇi, who engraved the Deoprara Inscription (C. 2), as *Varendra-Śilpigoshṭhī-Chūḍāmaṇi*. This refers to an organisation of artisans covering a big area like Varendra. If the interpretation of Rāṇaka, as given above[38], be accepted, it would prove the high status and dignity of the chiefs of such organisations.

IV Trade and Commerce

Though details are lacking, there is sufficient evidence of a brisk trade which resulted from the growth of different types of industry, facilities of transport afforded by the river-systems, and the luxuries

of urban life referred to above. There are references to officials for collecting tolls (*śaulkika*), and supervisors of marts and markets (*haṭṭa-pati*). The principal centres of inland trade were obviously the towns. Navyāvakāsikā was a rendezvous of merchants and businessmen (A. 18, 20-22), and so was Koṭivarsha (A. 6-10). According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* Puṇḍravardhana had a great market-place and its streets were lined with shops. Villages also were often centres of trade and business. Inscriptions mention a *haṭṭa* or market (A.7), *haṭṭikā* (B. 2) which, according to Kielhorn, means "market dues", and grant of village with its market place (*sa-haṭṭa*) (B. 92), while C. 22 speaks of shops (*haṭṭiya-gṛiha*) and big markets (*haṭṭa-vara*) in some of the donated villages.

Though the rivers and canals of Bengal were the chief routes of internal trade, there were land-routes also connecting different parts of the Province. These are referred to by foreign travellers like Fa-hien and Hieun-Tsang, and mention is made of '*rāja-patha*' or public highway passing by a village in an Inscription (C-19). Remains of two ancient embanked roads have been discovered near Dhanora.[39]

Curiously enough, we have more positive evidence of foreign trade of Bengal. This is mainly due to the fact that the oversea trade of a large part of North India passed through Bengal and its well-known ports at the mouths of the Ganges. Strabo, the great Greek geographer and historian, who wrote his famous '*Geography*' between A.D. 17 and 23, refers to the "ascent of vessels from the sea by the Ganges to Palibothra,"[40] and his information is probably derived from Megasthenes (fourth century B.C.). We learn from a number of *Jātaka* stories[41] that merchant and businessmen took ships at Banaras, or lower down at Champā (modern Bhagalpur), and then either made coasting voyage to Ceylon or crossed the Bay of Bengal to Suvarṇabhūmi being "for many days without sight of land." We learn from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* that Bengal maintained an active oversea trade with South India and Ceylon in the first century A.D. The commodities exported, according to this authority, were malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard, pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts. These were all shipped from a 'market-town' called Gange (probably the same as Tāmralipti). and carried in vessels described in the *Periplus* as '*colandia*'. The *Milinda pañha*, an early Pali text, also mentions that trade was carried on from Vaṅga across the sea to many countries.[42]

The most important port in ancient Bengal was undoubtedly Tāmralipti. The modern town of Tamluk, which roughly represents the old site, is on the right bank of the river Rūpnārāyaṇ, about twelve miles from its junction with the Hooghly. As pointed out above (p. 6), the courses of these rivers have shifted frequently, and in early times the port of Tāmralipti was not unlikely situated on the Sarasvatī or another branch of the Ganges. It appears from the accounts of Chinese pilgrims—Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsang, and I-tsing—and Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-charita*, that it was the place for embarkation for Ceylon, Java and China (in the east), and the land of the Yavanas (in the west). The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, a later work, also refers to people embarking on ships at Tāmralipti for going to Kaṭāha in the Malay Peninsula. This famous port is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and various synonyms of it are given in Hemachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*. Its existence in the second century A.D. is proved by reference in Ptolemy's *Geography*. According to a story preserved in the *Daśakumāracharita*, the prince of Tāmralipti used to commit piracy near the port, and once, with a fleet of one large and several smaller boats, attacked a Greek (Yavana) vessel. Such piracies were not unknown in other parts of India also.[43]

The port on the Ganges referred to in the *Periplus* has been identified with Tāmralipti by Schoff who observes : "By the town of Ganges is probably meant Tāmralipti, the modern Tamluk (22°18′ N., 87°56′ E.), which gave its name to the Tāmraparṇī river in the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and to the island of Ceylon. This was the seaport of Bengal in the Post-Vedic and Buddhist periods, being frequently mentioned in the great epics. It was the port of the "Bangālis, who trusted in their ships," who were conquered by the hero of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*. Here it was that Fa-hien sojourned two years, after which he embarked in "a large merchant vessel, and went floating over the sea to the south-west.....to the country of Singhala."[44]

As regards malabathrum which was exported from this port, Schoff remarks that this was brought from the Eastern Himālayas, the greatest source of its supply, according to the *Periplus*.[45] This would indicate inland trade of Bengal with the North-eastern frontier regions also. This is also proved by the import of silk from China to the Ganges and thence exported to Tamil lands. Ptolemy refers to the Sabarai living near the Ganges whose country produces diamonds.

The oversea trade from Tāmralipti followed different courses. The first was a voyage along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal right up to Malay Peninsula, and then through the Malay straits, or across the narrow isthmus of Kra, to South-east Asia as far as China. The second was a coastal voyage to Paloura near modern Chicacole and then right across the Bay of Bengal to the opposite coast. The third was a voyage along the eastern coast of India to Ceylon, and then turning north along the western coast to the mouth of the Indus, or across the Arabian Sea from some point in South India to the ports in Arabia and Eastern Africa.

Reference has been made above to the overland trade-route from Bengal to the northern and north-eastern regions in connection with the import of Malabathrum. We possess definite evidence about two such routes. One of these connected Bengal through Kāmarūpa (Assam) with China. This is proved by the statement of Chang-kien, the Chinese ambassador to the Yue-chi country in 126 B.C. that when he was in Bactria he was surprised to find silk and bamboo which came from the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Szechwan. On inquiry he learnt that the caravans carried these products from southern China to Afghanistan through India. This route evidently continued in use till the ninth century A.D., and was joined by another from Annam. For the itinerary of Kia Tan (785-805 A.D.) describes the land-route from Tonkin to Kāmarūpa, which crossed the Karatoyā river, passed by Puṇḍravardhana, then ran across the Ganges to Kajangal, and finally reached Magadha.[46]

It was by this route that the noted commodities of Assam like textile, sandals and *agaru* were carried through Bengal to other parts of India.

Another overland route passed through the Himālayas across Nepal, Sikim and Chumbi Valley to Tibet and China, which formed the great highway followed by the Buddhist pilgrims of northern Asia on their pilgrimage to India. The import of Malabathrum and other commodities mentioned above might have been carried on through this route also. Towards the end of the Hindu period, large number of horses were also imported into Bengal along this track. Referring to the town Karbattan (also called Kar-pattan or Karambatan), which was situated somewhere at the foot of the Himālayan range, the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsīrī* says :

"Every morning in the market of the city, about fifteen hundred horses are sold. All the saddle horses which come into the territory

of Lakhnauti are brought from this country. Their roads pass through the ravines of the mountains, as is quite common in that part of the country. Between Kāmarūpa and Tibet there are thirty-five mountain passes through which horses are brought to Lakhnauti.[47]

The most frequented overland route must have followed the Ganges, having more or less the same alignment as the Grand Trunk Road, the extent of which right across the whole of North India up to Pāṭaliputra (Patna) is vouched for by Megasthenes (4th century B.C.). The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to merchants travelling frym Puṇḍravardhana to Pāṭaliputra. When I-tsing, left the sea-port of Tāmralipti in 673 A.D. "taking the road which goes straight to the west," hundreds of merchants accompanied him to Bodh-Gayā.[48] We learn from a rock inscription of Udayamāna (8th centuay A.D.) that merchants from distant places like Ayodhyā used to frequent the port of Tāmralipti for purposes of trade.[49] These western routes were the principal highways of communication between Bengal and the rest of Northern India, both for purposes of trade and military expedition.

Footnotes

[1] Cf. Chapter IX, pp. 290, 295.

[2] *Arthasāstra*, translated by R. Shamasastry (1915), pp. 178-9.

[3] Cf. Ch. IX.

[4] *IB.*, pp. 97-8.

[5] *Sa-vana* (*IB.* 63), *sa-jhāṭa-viṭapa* (*IB.*, 74, 87). *Ep. Ind.* II. 357.

[6] *HB.* p. 643.

[7] *Chira-kāla-sthāyi-tush-āṅgār-ādīnām chihṇaiḥ* (A. 5).

[8] *Kamal-āksha-māl-āṅkita* (A. 19).

[9] The account that follows, unless otherwise stated, is based on *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, pp. 199, 200, 243-246. The passages within inverted commas are quotations from this book (referred to as *Hind. Rev.*).

[10] The unit of land measure mentioned in the records of this period is 8 by 9 reeds (A. 4, 8, 12) i.e., an oblong area 8 reeds in breadth and 9 reeds in length. Cf. above, p. 322.

[11] Dr. R. G. Basak reads the word as *nīvīdharma-kshayeṇa* and translates it as "on condition of destruction of non-transferability." The above translation in the text is based on the reading *nīvīdharmākshayeṇa*, suggested by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (*Hind. Rev.*, 199, f.n. 2).

[12] The translation differs from that of Dr. R. G. Basak (*Hind. Rev.*, p. 199, f.n. 4).

[13] The original word is *apratikara*.

[14] For various interpretations of *Udraṅga* and *Uparikara* which are frequently mentioned in the land-grants, cf. Lalanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 40 ff.

[15] The original word is *Chauroddharaṇa*. For its various interpretations cf. *ibid*, pp. 60-61.

[16] For various interpretations of this term, cf. *ibid*, pp. 32 ff.

[17] *Ep. Ind.* IV, p. 254, note 7.

[18] For various other interpretations, cf. Lalanji Gopal, *op. cit.* pp. 38 ff.

[19] The original word is *sa-daśāparādha*. N. G. Majumdar translates it as "with toleration of ten sins." But none of these interpretations is acceptable in view of the fact that this immunity was granted not merely to individuals, but also to institutions like temples. According to *Nārada*, the ten *aparādhas* or crimes were : "Disobedience of the king's order, murder of a woman, confusion of *varṇas*, adultery, theft, pregnancy from one not the husband, abuse and defamation, obscenity, assault, and abortion." P. V. Kane, after enumerating the crimes, very reasonably observes : "No king would ever think of exempting donees in pious gifts or the villages in those grants from the results of those *aparādhas*." The right interpretation seems to be "a positive right in the form of income from the fines imposed on villagers for committing any of the ten offences." (Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, pp. 264-5 ; Lalanji Gopal, *op. cit.* pp. 43-45).

[20] The original word is *Savarājabhoga-karahiraṇya-pratyāya*. N. G. Majumdar translates it as "with all the income such as taxes and gold enjoyed by the king."

[21] Cf. pp. 315, 318, 326 above, under *Śaulkika* and *Gaulmika*.

[22] *Hind. Rev.*, p. 245, f.n. 3.

[23] *HB.* 648.

[24] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 122, f.n. 3.
[25] Cf. *Rāmacharita*, III. 17. *JBORS*, IV. 437.
[26] Cf. p. 344.
[27] The Ashrafpur Grant of Devakhaḍga (A. 33) specifically states that the donee should enjoy the donated land by the cultivation of betel-nut palms and cocoanuts (*MASB*. I. 90). The *Rāmacharita* (III. 19) refers to Varendrī as "the congenial soil for cocoanut trees in the world."
[28] Kauṭilya (Bk. II. Ch. 11) mentions *kārpāsika* or cotton fabrics manufactured in Vaṅga. According to the inscription (No. C 2, *v*. 23), ordinary rural folk were familiar with seeds of cotton. The early *Charyā-padas* also refer to cotton cultivation (*BGD*. 41). Referring to the people of Bengal, Marco Polo says, "They grow cotton, in which they drive a great trade" (Yule, *Marco Polo*, II. 115).
[29] The cultivation of mango and bread-fruit is mentioned in a large number of Pāla and Sena inscriptions. Hiuen Tsang refers to the abundant growth of *panasa* in Puṇḍravardhana and gives a detailed account of this fruit which was 'highly esteemed' (Beal-*Records*. II. 194). The Govindapur Plate (C. 6) refers to an "orchard of pomegranates" (*ḍālimva-kshetra*) (*IB*. 97). The plantain tree is frequently depicted in the Pāhārpur terra-cotta plaques (*Paharpur*. 70). It also occurs among the sculptures, for instance, in the Chaṇḍī images of the Rajshahi Museum. *Vīja* (citron) and *kharjura* (date) are mentioned in Ins. No. B. 2, *parkaṭi* (fig) in Nos. A. 20, 21, and *bassia latifolia* (*madhūka*) in B 97, and probably also in the *Rāmacharita* (III. 21).
[30] The *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography* (*Classical Accounts*, pp. 308, 375).
[31] *HB*., pp. 644-5.
[32] Translated by R. Shamasastry, p. 93.
[33] *HB*. p. 655.
[34] *Ibid*.
[35] Apart from actual finds of arrow-heads and spear-heads at Pāhārpur, reference may be made to the statements in the *Agni-Purāṇa* (245, 21 ff.) that Vaṅga was an important centre of sword manufacture and that the swords produced there "were characterised by both keenness of edge and the power of standing blows."
[36] *E. and D*. II. 309.
[37] See p. 291.
[38] See p. 312.
[39] *ASI*, 1922-3, p. 109.
[40] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 16.
[41] *Jātaka*, IV, 15-17 (No. 442), 159 (No. 466) ; VI. 34 (No. 539).
Also cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, p. xi.
[42] *CHI*, p. 212.
[43] Lalanji Gopal, *op. cit*. pp. 128-30.
[44] The *Periplus*, Tr. by Schoff, p. 255.
[45] *Ibid*, p. 256.
[46] R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East* (1963), p. 258. Also cf. *BEFEO*, IV, 131 ff., 142-3.
[47] *E. and D*. II, pp. 311-2.
[48] *I-tsing*, Transl. by Takakusu, p. xxxi.
[49] *Ep. Ind*. II, p. 345.

CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

I Sanskrit Literature

1. Growth and Development of Sanskrit Literature.

It can hardly be expected that anything that may be properly called literature existed in Bengal before the Aryan culture was imposed upon, or adopted by, the people at large. At least no evidence is available to this effect, though it is not unlikely that individual Aryans settling in Bengal, who may be regarded as pioneers of Aryan civilisation, introduced Aryan language and literature among a small section of the upper classes in Bengal.

Evidence for the introduction of Aryan language in Bengal is furnished by the epigraphic records mentioned in connection with the political history, which are all written in Aryan language and script. The oldest of these is a fragmentary record (A. 1-A) in six short lines inscribed on a stone plaque found at Mahasthan (Bogra Dt.). It is written in Prakrit language, in the Brāhmī script of about third century B.C. It is not till after about six hundred years that we come across the next epigraphic record. It is a short Sanskrit inscription in three lines engraved on Susunia Hill, near Bankura (A. 3), recording the installation of an image of Vishṇu during the reign of Chandravarman, who probably flourished in the fourth century A.D. While these certainly indicate a knowledge of Prakrit and Sanskrit, on the part of at least a small section of the people in Bengal, they do not convey any definite idea of the growth and evolution of Sanskrit literature in Bengal.

Of far greater importance are a large number of land-grants found in Bengal (Nos. A. 4-12, 14, 18-23) which may be referred to the period between A.D. 434 and 600. These are all written in prose and show a far greater acquaintance with Sanskrit Literature, but their literary value is not very great.

But the later epigraphic records of Bengal from the beginning of the seventh century A.D. are sometimes written in a high-flown *kāvya* style which leaves no doubt that Sanskrit literature was developed

in Bengal (cf. A. 27, 36). This is fully confirmed by the testimony of Chinese pilgrims, who refer to the Buddhist and Jaina monasteries and Brāhmanical temples in Bengal as centres of learning. Fa-hien (5th century) spent two years at Tāmralipti (Tamluk in Midnapore Dt.), studying and copying manuscripts.[1] Hiuen Tsang (7th century) refers to numerous seats of learning and highly praises the people for love of learning.[2] I-tsing's evidence is of particular interest. For he specifically states that he learnt Sanskrit in Tāmralipti.[3]

We have thus plenty of evidence for the prevalence of Sanskrit and Sanskritic learning and culture in Bengal from the fifth century A.D., if not before. Though we have no direct or definite evidence of Bengal's contribution to the development of Sanskrit literature, we possess an indirect evidence of great value in this respect. This is furnished by the following verse in the *Harsha-Charita* by Bāṇabhaṭṭa (7th century) describing the peculiarities of poetic style in the different parts of India :

"In the North plays on words are mainly admired, in the West it is only the sense ; in the South, it is poetical fancy ; in Gauḍa pomp of syllables (*Gauḍesh-vakshara-ḍambaraḥ*).[4]" Though not very complimentary to the Bengali poets, it certainly proves the independent growth of Sanskrit poetry in Bengal to such an extent as led to the evolution of a characteristic style of its own.

It has been held by many that the disparaging remark of Bāṇabhaṭṭa is due to a partisan spirit, as owing to historical reasons mentioned above (p. 52) Bāṇabhaṭṭa had supreme contempt for Bengal. But the very fact that in this passage Bāṇa was describing the peculiar literary excellences in the four different regions of India, all of which are not to be found together in any one region, he was paying compliments to the poets of Bengal for their wealth of vocabulary.

This view finds some support in the references to the poetic styles of Gauḍa and Vidarbha by Bhāmahā and Daṇḍin. Bhāmaha lived towards the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D., and Daṇḍin was his junior contemporary (first half of the 8th century). Both of them regard *Gauḍī* and *Vaidarbhī* as the two most important modes of poetic expression, but while the former regards the *Gauḍī* as superior to the other, the latter regards *Vaidarbhī* as the standard and the *Gauḍī* differing from it in some essential aspects and not unoften indulging in bombast and prolixity.[5] But whatever

we may think of these views, it seems to be quite clear that by the seventh century A.D., a distinctive literary style had developed in Bengal which the literary men all over India had to take note of. It is to be noted that according to Vāmana, who flourished in the 9th century, the name of the recognised literary diction like *Vaidarbhī* or *Gauḍī* was derived from its prevalence in the particular locality.[6] Thus, though the *Gauḍī-rīti* became later more or less a general technical term to denote a particular style not confined to Gauḍa or Bengal, its origin is to be traced to this particular region. This undoubtedly implies that Bengal was a great centre of the development of Sanskrit literature.

But, unfortunately, this very reasonable inference is not supported by the actual remains of literary works produced by the Bengalis. The epigraphic records refer to the high accomplishments of individuals in various branches of Sanskrit literature, such as Vedic literature (with specific reference to *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* and Kauthuma recension of the *Sāmaveda*), Vedānta, Pramāṇa, Āgamas, Nīti, Jyotiṣha, Mīmāṁsā, Tarka and Vyākaraṇa, (B. 8, 20, 40, 50, 66). The inscription of King Harivarman's minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (B. 90) describes the scholastic attainment of the latter. It is said that this Brāhmaṇa of Rāḍhā was prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of philosophy and conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (i. e., Kumārila) ; he was an antagonist of the Buddhists and refuted the opinions of heretie dialecticians (v. 20). He was proficient in *Siddhānta*, *Tantra* and *Gaṇita*, and had special keenness for Astrological Science (*Phalasaṁhitās*). He himself composed a book of Horoscopy (*Horāśāstra*) and was thus a second Varāha (v. 21). He wrote a treatise of Smṛiti as well and superseded the texts that were already in the field (v. 22). Following Bhaṭṭa he also wrote a guide to Mīmāṁsā philosophy. He was well-versed in other subjects also such as *Arthaśāstra*, *Ayurveda*, *Astraveda* and so forth (v. 23)."[7] It is said in the colophon to the *Haricharita Kāvya* of Chaturbhuja that the Varendra Brāhmaṇas of the time of Dharmapāla were experts in *Śruti*, *Śmṛiti*, *Purāṇa*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Kāvya*.[8]

Some of the inscriptions exhibit literary talents of a high order, but very few literary works of a date earlier than 10th century, may be ascribed to Bengali authors on sufficiently authentic testimony. We may, therefore, turn now to a discussion of some literary works attributed to Bengali authors.

2. Sanskrit Texts Attributed to Bengali Authors[9]

(Bengali authorship has been claimed for several literary works on very doubtful or insufficient evidence) A brief reference is made to some of them. A few Upapurāṇas, evidence for whose Bengali authorship rests on more reasonable grounds, will be mentioned in Chapter XIII.

A. The *Hastv-āyurveda*, a treatise dealing with the disease of elephants in the form of a dialogue held in Champā between king Romapāda of Aṅga and a sage named Palakāpya, has been assigned by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī to 5th or 6th century B.C. This date is highly improbable, and even the name Pālakāpya is regarded by many as fictitious.[10] But "it could not have been redacted at a very late period, inasmuch as the encyclopaedic *Agni-purāṇa*, some of whose Śastric sections have to be dated earlier than the 10th century, tells us that its chapter on the *Gaja-chikitsā* is based upon Pālakāpya's narration to King Romapāda of Aṅga. It is not improbable that Kālidāsa alludes to Pālakāpya when he makes Sunandā, during the *Svayamvara* of Indumatī (*Raghu.* vi. 27), describe the king of Aṅga as one "whose elephants are trained by Sūtra-kāras." Pālakāpya's present work is written not in the form of *Sūtra* but in *Kārikā* with occasional prose exposition, somewhat in the manner of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, but since Bharata has also been called a *Muni* and *Sūtra-kāra*, a similar allusion to Pālakāpya is not improbable. If this presumption is acceptable, then Pālakāpya's treatise on elephant-science, like Bharata's work on Dramaturgy, must be taken as embodying a traditional compendium, which was redacted in Aṅga or in some place on the banks of the Brahmaputra, some time before Kālidāsa, in the name of a legendary sage, who first systematised the science and in the form and diction of an ancient *Śāstra*. The present text is an extensive compilation of 160 chapters, covering 700 pages in the printed edition, and is divided (after medical works) into four Sthānas or sections, namely, Mahā-roga (Principal diseases, 18 chapters), Kshudra-roga (Minor diseases, 72 chapters), Salya (Surgery, 34 chapters) and Uttara (Therapy, Bath, Dietics etc. 36 chapters). The science to which Kauṭilya refers when he speaks of elephant-doctors, and which at one time must have possessed considerable importance in India, is now nearly lost, and its technicalities have become obscure, but Pālakāpya's earliest authoritative contribution to the subject

deserves mention as presumably an eastern production of great interest."[11]

The earliest definite reference to this work occurs in Kahīrasvāmīn's commentary on *Amarakośa* (11th century). It is, however, very doubtful whether the author of the present work, even if we assume that it is a modern version of an old text, lived within the boundaries of Bengal, as defined in this volume.

B. Chandragomin, the Buddhist author of *Chāndra Vyākaraṇa* and the founder of the Chāndra School of Sanskrit Grammar, is regarded as a Bengali, mainly on the basis of Tibetan tradition. It, however, makes no distinction between the grammarian, the philosopher (author of a work on Logic named *Nyāya-Siddhyāloka*), and the Tāntric writer of the same name who, according to *Bstan-ḥgyur*, wrote no less than thirty-six esoteric texts, and is also said to have written some Sanskrit *stotras* (hymns), a drama, and a religious *kāvya*, entitled *Śishya-lekha-dharma.* According to the Tibetan tradition Chandragomin was born in a Kshatriya family in Varendra.

The *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* is undoubtedly a much more important work than the others attributed to him or his name-sakes. The date of its composition has been fixed between 465 and 544 A.D. by **B.** Liebich on the strength of the passage *'Ajayad Jartta Hunaṁ*, by emending *Jartta* into Gupta. This is at best very doubtful. On the whole it is very difficult to accept the theory that the grammarian Chandragomin was a Bengali.

C. Some have tried to show that Viśākhadattta, author of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Veṇī-Saṁhāra*, Murāri, author of the *Anargha-rāghava*, Subandhu, the author of *Vāsavadattā*, and Nītivarman, author of *Kīchaka-vadha*, were sons of Bengal. There is hardly any evidence in the case of the first four,[12] while that of the fifth, though plausible,[13] cannot be regarded as particularly strong, far less conclusive.

D. Kshemīśvara, the author of *Chaṇḍa-kauśika* has also been claimed to be a Bengali on the ground that he lived in the court of a king Mahīpāla, who drove away the Karṇāṭakas. MM. Hara Prasād Śāstrī identified the king with the Pāla King Mahīpāla who fought with the army of Rājendra Choḷa. But far more plausible is the identification of Mahīpāla with the homonymous Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler who fought with the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Indra III.

In any case it is very doubtful whether Kshemīśvara was born in Bengal.[14]

3. Sanskrit Texts Written by the Bengalis

A. *Kāvyas*

"The only writer who can be definitely assigned to Bengal is Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is known to us from stray quotations of his verses in the Sanskrit anthology of Śārṅgadhara, but the question of his date and identity is not free from difficulty. He has been identified with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta and author of the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra*, on the ground, chiefly, that the author of this metrical summary of Bāṇa's prose romance describes one of his ancestors as a Gauḍa ; but the evidence is obviously not conclusive, and none of the anthology verses ascribed to Abhinanda or Gauḍa Abhinanda is traceable in this work.[15] There is, however, no chronological obstacle in the way of the proposed identification. The author of the *Kathā-sāra* informs us that his fifth ancestor, Śaktisvāmin, flourished under Muktāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty of Kāshmir towards the end of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century ; and as the poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, is mentioned and quoted by the Kāshmirian Abhinavagupta towards the end of 10th century, his date may be fixed at about the first half of the 9th century. The Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been of a much later date, having been quoted in the *Kavīndra-vachana-samuchchaya* which cannot be assigned to a period later than the 10th century ; but it is not clear if this Abhinanda is identical with Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is cited (along with Abhinanda without the descriptive term Gauḍa) in the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*.

"These Abhinandas are probably to be distinguished from Abhinanda, the author of *Rāmacharita* (cf. p. 117), who describes himself as the son of Śatānanda, and probably also from Abhinava-paṇḍita, also a Gauḍa, whose *Yogavāsishṭha-saṁkshepa* in six Prakaraṇas and forty-six Sargas is noticed by Weber (Berlin Cat. No. 643) and who is described in the colophon to the work as *tarkavādīśvara-sāhityāchārya-gauḍamaṇḍalālaṁkāra-śrīmat*. The problem of identity is complicated by the fact that the editor of the *Rāmacharita* makes a plausible case of its author having belonged to Gauḍa on the basis of the identity of his patron Yuvarāja

Hāravarsha, son of Vikramaśīla, with Devapāla son of Dharmapāla."[16] The identity has been questioned by Dr. S. K. De, but strongly supported by N. Das Gupta.[17] The *Rāmacharita* is a Kāvya based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* (from the middle of Kishkindhyā-Kāṇḍa to the end of Yuddha-kāṇḍa) but with some additions and alterations in order to glorify the character of Rāma.

(The only Kavya that is known to have been written in Bengal by a Bengali during the period covered in this volume is the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī) to which reference has been made above in connection with the history of Ramapāla of the Pāla dynasty. MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī discovered the unique manuscript of the Kāvya in Nepal (now preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.) His description of the book has been quoted above.[18]

The author belonged to a very respectable family.[19] His grandfather was Pināka Nandī and his father, Prajāpati Nandī. The author was not only a poet, but a linguist. As Rāmapala was Rāma, so the poet calls himself Kalikāla-Vālmīki.

But by far the most important contribution of Bengal to the poetic literature in Sanskrit is the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva. All that we definitely know of the personal history of Jayadeva is that he was the son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (variants, Rādhādevī, Vāmādevī), and Padmāvatī, mentioned in several verses of the Gīta-govinda, was probably the name of his wife.[20] His birth-place was Kendubilva, which is generally identified with Kenduli, a village on the bank of the Ajay (Birbhum District),[21] where an annual fair is still held in his memory on the last day of the Bengali month of *Pausha*.[22] It may be reasonably inferred from the mention of the appropriate *Rāgas* and *Tālas* of the various songs in the poem that Jayadeva was well-versed in music. As a matter of fact some popular legends describe him as a wandering minstrel.[23]

According to well-established traditions, Jayadeva was one of the ornaments of the court of Laksmaṇasena. This is supported by the fact that the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, an anthology of poems compiled by Śrīdharadāsa during the reign of this Sena king,[24] contains verses of Jayadeva, and an inscription dated Samvat 1348 (A.D. 1292) quotes the famous Daśāvatāra-*stuti* (hymns to the incarnations of Vishṇu) in the *Gīta-govinda*.[25]

"The work is not a Stotra of praise but a poem which deals with a highly erotic episode of Kṛishṇa's vernal sports in

Vṛindāvana. It is divided into twelve cantos, in the form, but not in the spirit, of the orthodox Kāvya. Each canto falls into sections, which contain Padāvalīs or songs, composed in rhymed moric metres and set to different tunes....The theme, which is developed in this novel operatic form, is simple. It describes the estrangement of Rādhā from Kṛishṇa, who is sporting with other maidens, Rādhā's sorrow, longing and jealousy, intercession of Rādhā's companion, Kṛishṇa's return, penitence and propitiation of Rādhā, and the joy of their final reunion."[26]

The wide reputation of the *Gītā-govinda* all over India is proved by the existence of more than forty commentaries in different parts of India, including one by *Mahārāṇā* Kumbha of Mewār, and more than a dozen imitations of this extraordinary poem. It is universally regarded as a "rich source of literary and religious inspiration of Medieval India....not only as a great poem, but also as a great religious work of medieval Vaishṇava Bhakti." [27] Two poems ascribed to Jayadeva, in praise of Hari-Govinda are incorporated in the Ādigranth of the Sikhs.

In the introductory part of his poem Jayadeva has paid high tributes to poets Dhoyī, Umāpatidhara, Govardhana and Śaraṇa. These four along with Jayadeva may be regarded as the five *ratnas* (jewels or literary men) of the court of Lakshmaṇasena who has been compared with Vikramāditya by Dhoyī.[28] Though stray verses of these four poets and a long inscription of Umāpatidhara No. C. 2) are known, none of their poetical works are known with the exception of *Pavana-dūta* by Dhoyī, who has been described as king of poets by Jayadeva, and the '*Āryā-sapta-śati*' which is generally attributed to Govardhana mentioned above.

The *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyī is one of the dūta-kāvyas—more than fifty in number,—which 'derive their impetus, but not inspiration', from Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* :

"The work is noteworthy in taking up, without being a Charita, an historical personage, namely, the poet's patron Lakshmaṇesena, as the hero. The poet makes Kuvalayavatī, a Gandharva maiden of the Malaya hills, falls in love with the king during the latter's career of conquest in the south, and send the south-easterly wind as a messenger. It is an elegant poem of 104 verses, but of no greater merit than most poems of its kind."[29]

The *Āryā-sapta-śatī*, written on the model of Hāla's *Gāthā-*

sapta-śatī, contains more than 700 isolated verses of predominantly erotic character arranged alphabetically in Vrajyās. Govardhana attains "a measure of success, but the verses, moving haltingly in the somewhat unsuitable medium of Sanskrit Āryā metre, are more ingenious than poetical, and lack the flavour, wit and heartiness of Hāla's miniature word-pictures. But the work achieved the distinction of having inspired the very interesting Hindi *Satsaī* of Vihārilāl, which holds a high rank in Hindi poetry."[30]

The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* refers to one Umāpati as having composed a Kāvya called "*Chandrachūḍācharita*" now lost. He may be the same person as Umāpatidhara, but of this we have no positive evidence. He was also probably the author of two incriptions (C. 12, 13) besides No. C. 2 mentioned above.[30a]

About the same time when the poets mentioned above graced the court of Lakshmaṇasena in Bengal, another great poet, Śrīharsha of all-India fame, and author of the *Naishadha-charita* or *Naishadhīya*, lived in the court of the ruler of Kānyakubja (Vijaya Chandra or Jayachandra or both). Unfortunately, there is a very sharp difference of opinion among scholars regarding his merit as a poet as well as his native place. As regards the second point, there is a large body of opinion that he was a son of Bengal, though this is denied by some. Since much has been written on both sides, and this is a vital point in a history of Bengal, the whole question has been discussed in detail in an Appendix to this chapter.

Dr. S. K. De expressed the following view about the quality of Śrīharsha's epic :

"The only Mahākāvya which need detain us is the *Naishadha-charita* of Śrīharsha, not so much for its intrinsic poetic merit as for the interesting evidence it affords of the type of enormously laboured metrical composition which was widely and enthusiastically favoured. The work is regarded as one of the five great Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit ; it is undoubtedly the last masterpiece of industry and ingenuity that the Mahākāvya can show, but to class it with the masterpieces of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and even Māgha is to betray an ignorance of the difference between poetry and its counterfeit."[31]

Somewhat later he worte : "Śrīharsha claims originality for his work (viii. 109) as that of 'a traveller on a path unseen by the race of poets' ; but as a poem his work displays more learning than real

poetry. An elaborate and pedantic production of twenty-two cantos, it spins out and embellishes only a part of the simple and attractive epic story of Nala and Damayantī out of all recognition ; but the concern of the undoubtedly talented master of diction and metre is not so much with the poetic possibilities of the theme, as with the display of his own skill and learning so characteristic of later decadent poets. The work has been regarded as one of the five traditional Mahākāvyas and has been favoured by a section of learned Indian opinion, but it would be an acquisition of dubious value to Bengal if its Bengal origin were finally proved."[32] This view was strongly denounced by D. C. Bhattacharya who referred to the view of Keith ; an extract from the latter's work is quoted below :

"The Naishadhīya unquestionably has a definite interest in the history of Sanskrit literature, for it exhibits the application to the charming episode of the *Mahābhārata*, familiar to all students as the *Nala*, of the full resources of a master of diction and metre, possessed of a high degree of skill in the difficult art of playing on words, and capable of both delicate observation of nature and of effective expression of the impressions thence derived. Indian taste shows its appreciation of him beyond question in naming him a a Mahākavi as the successor of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha, nor need we doubt that to any of these critics the *Nala* would have seemed insufferably tame compared to the work of Śrīharsha. As one enthusiast of modern times [33] says, 'all mythology is at his fingers' ends'. Rhetoric he rides over. He sees no end to the flow of his description."

After referring to some deprecatory views about the *Naishadha-charita* Keith observes :

"Yet it is fair to admit Śrīharsha's cleverness ; his power of *double entendre* receives perfectly fair use in the recast of the famous scene in which Damayantī sees before her five men apparently exactly alike and cannot decide which is her lover....Nor, again, is it possible to deny that the transition in the last canto from the description of night to that of the moon is gracefully effected....

"Though on the whole we must condemn the elaboration of Śrīharsha and his excessive use of Yamakas and rime, he was certainly capable of elegance and skill in the use of language." [34]

Though the *Naishadha-charita* deals with the episode of Nala

and Damayantī described in the *Mahābhārata*, "the contents of cantos vi, vii, xv, xix-xxii, as well as the greater portion of xvii are matters not to be found in the epic. A whole canto of 109 verses is devoted to a description of the heroine's entire bodily charms, beginning from the top of the head to the toe of the feet! The panegyric of the Vaitālīya occupies the whole of canto xix (67 verses), while Damayantī's Svayamvara extends over five cantos. The poem ends with the married bliss of Nala and Damayantī."[35]

Referring to the poetic treatment of the Nala story which forms the theme of the *Naishadha-charita* Dr. S. K. De observes :

"The simple epic story is perhaps one of the most romantic and pathetic to be found in any literature, but Śrīharsha confines himself, significantly enough, to the lighter side of Nala's career. The concern of the undoubtedly talented master of diction and metre is not with the possibilities of the story itself, but with the possibilities of embellishing it, disproportionately in twenty-two cantos, by his forensic and rhetorical fancy with a pedantic mass of descriptive matter, supposed to be indispensable in the Mahākāvya. The Svayamvara of Damayantī, for instance, takes only a few lines in the Epic, but Śrīharsha devotes to it five long cantos (x-xiv) of more than five hundred stanzas. It is the most gorgeous and elaborate description of its kind in Sanskrit ; but it is not the question of magnificence and proportion alone that is here significant. To present to Damayantī the five Nalas, or rather the real Nala and the four divine suitors who have assumed his form, is a task of no small difficulty ; in Śrīharsha's opinion, the task is worthy of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, who is made to undertake it ; for each of the eighteen verses must have a twofold meaning, overtly applying to Nala, but characterising at the same time one of the four gods who also pose as Nala. For the sake of uniformity and impartiality, even the verses which describe the real Nala are also made to possess double meaning ; and in the closing stanza, the address is capable of five interpretations, one for each of the dissembling gods and the fifth for Nala himself. The situation is ingeniously conceived, and the display of marvellous punning is not altogether out of place ; but it certainly sets a perplexing task to poor Damayantī, to whom the verses perhaps would not be intelligible forthwith without a commentary....

"At the same time it must be said to Śrīharsha's credit that even if his Damayantī is conventional, he shows considerable skill in the general picture of Nala's character depicted with its conflict of the emotions of love and honour. Despite laboured language, there are animated and quite witty speeches and dialogues, and not a little of remarkable epigrams and wise reflections. There can also be no doubt about Śrīharsha's extraordinarily varied learning and command of the entire resources of traditional technique, even though the learning tends towards the obscure and the technique towards the artificial. His metrical skill is also considerable ; he employs about twenty different metres in all, which are mostly short lyrical measures, the Mandākrāntā, Śikhariṇī and Sragdharā occurring only rarely ; but his predilection towards harsh and recondite forms of words and phrases does not always make his metres smooth and tuneful."[36]

Śrīharsha was the son of Śrīhīra and Māmalladevī. "In one of the four additional verses found at the end of the poem, the genuineness of which, however, is not beyond question, it is said that the poet received honour from the king of Kānyakubja. As this assertion agrees with the story recorded in Jaina Rājaśekhara Sūri's *Prabandha-kośa* (composed in 1348 A.D.), it has been held[36a] that Śrīharsha probably flourished under Vijayachandra and Jayachandra of Kanauj in the second half of the 12th century. This date is not unlikely in view of the fact that Chāṇḍūpaṇḍita's commentary on the Naishadha is dated 1297 A.D. and itself refers to a still earlier commentary by Vidyādhara. But K. T. Telang[36b] and R. P. Chanda[36c] question the trustworthiness of Rājaśekhara's account, and suggest the 9th or 10th century as the date of Śrīharsha.'[37]

Śrīharsha was not only a poet but also a logician and philosopher. Some indication of this is given by the canto xvii of the *Naishadha charita* which is in reality a philosophical dissertation, somewhat irrelevantly introduced in the epic poem. But his fame as a philosopher rests upon his Vedantic treatise, *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-khādya*, which is still regarded as "a classical work of Indian dialectics." Other works attributed to him are two philosophical treatises, namely *Sthairya-vichāra Prakaraṇa* and *Īśvarābhisandhi*, and a lexicon, *Dvirūpakosha*. He also composed three royal panegyrics, namely *Śrī Vijaya-praśasti* (in honour of Vijayachandra, King of Kanauj), *Gauḍorvīśa-kula-praśasti*[37a] and *Chhinda-praśasti*.

In epilogue-stanzas at the end of each canto the *Naishadha-charita*

mentions the author's parentage, and contains reference to his literary works, *Arṇava-Vivaraṇa*, *Śivaśakti-siddhi* and *Navasāhasāṅka-charita*, in addition to those mentioned above. It is also stated that Śrīharsha was patronised by the king of Kānyakubja and that his work was appreciated by the Kashmirian scholars (iv. 123, v. 138, ix. 160, xvii. 222, xviii. 154, xxiii. 151, vii. 109, 110, xvi. 131, xxii. 26).

The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*, to which reference has been made above more than once, is an anthology of poems, 2370 in number, composed by 485 poets. Some of these verses were composed by the Sena Kings, Vallālasena, Lakshmaṇasena and Keśavasena. How many of the other poets were inhabitants of Bengal cannot be ascertained. It was compiled (1206 A.D.) by Śrīdharadāsa, son of Vaṭukadāsa, a friend and courtier of Lakshmaṇasena. Śrīdharadāsa was *Mahāmāṇḍalika* of this king.

Reference may be made to an earlier anthology, *Subhāshita-ratnakośa* by Vidyākara, probably a Bengali. It was probably compiled in the twelfth century A.D. A fragmentary manuscript of it was published under the title *Kavīndra-vachana-samuchchaya*. The first section of the work is called *Sugata-Vrajyā* which has been taken to indicate that the author was a Buddhist.[38] Six hundred and twenty-three verses are common to *Subhāshita-ratnakośa* and *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita*. But the former contains some verses of poets who are otherwise unknown. It also includes a verse of Kshemīśvara. As no other anthology contains his verse, this fact is regarded by some as lending support to the view that Kshemīśvara lived in the court of the Pāla King Mahīpāla and not the Gurjara-Pratīhara king of that name (see p. 354). It has been suggested that the poems of a large number of Bengali poets, particularly with names ending in 'oka' (Aṅigoka, Lalitoka, Siddhoka etc.) not otherwise known, are included in this anthology.[39]

B. *Logic and Philosophy.*

The oldest philosophical work written by a Bengali is undoubtedly *Gauḍapāda-kārikā*. It contains 215 memorial verses and was probably entitled *Āgama-śāstra*. According to tradition the author Gauḍapāda was the pupil of Śuka and teacher's teacher (*paramaguru*) of the great Śaṅkarāchārya. Many, however, hold that

Gauḍapāda was not a personal name but merely a descriptive epithet, indicating that he was an inhabitant of Gauḍa (Bengal). This seems more reasonable, as the author is also referred to as Gauḍāchārya. As the work is said to have been actually quoted by some early commentators of the Mādhyamika School (c. 750 A.D.) its antiquity goes back to the seventh or eighth century A.D., and this is fully in accordance with his relation to Saṅkarāchārya mentioned above, as there are good grounds to believe that the latter lived at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century A.D.[40] It is held by many that the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* prepared the groundwork upon which Śaṅkara built up his great structure of Advaitavāda. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan the *Kārikā* "is an attempt to combine the whole negative logic of the Mādhyamika with the positive idealism of the Upanishads."[41] The philosophical doctrine of the *Kārikā* has also been described as a curious blend of pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta and Mādhyamika Śūnyavāda. "The work consists of four parts of varying length, called, respectively, Āgama (29 verses), Vaitathya (38 verses), Advaita (48 verses) and Alāta-śānti (100 verses). It has been shown that the fourth section, in particular, the authorship of which has sometimes been questioned, is indebted to early Buddhistic philosophical works for its words, arguments and images; and, considering the early prevalence of Buddhistic schools in Bengal this is not surprising. Gauḍapāda is also credited with the authorship of commentaries, respectively on Īśvarakṛishṇa's *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* and the *Uttara-gītā*; but while the latter work is of no great merit, the former appears to be largely based either upon the earlier *Māṭhara-vṛitti* or upon an unknown source which Māṭhara also utilised. The hypothesis of two Gauḍapādas has also been advanced; but there is nothing in these two commentaries which militates against their traditional ascription to the author of the *Kārikā*."[42]

To a somewhat later date belongs the famous *Nyāya-kandalī* commentary of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa on Praśastapāda's *Padārtha-dharma-saṁgraha* Bhāshya on the Vaiśeshika-sūtra. From the concluding verses of this work we learn that Śrīdhara was the son of Baladeva and Abbokā (v.l. Abhrokā, Ambhokā, Achchhokā) and belonged to Bhūriśreshṭhi[43] in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, which has been identified with the village of Bhursut, near Burdwan. The work was written at the instance of one Pāṇḍudāsa, and is dated in Śaka 913 (or 910)[44] which is equivalent to 991 (or 988) A.D. From references in the work

itself it appears that Śrīdhara also wrote *Advaya-siddhi* (p.5) *Tattvasaṁvādinī* (p. 82); *Tattva-prabodha* (p. 146) and a *Saṁgraha-ṭīkā* (p. 159); but none of these works, which are concerned apparently with Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā, has come down to us."[45]

Abhinanda, the Gauḍa, son of Jayanta, mentioned above (p. 355), is reputed to be the author of four or five philosophical works including *Yoga-Vāśiṣṭha-saṁkshepa.* Reference has already been made (p. 361) to the philosophical works of another poet Śrīharsha, the author of *Naishadha-charita.* The *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* of Mādhavāchārya (1350 A.D.) refers to Pūrṇānanda Kavi Chakravartī of Gauḍa who refuted the Māyā-vāda of Śaṅkara in *Tattva-muktāvalī* or *Māyāvādaśatadūshaṇī.*[46]

C. *Mīmāṁsā and Dharma-śāstra (Ritualistic literature)*

Mīmāṁsā is the logic of the Dharmaśāstra, and most of the Smṛiti writers were renowned scholars in the Mīmāṁsā.

The study of this subject in Bengal is referred to in inscriptions and is also indicated by performances of Vedic Sacrifices mentioned in epigraphic records beginning from the 5th century A.D. (Nos. A. 6-10).

Both the Mīmāṁsā schools of Kumārila (Bhaṭṭamata) and Prabhākara (Vṛihatī or Gurumata) flourished in Bengal. The oldest Bengali writer is Śālikanātha who probably flourished in the seventh century A.D. He composed a Pañchikā on the commentaries—Laghvī and Bṛihatī—of Prabhākara.

'Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* says that although Bengal paid little attention to the Vedas, she studied Mīmāṁsā. He himself wrote the *Mīmāṁsā-sarvasva* which is now lost. The subject is actually represented in this period by only one work, namely, the *Tautātita-mata-tilaka*, of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, which exists only in fragments. The study of the Vedic ritual is similarly evidenced by a single extant work composed by Nārāyaṇa, son of Goṇa and grandson of Umāpati. It is a commentary, entitled *Prakāśa*, on Keśava Miśra's *Chhāndoga-pariśishṭa.*'[46a] Nārāyaṇa is usually referred to the regin of Devapāla but some writers place him in the thirteenth century.[47]

Bengal, however, produced a rich crop of Smṛiti or Dharma-

śāstra literature. Some old writers "are quoted and criticised by the Bengal authors, Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi, and are therefore conjectured to have flourished in Bengal before the 12th century A.D. In his *Kāla-vivcka*, Jīmūtavāhana mentions Jitendriya among writers who dealt with the subject of auspicious time (*kāla*) appropriate for ceremonies, and quotes in several passages his very words. Jitendriya's views on Vyavahāra and Prāyaśchitta are also quoted in the *Dāya-bhāga*, and the *Vyavahāra-mātṛikā* of Jīmūtavāhana, as well as in the *Dāyatattva* of Raghunandana. It would seem, therefore, that Jitendriya's lost work was fairly comprehensive in its scope ; and as only these Bengal writers, and no other, quote him, the supposition that he flourished in Bengal in the first half of the 11th century is not unlikely. The other forgotten author, Bālaka, is known entirely from references by Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi, who discuss his views mostly on Vyavahāra and Prāyaśchitta, Jīmūtavāhana going even to the length of sometimes punningly ridiculing them as childish (*bāla-vachana*). If the Vāloka mentioned six times in his *Prāyaśchitta-prakaraṇa* by Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, also a Bengal writer, be the same as our Bālaka, then his date would be anterior to 1100 A.D. There is also another Dharma-śāstra writer named Yogloka who is known similarly from the references made by Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He appears to have treated the subject of Vyavahāra and composed a long (*Bṛihat*) and a short (*Laghu*) treatise on *Kāla*. He is quoted mostly for the purpose of being refuted, but since Jīmūtavāhana refers to old (*purātana*) manuscripts of Yogloka's work, he might have been even an older author than Jitendriya and Bālaka." [48]

Next in point of time is Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa to whom reference has been made above (p. 210). He is described "as prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of philosophy, conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila), an antagonist of the Buddhists and heretic dialecticians, well versed in Artha-śāstra, Āyurveda, Astraveda etc., proficient in Siddhānta, Tantra and Gaṇita, and called the second Varāha because of his special keenness for Astrology and Astronomy, having himself composed a work on the Horā-śāstra. He is said to have also composed a work on the Dharma-śāstra, which superseded the already existing texts, and, following Bhaṭṭa (*bhaṭṭokta-nītyā*), to have written a guide to Mīmāṁsā in one thousand *nyāyas*. This is

entitled *Tautātita-mata-tilaka* and is known from a fragmentary manuscript in the India Office Library. It discusses the *Tantra-vārttika* of Tautātita or Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the fragment covering only *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtra* ii. 1. Bhavadeva's works on Dharma-śāstra, however, are better known. These are, so far known, three in number, and respectively embrace the three important branches of Achāra, Vyavahāra and Prāyaśchitta. The work on Vyavahāra or judicial procedure, called *Vyavahāra-tilaka*, is now lost ; but it is known from citations in the *Vyavahāra-tattva* of Raghunandana, the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra and *Daṇḍa-viveka* of Vardhamāna. The other Dharma-śāstra work is the *Prāyaśchitta-prakaraṇa* which deals in six chapters with the modes of expiation for various sins and offences. The first chapter (Vadha-parichchheda) concerns itself with the murder of men and women and slaughter of animals ; the second (Bhakshyābhakshya-p°) treats of forbidden food and drink ; the third (Steya-p°) discusses various kinds of theft ; the fourth (Agamyāgamana-p.°) is occupied with sexual union with forbidden persons : the fifth (Saṁsarga-p°) is devoted to such topics as taking of improper gifts from outcastes, contracting of forbidden marriages, sale of forbidden food and contact of untouchable persons ; while the sixth chapter (Kṛichchhra-p°) concludes with the discussion of expiatory rites and penances. It gives a fairly full treatment of the subject and cites more than sixty authorities. The reputation which the work enjoyed is indicated by the respect with which it is cited by such Smṛiti-writers as Vedāchārya, Govindānanda and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. On the Sāmavedic rites and ceremonies relating to the Saṁskāras, Bhavadeva wrote *Chhāndoga-karmānushṭhāna-paddhati*, also variously called *Daśa-karma-paddhati*, *Daśa-karma-dīpikā* or *Saṁskāra-paddhati*. Its contents are devoted to Kushaṇḍikā, Udīchya-karman, Vivāha, Garbhādhāna, Puṁsavana, Sīmantonnayana, Śoshyantī-homa, Jāta-karman, Nishkramaṇa, Paushṭika, Anna-prāśana, Putra-mūrdhā-bhighrāṇa, Chūḍā-karaṇa, Upanayana, Samāvartana and Sālā-karman."[49]

Bhavadeva, as mentioned above, belonged to the end of the eleventh and beginning of the 12th century A.D.

The next (almost contemporary) important writer was Jīmūta-vāhana, a leading authority of the Bengal School of Dharmaśāstra. His date must be placed between the Śaka year 1014 (=1092) to

which he refers, and the middle of the 15th century A.D., as he is quoted by the eminent Smṛiti writers of that period. Various dates have been proposed between these two extremes, more or less agreeing to the last part of the eleventh and the beginning of the 12th century A.D.[50] The latest view is that of P. V. Kane, placing Jīmūtavāhana between A.D. 1100 and 1150.[51]

"Of Jīmūtavāhan's personal history not much is known. In the colophons of his works he is described as Pāribhadrīya Mahāmahopādhyāya, while at the conclusion of his *Vyavahāra-mātṛikā* and *Dāya-bhāga*, he informs us that he was born of the Pāribhadra family (*kula*). It is said that this name belongs to a section of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇs, still called Pārihāl or Pāri-gāñi.[52] An astronomical reference in his *Kāla-viveka* (p. 290) appears to support the inference that Jīmūtavāhana belonged to Rāḍhā.

Of Jīmūtavāhana's three works,[53] all of which have been printed, the most well known and important is his *Dāya-bhāga*, which is the basis and paramount authority on the Hindu law of inheritance, partition and Strī-dhana in Bengal, except in cases where the *Mitāksharā*, from which it differs in some fundamental points,[54] is applicable. The work is widely known through Colebrooke's English translation and has been often printed in Bengal.[55] Its popularity and importance are indicated by the large number of commentaries[56] which exist, including one by Raghunandana who has utilised it also in his own authoritative works. The work defines and discusses the general principles of Dāya or inheritance and proceeds to the exposition of father's power over ancestral property, partition of father's and grandfather's property and division among sons after father's death. It then deals with the definition, classification and devolution of woman's property (Strī-dhana), after which it treats of persons excluded from partition and inheritance on grounds of disability, of property which is impartible, of the order of succession to sonless persons, of reunion, of partition of coparcenery property concealed but subsequently discovered, and of settlement of partition disputes by the court. It is a work of great learning and acuteness, and freely criticises a large number of authorities,[57] ancient and modern, some of whom are not known otherwise.

His *Vyavahāra-mātṛikā*,[58] as its very name implies, deals with judicial procedure. Its importance is evidenced by references to it

by Raghunandana and Vāchaspati Miśra.[59] It divides the subject into four Pādas, with an introductory exposition (Vyavahāra-mukha) dealing with the eighteen titles of law, the function and qualification of the judge (Prāḍvivāka), the different grades of court and the duties of the Sabhyas. Of the four stages of Vyavahāra, the first (Bhāshā-pāda) deals with the plaint (Pūrva-paksha) of the plaintiff (Arthin) and with surety (Pratibhū); the second (Uttara-pāda) treats of the four kinds of reply (Uttara) by the defendant (Pratyarthin); the third (Kriyā-pāda) is devoted to proof or burden of proof (Kriyā) and various kinds of evidence, human (Mānushī) and divine (Daivī), the author purposely omitting the divine which consists of trial by ordeal; and the fourth (Nirṇaya-pāda) concludes with the topic of the decision and order of the court. The work abounds in quotations, calculated as about six hundred in number, and proves the learning and dialectic abilities of the author. Jīmūtavāhana's third work, *Kāla-viveka*,[60] declares in its second introductory verse its object of elucidating the topic of Kāla or appropriate time for particular ceremonies, which has not been properly understood and treated by previous writers, seven of whom are directly mentioned in one verse.[61] It deals accordingly with the question of appropriate season, month, day and hour for the performance of religious duties and ceremonies, the determination of intercalary months, the suitability of lunar and solar months, and the auspicious time for various festivals, including the Kojāgara and the Durgotsava. The work shows the same skill and learning of the author and abounds in quotations, references and criticisms of previous authors, while its reputation is indicated by its wide recognition by such later writers as Raghunandana, Śūlapāṇi, Vāchaspati Miśra and Govindānanda."[62]

Unfortunately the works of most of those who preceded Jīmūtavāhana and Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa are now lost and only known from citations by later writers. These formed a galaxy of scholars, all belonging to Bengal and flourishing within a century before Jīmutavāhana.

"There were several others. Dīkshita, once mentioned by Raghunandana in the *Malamāsatattva*, is quoted 18 times, once as an authority of equal rank with Bhojadeva (p. 290). He comes after both Yogloka (p. 280) and Jitendriya (p. 78). Sambhrama Bhaṭṭa is quoted 9 times including a long note of his on 'Dvirāshāḍha'

(pp. 240-53) : he preceded Jitentriya (p. 255). Andhuka is quoted 10 times ; two of his observations are fortunately noted by Jīmūtavāhana, one in *Kārtika* 952 Śaka (p. 51) and the other in 955 Śaka (p. 119 : vide verification in *IHQ.*, III, p. 573). Śaṅkhadhara, quoted 7 times, was the author of a (*Smṛiti-*) *Samuchchaya* (p. 310): he is also cited in the *Hāralatā* and by Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandana and other Bengali authors, but is unknown in Mithilā. So also Dhavala, who is quoted 7 times. The works of all these writers are now entirely lost, being superseded by the great work of Jīmūtavāhana.

'Govindarāja is one of the greatest authorities in the Dharma-śāstra literature of India. Besides the *Manuṭīkā*, long available in print, he is the author of a treatise, *Smṛitimañjarī*, which is the earliest Nibandha so far discovered." [62a] Govindarāja has been respectfully referred to by Jīmūtavāhana and Aniruddha. Among other *Smṛiti* writers of this period, claimed for Bengal, may be mentioned *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Chandra of the Prabhākara School, Śrīkara, a notable writer on Mīmāṁsā, whose *Smṛiti* work is now lost, and Jikana, author of a comprehensive *Smṛiti* treatise, referred to by Bhavadeva.'[62b]

The Brāhmaṇical ritualistic writings flourished during the Sena period, as, after a long spell of dominance of Buddhism during the Pāla rule the need was felt of Dharma-śāstras prescribing the orthodox Hindu rules guiding the daily life of the people and their pious duties and ceremonies.

"The earliest of these appear to be the *Hāralatā* and the *Pitṛi-dayita* of Aniruddha, both of which have been considerably used as authoritative by Raghunandana. The first work deals with the observance of impurity (*Aśaucha*) consequent upon birth and death, its duties and prohibitions, the period for which it is to be observed, the persons who are exempted from observing it, and other relevant topics. The second work, intended for the Sāmavedic followers of Gobhila, is concerned chiefly with rites and observances connected with Śrāddha or funeral ceremony ; but it includes a treatment of general duties like Mouth-washing (*Āchamana*), Teeth-cleansing (*Danta-dhāvana*), Ablution (*Snāna*), Daily prayers (*Sandhyā*), Offering to Pitṛis and Viśva-devāḥ (*Tarpaṇa* and *Vaiśvadeva*), the periodical *Pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, as well as a eulogy of gifts. Both the works are in prose and contain a large number of passages quoted from old and new writers. The closing verse of the *Hāralatā* tells us

that Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapāṭaka on the bank of the Ganges and that he was versed in the doctrines of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). The colophons to the two works supply the further information that he was *Dharmādhyaksha* or *Dharmādhikaraṇika* (Judge), as well as a great teacher (*Mahāmahopādhyāya*) of Champāhaṭṭi,[63] from which place a section of Varendra Brāhmaṇas derive their designation."[64]

There is hardly any doubt that he is identical with the "Aniruddha who is extolled by Vallālasena in his *Dāna-sāgara* not only as a scholar far-famed in the Varendrī land for his piety and knowledge of the Veda and Smṛiti, but also as his own *Guru* from whom he learnt the Purāṇa and Smṛiti and at whose instance his own work itself was written. This would place Aniruddha's literary activity about the middle of the 12th century.[65]

Vallālasena himself composed five works namely, *Āchāra-sāgara*, *Pratishṭhā-sāgara*, *Vrata-sāgara*, *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara*, of which the last two alone have survived. Vallālasena himself states that the *Dāna-sāgara* was written by him under the instruction of his *Guru* Aniruddha, and there is no reason to doubt it, even though in the opinion of Raghunandana (15th century) it was written by Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa himself. The work is, as its name implies, an extensive digest, in seventy sections, of matters relating to gifts, the author himself informing us (v. 53) that he has dealt with 1375 kinds of gift. It deals with the merits, nature, objects, utility, times and places of gift, bad gifts and prohibited gifts, rites and procedure connected with the making and accepting of gifts, the sixteen kinds of great gifts (*Mahādāna*) and the large number of lesser gifts, together with an enumeration of the Purāṇas and their extent.

"The *Adbhuta-sāgara* is an equally extensive work on omens and portents, their effects, and means of averting them. It is divided into three parts according as the portents are celestial (appertaining to stars and planets), atmospheric (such as rainbow, thunder, lightning and storm) and terrestrial (such as earthquake)."[66] It is explicitly stated in the opening verses of this work that it was begun in Śaka 1089 (1168 A.D.), but was left unfinished and completed after his death by his son Lakshmaṇasena. Although these verses are not to be found in the incomplete India Office Mss., they occur in a large number of other manuscripts, and there is no reason to doubt their genuineness. In the text of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* itself we find references to two dates, Saka 1082 and 1090. These dates have

been of great help in fixing the dates of the Sena Kings which had long been a matter of dispute.

The most important writer of the period on this subject is Halāyudha. The opening verses of his work *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* gives us the following particulars of him and his family. "His father Dhanañjaya, of the Vatsa-*gotra*, married Ujjvalā, and became a *Dharmādhyaksha* or Judge. Halāyudha had two elder brothers, Īśāna and Paśupati. The former wrote a Paddhati on the rites relating to the *Ahnika* or daily devotional observances of Brāhmṇas (*śl.* 24) ; while the latter also wrote a Paddhati on Śrāddha and kindred topics (*śl.* 24), as well as another on *Pāka-yajña* (*śl.* 43). In his early years Halāyudha was appointed a *Rāja-paṇḍita* ; in youth he was raised by king Lakshmaṇasena to the position of *Mahāmātya*, and in mature years he was confirmed as a *Dharmādhikāriṇ* or *Dharmādhyaksha* (*śl.* 10, 12, 14)."[67]

The *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* is a work of great repute in Bengal. Halāyudha informs us that he wrote this work because he found that the Brāhmaṇas of Rāḍhā and Varendra did not study the Veda and therefore did not know the Vedic rites properly. Its main object is to supply a guide, meant for the Śukla-Yajurvedic Brāhmaṇas of the Kāṇva-*śākhā*, to a knowledge of the meanings of the Vedic Mantras employed in the daily (*Āhnika*) rites and the periodical domestic (*Gṛihya*) ceremonies known as *Saṁskāras*. Accordingly it deals in forty sections with the various daily duties, such as the morning ablution, prayers, hospitality, the study of the Veda, and daily offerings to the Pitṛis, and then proceeds to the treatment of the periodical *Āchāras* including the ten sacraments of a Brāhmaṇa's life. As every such rite involves recitation of the Vedic Mantras, their explanation (Mantrabhāshya) forms the chief feature of the work."[68]

Halāyudha composed several other works, namely *Mīmāṁsā-sarvasva*, *Vaishṇava-sarvasva*, *Śaiva-sarvasva* and *Paṇḍita-sarvasva*, but none of these has survived. He is probably to be distinguished from several other authors of Dharmā-śāstras bearing the same name as well as the lexicographer, grammarian and prosodist Halāyudha, the author of *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā* and the *Kavi-rahasya*.[69]

Guṇavishṇu, to whom Halāyudha acknowledges his indebtedness, was also a great writer on Vedic ritual. His birth-place is put by some in Bengal but others in Mithilā. His work *Chhāndogya-*

mantra-bhāshya is a commentary on selected Vedic *mantras*, about four hundred in number, used in the *Gṛihya* rites of Sāmaveda. Guṇavishṇu probably flourished shortly before Halāyudha.

D. *Grammar and Lexicon*

Reference has been made above to Chandragomin. Several others, such as Jinendrabuddhi (c. 8th century), the Buddhist author of the commentary on Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, called *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-Pañjikā*, better known as *Nyāsa*, Maitreyarakshita, who wrote a commentary on the above as well as the *Dhātu-pradīpa* (c. 11th or 12th century), based on Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha*, Buddhist Purushottamadeva, author of the *Bhāshāvṛitti* (12th century), a commentary on Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, and Śaraṇa, the author of *Durghaṭa-vṛitti*, are claimed to be Bengalis, but there is no conclusive evidence in support of such claims. As regards Purushottama the main arguments are : the failure to distinguish the two letters *b* and *v* ; use of the phrase '*lekhako nāstidoshakaḥ*,' commonly used by Bengali scribes ; the mention of the river Padmāvatī (which is probably the famous Padmā river in Bengal) while explaining Pāṇini's Sūtra 6-2-110 ; and the statement of Sṛishṭidhara, a late commentator of *Bhāshāvṛitti* of the 17th century, that Purushottama was a contemporary of Lakshmaṇasena and wrote the work under his direction.[70]

As regards Śaraṇa the only argument is identity of the name with that of the famous poet in the court of Lakshmaṇasena mentioned above.

There is indirect evidence that some lexicographers flourished in Bengal before the 11th century A.D., for Kshīrasvāmin (latter half of 11th century) refers to Gauḍa lexicographers, but no individual author is mentioned. There is one Purushottama who wrote four lexical works, namely *Trikāṇḍaśesha* (a supplement to the Amara-kosha in three parts), *Hārāvalī* (dealing with synonymous and homonymous words not in common use), *Varṇadeśanā* (a prose text containing a number of differently spelt words), and *Dvirūpakosha* (a list of words spelt in two different ways).[71] He is identified with the homonymous grammarian mentioned above. An argument in support of his being born in Bengal may be found in his specific reference to the confusion between different

letters like *ksh* and *kh*, due to the similarity of pronunciation of the characters employed by the people of Gauḍa.[72]

There is, however, no doubt that the famous lexicographer Sarvānanda was a son of Ārtihara, a Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa of Bengal. He wrote a commentary, called *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* on *Amara-kosha*. He himself supplies the date of his writing 1081 Śaka (=1159-60 A.D.)—a rare thing among Indian writers. He was acquainted with a commentary called *Daśa-ṭīkā* (*daśa-ṭīkā-vid*) ; and in his painstaking work not only earlier commentaries but nearly two hundred works and authors are cited. It is in no way inferior to the commentary of Kshīrasvāmin, and is interesting for the number of *Deśī* (mostly Bengali) words cited in it",[73] exceeding 300, some of which are still in use in Bengal, in some cases in a slightly amended form.[74] Although Sarvānanda mentions a large number of Purāṇas he never refers to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

E. *Medical Literature*.[75]

The study of medicine always held a high place in ancient India and was elevated to the rank of Vedic study, as the term *Āyurveda* implies. According to Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller of the 7th century, it ranked as the first of the four Vedas and was included in the curriculum of young students in India irrespective of caste or religion.[76] It was one of the principal subjects of study in the Vikramaśīla monastery, and Bengal may justly feel proud of her contribution to this literature. It was cultivated by the Brāhmaṇas, and Tāntriks, apart from the Vaidyas, the professional caste of physicians in Bengal ; even Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, mentioned above, is said to have been proficient in the science of medicine.

The oldest medical writer of Bengal is generally believed to have been the well-known Mādhava, son of Indu Kara, the author of a learned work on pathology and diagnosis called *Rug-viniśchaya*, or simply *Nidāna*, N. Das Gupta has claimed not only Mādhava, but also his father Indu, as writers on medical literature. But as Dr. S. K. De points out, while reasonable doubts may be entertained about the Bengali origin of Mādhava, there is no ground to identify his father with Indu, the commentator of *Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya* of Vāgbhaṭa.

The following account of Mādhava's *Nidāna* is given by N. Das Gupta :

Mādhāva's *Nidāna*, alias *Rug-viniśchaya* or *Gada-viniśchaya*, is an exposition of pathology, exclusively devoted to the diagnosis of diseases, without any practical suggestions for remedies, and was written, as he declares in an introductory verse, for the neophytes and half-witted students. There is no room for doubt that the work is more or less a conspectus of the *Charaka-* and *Suśruta-Saṁhitās* which, amongst others, are frequently cited, but it has proved to be a very useful work, a sort of a vede-mecum, to the students of Āyurveda, and one who has not mastered it thoroughly is hardly considered, particularly in Bengal, competent for the profession. Further it ranks, as his commentator Vijaya Rakshita gives us to understand, as the first book of its kind produced, and his method of treatment was followed by many later writers. It is supposed to have also been largely availed of by Dṛiḍhavala of Kāśmīra in his Revision of the *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, but what is more essential to note is that it was one of the medical works that were translated into Arabic for the Califs of Baghdad, Mansur (753-774 A.D.) and Harun (786-808 A.D.).

"The first half of the eighth century, therefore, forms the lower limit of Mādhava-Kara's date, but we may conveniently place him in the seventh century.....

"One more work, viz., the *Paryyāya-ratnamālā*, is attributed to the authorship of Mādhava-Kara, and this treats of 'foods, drinks, baths, habitation, diurnal duties and other subjects of hygiene, including also the names of a number of medicines arranged in classes... It is characteristic of this work that it contains a good many words from the then current popular speech as names of medicinal plants, herbs, and other substances, which for the most part are still known by those names in Bengal.....

'The cognomen 'Kara', the extensive use of his writings, specially his *Nidāna*, in Bengal, and the occurrence of the (Bengali) *deśī* words in his *Paryyāya-ratnamālā*—constitute together a cogent reason to surmise that Mādhava-Kara was a Bengali."[77]

On the last observation Dr. S. K. De comments as follows :—

"It is true that mediaeval Bengal developed peculiar names, surnames and titles, but it is hardly safe to rely on these indications alone ; and traditional ascriptions do not always constitute safe guides.

There is, for instance, no strong ground to assign Mādhava, author of *Rug-viniśchaya* (or *Nidāna*) and his father Indu Kara to

Bengal. The arguments based chiefly on the cognomen-Kara and on the extensive use of his work in Bengal are hardly conclusive for a definite statement. The existence of Devanāgarī MSS. of Mādhava's work and of non-Bengal commentaries, as well as the fact that the work was known to Dṛiḍhabala of Kashmir, undoubtedly shows that it was used outside Bengal, and had great influence on the Vaidyaka literature, not of Bengal alone but of India. It should be noted that there is uncertainty about the form of the name. Some commentators, no doubt, give it as Mādhava-Kara, but in the work itself the name occurs as Mādhava only. It is doubtful if *-kara* (assuming it was a part of the name) was a cognomen at all; for his father's name, Indu Kara, is intelligible in itself, and need not be explained as a Bengal cognomen. A similar name is Bhānukara, where it is not a cognomen, for this author, who compiled the *Rasika-jīvana*, never belonged to Bengal"[78]

N. Das Gupta refers to several other Vaidya writers quoted in Śrīdharadāsa's anthology, mentioned above. Dr. De observes ;

'It is, moreover, not clear if Aruṇadatta, Vijayarakshita, Niśchala-Kara and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta really belonged to Bengal. We have no proof except the doubtful indication of respective cognomens and the popularity of their works in Bengal; and the conclusion must be regarded as *non sequitur*."[79]

"It is, however, beyond doubt that Chakrapāṇidatta, the well-known commentator on Charaka and Suśruta, belonged to Bengal. In his compendium of therapy, entitled *Chikitsā-saṁgraha*, he informs us that his father Nārāyaṇa was an officer (*Pātra*) and superintendent of the culinary department (*Rasavatyadhikārin*) of the king of Gauḍa, that he was a *kulīna* of the Lodhravali family and that his brother Bhānu was an *Antaraṅga* or a learned physician of good family. The commentator Sivadāsasena Yaśodhara, a Bengal writer, who belonged to the 16th century, explains that the king of Gauḍa was Nayapāla. If this is so, Chakrapāṇidatta should be placed in the middle of the 11th century. Besides older authorities the work professes to draw upon the *Siddha-yoga* of Vṛinda, which in its turn follows the order of diseases and treatment of Mādhava's *Rug-viniśchaya*. Besides being an authoritative work on the subject, it possesses importance in the history of Indian medicine for marking an advance in the direction of metallic preparations[80] which had been introduced from the time of Vāgbhaṭa and Vṛinda. Chakrapāṇidatta also wrote a commentary on Charaka, entitled

Āyurveda-dīpikā or *Charaka-tātparya-dīpikā*, in the introduction to which he mentions Naradatta as his preceptor. His commentary on Suśruta is entitled *Bhānumatī*. Two other useful works of his are *Śabda-chandrikā*, a vocabulary of vegetable as well as mineral substances and compounds, and *Dravya-guṇa-saṁgraha*, a work on dietics".[81]

The above account of Dr. S. K. De may be supplemented by the following observations of N. Das Gupta.

"To Chakrapāṇi is attributed the authorship of the *Chikitsā-sāra*, on medicament and therapeutics, which is otherwise known as the *Gūḍha-vākya-vodhaka*. Two other well-known productions of his are a glossary (*nighaṇṭu*) of various drugs with explanations of their properties, and a vocabulary, bearing the title of *Śabda-chandrikā*, of vegetables and mineral substances, with an elaborate list of compounds, both in medicine and diet. The *Nighaṇṭu*, which is known as *Dravya-guṇa-saṁgraha*, has a commentary upon it by the same Śivadāsa. Besides, he is credited with elucidations of the *Suśruta-saṁhitā*, in his *Bhānumatī*, and of the *Charaka-* in his *Āyurveda-dīpikā*, which is porbably mentioned as *Charaka-tātparyya-dīpikā* in one MS. There is a work called *Sarva-sāra-saṁgraha* by a Chakrapāṇi-Datta, who may be he or a later name-sake of his."[82]

As noted above, Chakrapāṇidatta may be said to have introduced a new era in the Āyurveda world, by great advancement in the direction of metallic preparations. The age in which Āyurvedic medicine really consisted of 'herbs and simples and a few readily available products of the mineral kingdom,' had already passed away. As Sir P. C. Ray observed : "Since the days of Vāgbhaṭa metallic preparations had begun slowly to creep into use, and at the time of Chakrapāṇi and his predecessor Vṛinda, they had so fully established their claims that they could no longer be ignored. Thus we find from the tenth century downwards every medical work more or less recommending compounds of metals which can only be synthetically prepared."[83]

The next author of note is "Sureśvara or Surapāla, who wrote a glossary of medical botany, entitled *Śabda-pradīpa*, in which he gives an account of himself. His grandfather and father were, respectively, Devagaṇa, who was a court-physician to king Govinda-chandra, and Bhadreśvara, who served in a similar capacity to king Rāmapāla (called Vaṅgeśvara). He himself was physician to king Bhīmapāla, and should from these accounts be placed in the first

half of the 12th century. He also wrote a *Vṛikshāyurveda* on a similar subject, and a *Loha-paddhati* or *Loha-sarvasva* on the medical use and preparation of iron"[84]

The last writer is Vaṅgasena, the author of the *Chikitsā-sāra-saṁgraha.* He must have flourished in or before the 12th century as profuse quotations from his work are found in Hemādri's *Āyurveda-rasāyana.* "Vaṅgasena says that the original place of his residence was Kāñjikā, which appears to be the same as Kāñjivilli, in Rāḍhā, from which Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Chhāndoga-pariśishṭa-prakāśa,* hailed. From internal evidence of his book it is also suggested that he was a Bengali, while the nature of the name he bears also points to the same conclusion."[85]

F. *Astronomy and Astrology*

One of the greatest scholars in this subject was Śrīnivāsa, "the famous author of the *Śuddhidīpikā* and the greatest authority on Astronomy and 'judicial' astrology. He wrote the *Gaṇitachūḍāmaṇi* in 1091 Śaka (1159/60 A.D.) on the evidence of Sarvānanda. His *Śuddhidīpikā* is up till now the standard book on the subject of auspicious time and astrology and is commented upon by a galaxy of Bengali scholars—Saubharī, Chandrakara, Rāghava, Govindānanda, Kṛishṇānanda, and Mathurānātha, to name only a few. Like Aniruddha he was respectfully engaged by Vallāla and his son Lakshmāṇa to write for them the *Adbhutasāgara* as stated in verse 8 of the Introduction—a magnificent eulogy by the royal patrons of one of the greatest scholars of the age. The *Adbhutasāgara* was begun in 1090 Śaka (1168 A.D.) and finished after the death of king Vallāla. Śrīnivāsa's eminence at the royal court can be inferred from the fact that he was cited by his contemporary Halāyudha in *Brāhmaṇa sarvasva* (*J.A.S.B.*, 1915, p, 334)."[86]

II. Buddhist Sanskrit Literature.

A special type of Sanskrit literature flourished in Bengal during the Pāla period, due mainly to the development of a new type of Buddhism to which detailed reference will be made in the chapter on Religion. Here it will suffice to give a short outline of its broad features.

Buddhism under the Pālas differed essentially from what it was even in the time of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century A.D. There was no trace, not only of ancient schools of the Hīnayāna system, but even of the pure form of Mahāyāna. What we find instead were forms of mysticism that had developed out of the Mahāyāna. These were known as different *yānas* and loosely called Buddhist Tantra (*Rgyud*) as opposed to the Buddhist Sūtra, because they teach esoteric doctrines, rites and practices in "an highly obscure and perhaps symbolic language." The leaders of this movement, which perhaps originated in Bengal and, later, spread to the different parts of India, are celebrated in Buddhist tradition as Siddhas or Siddhāchāryas, whose traditional number is eighty-four.

This mystic Buddhism had assumed three important forms mamely, Vajra-yāna, Sahaja-yāna, and Kālachakra-yāna. The first laid stress on ceremonials which had only mystic implications, while the second represented a more advanced stage of that mysticism which dispensed altogether with ceremonials. Kālachakra-yāna, which, according to Tibetan sources, was introduced into India from outside during the Pāla period, attached, like the other two, great importance to the practice of Yoga, but laid special emphasis on the time factor. the *muhūrta* the *tithi*, the constellation etc. But all the three had the same goal, namely *Mahāsukha* or perfect bliss.[87] Tāranātha tells us[88] that during the reign of the Pāla kings there were many masters of magic, Mantra-Vajrāchāryas, who claimed to possess various *Siddhis* and demonstrated it by performing miraculous feats.

An extensive literature in Sanskrit on the basis of these mystic cults (*yānas*) grew up in Bengal during the Pāla period, or perhaps even somewhat earlier. Unfortunately, the Sanskrit works are mostly lost and are preserved only in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. The birth-place of only some of the authors is definitely mentioned in the Tibetan texts, and the chronology of them can be fixed more or less definitely only in some cases. Further, we have very little knowledge of the different *yānas* with which these texts deal. Subject to these handicaps we may proceed to give a short account of this literature.

The books were meant purely and exclusively for a limited sectarian purpose and possess little that is of general or literary interest. "Apart from their technical or esoteric terminology, they are often wri ten with an entire disregard for grammatical or

elegant expression. They never pretend to be academic, but declare that their object is to be intelligible without much grammatical or literary preparation. Most of these works consist either of stotras of varying lengths to Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and other personages of later Buddhist pantheon, or of theurgic texts, called Sādhanas and Vidhis, of esoteric devotion, doctrine and practice. Some of them are also texts of magical ritual or completely dedicated to magic, even to black magic. Nevertheless, with their characteristic deities, Stotras and Saṁgītis, their Mantra, Mudrā and Maṇḍala, and their Dhāraṇī, Yoga and Samādhi, they present a phase of Buddhist Tantra, closely allied to the Brāhmaṇical, which possesses considerable interest and importance in the history of mediaeval religious cults. As such, they have not yet received as much recognition as they fully deserve in the history, at least, of the mediaeval culture of Bengal."[89]

This is perhaps due mainly to a wide-spread feeling among the educated classes today that this entire Tantric literature, like that of other religious sects, such as Śaiva or Śākta, represents a state of depraved morality in society. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra described it as "reeking of pestilent dogmas and practices".[90] According to H. P. Śāstrī, the Tantra works discard asceticism and teach enjoyment of the senses ;[91] Benoytosh Bhattacharya uses stronger language and stigmatises them as specimens of the worst immorality and sin" ;[92] while Moriz Winternitz is frankly puzzled at what appears to him to be an "unsavoury mixture of mysticism, occult pseudo-science, magic and erotics" couched in "strange and often filthy language."[93] While conceding that Buddhist Tāntrism is more than a pagan system of rites and sorcery, even a discerning and well-informed critic like L. de la Vallée Poussin would attribute to it "disgusting practices both obscene and criminal."

But some scholars, both European and Indian, differ from the above assessment of Tantra. Sir John Woodroffe's attempt to put the Tāntrik literature on a high pedestal is well-known. Dr. S. K. De, at a later date, expressed the following view which is perhaps now slowly gaining ground : "It must be said", says he, "that, whatever may have been the state of affairs in later times and in certain writers of the decadent schools, there is nothing to support the view that the Vajra-yāna doctrines in their origin encouraged sexual rites and obscenities. Magic, mysticism and theurgy were undoubtedly at their basis, but it should be recognised that all

Tāntric works of the higher class, whether Buddhistic or Brāhmaṇical, present their mystical doctrines in an equally mystical language, of which a literal understanding would be unwarranted and misleading. They speak of unknown methods and ideas of spiritual realities. The symbolical language is sometimes called *saṁdhā-bhāsha*, which being intentional (*ābhiprāyika*), is meant to convey something different from what is actually expressed. There is also an apparent sex-symbolism here, as in other mediaeval religious systems, which expresses fervent spiritual longings or strange theological fancies in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. This mode of thought and expression, no doubt, borders dangerously upon sense-devotion and sexual emotionalism, but it is only an aspect of that erotic mysticism which is often inseparable from mediaeval belief, and need not be taken as implying sexual licence."[94] In addition to these general observations it may be remarked that as these books are preserved mainly in Tibetan translation, they possess little literary interest and a brief reference to the more important writers, whose birth-place may be located in Bengal with a tolerable degree of certainty, must suffice for our present purpose.

Reference has been made above (p. 354) to Chandragomin and his thirty-six miscellaneous texts. "They include not only mystic Stotras in praise of Tārā, Mañjuśrī and other personalities of later Buddhist hagiology, but also works on Tāntric *Abhichāra* (such as *Abhichāra-karman, Chamū-dhvaṁsopāya, Bhaya-trāṇopāya, Vighna-nirāsaka-pramathanopāya*) as well a few magical tracts apparently of a medical character (such as *Jvara-rakshā-vidhi, Kushṭha-chikitsopāya*).[95]

Only a single work of the great Māhāyānist scholar Śīlabhadra,[96] namely *Ārya-buddha-bhūmi-Vyākhyāna* has been preserved in Tibetan translation.

To Śāntideva three Vajra-yāna texts are assigned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. But whether he is identical with the well-known author of *Śikshā-samuchchaya* and *Bodhicharyāvatāra* or the Mahāyānist teacher, Śāntideva, of the 7th century, it is difficult to say. The Tāntric Śāntideva, according to Tibetan sources, was born in Zāhor which is located by some in Bengal.[97] According to some tradition[98] Śāntideva had another name Bhusuku, but his identification with the homonymous author of the *Dohās* in the Vernacular, to be mentioned later, is uncertain. Equally uncertain is the identity of Śānti (Śānta)-rakshita, mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as the author of three Tāntric works. According to *Sumpā* [99] he belonged to the

royal family of Zahor. He may or may not be the same as the Mahāyānist logician and scholar Śāntarakshita who was a high priest and teacher at Nālandā, and the author of *Tattva-saṁgraha*, a learned work on the earlier philosophical system, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, which exists both in Sanskrit and Tibetan translation, with a commentary written by his pupil Kamalaśīla.[100] He does not appear to be definitely distinguished from the Vajrayānist Tāntric author Śāntirakshita who is associated with Padmasambhava of Uḍḍiyāna[100a] as his brother-in-law and collaborator, but the two may not be identical. He also wrote *Vāda-nyāya-vṛitti-vipañchitārṭha* [101] and *Madhyamakālaṁkāra-kārikā* (the latter with his own commentary),[102] which are available only in the Tibetan version. His reputation must have travelled beyond the limits of India, and he is said to have visited Tibet at the invitation of king Khri-sron-Ide-bstan and assisted him in building the first regular Buddhist monastery of Bsām-ye on the model of the Odantapurī Vihāra of Magadha.[103] He is said to have worked for thirteen years in Tibet, and, along with Padmasambhava and his own disciple Kamalaśīla, laid the foundation of Buddhism in that country.

With regard to Jetāri, the next important writer, the Tibetan tradition[104] appears to distinguish a senior and junior sage of that name. The senior or Mahā-Jetāri belonged to Varendra, where his father Garbhapāda lived at the court of king Sanātana.[105] He is said to have received from Mahāpāla the diploma of the Paṇḍita of Vikramaśīla Vihāra, and instructed Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna in the Buddhist lore. The younger Jetāri [106] was a Buddhist Tāntric sage of Bengal, who initiated Bodhibhāgya and gave him the name Lāvaṇyavajra. It is possible that the three learned works on Buddhist logic, preserved in Tibetan, [107] belonged to the senior Jetāri, while the junior Jetāri was responsible for eleven Vajrayānist Sādhanas also preserved in Tibetan.[108]

Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna, the alleged pupil of Jetāri, appears to have been a very industrious and prolific writer, to whom the *Bstan-ḥgyur* assigns about one hundred and sixty-eight works[109] of which a large number consists of translations. They are mostly Vajrayānist works known as Sādhanas[110] (*Rgyud*), but Sūtra (*Mdo*) works, also listed in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* under his name, presumably deals with the general doctrines of the Mahāyāna. Haraprasād Śāstrī is probably right[111] in distinguishing two Dīpaṁkaras, but there might have been

more Dīpaṁkaras than two.[112] Of these, Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna, who is also designated by the Tibetan title of Atīśa, certainly belonged according to the Tibetan tradition,[113] to Bengal. Sumpā informs us[114] that Dīpaṁkara was a high priest both at Vikramaśīla and Odantapurī, and that he was known also by the honorific epithet of Jovo (=Prabhu). He visited Tibet, lived, travelled, and worked there for some time,[115] and the large bulk of his original and translated writings testify to the assistance he rendered not only in propagating Tāntric Buddhism but also in rendering Indian works accessible in Tibetan.

Jñānaśrī-mitra, described[116] as a central pillar of the Vikramaśīla *vihāra* at the time of Chanaka of Magadha, was born in Gauḍa. He first joined the Śrāvaka school, but afterwards became a Mahāyānist and came to Vikramaśīla about the time when Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna left for Tibet. He wrote a work on Buddhist logic, called *Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi* which exists in Tibetan, and must have attained considerable reputation to be mentioned by Mādhava in the 14th century in his *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*.[117] He should be distinguished from Jñānaśrī, of whom ten Vajrayāna works exist in Tibetan.

Of the minor Buddhist writers, mostly Tāntric, who in all probability flourished in Bengal during these centuries, it is not necessary to give a detailed account here ; for their writings appear to be of the same character and possess no distinctive interest. Among these may be mentioned Abhayākaragupta, who has more than twenty Vajrayānist works preserved in Tibetan, but four[118] of these are also available in Sanskrit. He is described[119] as a Buddhist monk of "Baṅgala" born in a Kshatriya family at Jhārikhaṇḍa in Orissa ; he flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla as Paṇḍita of Vajrāsana and Nālandā, becoming a high priest of Vikramaśīla, according to Sumpā Mkhan-po, at the time of Yakshapāla's dethronement by his minister Lavasena.[120] Divākarachandra, described as belonging to Bengal in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*[121] which includes one Herukasādhana and two translations of his, was, according to Sumpā Mkhan-po[122], a disciple of Maitrī-pā, and lived in the reign of Nayapāla, but was driven away from Vikramaśīla by Dīpaṁkara.[123] Kumārachandra, described[124] as "an avadhūta of the Vikramapurī Vihāra of Bengal in Eastern Magadha," is responsible for three Tāntric Pañjikās (commentaries) preserved in Tibetan ; Kumāravajra, also described as belonging to Bengal,[125] was mostly a translator,

who has only one independent work on the Heruka-sādhana. Dānaśīla, similarly described as belonging to Bhagala in Eastern India[126] and to the Jagaddala *vihāra* in the east,[127] is mentioned as a translator by Sumpā.[128] He has about sixty Tāntric translations in Tibetan to his credit, but there is also a brief *Pustaka-pāṭhopāya*,[129] translated by himself into Tibetan, on the mode of beginning the reading of a book. Putali (or Putuli, Puttali), mentioned[130] as a Buddhist Tāntric sage of Bengal, wrote a Vajrayānist work on Bodhichitta.[131] but Nāgabodhi (or Nāgabuddhi ?), who is said[132] to have been born "in Śibśera in Baṅgala" and who served the later Nāgārjuna as a disciple when he was working alchemy in Puṇḍravardhana, left thirteen Tāntric works now preserved in *Bstan-ḥgyur*. It is not clear if Ṭaṅkadāsa (or Ḍaṅgadāsa)[133] was a native of Bengal, but he is described as a Vṛiddha-kāyastha and contemporary of Dharmapāla of Bengal ; he wrote at the Pāṇḍubhūmi *vihāra* a commentary, called *Suviśada-saṁputa*, on the *Hevajra-tantra*. But Prajñāvarman, who is credited with two commentaries and two translations of Tāntric texts, is distinctly assigned to Bengal.[134] There are, however, some Buddhist Tāntric writers who worked in *Vihāras* situated in Eastern India, but there is no direct evidence that they were natives of Bengal. They are : Bodhibhadra of the Somapurī-*vihāra*,[135] Mokshākaragupta, Vibhūtichandra of Jagaddala-*vihāra*, and Śubhākara[136], also of the Jagaddala-*vihāra*. Of these Mokshākaragupta wrote a work on Logic called *Tarka-bhāshā*,[137] and may be identical with the commentator of the same name on the *Dohā-kośa* in Apabhraṁśa.[138] Vibhūtichandra has a total of twenty-three Tāntric works, [139] of which seventeen are translations, including translations of two works of Lui-pā. Similarly, Vanaratna, who is mostly a translator, is vaguely described in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*[140] as belonging to Eastern India, but Sumpā Mkhan-po[141] informs us that he visited Tibet from the monasteries of Koki land.[142] Of some writers, again, we can infer their place of origin only indirectly from their works. Thus Kambala or Kambalāmbara-pāda, to whom six works chiefly on Heruka-sādhana are credited in Tibetan, wrote also a collection of Dohās, called *Kambala-gītikā*,[143] apparently in proto-Bengali ; and one such Dohā (No. 8) occurs also in the *Caryācharya*[0].[144] To this class belong several writers, but about some of them we have more definite information. These are Kukkuri-pāda, Śavari- (or Śavara)-pāda, Lui-pāda, Kṛishṇa-pāda and others ; but since these writers, to whom Vajrayānist works are credited in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, are also

counted among the eighty-four Siddhas and connected with popular Tāntric cults, especially the Mahāmāyā, the Yoginī-kaula and the Nātha cult, all of which possibly developed further out of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna,[145] it would be better to take them up separately.

With these so-called Siddhāchāryas we enter upon a somewhat new phase of Bengal Tāntrism, although most of these thaumaturgists present a medley of doctrines, which had probably not yet crystallised themselves into well defined or sharply distinguished cults. The Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna as offshoots of Mahāyāna, were never at any stage separated by any clear line of demarcation. The same remarks would apply also to the various closely allied, perhaps concurrently existing, and presumably popular cults,[146] which became associated with the names of the Siddhāchāryas and the Nātha-gurus, and which (whatever might have been their origin) show a clear admixture of Buddhist ideas[147] and claim as their teachers recognised expounders of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna. We have in consequence a curious confusion, in the various traditions, between the early teachers of the different but closely related cults. We have, for instance, the traditions of more than one Śavara, Lui-pā, Saraha and Kṛishṇa, just in the same way as we have traditions of more than one Śāntideva, Śāntirakshita or Dīpaṁkara ; while Lui-pā has been equated with Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha, who is one of the acknowledged founders of both Yoginī-kaula and Nāthism. The difficulty is here perhaps greater than that of distinguishing between Mahāyāna and Vajra-yāna writers, where they might have been confused by similarity of names, and where, since the one system developed out of the other, it was not inherently impossible for a Mahāyānist to be a Vajrayānist. But in this case, as also sometimes in the other, it is not always possible to assume two or more sets of teachers having a common name or a common belief. To explain this confusion, therefore, one should presume a syncretic tendency, not unusual in the history of religious cults, to assimilate and identify the teachers in the different groups. This tendency must have been facilitated by the fact that these cults, collectively called Sahajasiddhi in their origin were not probably sharply differentiated, having developed under the same conditions and possibly out of the same source or sources. In the case of Nāthism especially, which was perhaps more popular than academic, this tendency of assimilating the recognised teachers of Buddhist Tāntrism is not unintelligible. Whether Nāthism in its origin was a form of Tāntric Buddhism

which transformed itself into Tānrtic Śaivism or whether the process was otherwise, need not be discussed here ; but it is clear that it assimilated rites and tenets from various sources, its curious legends belonging to no regular order.[148] In the same way it appropriated, or rather assimilated, its own Gurus to Vajrayānist teachers of repute, on the one hand, and to Śiva and his disciples, on the other.

One of the characteristics of Sahaja-siddhi is that it repudiates Mantra, Maṇḍala and other external means and modes of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna, puts emphasis on Yogic practices and cultivation of mental powers, and accepting their terminology, places different interpretations on such fundamental concepts as Vajra, Mudrā etc. The lands where this phase of Tāntrism was the most wide-spread, and perhaps where it originated, were Bengal and Assam. Most of the teachers, therefore, belong to these countries, from which their teachings must have spread in divergent forms to Nepal and Tibet ; but the traditions concerning them became overlaid, obscure and confusing, and their works present a medley of Buddhism and Hinduism. The religious aspect of the question is not our concern here, but we shall give a brief survey of the important works and authors connected with these cults.

Kukkuripāda (or °pā), one of the eighty-four Siddhas, is mentioned by Tibetan tradition[149] as a Brāhamaṇ of Bengal who introduced Mantra-yāna (Heruka-sādhana) and other Tantras from the land of Ḍākinī. This somewhat obscure account probably refers to the introduction of the cult of Mahāmāyā, with which his name is traditionally associated,[150] and which, judging from the titles of the works,[151] appears to form the theme of at least three out of his six Tāntric works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. He is also credited with two vernacular Dohās in the *Caryācharya*° (Nos. 2, 20).[152] Another early Siddhāchārya is Śavari- (or Śabara) -pāda, of whom it is recorded by Sumpā-po[153] that he was a huntsman of the hills of "Baṅgala," who with his two wives, Loki and Guni, was converted by Nāgārjuna[154] during the latter's residence in that country. The Tibetan sources, again, place him as a contemporary of Lui-pā, making him[155] even a preceptor of Lui-pā in Tāntrism. Two vernacular Dohās of Savari are also found in the *Caryācharya*° (Nos. 28, 50). It is probable, therefore, that he was connected with the new cults, although ten Vajrayānist works are assigned to him in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.[156] He appears to be the same as Śavarīśvara,[157] some of whose works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* are concerned with Vajra-yoginī

Sādhana, which king Indrabhūti of Oḍyān and his sister Lakshīṁkara made popular.[158]

But the most important name of this group is perhaps that of Lui-pā. He is credited with four Vajrayānist works in the *Bstanḥgyur*, of which one called *Abhisamaya-vibhaṅga* is said to have been revealed by him directly to Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna in order that (according to the colophon to the text)[159] the latter might help its Tibetan translation. He was, therefore, in all probability an older contemporary of Dīpaṁkara and belonged to the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century.[160] Two of his vernacular Dohās are given in the *Charyācharya*° (Nos. 1, 29) ;[161] but Haraprasād Śāstrī[162] speaks of an entire collection called *Luipāda-gītikā*. It is through these vernacular Dohās that he probably became one of the earliest founders of the Tāntric religion found in the *Dohā-kośas*. The Tibetan tradition mentions him as the Ādi-siddha, thus making ḥim occupy the same position as the Indian tradition would ascribe to Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha. It has been pointed out that the Tibetan translation of the name Lui-pā means Matsyodara or Matsyāntrāda ;[163] and Sumpā Mkhan-po[164] makes him, as the Indian tradition makes Matsyendranātha, a sage of the fisherman caste.[165] The Tibetan sources, again, place Lui-pāda in Bengal,[166] while all the Indian legends of Matsyendranātha are connected with the seaboard of Eastern India. The published Sanskrit texts of the school claim Matsyendranātha as the founder of the Yoginī-kaula system, while Tāraṇātha believes (*Geschichte*, p. 275 ff) that Lui-pā introduced the Yoginī cult. On these, among other grounds, Lui-pā has been equated[167] with Matsyendranātha, legendary fisherman of Chandradvīpa, who is the starting point of a new system of Tāntric thought and practice, connected with the Yoginī-kaula, Haṭha-yoga and Nātha cults of East Bengal and Kāmarūpa. Even if the identification is not accepted, it will certainly strengthen the suggestion, made above, of the tendency towards syncretic assimilation of the teachers of the various cults.

The homage paid by the Kashmirian Abhinavaguptā in his *Tantrāloka*[168] would place Matsyendranātha earlier than the beginning of the 11th century ; and if he is identical with Lui-pāda, his probable date would be the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. As the reputed founder of the new school of Sahajasiddhi, he is connected with a series of teachers, whose writings are preserved mostly in the Apabhraṁśa and the vernacular, and who,

as such, properly falls outside our province. But in its earlier stages the Sahaja-siddhi represented by these teachers starts apparently as a deviation from the Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna ; while in these cults are to be found the sources of the Nātha cult, which calls itself Śivaite but which shows greater affinity with the Buddhist than with the Brāhmaṇical Tantra. All the reputed Siddhāchāryas are, therefore, found credited with Vajrayānist works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. The only exception is perhaps Matsyendranātha, if he is not the same person as Lui-pāda ; but we have a work on the Bodhichitta by Mīna-pāda,[169] who is described as an ancestor of Matsyendranātha. The cult must have been introduced early into Tibet and Nepal, where Matsyendranātha came to be identified with Avalokiteśvara, while in India his apotheosis occurred by his assimilation to Śiva.[170] There are some works, however, which profess to have been revealed (*avatārita*) by Matsyendranātha. Five of these texts, written in Sanskrit, have been published[171] from old Nepali manuscripts ; and if the manuscript of the principal longest text, entitled *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, belongs to the 11th century (as its editor maintains), it must be taken as the earliest known work of the school. According to this work, Matsyendranātha belonged to the Siddha or Siddhāmṛita sect, primarily connected with the Yoginī-kaula, the chief seat of which was Kāmarūpa. Although the word Kula in Brāhmaṇical Tantra is often synonymous with Śakti, it is undoubtedly related here to the five Kulas of the Buddhist Tantra, representing the five Dhyānī-Buddhas ; while the word Sahaja is equated with Vajra as a state to be attained by a method of Yoga called Vajra-yoga. There is, thus, a very considerable admixture of Buddhist Tāntric ideas and practices with those of the Brāhmaṇical Tantra.

The next great Siddha of the school is Gorakshanātha who is described in most of the accounts as a disciple of Matsyendranātha. The legends, which must have originated in Bengal and spread in divergent forms to Nepal, Tibet, Hindusthan, the Punjab, Gujarat and Mahārāshṭra, connect him and other Nātha-gurus with the Gopīchānd legend,[172] with the Yogī sect of the Punjab, and the Nātha-yogīs of Bengal. Perhaps he did not, as some of the legends suggest, strictly conform to the traditions of the Mantra-yāna ; and it is no wonder that in Nepal and Tibet he is considered to be a renegade,[173] whose Yogīs passed from Buddhism to Śaivaism simply to please their heretic rulers and gain political favours. Of Goraksha-

nātha no work[174] has been found, unless he is identical with the Goraksha of the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, who is responsible for one Buddhist Tāntric work.[175] If his alleged disciple[176] Jālandhari-pāda, who figures in the legends as the Guru of Gopīchānd, is the same person as Mahāpaṇḍita Mahāchārya Jālandhara, Āchārya Jālandhari, or Siddhāchārya Jālandhari-pāda of the *Bstan-ḥgyur*[177] then he might be taken as the author of four Vajra-yāna works, including a commentary, called *Śuddhī-vajra-pradīpā*, on *Hevajra-sādhana*, the original being assigned to Saroruhavajra.[178]

To the other Siddhāchāryas of the Sahaja-siddhi, some of whom are also Gurus of the Nātha cult, numerous Buddhist Tāntric works are assigned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. Both Indian and Tibetan[179] traditions make Virūpa (or Viru-pā) a disciple of Jālandhara ; but the latter tradition also appears to mention more than one Buddhist Tāntric sage of that name, of whom a junior and a senior Virūpa are distinguished.[180] One of these Virūpas was born in the east at "Tripura"[181] (Tippera ?) during the reign of Devapāla. The distinction, however, is not clear in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, but it ascribes ten Vajra-yāna works to Āchārya or Mahāchārya Virūpa, and two collections of apparently vernacular Dohās and Padas (*Virūpa-pada-chaturaśīti* and *Dohā-kośa*) to Mahāyogin or Yogīśvara Virūpa.[182] Tilopā or Tailika-pāda,[183] another Siddhāchārya, is made by Tibetan sources a contemporary of Mahīpāla of Bengal,[184] and one of these traditions makes him a Brāhmaṇ of Tsātigāon (Chittagong ?), who was converted under the name of Prajñābhadra.[185] Besides four Vajra-yāna works, a *Dohā-kośa* of his is preserved in Tibetan.[186] Tilo-pā's disciple Nāro-pā or Nāḍo-pā is also assimilated to well-known Buddhist Vajra-yāna teachers. He is said[187] to have succeeded Jetāri as the north-door Paṇḍit of Vikramaśīla as an adept in the Buddhist Āgama, and left the monastery in the charge of Dīpaṁkara in his seventieth year to become the high priest of Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gayā). One account makes him son of king Śākya Subhaśānti-varman of the East (Prāchya), while another believes that he was the son of a Kashmirian Brāhmaṇ, and became a Brāhmanical Tīrthika Paṇḍita and then a Buddhist Siddha under the religious name of Jñānasiddhi or Yaśobhadra. As he appears to be identical with Nāḍa, described in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as Śrī-mahāmudrāchārya, and with Nāḍa-pāda, described in the same work as Mahāchārya and Mahāyogin, he should be credited with nine Vajra-yāna Sādhanas,[188] some of which concern Heruka and Hevajra, as well

as two Vajra-gītis[189] and a Pañjikā on *Vajra-pada-sāra-saṁgraha* which last work, it may be noted, was undertaken at the request of Vinayaśrī-mitra, a Bhikshu of Kanaka-stūpa Mahāvihāra of Paṭṭikeraka in Kashmir.[190]

Another important Siddhāchārya is Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇa-pāda, known also by the Prakrit form of the name as Kāṇhu-pā. There must have been, as Haraprasād Śāstrī rightly conjectures, several Kṛishṇas or Kāṇhus. The *Bstan-ḥgyur* mentions as a senior Kṛishṇa,[191] a Kṛishṇa from Orissa who was a translator,[192] as well as a Kṛishṇāchārya and a Kṛishna-vajra.[193] One Indian Kṛishṇa, again, wrote at Somapurī-*vihāra*,[194] which was situated in Bengal. It is difficult to say which of these authors[195] should be (if at all) identified with Kṛishṇāchārya or Kāṇhapā of the Sahaja-siddhi and the Nātha cult who is regarded as a disciple of Jālandhara-pā. According to Tāranātha, however, Kṛishṇāchārya, disciple of Jālandhāri, belonged to Pādyanagara or Vīdyānagara in the southern country of Karna[196], but another Tibetan account informs us that his birthplace, as well as place of conversion, was Somapurī.[197] Eleven vernacular Dohās are given in the *Charyācharya*° under the names Kāṇhu, Kṛishṇāchārya-pāda, Kṛishṇa-pāda and Kṛishṇa-vajra,[198] as well as cited under one or other of these names in its Sanskrit commentary. A *Dohā-kośa* in Apabhraṁsa by Kṛlshṇāchārya also exists in the original and has been published.[199]

The problem of the identity of Saraha or Saraha-pāda, the next important teacher, whose other name is given as Rāhula-bhadra, is equally difficult. Sumpā Mkhan-po[200] describes him as a 'Brāhmaṇ Buddhist sage', born of a Brāhmaṇ and a Ḍākinī in the city of Rājñī in the eastern country. He was well versed in both Brāhmanical and Buddhistic learning and flourished in the reign of Chandanapāla. He is said to have converted Ratnapāla and his ministers and Brāhmaṇs, and to have become the high priest of Nālandā. He learned the Mantra-yāna from Choye Sukalpa of Oḍivisa (Orissa)), but afterwards visited Mahārāshṭra where he united in Yoga with a Yoginī who approached him in the guise of an archer's daughter. After having performed the Mahāmudrā with her, he became a Siddha and went by the name of Saraha. It is also recorded that he used to sing Dohās of Buddhism as a means of conversion. In the *Bstan-ḥgyur* there are about twenty-five Tāntric works assigned to him[201] including more than half a dozen concerned with Dohākośa-gīti and Charyā-gīti.[202] An Apabhraṁśa *Dohā-kośa*[203]

(with a Sanskrit commentary[204]) connected with his name has been published ; and four of his Dohās occur in *Charyācharya*° (Nos. 22, 32, 38, 39), where he is called Saraha-pāda. Cordier is probably right [205] in his suggestion that there were several Sarahas, who are described in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* variously as Mahābrāhmaṇa, Mahāchārya, Mahāyogin or Yogīśvara, as belonging to Oḍḍiyāna[206] and also as Mahāśavara and once as a descendant of Kṛishṇa,[207] but it is difficult to distinguish them. Tāranātha, however, distinguishes two Sarahas, one of whom, the junior, was otherwise called Śābari,[208] while the other was named Rāhulabhadra.[209] It is likely that the Siddhāchārya Saraha, to whom the Dohās can be legitimately ascribed, was a different person from Saraha-Rāhulbhadra,[210] the Vajrayānist author of the Sādhanas, and that both are to be distinguished from Saroruhavajra, also called Padmavajra, who is known in the history of Buddhist Tāntrism as one of the pioneers of Hevajra-tantra and as the Guru and Paramaguru respectively of Anaṅgavajra and Indrabhūti of Oḍḍiyāna.

Of those minor personalities of this group, who probably belonged to the east, only a brief mention may be made here. It is not clear if all of them belonged to Bengal. Garbhari-pā or Garbha-pāda, popularly called Gābhur Siddha,[211] wrote a work on Hevajra and a Vajra-yāna commentary ; Kila-pāda,[212] described as a descendant of Lui-pāda, is credited with a *Dohācharyā-gītikā-dṛishṭi* ; Amitābha[213] commented upon the *Dohā-kośa* of Kṛishṇavajra ; Karmāri, Karmāra or Kamari, a descendant of Virūpa, was the author of one Vajrayāna work,[214] Vīṇāpāda, also a descendant of Vīrūpa, but described[215] as a Kshatriya prince of Gahura who was fond of the Vīṇā,[216] wrote works on Vajraḍākinī and Guhyasamāja, as well as one Dohā (No. 17) given in the *Charyācharya*° ; Kaṅkaṇa, a descendant of Kambala-pā, composed one Dohā to be found in the *Charyācharya*° (No. 44) and a *Charyā-dohākośa-gītikā*[217] ; Dārika or Dāri-pāda,[218] also a Mahāsiddha, variously described as a disciple of Lui-pā and Nāropā, was responsible for twelve Vajra-yāna works in the *Bstan ḥgyur*[219] and one Dohā in the *Charyācharya*⁰ (No. 34) ; and Dharmapāda (also called Guṇḍarīpāda),[220] a descendant of Kṛishṇa, has twelve Vajra-yāna works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* and two Dohās in the *Charyācharya*⁰. None of their works, except the Apabhraṁśa Dohās mentioned, is available in print, and exists only in Tibetan.

It will be seen that Bengal had a very large share in the cultivation and spread of this peculiar and prolific Buddhist and allied

Tāntric literature, which in all probability received encouragement from the Buddhist kings of the Pāla dynasty. But it is remarkable that with the advent of the Sena kings, who had Vaishṇavite leanings, this literature and culture went underground for all time.[221] We hear of no suppression or persecution of Buddhism under the overlordship of the Senas, but it was probably a part of their policy to encourage Brāhmaṇical studies as a reaction against the Buddhistic tendencies of the Pāla kings. There cannot be any doubt that under the new regime of the Sena kings, non-Buddhistic Sanskrit literature and culture in Bengal received a fresh impetus. This might have partly been also a result of the general revival of Sanskrit learning, probably under similar circumstances, in Kashmir, Kanauj, Dhārā, Kalyāṇa, Mithilā and Kaliṅga.

III. Vernacular Literature

The evolution of different Indian vernaculars from the one common parent language, known as the Vedic or early Sanskrit, passed through different stages in different parts of India. The first stage is represented by the *Middle Indo-Aryan*—Pāli, Prākrits and Apabhraṁśa—which were current during the period from 500 B.C. to 1000 A.D. During the last 500 years of this period the Prākrits were gradually replaced by Apabhraṁśa and its later phase Laukika or Apabhrashṭa (Avahaṭṭha) out of which were slowly born the *New Indo-Aryan speeches*, the *Bhāshās* or Vernaculars, such as Bengali, Hindi, Maithili, Nepāli, Assamese, Oriyā etc. "Definite eastern or Magadhan characteristics appear to have developed in the entire Aryanised area of Assam, Bengal and Bihar during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā formed a very closely connected group, and these languages showed the greatest amount of agreement among themselves. By A.D. 1000, judging from the specimens of Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā that we have at about this date and a little later, these languages had become fully established, although relationship between Bengali and Assamese was a little closer than between these two and Oriyā. Thus A.D. 1000 may roughly be taken as a convenient date for the development of the New Indo-Aryan stage in the history of the Aryan speech. About this time, the Bengali language was fully characterised, and Oriyā was also characterised with a few special peculiarities, while Assamese remained still much closer to Old Bengali."[222]

The total output of Bengali literature before the end of the Hindu period is not, however, very large. Besides the *Charyāpadas* to which detailed reference will be made later, the extant specimens of Bengali language that may be dated prior to the final extinction of Hindu rule in Bengal in the 13th century A.D. comprise

(1) A few old verses and lines in the *Mānasollāsa*, a Sanskrit Encyclopaedia composed about 1130 A.D., in the section dealing with music.

(2) A few lines and verses in the *Prākṛita-paiṅgala* (c. A.D. 1400) and other early Sanskrit texts.

(3) Some place-names and personal names in the epigraphic records of Bengal from the fifth century A.D. downwards.[223]

(4) A number of words found in Sarvānanda's commentary on *Amarakosha*.[224]

Thus the *Charyā-padas* may be regarded, practically, as the only extant specimen of Bengali literature during the Hindu rule in Bengal.

The manuscript of the *Charyā-padas* was discovered in Nepal by the late MM. H. P. Śāstrī in 1907. It was edited by him along with three other texts of a similar nature, also found in Nepal, and published by the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad under the title "Bauddhagān O Dohā" in 1916.[225] The *Charyā-padas* are collected in a text entitled *Charyācharya-Viniśchaya*[226] with a commentary in Sanskrit by Munidatta. The songs were fifty in number, but only 46 verses and a part of another are found in Śāstri's text, the rest being known only from the Tibetan translation. There was also another verse, but it was not commented upon by Munidatta.[227]

These songs were composed by the Siddhāchāryas or followers of the esoteric cults—the various *yānas* developed out of the Mahāyāna mentioned above. Naturally there is not much of literary flavour except in a few, as the sole object of the author was to expound their doctrines in a mystic language intelligible only to the initiated. Dr. S. K. Chatterji rightly observes :

"The subject-matter of these Old Bengali *Charyā-padas* is highly mystical, centring round the esoteric doctrines and erotic and Yogic theories and practices of the Sahajiyā school of Buddhism. The Sanskrit commentary on the *Charyās*, being itself in a highly technical jargon, does not help to make the sense of the text wholly clear to

modern readers, though it quotes extensively from a similar literature which is mostly in Sanskrit."[228]

Elsewhere he remarks :

"The *Charyā-padas* cannot be accorded a very high place from literary point of view, though occasionally they breathe a true poetic spirit and are marked by beauty of expression, fine conception and imagery, and a deep sensibility and emotion. Their main value and importance are linguistic and doctrinal. They are, however, good lyrics written in a variety of metres. These lyrics were evidently meant to be sung, for the manuscript gives the names of the *rāgas* against each. But the main characteristic of these verses is their religious and emotional appeal which found a fuller development in later Bengali literature in the Sahajiyā songs, Vaishṇava *padas*, Śākta hymns, Bāul songs, etc. The Buddhist *Charyā-padas* may, therefore, be regarded as the prototypes or precursors of these later forms of literary development in Bengal."[229]

The main interest of the songs, however, centres round the fact that they represent the oldest forms of Bengali language so far known to us. The language has also been claimed to be the oldest form of Assamese, and Oriyā, because some words specially belonging to these occur in the songs. But the general view is that the songs are really written in the one common language, then current in Eastern India, from which the Oriyā has been formed into a distinct language in the 13th and 14th, and Assamese in the 16th and 17th centuries. Dr. Chatterji has successfully demonstrated that the common language represents the oldest form of Bengali.[230]

The fifty songs collected in the *Charyācharya-Viniśchaya* represent the composition of 23 or 24 poets whose names are mentioned at the end.[231] Among these, sixteen poets have only one song each, three poets two each, one has got three, and another has got four. But Kāṇhapā has thirteen and Bhusukupā, eight songs to his credit. In addition the commentary includes a song of Mīnanātha.[232]

The date of these *Charyā-padas* has formed a subject of keen dispute. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji refers them, mainly on linguistic grounds, to the period between 950 and 1200 A.D., and this view is generally accepted. But Dr. Sahidulla, relying on Nepalese and Tibetan traditions, referred the older poets to the 7th century A.D. and this opinion is also shared by some. The

main argument of this group has been summed up as follows by Śrī Sukhamay Mukherji in an unpublished article: 'The age of the language is not necessarily the age of the poets also. That popular songs recited from mouth to mouth and copied from one manuscript to another gradually undergo material linguistic changes is proved by several instances. It has been pointed out that the language of an eighteenth century Ms. of *Śrī-Kṛishṇa-Vijaya* by Mālādhara Basu is much more modern than that of the 15th century when it was composed.'

This writer has discussed the date of some of the poets of these songs on the basis of clues obtained from Tibetan sources. He has drawn up a succession-list of the *Siddha Gurus*, 14 in number, beginning from Saraha-pā and ending in Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna who certainly lived in the first half of the 11th century A. D. (see p. 138). He, therefore, places Kāṇha-pā, the eighth *Guru*, Lui-pā, the third *Guru*, and Saraha-pā, the first *Guru*, respectively, between 850-900, about 750, and 700 A. D.

He finds support for his views in the tradition that Lui-pā flourished before Śāntarakshita and was a Kāyastha in the court of Dharmapāla, and Kāṇha-pā was the *Paṇḍita-bhikshu* of Devapāla at the Somapura-*Vihāra*. He, therefore, concludes that as Saraha-pā was the author of four songs, the antiquity of these goes back to the 8th century A.D., and thus supports the view first propounded by M. Sahidullā. But even if we accept this view, based merely on Tibetan tradition, the fact remains that the language of the *Charyā-padas, as we have them now*, probably represents the form of Bengali language current in the 10th-12th century A.D., though the language very nearly took this form two hundred years earlier. (Dr. Sukumar Sen) the latest writer on the subject, who had all along upheld the theory of Dr. S. K. Chatterji, has changed his view, and held, in 1966, that the original language of the *Charyā-padas* may go back to 7th-8th century, and the date of their composition may be placed between the commencement of the 8th and the middle of the 11th century A.D.[233])

APPENDIX I[234]

WAS ŚRĪHARSHA, AUTHOR OF NAISHADHA-CHARITA, A BENGALI ?

The problem was first discussed in some detail by the late Professor Nilakamala Bhattacharya,[235] and he concluded, mainly from internal evidences in the *Naishadha-charita*, that its author was unmistakably a native of Bengal. His grounds for such definite conclusion may be summarised as follows :

(1) Use of the word *'ulūlu'* (*Naishadha* XIV.51) and the express statement of the standard commentator, Nārāyaṇa, that this is a musical sound uttered by the women of Gauḍa during the festivals of marriage etc., and the poet simply referred to the usage of his own native land.

(2) Use of the conch-bangle by the bride in XV. 45 and its breaking as characterising the beginning of widowhood in XII, 35. In the former case, again, Nārāyaṇa clearly states that it was a custom in Gauḍa at the time of marriage. Prof. Bhattacharyya came to learn after investigation that this 'is characteristic of Bengal alone' (p. 171).

(3) The tying of the hands of bride and groom with a *kuśa* blade in XVI. 14. Here, also, Nārāyaṇa comments, that it was a local custom. The usage was prevalent, as the late Prof. Bhattacharyya learnt from investigation, 'in Bengal only' (p. 172).

(4) Some other customs, which are collectively specialities of Bengal alone, such as the painting of the floors with rice powder, niceties of fish and flesh in marriage feasts, etc. (pp. 172-74).

(5) Śrīharsha wrote a panegyric of the family of a Gauḍa king as stated in VII.110.[236]

It can be justly argued here that it is much more probable for a native of Bengal to migrate from a royal court of Bengal to Benares under the king of Kānyakubja than for a native of Kānyakubja to do so from Benares to Bengal.

(6) Prof. Bhattacharyya has cited many examples of the poet's indiscriminate use in alliteration of (i) the three sibilants, (ii) the two nasals (*ṇ* and *n*), (iii) *ba* and *va*, (iv) *ja* and *ya*

and (v) *ksha* and *khya* (pp. 185-87) to show that the poet's 'mother-tongue was Bengali'.

D. C. Bhattacharya, who endorsed the view of Professor Nilkamal Bhattacharya on these grounds, added two more references in the *Naishadha-charita* in support of it. In XVIII. 103 the poet uses the word *Udyabhāskara*, and according to Chāṇḍu Paṇḍita it is a kind of camphor 'found in Gauḍa' (Handiqui, Tr. of the *Naishadha* p. 540). In XXII. 53 the interesting word *Lalaḍimba* is used. Chāṇḍu Paṇḍita explains it as the 'top' with which the boys play in Gauḍa (Handiqui, loc. cit., P. 489). Īśānadeva, another old commentator, also states that it was used in Gauḍa. Nārāyaṇa is more explicit and says it is called *Bhramaraka* in Gauḍa. The discovery of this familiar name of a 'top', still universally current in Bengal, in the *Nāishadha* is, in Bhattacharya's opinion, the most convincing of all the evidences pointing to the Bengali origin of the poet.

D. C. Bhattacharya further cites some external evidence.

The commentators Chāṇḍu Paṇḍita (1297 A.D.), Īśānadeva and Nārāyaṇa believed that the poet belonged to Bengal. In the Harihara-prabandha of the *Prabandhakosha* of Rājaśekhara Sūri it is definitely stated that Harihara was a descendant of Śrīharsha, who was a native of Bengal. Vidyāpati categorically states in the *Purushaparīkshā* that the poet was a native of Bengal and went to Vārāṇasī to have his great poem examined by scholars. Vidyāpati does not claim him for his own land Mithilā, nor does he make him a native of Kanauj, though he was fully aware of his connection with the court at that place. Vāchaspati Miśra II, the celebrated Smārta of Mithilā, attempted to prove his scholarship in Indian logic by a bold refutation of Śrīharsha's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* in the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*. At the end of this Śrīharsha is contemptuously referred to as a 'Supine Gauḍa'(*Uttāna-Gauḍa*). All this volume of evidence, read along with the poet's clear statement of receiving high honours from the king of Kānyakubja, found both in the *Naishadha* and *Khaṇḍana*, points to only one conclusion, viz. he was a native of Bengal and a resident of Vārāṇasī in the dominion of the latter king. We are not aware that any of his commentators or any other writer ever stated the converse, viz. that he was a native of Kānyakubja and a resident, for some time at least, of Bengal.[237]

Dr. S. K. De refuted some of the above arguments. He observed:

"Śrīharsha's Bengal origin need not follow, as Nārāyaṇa in his commentary thinks, from his use of the word *ulūlu* as an auspicious

sound made by women on festive occasions. Apart from the fact that the word appears to be as old as the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (iii. 19. 3), K. K. Handiqui (op. cit. pp, 541-42) has shown that it is not an exclusively Bengali custom, being found in writers who had no connection with Bengal, especially in some Jaina writers of Western India. Murāri uses the word in connection with Sītā's marriage (iii. 55), but his Maithili commentator, Ruchipati Upādhyāya, explains it as a South Indian custom. The Southerner Mallināth, on the other hand, believes it to be a Northern custom! Similar remarks apply to the reference (XV. 45) to the custom of wearing conch-bangle, which is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Virāṭa xi. 1) and the *Kādambarī*. The argument based on the Gauḍī Rīti does not carry much weight, but more relevant if not definitely conclusive, is the indiscriminate use in alliteration and chiming of the three sibilants, the two nasals *n*, *ṇ*, *ba* and *va*, *ya* and *ja* as sounds of equivalent value, Rhetoricians, however, permit such interchange in verbal figures."[238]

Dr. De concluded that the evidence for regarding Śrīharsha as a Bengali is not conclusive, but some plausibility is afforded by the *Praśasti* composed by him for some unnamed king of Gauḍa. With reference to the two passages in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kādambarī* mentioned by Dr. S. K. De in the extract quoted above, D. C. Bhattacharya observes :

"These two passages, as Prof. Bhattacharya correctly stated, do not refer to marriage customs at all. In the former (Virāṭa xi 1) it was not a new bride but Arjuna who appeared before the king of Virāṭa in lady's ornaments including a pair of gold bangles 'upon conch'. In the latter, pieces of lotus stalks in a hermitage are likened to pieces of conch-bangles slipping down from the ankles of the goddess Sarasvatī, the poet being quite oblivious of the inauspicious nature of the concept. We should add here that Mahāśvetā in her austerities is described as wearing, among others, bark as garment, sacred thread and 'pieces of conch' in her wrist. So the references are quite contrary to the custom mentioned in the *Naishadha*."[239]

D. C. Bhattacharya's view on the date of Śrīharsha may be quoted in this connection. He refers to a well-founded tradition that Śrīharsha was the son of a contemporary rival of Udayana, and then observes :

"Srīharsha was born, therefore, about 1075 A.D., and wrote

most of his works in the reign of Govindachandra of Kanauj, though he might have lived long enough to witness the reign of Jayachandra. According to an unverified statement (found in *Nyāyakosha*, 1893, Introd., P. 4 f.n.) one Bhūdeva wrote a commentary on the *Naishadha* at the request of the king of Kānyakubja in the year *Yugmāshṭaṅkairnirukte Śaka-nṛipatisame* (V. P. Dvivedi reads *Yugmāśchāṅkaiḥ* in the introduction to *Nyāyavārtika*, Chowkh, 1916, P. 160) If it is taken as genuine, the word *'aṅka'* must be a symbol for the figure 10 instead of 9. It was then Vijayachandra, the son of Govindachandra, who must have requested a scholar of his court to write the commentary apparently in the lifetime of Śrīharsha in the year 1082 Saka (1160 A.D.), a rare sort of tribute paid to the greatest poet of the century."[240]

Footnotes

[1] Fa-hien, p. 100.
[2] Beal-Records, II, pp. 193-204.
[3] I-Tsing, p. xxxi.
[4] *HC.* Tr., p. 2.
[5] De—Poetics, I. 48.
[6] *Kāvyālaṁkāra-sūtra-Vṛitti*, I. 2.10. The same thing is said by Kuntaka (end of the 10th century) in his *Vakrokti-jīvita* (Ed. S. K. De, 2nd Edition p. 45).
[7] *IB.* p. 27.
[8] H. P. Śāstrī, *Nepal catalogue* 1. 134. *HSL*, 208.
[9] In writing this and subsequent sections of this Chapter I have derived considerable help from two articles by Dr. S. K. De published in *NIA*, Vol. II, pp. 264-282 and Vol. I pp. 1-23. These were reproduced *verbatim* in *HB*, pp. 304-350. The passages within inverted commas, unless otheriwse stated, are quotations from these two articles. Full discussions on the points dealt with will be found in these two articles.
[10] *JBORS*, 1919, p. 313 ; 1924, p. 317.
[11] P. C. Bagchi (*IHQ*, 1933, p. 261) takes the title as designation of elephant (Dravidian *pal*, and *kapi*, both meaning elephant).
[12] As regards Subandhu, cf. an article by M. Ghosh in *IHQ*, 1939. For others cf. *JASB*, 1930, pp. 241-45 : *NIA*. II.
[13] For a discussion on this point see Dr. S. K. De's edition of *Kīchaka-Vadha*, pp. xii-xiv and 93-4, 98-9. This poetical work is preserved only in Bengali Mss. and all the known commentators are Bengalis.
[14] For a full discussion of *NIA*. II. 267.
[15] S. K. De, *Padyāvali*, pp. 182-84.
[16] *NIA*. II. 268.
[17] Dr. De regards the identity as problematic. But cf. p. 117 above. N. Das Gupta observes ; "*Yuvarāja* Hāravarsha, son of Dharmapāla, was the patron of Abhinanda, *alias* Āryavilāsa, the author of the *Rāmacharita*, the oldest extant *Mahākāvya* produced in Bengal. He was regarded as a great poet even in the 15th century [*Rāmacharita*, ed. by K. S. Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī—G. O. S. No. xlvi (1930) Introduction]. Abhinanda's father Śatānanda may be identical with the homonymous poet whose verses are quoted in several standard anthologies. According to Abhinanda, Hāravarsha compiled, after Hāla, an anthology (*IC.* VI. 327-32).
[18] See page 186. f.n. 191.
[19] MM. H. P. Śāstrī's remarks about the author's family are partly wrong, and partly guess-work. In particular, the author was not Brāhmaṇa, as Śāstrī says in his Preface to the book, but a Karaṇa (*Kāyastha*) as stated in V. 3 of the *Kavi-praśasti*, cf. RC[3], p. x.
[20] The name of the parents is given in a verse of the *Gīta-Govinda* (XII. 11). Though this verse is not commented upon by Kumbha (15th century) it occurs in most manuscripts and is accepted as genuine by other commentators. As regards Padmāvatī (I. 2), Kumbha takes it to mean goddess Lakshmī, but other commentators take it to be the name of Jayadeva's wife. There is a

legend that Padmāvatī was a dancing girl and Jayadeva supplied musical accompaniment while she danced. Some find a support of this tradition in Jayadeva's describing himself as *Padmāvatī-charana-chāraṇa-Chakravartiṇ*, (I. 2).

[21] This is the general view, but the birth-place has also been located in Mithilā and Orissa, cf. *JASB*. 1906, pp. 163 ff.

[22] Not the last day of *Māgha*, as is recorded by some (for example in *HSLC*, p. 390).

[23] Cf. f.n. 20 above.

[24] See p. 231 above.

[25] *JASB*, 1906, pp. 168-9.

[26] *HSLC*. pp. 390-91.

[27] *Ibid*, p. 389.

[28] In a self-laudatory verse quoted in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita*, (V. 292). Cf. *Pavanadūtam*, Ed. by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Introduction, p. 2. A traditional verse (Introduction to *Subhāshitāvalī*, p. 38) mentions Govardhana, Śaraṇa, Jayadeva, Umāpati and Kavirāja as *Ratnas* in the court of Lakshmaṇasena. This is repeated by Kumbha in his comment on *Gīta-Govinda* (I. 4), but he adds a sixth name Dhoyī and substitutes Śrutidhara for Kavirāja. Kavirāja may be a title, rather than the name of the poet, but though several poets bore this title, there was also a contemporary poet of this name, the author of the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya*, whose real name was Mādhava Bhaṭṭa. Kavirāja in the above traditional verse refers to Dhoyī (also called Dhaī, Dhoyīka and Dhuyī), for he is described by Jayadeva as *Kavi-Kshmāpati*, which is equivalent to Kavi-rāja, and the name of Dhoyī is not otherwise included in the list of five poets. Kumbha's addition of Dhoyī to the above list may be due to an error on the part of one who flourished three hundred years later.

[29] *HSLC*, p. 373, f.n. 3.

[30] *Ibid*, p. 371.

[30a] *JASB*, Vol. IX (1967) pp. 188 ff.

[31] *HSLC*, p. 325.

[32] *NIA*. II. pp. 266-7

[33] Krishnamāchārya, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 4.

[34] A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 140-41.

[35] *NIA*. II. p. 267.

[36] *HSLC*, pp. 327-329.

[36a] Bühler in *JBRAS*, X (1871), p. 31, XI (1874), p. 279.

[36b] *IA*, II, pp. 71 ff.

[36c] *IA*, XIII, pp. 83 ff, 286 ff.

[37] *HSLC*, 325-6.

[37a] See above, p. 228

[38] For the life and date of the author, cf. the Introduction in the edition of the book, *HOS* series (1957).

[39] Dr. S. C. Banerji, *Sanskrita Sāhitye Bāṅgālīr Dān* (in Bengali) pp. 53-55.

[40] For the date cf. *HCIP*. Vol. IV, pp. 359, 365 (f.n. 156).

[41] *R. Phtl*, II. p. 465.

[42] *HB*. 301-2.

[43] According to the verses not only pious and learned Brāhmaṇas but many *Śreshṭhins* lived there (*bhūriśreśhṭhī*), evidently added by way of explaining the origin of the name. The village was a famous one and is mentioned in Kṛishṇa-miśra's *Prabodha-chandrodaya* (II. 7).

[44] According to different readings in different Mss.

[45] *NIA*, II, p. 271.

[46] *JRAS*, 1883, p. 137.

[46a] *NIA*, II, p. 276.

[47] *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 137-8.

[48] *NIA*, II. pp. 276-77

[49] *Ibid*, pp. 278-79.

[50] Cf. *JASB*. 1915, pp. 321-27, 26 Calcutta Law Journal, pp. 17 ff. *IHQ*, XXII. p. 140.

[51] *H. Dh. K*, Vol. V, Part II (1962), p. xiv.

[52] See M. Chakravarti in *JASB*. 1915, pp. 320-21. Śāstrī (*Cal*. III. XV), argues that since the Pārihals were reduced in status by Vallālasena, Jīmutavāhana could not have paraded his being a Pāribhadrīya unless he flourished before Vallālasena.

[53] It appears that these three treatises were meant to form a part of an ambitious work on Dharma-śāstra called *Dharma-ratna* ; hence the colophons read *iti dharma-ratna dāya-bhāgaḥ* (or *kāla-vivekaḥ* as the case may be). The ignoring of this fact has led to inaccuracies in the description of Jīmutavāhana's works in some catalogues of manuscripts. Thus, the *Dharma-ratnas* mentioned in Mitra, *Notices*, v. 297-98, No. 1974 and in *M. Cat*. VI. 2385-88, Nos. 3172-74 are respectively the *Kāla-viveka* and the *Dāya-bhāga*.

[54] Jīmutavāhana does not quote or mention the *Mitākharā* of Vijñāneśvara, but he appears to know the doctrines of the school.

[55] Reprinted, Calcutta 1910.

[56] The work was edited by Bharat Chandra Śiromaṇi with seven commentaries, 2 vols., Calcutta 1863-66. In some editions, as for instance in that of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, the work is divided into sections, but there is no such division in the MSS.

[57] For a discussion of these citations, See M. Chakravarti, *op. cit*. pp. 319-20.

[58] Ed. Asutosh Mookerjee in *Memoirs of ASB*. II, No. 5, Calcutta, 1910-14. This name of the work is given in the first introductory verse, and is found in later citations ; but colophons name it variously as *Nyāya-mātṛikā* or *Nyāya-ratna-mālikā*.

[59] For references, see M. Chakravarti and Kane in the works cited.

[60] Ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1905.

[61] p. 308. They are Jitendriya, Śāṅkhadhara, Andhūka, Saṁbhrama Harivaṁśa, Dhavala and Yoglauka.

[62] *NIA*, II. pp. 280-82.

[62a] *IHQ*, XXII, p. 141.

[62b] *Ibid*, 138-140.

[63] It appears from the Ins. No. B. 66 that this place was in Varendra.

[64] *HB*. 352.

[65] *Ibid*. 353.

[66] *Ibid*, 353-4.
[67] *Ibid*, 355.
[68] *Ibid*, 357.
[69] *Ibid*, 357, f.n. 2, 3.
[70] Dr. S. C. Banerji, *op. cit.* pp. 242-45.
[71] *Ibid*, pp. 260 ff.
[72] *HB.* 360.
[73] *HB.* 361.
[74] For these words, cf. the Journal (in Bengali) of the *VSP.*, B. S. 1336 (1929 A. D.) Part II. The following may be given as specimens : *Kaḍkach*, *Kali*, *Ghol*, *Ṭopar*, *Dāyuk*, *Paraśu*, *Hariyāl*, *Vediyā*, *Rasāyun* (*Raśun*), *Khopyaka* (*Khopā*), *Khaḍki* (*Khiḍki*). Dr. S. C. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
[75] This section is based principally on an article by N. N. Das Gupta (*IC.* III, 153-160) and Dr. S. K. De's comment on it (*IC.* IV. 273-76).
[76] Beal, I. 79.
[77] *IC.*, III, 154-56.
[78] *IC.* IV, 273-4.
[79] *Ibid*, 275-6.
[80] This has been discussed later.
[81] *NIA*, II. pp. 274-75.
[82] *IC*, III, 157.
[83] P. C. Ray, *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. liv.
[84] *NIA*, II. p. 275. cf. p. 213, f.n. 3.
[85] *IC.* III. 159.
[86] *IHQ*, XXII. 143.
[87] *HB.* pp. 419 ff.
[88] P. 201.
[89] *NIA.* I. pp. 3-4.
[90] *Sanskrit Buddhist Literatures of Nepal*, (Calcutta, 1882), p. 24.
[91] Śāstrī—*Cat.* I. Preface.
[92] *Sādhana-mālā*, II. XXII.
[93] *IHQ.* 1933, pp. 3-4 ; Wint—*Lit.* II. 398-99.
[94] *NIA.* I. pp. 4-5.
[95] *Ibid.* p. 5.
[96] For Sīlabhadra, see above, p. 78.
[97] This place Zahor is conjectured in turns to be Lahore and Jessore in South Bengal (Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das) and Sabhar in East Bengal (H. P. Śāstrī). The suggestion (*IHQ.* 1935, pp. 143-44) that Zahor is in Rāḍhā is hardly convincing. A. H. Francke (*Indian Tibet*, II. 65, 89-90) has with great probability identified it with Mandi in North-Western India (see Begchi in *IHQ.* 1930, pp. 581-82).
[98] *Pag Sām Jon Zang*, Pt. I, pp. cxlvii, 120. The tradition is given also in Śāstrī's fragmentary biography mentioned above. But *Tār.* 249 believes that Bhuśuka (*sic*), whom he does not identify with Śāntideva, was a contemporary of Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna and therefore a much later teacher.
[99] Sarat Chandra Das is here (see p. ci) uncertain about the location of Zahor, but in *JBTS.* I (1893), p. 1 ff. he believes that Śāntirakshita was a native of

Gauḍa, which opinion has been repeated by Benoytosh Bhattacharya and others.

[100] There is no definite evidence that Kamalaśīla belonged to Bengal ; but he is described as a contemporary of Lui-pā.

[100a] Waddell, *Lamaism* (London 1895), p. 379 ff. The name of the place Uḍḍiyāna is also given in the forms Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyāna, Oḍiyāna and sometimes as O-rgyan or U-rgyana ; but it has not yet been definitely located. B. Bhattacharya, following H. P. Śāstrī, has identified it with Orissa, and drawn far-reaching conclusions about Buddhist Tāntric centres in Orissa. But this is only a conjecture ; and Orissa is often mentioned as Oḍivisa in the Tibetan works. In *JBORS.* 1928, p. 34, however, B. Bhattacharya believes that the place was in Assam. There is great probability in the identification proposed by Sylvain Lévi (*JA.* 1915, p. 105 ff ; see F. W. Thomas in *JRAS.* 1906, p. 461 note) with the Swat valley in North-western India, the people of which, even in Hiuen Tsang's time (Watters, I. 225), made "the acquaintance of magical formulas their occupation." See the question discussed by P. C. Bagchi and N. Das Gupta in *IHQ.* V. 580-83, xi. 142-44.

[101] See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1921), pp. 323-27.

[102] *Tār.* 204-5, 213. See Wint.-*Lit.* II. 375.

[103] Sarat Chandra Das (*JBTS.* I. 1-31) gives an account of Śāntirakshita's activities in Tibet. He is said to have visited Tibet in 743 A.D., erected the monastery of Bsām-ye in 749 and died in 762 A.D. This has been accepted by B. Bhattacharya (introd. to *Tattva-saṁgraha*, p. xiv f.) and Phanindranath Bose (*Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, Madras 1923, p. 124). Cf. *infra.* Ch. XIV.

[104] *Tār.* 230 ; Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xcviii, 116.

[105] *Tār.* 230-33. Sumpā, however, believes that Jetāri was born of a Yoginī whom Sanātana kept for Tāntric practices.

[106] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xcviii, 112.

[107] *Hetu-tattva-upadeśa*, *Dharma-dharmi-viniśchaya* and *Bālāvatāra-tarka.* See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* pp. 337-38. There are also two other Sūtra works of Jetāri in *Bstan-ḥgyur*, viz., *Bodhi-pratideśana-vṛitti* and *Sugata-māhāvibhaṅga kārika* (see *Tār.* 327).

[108] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 84, 101, 289, 299, 319, 357, 366, 367.

[109] The *Rgyud* section, according to M. Shahidullah's calculation, contains 96 *Rgyud-ḥgrel* 36 and *Mdo-ḥgrel* 36. Śāstrī's index of Cordier's summary of *Rgyud-ḥgrel I-LXX* gives over 100 Tāntric works, of which about 40 are translations.

[110] On the characteristics of the Sādhana and of Vajra-yāna literature in general see L. de la Vallee Poussin in *ERE. loc. cit.* ; Wint.-*Lit.* II. 387-92. Most of the published Sādhanas, as in B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhana-mālā*, 2 vols., *GOS.* Nos. XXVI, XLI (1925, 1928) and elsewhere, are very short, but some are fairly long ; they are generally written in indifferent Sanskrit prose, with verse Mantras, some being entirely in verse. On Dhāraṇīs see Winternitz. *op. cit.* pp. 380 ff. The Saṅgītis introduce the Buddha in an assembly of the faithful.

[111] *BGD.* introd., p. 22.

[112] Besides Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna, the *Bstan-ḥgyur* has preserved numerous works under the names Dīpaṁkara, Dīpaṁkara-chandra, Dīpaṁkara-bhadra, and

Dīpaṁkara-rakshita, who were probably not all identical. Dīpaṁkara-bhadra is mentioned also by Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, pp. 257, 264 ; *Edelst.* p. 95) as belonging to Western India. To Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna Atīśa is also ascribed a *Charyā-gīti* (Cordier, p. 46).

[113] See Cordier. *op. cit.* pp. 46, 88.

[114] *Op. cit.* p. xlvi. 118 ; also xxxvi, 95 ; *Tār.* 243. Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna appears also to have been connected with the Somapurī-*vihāra* where he translated *Madhyamaka-ratna-pradīpa* of Bhāvaviveka (Cordier, *op. cit.* III. 299).

[115] Cf. *supra.* p. 138 ; *infra.* Ch. XIV.

[116] *Tār.* 214 f ; Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xcviii, 118, 120.

[117] S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op, cit.* p. 341.

[118] These are : *Kāla-chakrāvatāra* (Śāstrī-*Cat.* I. 161 ; MS. dated 1125 A.D.), Paddhati commentary on *Buddha-kapāla-tantra* (*ibid.* pp. 163-64, MS. finished at Vikramaśīla in the 25th year of Rāmapāla's reign ; Cordier, III, p. 212), *Vajrāvali-nāma-maṇḍalopāyika* (*ibid.* pp. 153-61) and *Uchchhushma-jambhala-sādhana* (Śāstrī, *Nepal Catalogue*, ii, p. 205=No. 152, in the *Sādhana-samuchchaya*).

[119] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xccxviii, 63, 112, 120, 121 ; *Tār.* 250 f. *Edelst.* p. 109 f. Tāranātha believes that his father was a Kshatriya, and his mother a Brāhmaṇī. He was well versed in Hindu Śāstras of the Tantras of the Tīrthikas before he was converted, but studied the Buddhist Tantras in Bengal later on. S. C. Das in *JASB.* 1882, pp. 16-18, gives a slightly different account of Abhayākaragupta from Tibetan sources. He states that Abhayākaragupta was born in the middle of the 9th century in Eastern India near the city of Gauḍa, went to Magadha, became a priest to king Rāmapāla and, by his learning and other accomplishment, came to preside over the Vikramaśīla *vihāra*. He died before Rāmapāla abdicated in favour of his son Yakshapāla, and was succeeded by Ratnākara-śānti at Vikramaśīla. In the *Bstan-ḥgyur* Abhayākaragupta is described as an inhabitant of Magadha (Cordier, II. 71, 255). See *IC.* III. 369-72.

[120] He appears to be different from Abhaya-paṇḍita, to whom about 108 Tāntric works are assigned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur.*

[121] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 319 ; also pp. 83, 92 for the works.

[122] *Op. cit.* pp. xlvii, 119, where the name is given as Devākara-chandra. See *Tār.* 244.

[123] A *Pāka-vidhi* by Paṇḍita-Śrī-Divākarachandra is noticed in Śāstrī, *Nepal Cat.* II. 43-44 ; cf. P. C. Bagchi, *Dohākośa*, p. 8. (colophon), where the MS. is dated in 1101 A. D. He may be identical with Devākara-chanda, also chiefly a translator (5 works in Tibetan), or Devākara (two translated works, Cordier, p. 181), both of whom are described as Indian Upādhyāyas (Cordier, pp. 176, 181, 217, 277), but he may be different from Divākara-vajra (4 works, Cordier, pp. 47, 48, 328, 329), who is described as a Mahābrāhmaṇa.

[124] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 160 ; for the works see pp. 73, 169.

[125] *Ibid.* p. 33.

[126] *Ibid.* p. 188, also, p. 63. Has Bhagala any connexion, as Rāhula Sānkrityāyana suggests, with modern Bhāgalpur ? Or is it another form of Baṅgala or Bhaṅgala by which Tāranātha and Sumpā mean Bengal ? Tāranātha believes

(*Geschichte*, pp. 204, 226) that Dānaśīla was a Kashmirian, and lived in the time of Mahīpāla of Bengal.

[127] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 33.

[128] *Op. cit.* pp. xlvi, 115.

[129] See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* pp. 340-41 ; also *IHQ.* 1927, pp. 856-68 for a description of the work.

[130] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. lxxiii. 130. He is regarded as one of the 84 Mahāsiddhas ; he was a Śūdra of "Bhaṅgala" (Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 216), with which Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana's description (p. 225) agrees.

[131] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 245, (*Bodhi-chitta-vāyu-charaṇa-bhāvanopāya*).

[132] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xii, 90 ; *Tār.* 86 f. 105. The Siddhāchārya Nāgabodhi (Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 214), a Brāhmaṇa of Western India and disciple of Nāgārjuna, is probably the same person (Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana's description agrees). For his works see Cordier, pp. 137, 138, 142, 143, 167, 207, 209, 245.

[133] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. v. 144 ; Tāranātha, *Edelst.* p. 100.

[134] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 3, 4, 298. He hailed from Kāpaṭya in Bengal (Cordier. III. 399).

[135] *Ibid.* p. 98 ; two works. He may be the same as Bodhibhadra of Vikramaśīla *vihāra* mentioned by Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, pp. 259 f.).

[136] *Ibid.* p. 293. He should be distinguished from Subhākaragupta of Magadha, pupil of Abhayākaragupta and high priest of Vikramaśīla, who flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla (Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. cxxii, 120 ; *Tār.* 252, 261 ; S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* p. 346).

[137] S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* p. 346.

[138] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 219.

[139] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 19, 21, 23, 49 50, 126, 142, 178, 302, 365. Śāstrī, *Nepal Cat.* ii. 244, notices an *Amṛita-karṇikā* commentary of Vibhūtichandra, in Sanskrit, on Nāma-saṅgīti according to Kālachakra-yāna. On Vibhūtichandra see N. N. Dasgupta in *IC.* V. 215-17.

[140] *Ibid.* pp. 17, 77.

[141] *Op. cit.* p. lxix ; *Tār.* 263.

[142] For Buddhist Tantra in eastern Koki land, see *Tār.* 267.

[143] *BGD.* introd., p. 27. On the legends of Kambala, who is counted as one of the Siddhas, see Grünwedel, in the work cited, pp. 175-76.

[144] *BGD.* Tāranātha (*Gesch.* 188, 191 f. 275, 324 ; *Edelst.* 53 ff.) connects Kambala with Uḍḍiyāna and associates him with Lalitavajra and Indrabhūti in the exposition of Hevajra. Sumpā (pp. x, 90, 94), believes that Kambala was a contemporary of Āryadeva. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana makes Kambala a disciple of Vajraghaṇṭa of Varendra (flourishing under Devapāla, *c.* 810-50, A.D.), but belonging to Orissa.

[145] On the distinction, which however is not sharp, between Mantra-yāna and Vajra-yāna, see Wint.-*Lit.* II. 387-88. Also P. C. Bagchi in Ch. XIII. *infra.*

[146] With our present available materials the exact relationship of these various cults cannot be determined, but there can be no doubt that whether Buddhistic or Brāhmaṇical, they were intimately related, and their teachers figure indiscriminately in more cults than one. In addition to the authorities cited above, all the Tibetan legends about the Siddhāchāryas will be found in *Die*

Geschichte der vierundachtzig Zauberer (Mahāsiddhas), aus dem Tibetischen ubersetzt von A. Grünwedel, in *Baessler-Archiv*, Band v (Leipzig and Berlin 1916), pp. 137-228 hereafter cited as Grünwedel) ; in Tāranātha's *Edelsteinmine*, aus dem Tibetischen ubersetzt von A. Grünwedel, Petrograd, 1914 Bibl. Buddhica xviii) ; and in Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana in *JA.* ccxxv, 1934, pp. 218-228 (hereafter cited as Rāhula).

[147] See *infra* Ch. XIII.

[148] See Gopal Haldar, *Gopīchānd Legend*, in *PTOC.* VI (1933), p. 277.

[149] Sumpā. *op. cit.* pp. vi. 113, 135, 145 ; Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine*, pp. 104 f.) adds that he taught the Tantras to Padmavajra, from whom they were handed down in succession to Tilli, Nāro and Sānti ! The strange name Kukkuri-pā is explained by Sumpā by the legend that Kukkuri-pāda united in Yoga in the Luminī grove with a woman who was formerly a bitch. The same work (Sumpā Mkhan-po, pp. vi, 108, 145) speaks of a Kukuradāsa (=Kukurarāja ?) also called Kukurāchārya as a Buddhist Tāntric sage, adept in Yoga and a great preacher, who was a lover of dogs !

[150] *Tār.* 275. According to Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 176, Kukhuri was a Brāhmaṇ of the eastern land of Kapilaśakru ; according to Rāhula, a Brāhmaṇa of Kapilāvastu and Guru of Mīna-pāda.

[151] One of these, *Mahāmāyā-sādhanopāyika*, is available in Sanskrit in *Sādhana-mālā*, II. 466-68 (No. 240).

[152] He is probably identical, as Cordier suggests (p. 109), with Kukura-pā or Kukura-rāja of whom eight Tāntric texts on various deities (Vajrasattva, Vairochana, Heruka etc.), are given in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. This perhaps confirms Sumpā Mkhan-po's statement that he introduced various kinds of Tantra. See *Tār.* 188-89.

[153] *Op. cit.* pp. cxxi, 90. Elsewhere (pp. cxxi, 124) it is said that Śavari belonged to the hill tribe called Śavara. In Tāranātha the name is given as Śāvari. The legends of Śavari who is regarded as one of the 84 Mahāsiddhas are given in Grünwedel, *op. cit.* pp. 149-50.

[154] See P. C. Bagchi, introd. to *Kaula-jñāna* , p. 27. Rāhula makes Śabara-pā disciple of Saraha and Guru of Lui-pā, his place of activity being given as Vikramaśīla.

[155] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. 124, 135 ; Tāranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 20,23. The relationship of the earlier Siddhas to one another in spiritual lineage is differently given in different traditional accounts. Their chronology, therefore, depending on their mutual relationship, is equally uncertain. On the question of the confusion of Śavari, Mahāśavara and Saraha, see below under Saraha.

[156] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 57, 58, 128, 198, 235, 296, 326, 335. Some are available in Sanskrit also, in *Sādhana-mālā*, II. 384-88 (Siddha-śavara), 456 (*ibid*).

[157] But he is probably different from Mahāśavara, by which name Saraha (Rāhulabhadra) is also known (Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 221, 248, also p. 39). See below.

[158] Advayavajra, who belonged to Śavara-sampradāya (Cordier, p. 45) has about 22 works translated in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, but some of his works are also available in Sanskrit. Twenty-two small Vajrayānist tracts of his are edited by H. P. Śāstrī in the *Advayavajra-saṁgraha*. Also in *Sādhana-mālā*, I. 47 ; II. 424,

490. His other name or title, Avadhūti-pā, probably indicates his connexion with the Avadhūti sect of Sahaja-siddhi, and this appears to be supported by his commentaries on the *Dohā-kośa* (ed. P. C. Bagchi, *JL.* XXVIII). Excepting his connexion with the Śavara-sampradāya, there is no direct evidence that he belonged to Bengal. One Advayavajra, however, without the title Avadhūti, but called a Brāhmaṇa, appears to have come from Bengal (Cordier, p. 250). —Rāhula makes Avadhuti-pā a disciple of Śānti-pā.

[159] M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* p. 19, would explain the colophon differently, while H. P. Śāstrī thinks that Dīpaṁkara helped Lui-pā in writing this work. But see P. C. Bagchi, *Kaula-jñāna'*, introd., p. 28.

[160] M. Shahidullah (*op. cit.* p. 22), following Sylvain Lévi and Tāranātha, would place him much earlier in the 7th century. From Marāṭhi sources Matsyendranātha's date would be the end of the 12th century (S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.* p. 122 ; D. R. Bhandarkar in *IC.* I. 723-24). But see P. C. Bagchi, *loc. cit.* for a criticism of these views. The approximate dates assigned by B. A. Saletore to Ādinātha, Gorakshanātha and others from South Indian tradition (*Poona Orientalist*, I. 16-22) do not conflict with our tentative chronology.

[161] His *Tattva-svabhāva-dohākośa-gītikā-dṛishṭi* (Cordier, p. 230) is the same as Dohā No. 29 ; see *IHQ.* 1927, pp. 676 ff.

[162] *BGD.* introd., p. 21.

[163] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 37 ; also P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.* pp. 22-23 ; *Tār.* 106 (Shiefner's note) ; Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 143, f.n. 2.

[164] *Op. cit.* pp. 124, 135.

[165] But according to Rāhula, Lui-pā belonged to Magadha and was in his youth a scribe or Kāyastha to king Dharmapāla (769-809 A.D.) ; he was a disciple of Śabara-pā, who in his turn was a disciple of Saraha. That some of the teachers of these cults belonged to lower castes (probably an indication of their Buddhistic origin) is suggested by the names as well as the legends. Cf. the names Jālaṁdhara (fisherman), Tānti-pā (weaver), Hāḍi-pā (sweeper), Tilipā or Telipā (oilman) etc. But the names need not always imply caste, for Jālaṁdhara and Tilopā are described as Brāhmaṇas, Ḍombi-pā as a Kshatriya.

[166] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 33. But Sumpā makes him (p. cxli) an employee of the king of Uḍḍiyāna ; Tāranātha (*Edelst.* 20) makes him a scribe of Samanta-śubha, king of Uḍyāna in the west ; Rāhula describes him as a scribe of Dharmapāla and gives his place of activity as Magadha ! See on this point P. C. Bagchi, *IHQ.* 1930, p. 583. H. P. Śāstrī (*JBORS.* 1919, p. 509) informs us that Lui-pā is even now worshipped in Rāḍhā and Mymensing. Wassilijev (note to *Tār.* 319) states that Lui-pā was born in Ujjayinī, while in Grünwedel, *loc. cit.* he is said to have lived under Indrapāla at Śāliputra (near Pāṭaliputra). In Tāranātha's opinion, Lui-pā was a contemporary of Asaṅga.

[167] The equation was first suggested by Grünwedel. *op. cit.* Cordier (p. 33) hesitates to accept the identification. See also Levi-*Nepal*, i. 353, note 4. Tāranātha (*Edels.* pp. 120 f.) distinguishes Lui-pā from Mīna, but he also distinguishes between Mīna and Machchhindra.

[168] Ed. *KS.* I. 7 (vol. I, p. 25). In spite of conflict in the legendary accounts, the names Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha belong probably to the same person.

[169] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 237 ; the work is named *Bāhyāntara-bodhichitta-bandhopadeśa.*

[170] For a resume of the legends of Matsyendranātha see Chintaharan Chakravarti in *IHQ.* 1930, pp. 178-81. The Yoginī-kaula cult must have been closely connected with Haṭha-yoga ; for some of the Āsanas and Mudrās in Haṭha-yoga are expressly named after Matsyendranātha, and its tradition claims him as the first teacher of Haṭha-yoga after Ādinātha (*i. e.*, Śiva). In the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛishṇānanda, Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha is connected with the worship of Tārā.

[171] Ed. P. C. Bagchi, *CSS.* 3, 1934.

[172] For an able treatment of the legend in its various forms, see Gopal Halder in the work already cited. On Gorakshanātha as a deified protector of cattle, see *JL.* XIX. 16 f.

[173] Levi-*Nepal.* I. 355 ff. ; *Tār.* 255 ; *BGD.* 16. Goraksha has been identified (see note to *Tār.* 323) with Anaṅgavajra, but this may be an instance of the attempt to assimilate him to the well-known Vajrayānist writer Anangavajra, who was a disciple of Padmavajra and preceptor of Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna. This Goraksha may be the Goraksha mentioned in *Bstan-ḥgyur.*

[174] A Sanskrit *Jñāna-kārikā*, in three Paṭalas, said to have been revealed by Gorakshanātha, is mentioned in Śāstrī, *Nepal Cat.* I. 79-90 : this has been included by P. C. Bagchi in the work cited above, where the name of the teacher occurs as Mahā-machchhīndra-pāda (p. 122) and not as Gorakshanātha. A Sanskrit *Goraksha-saṁhitā* of late quasi-Hindu origin is supposed to embody his teachings. Also a *Goraksha-siddhānta* (ed. Gopinath Kaviraj, Part I, *SBS*). The vernacular productions of the Goraksha school are of very late origin, and it would not be critical to assign any of them to the teacher.

[175] Called *Vāyu-tattva-bhāvanopadeśa* (Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 237). To his alleged disciple Chauraṅgin also is ascribed a work of the same name.

[176] Jālandhari (variant Jālandhara) is sometimes mentioned as a disciple of Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, while some popular legends identify him with Hāḍipā of the Gopīchānd story. According to Grünwedel, (*op. cit.* p. 189), Jālandhari was a Brāhmaṇ of Thaṭa land, while *Tār.* 195, makes him a contemporary and Guru of Kṛishṇāchārya, and connects him (*Edelst.* 62 ff) with the Gopīchānd legend of Bengal as Hāḍi-pā. According to the accounts of Tāranātha and Sumpā, his real name was Siddha Bālapāda, but he was called the sage of Jālandhara, a place between Nepal and Kashmir, where he lived for some time. The Nagara Thaṭa was in Sindhu, where Jālandhara was born in a family of Śūdra merchants. He visited Uḍyāna, Nepal, Avantī and Chāṭigrāma in Bengal where Gopīchānd, son of Vimalachandra, was the king. See *JASB.* 1898, p. 22. In Rāhulā's account Jālandhara is described as a Brāhmaṇa whose disciples were Kaṇha-pā and Mastsyendra ! His Guru is called Kūrma-pā.

[177] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 39, 60, 78, 241.

[178] *Ibid.* pp. 75, 78.

[179] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. lxxii, 109.

[180] *Ibid.* pp. lxxii, 102, 104, 109, 112. *Tār.* 162 ff. makes the senior Virūpa a disciple of Jayadeva paṇḍita (the successor of Dharmapāla) and a fellow-student

of Śāntideva. He mentions (p. 205) the junior Virūpa as a Siddhāchārya. Virūpa is connected with various forms of Vajra-yāna *sādhana* and mentioned as the preceptor of the Mahāsiddha Ḍombi-Heruka. Elsewhere (*Edelst.* 31) Tāranātha believes that Virūpa appeared thrice in this world ! According to Cordier (*op. cit.* p. 30), and Grünwedel (*op. cit.* 147-48), Ḍombi-Heruka was a Kshatriya king of Magadha and exponent of Hevajra-siddhi (8 works in *Bstan-ḥgyur*). See *Edelst.* 34-35.

[181] Sumpā, *loc. cit.* ; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[182] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 223. H. P. Śāstrī (*BGD.* introd., p. 28) adds two others, viz., *Virūpa gītikā* and *Virūpa-vajra-gītikā*. But are these Pada-collections or Sangītis ? One Dohā of Virūpa occurs in the *Charyācharya*[0] (No. 3). For his Vajra-yāna works, see Cordier, *op. cit.* ii. 57, 125, 176, 177, 182, 223 224, 230.

[183] The name is given in various forms : Tilipā, Tillipā, Tillapa, Tilapa, Tillopa, Tailopa, Tellipā, Telopa, Teli-yogī. It is explained by Sumpā, fancifully, by the legend of his having joined in Yoga with a Yoginī who used to subsist in her early life by pounding sesame (*tila*) ! Did he belong to the Teli caste ?

[184] *Tār.* 226 ; Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xli, 128.

[185] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 43, assigns a Sahaja work alternately to Tailakapāda *alias* Prajñābhadra. It is possible that all these teachers had a popular name, as well as a Buddhist devotional name. There is another Siddhāchārya Tailika-pāda (Cordier, p. 79) who hailed from Oḍyāna. According to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 170), Tilopa lived in Vishṇunagara and attained Mahāmudrā-siddhi. In Rāhula's list Telopā is described as a Brāhmaṇ disciple of Padma-vajra and master of Nāro-pā.

[186] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 223. Ed. P. C. Bagchi (Sanskrit text in *Dohā-kośa, JL.* XXVIII. 41-52, also pp. 1-4). The Vajra-yāna works are mentioned in Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 43, 79, 223, 224, 239, 244.

[187] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. lv, 18, 45, 115, 117 (called Narota-pā). On pp. lxvii, 118 the name of the place where Nāropā practised Tantra is given as Phullahari to the west of Magadha. According to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 168), Nāra was by caste a wine-seller, and lived in Sālaputra in East India. Tāranātha, however, believes that he was a Kashmirian Brāhmaṇ and agrees with Sumpā's account in his *Edelst.* 74 ff. ; see also his *Geschichte*, pp. 239 ff., 244 ff, 249, 328.

[188] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 16,68, 70, 87, 92, 97, 125, 130, 132, 238, G. Tucci (*JRAS.* 1935, p. 677) speaks of another work of Nāropā which he discovered in Nepal. It is a Sanskrit text, called *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* on initiation according to Kāla-chakra. In Grünwedel, (*op. cit.* p. 168), Nāro, Nāro-pā, Narota-pā, Nāḍa, Nāḍa-pāda appear to be the same person who was also known as Jñāna-siddhi or Yaśobhadra.

[189] Cordier, pp. 220, 224. *BGD.* introd., p.33 assigns to him a *Nāḍa-paṇḍita-gitikā*.

[190] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 68. This might refer to the Nāḍa-pāda of Kashmirian origin.

[191] *Ibid.* p. 159, called Mahāmahopādhyāya ; the junior Kṛishṇa is mentioned at p. 82.

[192] *Ibid.* p. 82. He may be the same Kaṇha as is mentioned by Sumpā (pp. v,

110) as a Buddhist Tāntric sage who was born in a Brāhmaṇ family of Orissa (Oḍyāna ?) and was initiated by Jālandhara ; see also pp. lvii, 135, where the name is given as Kaṇha or Kaṇhāyā.

[193] *Ibid.* p. 227, where he is called a Mahāyogin and a *Dohā-kośa* is assigned to him. He may be the same as our author. Also pp. 94, 101. Altogether three works are mentioned under his name by Cordier.

[194] *Ibid.* p. 166.

[195] To them altogether sixty-nine Buddhist Tāntric works are ascribed in *Bstan-ḥgyur*. Some of these have been preserved also in Sanskrit in Nepal, *e. g.*, *Vasanta-tilaka* (Cordier, p. 38 ; Kṛishṇa)=the same in Śāstrī's *Nepal Cat.* II. 199 (incomplete) ; *Kurukulla-sādhana* (Cordier, p. 94 ; Kṛishṇavajra)=the same in *Sādhana-samuchchaya* (*Nepal Cat.* II. 201)=*Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 372-78 ; *Yoga-ratna-māla Pañjikā* on Hevajra, (Cordier, p. 67 ; Kṛishṇa or Kāṇhupāda)=*Nepal Cat.* II. 44 ; Śastrī-*Cat.* i. 114.

[196] *Edelst.* 69. M. Shahidullah takes it to be Orissa. Tāranātha (pp. 195, 197) distinguishes between a senior and a junior (*Tār.* 211, 234, 258, 275, 244) Kṛishṇāchārya. The junior, in his opinion, was responsible for Tantra works on Śambara, Hevajra and Jamāntaka ; he belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste and was also a writer of Dohās.

[197] Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 163. The Indian legend of Kānupā in connection with Gopīchānd is given by M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 26-27.

[198] Kāṇhu. Nos. 7, 9, 40, 42, 45 ; Kṛishṇāchārya-pāda, Nos. 11, 36 ; Kṛishṇa-pāda. Nos. 12, 13 (?), 19 ; Kṛishṇavajra, No. 18. In No. 36, Jālandhari is mentioned with respect as a master. In Rāhula's list, Kāṇha-pā appears as a disciple of Jālandhara, a Kāyastha living at Somapurī during Devapāla's reign (*c.* 810-850 A. D.). S. K. Chatterji (*op. cit.* pp. 120-22) identifies Kṛishṇāchārya with Kāṇhu-pāda.

[199] *BGD.* 123-32 (Kṛishṇāchārya-pāda) ; in M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.*, with the Tibetan version, pp. 72-122 ; in P. C. Bagchi, *Dohā-kośa*, cited above, pp. 121-136, also pp. 24-28. S. K. Chatterji (*HB.* p. 386) placed the Dohā-writer Kṛishṇāchārya at the end of the 12th century, on the ground that the Cambridge University Library MS. of the *Hevajra-pañjikā* by Paṇḍitāchārya Śrī-Kṛishṇa-pāda is dated in the 39th year of Govindapāla (=*c.* 1199 A. D.), presuming our author's identity with this Kṛishṇa-pāda.

[200] *Op. cit.* pp. xxvii, 84, 85 ; Grünwedel, *op. cit.* pp. 150-51, as one of the 84 Siddhas.

[201] One Vajrayānist Sanskrit text of Saraha-pāda's given in *Sādhana-mālā*, I. 79. Another in *Sādhana-samuchchaya*, 176.

[202] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 212, 220, 221, 222, 231, 232, 247.

[203] *BGD.* 77-132 (called Sarojavajra ; 32 Dohās) ; in M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 123-234 ; P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.* pp. 52-120, also pp. 5-9, 28-32.

[204] The commentator Advayavajra calls his author Sarojavajra, Saroruha and Saroruhavajra. This Advayavajra is probably a later writer, different from the Vajrayānist author of the same name, who is also called Avadhūti-pāda (see f.n. 158 above). He belonged to Śarideśa in Bengal (Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 232, 250)—Saroruha is distinguished from Saraha by Tāranātha in both his works. In Rāhula's list, Saraha occurs as the Ādi-Siddha, having three dis-

ciples Buddha-jñāna, Nāgārjuna and Śabara-pā, which Śabra-pā in his turn is mentioned as the Guru of Lui-pā. Saraha further figures as a Brāhmaṇa of Nālandā, flourishing in the reign of Dharmapāla (*c.* 770-810 A.D.).

[205] *Op. cit.* p. 232.

[206] *Ibid.* p. 375. Tāranātha (*Edelst.* 10) believes that Rāhulabhadra, with whom he identifies the younger Saraha, was born in Oḍiviśa. He makes Lui-pā a disciple of this sage.

[207] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 107, 212, 220, 222, 247, 248. See M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 29-30.

[208] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 232. *Cf. Tār.* 66. The Siddhāchārya Rāhula, according to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 189) was a Śūdra of Kāmarūpa.

[209] *Edelst.* 20 ; cf. *Tār.* 105.

[210] *Tār.* 66, 73, 105. Rāhulabhadra is given as an *alias* of Saraha in Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 64 (*Vajrayoginī-sādhana*).

[211] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 225 ; he is probably the same as Garvari-pāda, p. 78 ; one work each in Cordier. His place of activity is given as Bodhinagara, by Rāhula.

[212] *Ibid.* p. 234. Called also Kila-pā or Kirava. According to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* pp. 208 ff.), he belonged to the royal family of Grahara, with which description Rāhula appears to agree.

[213] Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 277.

[214] *Ibid.* p. 241. Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 188, informs us that Karmāra was a blacksmith of Sāliputra in Magadha, and was also known as Kampari. In Rāhula's list Karmāra-pā also appears as a blacksmith of Sāliputra.

[215] Cordier, *op. cit.* 238. In Rāhula's list Vīṇā-pā is a disciple of Bhadra-pā and a prince of Gauḍa.

[216] Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. cxviii, 125.

[217] *Op. cit.* p. 231. He is counted as one of the eighty-four Mahāsiddhas. On the legends of Kaṅkaṇa see Grünwedel, *op. cit.* pp. 174-75.

[218] *Tār.* 127, 177, 249, 278 ; Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 215. He is said to belong to Sāliputra in the time of Indrapāla. See also *BGD.* 30.

[219] Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 17, 33, 34, 59, 212, 219, 237.

[220] *Ibid.* p. 241. *BGD.* introd., p. 250. He is probably different from Dharmadāsa mentioned by Sumpā (*op. cit.* pp. xxxiv, 99), who was born in many countries and erected a temple to Mañjughosha. In Rāhula's list Dharma-pā and Guṇḍari-pā are distinguished. Dharma-pā according to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 190), was a Brāhmaṇa of Bodhinagara.

[221] The labours of Haraprasād Śāstrī and others have made it clear that Buddhism did not entirely disappear but lived, and is still living, in a disguised form in Bengal. The theory of its being persecuted out of the land, therefore, is hardly maintainable.

[222] *HCIP.* V, p. 358.

[223] *Ibid*, pp. 358, 360.

[224] Above, p. 373, f.n. 74.

[225] MM. H. P. Śāstrī regarded the language of all the four texts as Bengali, and added the words "*Hājār Bachharer Purāṇa*" (in Bengali language, meaning 'thousand years old') before the title of the book. But only the *Charyā-padas*

are written in Bengali, the language of the other three being *Apabhraṁsa-Avahaṭṭha.*

[226] This is the name given by H. P. Śāstrī, but Dr. Sukumar Sen thinks that the correct name is '*Caryāścharya-Viniśchaya*, and the proper name of the book should be *Charyākosha* or *Charyāgīti-Kosha* (*History of the Bengali Literature* (in Bengali) 1959, Vol. I. p. 59).

[227] The commentator has quoted a Bengali verse composed by Mīnanātha while explaining one of the *Charya-padās* (No. 21). *Ibid.* p. 60.

[228] *HB*, p. 384.

[229] *HCIP.* V. p. 359.

[230] This common parent language is regarded as old Bengali by most scholars. For Dr. Chatterji's views, cf. the above quotations and his book "*Origin and Development of Bengali Language and Literature.*"

[231] It is just possible that the name mentioned is that of the author's *guru* and not of himself. This is suggested by the addition of honorific pā (*pāda*) to the name. Some names may be pseudonyms or names of castes (Sukumar Sen, *op. cit.* 60-61).

[232] Recently Rāhula Saṁkṛityāyana has discovered *Caryā-padas* of three new poets who probably belonged to a later period than those mentioned in *Caryā-charya-Viniśchaya. Ibid,* 67.

[233] *Charyāgīti-padāvalī* (in Bengali), 2nd Edition, 1966, pp. 7-8.

[234] This Appendix is principally based on an article by D. C. Bhattacharya in *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 144 ff.

[235] In the *Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies,* Vol. III, pp. 170-92. The summary given below is taken from *IHQ.* XXII, pp. 144-5.

[236] See above, p. 228.

[237] *IHQ.* XXII, 145-6.

[238] *NIA.* II. 266.

[239] *IHQ*, XXII. 144-5.

[240] *Ibid,* 147.

The following corrections should be made in the above footnotes, on p. 399 :

1. Add, at the end of footnote 9 : The class of literature known as the Upapurāṇa will be discussed in an Appendix to Chapter XIII—Religion.
2. The footnote marked 11 should be read as footnote 10.
3. For the footnote 11 substitute the following :
   HB., pp. 295-6.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIETY

I. Aryanisation of Bengal

The origin of the Bengalis has been discussed above in Chapter II (pp. 17 ff). It has been shown that Bengal was inhabited at first by motley groups of peoples belonging to different racial stocks of diverse types of culture, and a long period elapsed before they came into contact with the Aryans. The little that we know of this pre-Aryan culture in Bengal has also been noted in this connection.

The gradual infiltration of the Aryans and the settlement of many of them in Bengal made a revolutionary change in the culture of Bengal. It is a law of history that when a highly civilised people conquers a primitive people the latter gradually imbibe the culture of the former to such an extent that in the course of time only a few traces of their primitive culture are left. This happened also in Bengal and gradually the entire population was Aryanised with the exception of a handful of primitive peoples living in isolation in hills and forests.

As noted above,[1] it was not till a comparatively late period represented by the Epics and the *Manu-smṛiti*, that the people of Bengal first began to imbibe the social and religious ideas of the Aryans. The gradual stages in the progress of the Aryanisation of Bengal are unknown to us. It is certain, however, that one of the earliest steps was an attempt to bring the indigenous people within the framework of Aryan society.[2] This is indicated by the fact that indigenous tribes like the Vaṅgas, the Suhmas, the Śabaras, the Puliṇḍas, the Kirātas, and the Puṇḍras are classed as Kshatriyas in early literature.[3] That some classes of the people of Bengal were raised to the rank of Brāhmaṇas, we have no reason to doubt, and the story of Dīrghatamas seems to indicate, what even otherwise appears probable, that there was inter-marriage between the immigrant Brāhmaṇas and the native people. The majority of these people were ultimately classed as Śūdras.[4] It is interesting to note that according to *Manu-smṛiti* (x. 44) the Pauṇḍrakas and Kirātas, who were originally Kshatriyas, were degraded to the rank of Śūdras because they did not come into contact with the Brāhmaṇas and

forsook the Brāhmaṇical rites and customs. This was probably the case with other tribes also. The Kaivartas, for example, are referred to as mixed caste in Manu, but are described as *abrahmaṇya* in the *Vishṇu* Purāṇa. These show that the caste-divisions in the early Aryanised society of Bengal were yet in a state of flux, and further that the adoption of Aryan manners and customs by the indigenous tribes of Bengal was a long and tedious process. It must have required many years, perhaps centuries, before the Aryan immigrants from the Midland and the people of Bengal could be fused together in a rigid framework of Aryan society.

We can hardly doubt that a gradually increasing number of high class Aryans poured into Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era,[5] either in the wake of military campaigns or for more peaceful pursuits. These included, as already noted above, followers of the different religious sects, Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina.

The establishment of the political power of the Guptas in Bengal must have not only quickened the pace of these immigrations, but also given an ascendancy to the orthodox followers of Brāhmaṇical religion. In any case, the inscriptions of the Gupta period, which for the first time give us a definite glimpse of the religion and society in Bengal, refer to orthodox Brāhmaṇas performing *smārta* and *śrauta* rites and Purāṇic worship all over Bengal (*infra* Ch. XIII). The growing importance of Bengal as an Aryan settlement is indicated by the fact that even a nobleman from Ayodhyā makes pilgrimage to Bengal and endows a temple in the Himālayan region in the northern outskirts of the province (No. A. 10).

The inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. have preserved the personal names of a few officials and a large number of leading men in different parts of Bengal. A perusal of these names shows the complete domination of Aryan influence in all classes of society, both urban and rural. It is interesting to note the prevalence, even at this early period, of certain name-endings which are used as surnames in Bengal even today ; *viz.*, *chāṭṭa*, *varman*, *pāla*, *mitra*, *datta*, *nandin*, *dāsa*, *bhadra*, *deva*, *sena*, *ghosha* and *kuṇḍu*. It is to be noted, however, that personal names in those days consisted generally of a single word, such as Durlabha, Garuḍa, Kalasakha *etc.* It is difficult to say whether the name-endings in some cases such as Bandhumitra, Dhṛitipāla, Chirātadatta *etc.* were surnames or parts of names.

An analysis of the place-names mentioned in the early inscriptions of Bengal also shows the strong Aryanisation of the land. Names like Puṇḍravardhana, Koṭīvarsha, Pañchanagarī, Chaṇḍagrāma, Karmānta-vāsaka, Svachchhanda-pāṭaka, Śīlakuṇḍa, Navyāvakāśikā, Palāsavṛindaka are purely Aryan. But, as in later days, old non-Aryan names persisted, as is evidenced by Ḍoṅgā (-grāma), Nāgiraṭṭa, Kuṭkuṭa, and Kaṇā-moṭikā. An attempt at Aryanisation of non-Aryan names is also manifest in Pṛishṭhima-pottaka, Goshāṭapuñjaka, Trivṛitā, Khāḍā(ṭā)pāra, Trighattika, Rolla-vāyikā, and Vakhaṭa-sumālikā.[6] Sanskrit technical terms are also used to denote measurements of land.

So far, therefore, as available evidence goes, we may regard the essential features of Aryan society to have been present in Bengal as early as the fifth century A.D. The literary and epigraphic evidences of the subsequent period enable us to postulate a continuous progress of the Aryan features in Bengal society without let or hindrance ; and we may presume that the social development took place more or less on the same lines as in the rest of Northern India. It is worthy of note that even during the long rule of the Buddhist Pāla dynasty the orthodox system of caste was upheld as an ideal by the kings (*infra*, Ch. XIII).

II. The castes and sub-castes

The most characteristic feature of the society was the existence of innumerable castes and sub-castes. It is a well-known fact that the division of the people into four *varṇas*, *viz*. Brāḥmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas [7] and Śūdras, was merely a theory, except perhaps in the most ancient period with which we are not concerned. By the time Bengal adopted the Aryan culture, numerous castes and sub-castes had been evolved, mainly by the development of different arts, crafts and professions, but partly also for other reasons, and tribal, racial and religious factors were at work in gradually adding to their number.[8] There can be hardly any doubt that the numerous castes mentioned in the Smṛitis did actually exist in society, and the differences in the various Smṛitis in their enumerations reflect the actual conditions which varied in different localities and in different periods. The authors of the Dharmasūtras and Smṛitis regarded the Vedas as eternal and infallible, and therefore strove hard to bring the actual state of society of their days within the framework

of the four *varṇas*. Hence they started with the theory that the numerous castes (and even tribes and races), actually existing in the country, arose from the unions of males with females belonging to *varṇas* differing from their own.[8a] This theory, originally applied to the males and females of the four primitive *varṇas*, had to be extended to those of the subsidiary or mixed castes, arising out of their union ; for, otherwise it was not possible to account for the numerous castes and sub-castes which continually went on increasing. Even then the *Smṛitikāras* could not follow this process logically *ad infinitum*. According to the *Vishṇu Dharma-śāstra* (16. 7), which belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, 'the further mixed castes arsing from the unions of mixed castes are numberless.' This shows that the society had been divided into quite a large number of castes and sub-castes even before the beginning of the Christian era, and "the writers on Dharmaśāstras practically gave up in despair the task of deriving them, even though mediately, from the primary *varṇas*."[9]

It is needless to point out that while the different castes, mentioned in the Smṛitis, undoubtedly represent actual state of things, not the least historical value can be attached to the puerile fiction of their derivation from specified union of males and females belonging to different *varṇas*.[10] Yet it must be admitted that throughout the mediaeval period, and down to modern times, much importance has been attached to these theories for ascertaining the position and importance of each caste, even though the different Smṛiti texts often give conflicting accounts of the derivation and status of one and the same caste. There can be hardly any doubt that the people generally believed in this theory of mixed caste, and it exercised a great influence in determining the status of the different castes and sub-castes in the society.

As already noted above, the names and number of the castes and sub-castes varied according to time and localities. The lists of such castes in the different Smṛitis were largely influenced by the local conditions at the time in which they were composed. In order, therefore, to understand the condition in Bengal in this respect we must have access to a text which belongs to Bengal or represents conditions of that region. Although it is difficult to be quite sure or dogmatic in this matter, the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa and the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa may be regarded as such texts.

The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa[11] is not very widely known,[12] and

is evidently of late origin. It is perhaps not much later than the 12th century A.D., but there are indications that it reflects the peculiar conditions in Bengal. It authorises, for example, the Brāhmaṇas to eat fish and meat, and divides the non-Brāhmaṇa population into thirty-six castes (the conventional number of castes in Bengal even today), all described as Śūdras. These are characteristic features of society in Bengal as distinguished from the rest of North India. The special emphasis on the sacredness of the river Gaṅgā and the reference to the rivers Padmā and Yamunā (in Bengal) also support the close association of the text with this province. This question has been discussed in Appendix IV.

The text describes[13] how king Veṇa, bent upon violating the rules of *varṇāśrama* (caste and order), deliberately created a number of mixed castes by forcing the union of males and females belonging to different castes which included not only the original four castes, but also the mixed castes resulting from their union. It differs from the general body of the Smṛitis in deriving the mixed castes, not from the marriage of males and females of different castes, but from their promiscuous union at the bidding of, or under the compulsion exercised by, the king. Whether this contains any veiled allusion to any actual historical fact, and refers to forced abolition of strict caste rules about marriage by an unorthodox or heretical king with zeal for reforms, we cannot say. It must be noted, however, that although Veṇa is represented as an opponent to orthodox Brāhmaṇical cults in epics, Smṛitis and Purāṇas, no other text ascribes to him the origin of mixed castes as we find in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa.[14] The castes that arose out of these promiscuous unions are classified as *uttama*, *madhyama* and *aḍhama saṅkaras*, all having the status of Śūdra.

The names of these castes and their vocations as settled by the Brāhmaṇas during the reign of Veṇa's successor may be enumerated as follows :[15]

1. Uttama (High) Saṅkaras

1. The Karaṇas, who were good scribes and efficient in office-work, were to continue the same vocations and became *sat-śūdras.*

2. The Ambashṭhas were asked to study Āyurveda and practise as physician ; and hence they were called Vaidyas. They

were to follow the vocation of Vaiśyas in respect of manufacturing medicines and that of Sūdras in respect of religious ceremonies.

3. The Ugras were to follow the vocations of Kshatriyas and practise military arts.

4. The Māgadha, being unwilling to practise arms as it involves *hiṁsā* (slaughter), which is unrighteous, was made the court-bard and carrier of messages.

5. Tantuvāya—weaver.
6. Gāndhika-vaṇik[16]—dealer in spices, scents and incense.
7. Nāpita—barber.
8. Gopa—writer.
9. Karmakāra—blacksmith.
10. Taulika[17]—dealer in *guvāka* (betelnut)
11. Kumbhakāra—potter.
12. Kaṁsakāra—worker in copper and brass. Brazier.
13. Śāṁkhika (Śaṁkhakāra)—conch-shell worker.
14. Dāsa—cultivator.
15. Vārajīvī—betel-vine growers.
16. Modaka—sweetmeat-maker.
17. Mālākāra—florist.

The vocations of the following are not definitely stated but may, in most cases, be gathered from their names.

18. Sūta[17a] (bard or carpenter?)
19. Rājaputra (Rajputs ?)
20. Tāmbūlī[18]—Betel-leaf sellers.

2. *Madhyama (Intermediate) Saṁkaras*

21. Takshan (carpenter).
22. Rajaka (washerman).
23. Svarṇakāra (goldsmith).
24. Svarṇa-vaṇik[19] (trader in bullion).
25. Ābhīra (cowherd or milkman ?).
26. Tailakāraka (oilman).
27. Dhīvara (fisherman).
28. Śauṇḍika (vintner).
29. Naṭa (dancer, acrobat or juggler).
30. Śāvāka, Śāraka or Śāvāra [20] (Sarāk ?).
31. Śekhara.
32. Jālika (fisherman).

3. *Adhama (Low) Saṁkaras or Antyajas, outside the pale of caste (varṇāśrama-vahishkṛita)*

33. Malegrahi[21] (?) (a branch of Mal caste ?)
34. Kuḍava (Korwa-boatman ?)
35. Chāṇḍāla (Chāmḍāl)
36. Varuḍa (Baori ?)
37. Taksha (carpenter ?)
38. Charmakāra (leather-worker)
39. Ghaṇṭajīvī or Ghaṭṭajīvī[22] (modern Pāṭnī caste)
40. Dolāvāhī (palanquin-bearer)
41. Malla[23] (modern Mālo ?)

The above division into three classes is said to be based on a definite principle *viz.* (1) those whose father and mother both belong to the four primitive castes are regarded as class I ; (2) those whose mothers alone belong to one of these primitive castes but fathers belong to class I form class II ; (3) those whose father and mother both belong to any mixed caste are relegated to class III.[24] The total number of these mixed castes is said to be thirty-six, though actually forty-one are enumerated. Five of the above must, therefore, be regarded as later additions. It is interesting to note that even today the the conventional number of castes in Bengal is thirty-six.

The Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas are permitted to function as priests only of the twenty mixed castes belonging to class I (*uttama*). The priests of the other castes are said to be degraded (*patita*) Brāhmaṇas, who attain the status of the castes they serve. Reference is also made to Brāhmaṇas called Devala, brought from Śākadvīpa by Suparṇa (Garuḍa) and hence called Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas. The issues of a Devala father and Vaiśya mother were Gaṇaka (astrologer, also called Graha-vipra) and Vādak.[25] From the body of Veṇa sprang a son called Mlechchha whose sons were Pulinda, Pukkaśa, Khaśa, Yavana, Suhma, Kamboja, Śavara, Khara and others.

Most of the castes enumerated above as belonging to Class I and II are well-known in Bengal,[26] and we may reasonably presume that many, if not all, of these must have developed as distinct castes before the close of the Hindu period. The gradual disappearance of a distinct Kshatriya caste, the progressive assimilation

of the Vaiśya with the Śūdra, and the division of the last into *'sat'* and *'asat'* (higher and lower) may also be regarded as applicable to Bengal during the Hindu period.[27]

As regards the status of the different castes, the Karaṇas and the Ambashṭhas are given the position of pre-eminence. The Ambashṭhas are equated with the Vaidyas, and the Karaṇas, as will be shown later, were identical with or fore-runners of the Kāyasthas. The predominance of Kāyasthas and Vaidyas, among the castes other than the Brāhmaṇas, forms a distinctive and characteristic feature of the social life in Bengal even today. Such castes as Śaṁkhakāra, Dāsa (cultivator), Tantuvāya, Modaka, Karmakāra, and Suvarṇa-vaṇik are well-known in Bengal, but are not generally met with in other parts of India. These considerations support the view that the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa reflects the condition of Bengal.

The list of *Saṁkara* or mixed castes given in the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa[28] closely resembles that of the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, though there are certain differences in detail. It first mentions Gopa, Nāpita, Bhilla, Modaka, Kūvara, Tāmbūlī, Svarṇakāra and the different classes of Vaṇiks as *sat-śūdras*.[29] It next mentions Karaṇa and Ambashṭha, and enumerates nine castes as born of a Sūdra woman by Viśvakarman born as a Brahmin architect. Of these nine, six, *viz.* Mālakāra, Karmakāra, Śaṁkhakāra, Kubindaka (*i.e.*, Tantuvāya), Kuṁbhakāra and Kaṁsakāra are regarded as good artisans, but the other three, *viz.* Sūtradhāra, Chitrakāra and Svarṇakāra were degraded by the curse of the Brāhmaṇas, the first two for neglect of duty, and the third for theft of gold.[30] A class of Vaṇiks, associated with Svarṇakāra (*i.e.*, probably Suvarṇa-vaṇik), was similarly degraded. It then gives a long list of degraded (*patita*) mixed castes, which includes Aṭṭālikā-kāra (mason), Koṭaka (builder of houses), Tīvara, Tailakāra, Leṭa, Malla, Charmakāra, Śuṇḍī, Pauṇḍraka (Pod ?), Māṁsachchheda (butcher), Rājaputra, Kaivarta (Dhīvara in Kaliyuga), Rajaka, Kauyālī, Gaṅgāputra, Yuṅgi (Jugī) and Āgarī (Ugra-kshatriya ?).[31]

The *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa mentions a majority of the castes of classes I and II mentioned in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa (exceptions are Nos. 4, 6, 10, 14, 15, 18, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32) including five out of the six castes, characteristic of Bengal, referred to above. All the castes in the common list which the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa regards as high or clean mixed castes are included in class I of the latter. Corresponding to the castes of class III and Mlechchha castes of the

Bṛihad-dharma, the *Brahma-vaivarta* mentions Vyādha, Bhaḍa, Kola, Koñcha, Haḍḍi (Hāḍi), Ḍom, Jolā, Bāgatīta (Bāgdi?), Vyālagrāhī (Vediyā?) and Chāṇḍālas, all of which are met with in Bengal.

A somewhat detailed account is given of the origin of the Vaidya caste. Aśvinīkumāra, the son of Sun-god, forcibly ravished the wife of a Brāhmaṇa while she was on a pilgrimage, and a son was immediately born. She returned with the child to her husband and reported everything to him. The angry Brāhmaṇa drove her out with her son. By her *yogic* powers she transformed herself into the Godāvarī river, while the son was brought up by Aśvinīkumāra who taught him the medical science and other arts. This son became the progenitor of the Vaidyas.[32]

In conclusion, reference is made to the Brāhmaṇas who were degraded as Gaṇakas for their negligence to the Vedic Dharma as evidenced by their constant study of astrology and astronomy and acceptance of fees for their calculations. These Gaṇakas (most probably a section among them) came to be known as Agradānī for having accepted, first of all, gifts from Śūdras, as well as funeral gifts. Mention is also made of Bhaṭṭa, born of Sūta father and Vaiśya mother, who recited the praises of others, and is probably represented by the Bhāṭas of the present day.

The number, designation and the relative status of the different castes in any society must have varied at times. Reference has already been made above (*v. supra* p. 252) to the story recorded in the *Vallāla-charita* how Vallālasena raised the status of some castes and degraded others. Whatever we might think of this story, it undoubtedly proves that such things were regarded as possible. On the other hand, reference to the Pāla kings as having maintained the system of caste (*v. supra* p. 111) indirectly implies the right and duty of the royal authority to maintain the *status quo* in the sphere of social life. Besides, the innate conservatism of the people renders major social changes a matter of extreme difficulty.

In view of the probability of change in status and designation of the various castes in the course of time, the very close agreement in this respect between the present society in Bengal and that described in the two Purāṇas, mentioned above, must be regarded as very remarkable.

The various castes in Bengal in the nineteenth century A.D. may be broadly classified in four well-defined strata which may be enumerated as follows [33] :

I. Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas.

II. Sat-Śūdras or Clean Śūdras whose touch does not pollute drinking water of the upper classes, and in whose religious functions the Brāhmaṇas can act as priest without degrading themselves. These are : Gandha-vaṇik, Tantu-vāya, Modaka (Mayarā), Kumbhakāra, Kaṁsakāra, Teli, Gopa, Bārui, Mālākāra, Nāpita, Karmakāra, Śaṅkha-vaṇik, Chāshī-Kaivarta, Sadgopa, Tāmbūlī. The Svarṇakāra, Sūtra-dhāra, Goālā (including Ābhīra), Koch and Āgarī (Ugra-Kshatriyas) are also regarded as clean, though not universally.

III. (*a*) Śūdras, who are not regarded as clean :
(*b*) the Brāhmaṇas serving as priests of certain unclean castes ; and
(*c*) other degraded Brāhmaṇas.

The following are illustrative examples :
(*i*) Suvarṇa-vaṇik, Śauṇḍika, Kalu (oilman), Mālo, Jāliā Kaivarta, Tiyara, Jugī.
(*ii*) The priests of Suvarṇa-vaṇiks, Goālās, Kalus, Rajakas, Bāgdis and Kaivartas.
(*iii*) Agradānīs, Gaṇakas.

IV. Low castes and aboriginal tribes included in the Hindu society, such as Chāmār, Ḍom, Baiti, Bāgdi, Baori, Pod, Hāḍi, Vediyā.

A comparison of the above with the accounts of castes given in the *Bṛihad-dharma* and *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇas would show a striking agreement not only in the general scheme but also in the details. The agreement in respect of the absence of pure Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, and the composition of group I has already been noted above. Almost all the castes in group II are mentioned in the Purāṇas as *uttama*-Saṅkaras. Some of the differences are more apparent than real. For example, the Telis derive their name from Tula and we have Taulika in the Purāṇa list. The Bārui and the Tāmbūlis may both be included in the latter. The castes included in group III are all found in the list of *madhyama*-Saṅkaras of the *Bṛihad-dharma* and *patita* Saṅkaras and Brāhmaṇas of the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa.

The castes in group IV except Baiti are also found in the list of *adhama*-Saṅkaras, or degraded mixed castes referred to in the two Purāṇas.

A detailed comparison leads to the conclusion that the system of caste as we find in Bengal today does not, in essential features, differ from that depicted in the *Bṛihad-dharma* and the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇas. Unfortunately, the date of none of these works can be fixed with certainty. They are not, however, possibly much later than the 13th century A.D., and as such may be regarded as preserving a picture of the state of society as it existed in Bengal towards the close of the Hindu period. We may, therefore, legitimately conclude that the framework of caste-system in its final evolution in Bengal during the Hindu period already reached the stage in which we find it today.

Although arts, crafts and professions were generally hereditary and the different castes normally followed the vocations assigned to them, it is now generally recognised that there was never any absolute rigidity or exclusiveness in actual practice. That the same laxity prevailed in ancient Bengal is positively proved by epigraphic and literary references. Even the Brāhmaṇas, for example, became soldiers, rulers, administrators and counsellors, and followed other vocations.[34] Literary and epigraphic evîdences prove that a Kaivarta served as high royal official (*v. supra* p. 144). The Karaṇas practised medicine and military arts, the Vaidyas became ministers,[35] and the Dāsas served as officials and court-poets.[36]

The mutual relations between the different castes in ancient days cannot be precisely defined, but they had not developed into the strictly rigid system such as prevailed in the nineteenth century A.D. Although marriage among members of the same caste was the ordinary rule, inter-marriage between a male of a higher and the female of a lower caste was regarded as valid down to the last days of the Hindu period.[37] That it was followed in actual practice in Bengal, as elsewhere in India, is proved by isolated references such as occur in the Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha (A. 36). It mentions that the ancestors of Lokanātha, both on the father's and mother's side, were Brāhmaṇas. His mother's father Keśava is, however, called a Pāraśava, which shows that Keśava's Brāhmaṇa father married a Śūdra lady. The facts, that Keśava was placed in charge of the army, that he was in touch with the king, and that he was held in high esteem by the good, prove that the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa male and Śūdra female was not always even condemned, and the issue of the marriage did not occupy a low status. Lokanātha himself is referred to as a Karaṇa

though it is not quite certain whether he was degraded to this caste on account of his mother, or whether Karaṇa is used here as an official designation and not a caste-name. That such marriage between a Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdra continued down to the end of the Hindu period is proved by the writings of Bhavadeva and Jīmūtavāhana (pp. 365-8), the two leading expositors of the sacred law and usage in Bengal.

Jīmūtavāhana says in his *Dāyabhāga*[38] that marriage is allowed between a male of a higher *varṇa* with a woman of the lower *varṇa*, including the Śūdra, and quotes Manu (III. 12-13) as his authority. He adds, however, that both Manu and Vishṇu have strongly censured the union of a twice-born with a Śūdra woman (and quotes Manu III. 15-17), and therefore Śaṅkha (Smṛiti) omits the Śūdra in describing a wife eligible for a twice-born man. This contradiction has been a puzzling one both in ancient and modern times, but the solution offered by the great Bengal jurist is certainly not complimentary, either to his scholarship and intelligence, or to the moral ideas of his countrymen. "Hence these evils," says he, "do not ensue on the procreation of offspring upon a Śūdra woman not married to (the Brāhmaṇa) himself ; but a venial offence is committed, and a slight penance is requisite." In other words, though marriage with a Śūdra woman involves degradation and loss of caste, illicit union with her is reckoned as a trivial offence. The commentator Śrīkṛishṇa still further improves upon this legalised moral depravity by explaining the words "not married to himself" as "married to another man." In other words, adultery with a married Śūdra woman is much less heinous than marriage with her.

All these definitely prove the existence of inter-caste marriages, though they show a growing desire to put a stop to the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a Śūdra girl. But there is no doubt that such marriage was regarded as valid, and did actually take place. This follows not only from the reference to the "accomplished Śūdra wife of a Brāhmaṇa" in Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa's *Prāyaśchitta-prakaraṇa*,[39] and the rules of inheritance laid down by Jīmūtavāhana regarding the Śūdra wife of a Brāhmaṇa and her son, but also from the injunctions by the latter[40] regarding the competence of a wife to assist in the performance of sacrifices and other sacred rites. Jīmūtavāhana, after citing Manu (IX. 86-87) to the effect that only a wife of the same *varṇa* is so competent, observes that 'on failure of a wife of the same caste, one of the castes immediately following may

be employed in such duties.' So, on the failure of a Brāhmaṇī, the Kshatriyā wife of a Brāhmaṇa may perform these duties, "but not a Vaiśyā nor a Sūdrā though married to him." This involved the fiction that a woman may be espoused but may not rank as wife, as this rank only belongs to one who is competent to assist in the performance of religious rites. This fiction is hardly supported by the authority quoted by Jīmūtavāhana, but he applies it in expounding the law of inheritance laid down by Nārada (XIII. 25-26, 51-52). Although no distinction is made by Nārada among the wives of different castes, Jīmūtavāhana takes these passages to refer only to 'women actually espoused but not having the rank of wives.'

The above passages confirm the view noted above, that down to the close of the Hindu period inter-caste marriage was in vogue in Bengal, but the marriage of the upper castes* with Śūdra girls was gradually coming into disfavour. They further indicate a growing distinction in the status of wives of different castes. In particular, the Sūdra wife of a Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya was being subjected to special disabilities, insults and indignities, not contemplated in the Dharma-śāstras, though the validity of her marriage and her right to maintenance after the husband's death were not yet questioned.

Restrictions about inter-dining, like those about inter-marriage, were also evolved through stages of slow growth. The older Smṛitis do not impose any restriction about drinking water and taking food except upon the Brāhmaṇas, and these restrictions, applied only against the Śūdras and the very low castes, were not very rigid in character.[41] A fair idea of the position in this respect towards the close of the Hindu period, may be obtained from the writings of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa.

As regards drinking water, Bhavadeva prescribes[42] penances for all the four castes only for drinking water touched by, or kept in the vessel of, a Chāṇḍāla or *antyaja*. Lighter penance is prescribed for drinking water of a Śūdra. The *antyaja* is defined as a group of seven low castes *viz.* Rajaka, Charmakāra, Naṭa, Varuḍa. Kaivarta, Meda and Bhilla.[43]

As regards food,[44] Bhavadeva quotes older authorities prescribing penances for a Brāhmaṇa eating food touched by a Chāṇḍāla or cooked (*anna*) by *antyajas*, Chāṇḍālas, Pukkaśas, Kāpālikas and a number of specified low castes such as Naṭa, Nartaka, Takshaṇa, Charmakāra, Suvarṇakāra, Śauṇḍika, Rajaka, Kaivarta, and

Brāhmaṇas following forbidden vocations. He also quotes a passage from Āpastamba prescribing a *kṛichchhra* penance for a Brāhmaṇa who takes food cooked by a Śūdra. In commenting on this he says :

"It is to be inferred that the penance would be reduced by a quarter and half for a Brāhmaṇa eating the food respectively of a Vaiśya and a Kshatriya, and a Kshatriya eating the food respectively of a Śūdra and a Vaiśya, and half the penance is prescribed for Vaiśya eating the food of a Śūdra."

As no authority is cited for this it is to be inferred that there existed none, and Bhavadeva merely legalised a practice that was slowly growing in Bengal. Bhavadeva further quotes Āpastamba and Hārīta to show that certain kinds of food of a Śūdra, including those cooked with oil or parched (grain), and *pāyasa*, may be eaten with immunity. Further, he quotes Parāśara to the effect that if in times of distress (*āpat-kāla*) a Brāhmaṇa takes food in a Śūdra's house, he becomes pure by feeling sorry for it (*manastāpena*).

It would be quite clear from the above analysis of the views of the foremost Smārta leader in Bengal in the eleventh or twelfth century that restrictions about food and drink between the different castes were far from being as rigid as we see it now. The restrictions about drink affected the Brāhmaṇas alone, and only in respect of Śūdras and a few low castes definitely specified. The restrictions of food were also at first confined to the Brāhmaṇas and only in respect of food cooked by the Śūdras and certain low castes. Later, these were gradually extended to other castes. But even then the Brāhmaṇas, far less members of any other caste, were not degraded and did not lose caste by taking food from another caste, and only penances were prescribed for even the worst transgression, such as taking food of a Chāṇḍāla.

A review of the available data, cited above, leaves no doubt that both as regards inter-dining and inter-marriage, the restrictions originally concerned only the relations between a Brāhmaṇa and low castes. It is probable that these gradually came to be regarded as marks of aristocracy or orthodoxy, and were extended not only among other castes, but also among the various branches of the same caste. In the final stage, marriage was absolutely confined within the narrow fold of one of the numerous sub-castes, branches, or clans into which a caste was sub-divided, and inter-dining was similarly restricted and forbidden with a caste or sub-caste regarded as occupying an inferior status. But it is certain that this stage was far from being reached by the end of the twelfth century A.D[45]

An important factor in the evolution of this final stage is the growing fiction that almost all non-Brāhmaṇas were Sūdras. The origin of this fiction is perhaps to be traced to the extended significance given to the term *Śūdra* in the Purāṇas, where it denotes not only the members of the fourth caste, but also those members of the three higher castes who accepted any of the heretical religions or were influenced by Tāntric rites. The predominance of Buddhism and Tāntric Śāktism in Bengal, as compared with other parts of India, since the eighth century A.D., perhaps explains why even some notable castes in Bengal were regarded in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa and other later texts as Śūdras, and the story of Veṇa and Pṛithu might be a mere echo of a large-scale reconversion of the Buddhists and Tāntric elements of the population into the orthodox Brāhmaṇical fold.

It would, perhaps, be wrong to conclude that there were no Kshatriyas or Vaiśyas in Bengal. The fact, however, remains that we have no reliable reference to any Kshatriya or Vaiśya family. The Senas, who called themselves Kshatriyas, were immigrants from Karṇāṭa, and the Pālas are not designated as Kshatriyas till three hundred years had elapsed after their accession to power. But negative evidence of this kind cannot be regarded as conclusive, particularly as constant reference to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas is found in the writings of Jīmūtavāhana, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and other writers on sacred laws and usages in Bengal.

III. The Brāhmaṇas

While the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas were all but unknown in Bengal, the Brāhmaṇas played a dominant part in its history. These Brāhmaṇas, belonging to various *gotras*, *pravaras* and branches of Vedic school and performing *Śrauta* rites, had settled in large number all over Bengal by the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Their number was constantly increased by fresh immigrations from Upper India for which there is abundant epigraphic evidence. A large number of inscriptions from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D. refer to the settlement in Bengal of Brāhmaṇas hailing from Lāṭa (Gujarāt), Madhyadeśa, and such individual localities as Kroḍañchi or Kroḍañja (Kolāñcha), Tarkāri (in Śrāvastī), Muktāvastu, Hastipada, Matsyāvāsa, Kuṇṭīra and Chandavāra.[46]

In the course of time the Brāhmaṇas in Bengal were divided into

various sub-castes or branches such as Rāḍhīya, Vārendra, Vaidika,[47] and Śākadvīpī. Towards the close of the Hindu period the Brāhmaṇas were also classified according to their *gāñi*, a title derived from the name of the village endowed to the family by the king or a private donor. These *gāñi*s are referred to in books and inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the titles derived from them are still in use.[48] Detailed account of the origin of these classes forms the subject-matter of an extensive literature known as *Kulajis*. The nature and historical value of these comparatively modern works will be discussed in App. I. to this chapter, and it will suffice here to give a very brief outline of the story recorded by them.

(*a*) *Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas*

Ādiśūra, king of Gauḍa, invited five Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj to perform Vedic sacrifices, as the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal were ignorant of Vedas. These Brāhmaṇas were ultimately settled in Bengal and were granted villages for maintenance. They derived their surnames (*gāñi*) from these villages, and were the forefathers of the entire Brāhmaṇa community of modern Bengal with the exception of a few minor groups like the Vaidikas, who came at a later period. The Saptaśatīs, consisting of the remnants of the original Brāhmaṇas, seven hundred in number, were degraded to a lower rank and have disappeared without leaving any trace.

In the time of king Vallālasena the Brāhmaṇas came to be known as Vārendra and Rāḍhīya according to the localities in which they settled, and were classified in several grades of honour and distinction (*kulīna*) according to personal qualifications. These grades were revised from time to time, and more than hundred such revisions took place before the fifteenth century A.D., when they became hereditary and were organised on the lines which have continued till today.

Even apart from the numerous discrepancies in details in the different versions, we can hardly regard the main story as historical in character.[49] As already noted above, a few particulars, depicting social features which were present in the late age when the *Kulajis* were composed, such as the classification of the Brāhmaṇas into Rāḍhīya and Vārendra and their organisation into *gāñis*, were true of the Hindu period and may, therefore, be regarded as having some

historical basis. But this can hardly be said of the central theme on which the whole story is based. In the light of the epigraphic evidence that we possess, it is difficult to believe that there was a dearth of Veda-knowing Brāhmaṇas in Bengal in the time of Ādiśūra, even if we accept the earliest date proposed for him *viz.*, 654 Saka (= 732 A.D.). Nor is it possible to accept the view that the Brāhmaṇas who settled in Bengal before the time of Ādiśūra were only seven hundred in number and almost entirely vanished from Bengal, whereas the descendants of five Brāhmaṇas multiplied to millions in course of a thousand or twelve hundred years. Our doubt is increased by the complete absence of any reference to the story of the five Kanauj Brāhmaṇas or to Kulīnas in the large number of inscriptions later than the eighth century A.D., some of which record the history of important Brāhmaṇa families for several generations.

Further, in judging of the historical character of the *Kulaji* story, we should not attach too much importance to the fact that several Brāhmaṇa families did actually migrate from Madhyadeśa to Bengal, for Brahmaṇa families from Madhyadeśa are also found to have settled in Mālava, Dakshiṇa Kośala, Oḍra-*vishaya* and in many other countries.[50] There was a large settlement of Brāhmaṇas from Magadha in the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the Far South.[51] Indeed, the migration of Brāhmaṇas from one province to another was a common affair in those days. Nor can we regard such migrations into Bengal as indicating in any way either the dearth of Brāhmṇas in that province or their inferiority in status and knowledge. For a good number of Brāhmaṇa families from Bengal, well versed in the Vedas, settled in Orissa, Mālava, and the Deccan, and received grants of lands from the ruling chiefs.[52]

(*b*) *Vaidika Brāhmaṇas*

According to the tradition preserved in the *Kulajis*, Śyāmala-varman of Gauḍa, probably the Varman king Sāmalavarman (*supra* p. 209), had five Brāhmaṇas brought from Kānyakubja (or Benares) in Śaka 1001 and settled them in Bengal, as the Bengal Brāhmiṇs did not maintain sacrificial fire and were not well-versed in the Vedas. According to another version, the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas settled on the banks of the Sarasvatī river, left their homes for safer regions when they came to know, by their astrological calculation, of the impending invasion of the Yavanas. Some of them came to

Bengal and settled in Koṭālipāḍā (Faridpur) under the patronage of king Harivarman.

These Vaidika Brāhmaṇas, who came from Upper India came to be known as Pāśchātya (Western). Another section of Vaidika Brāhmaṇas, known as Dākshiṇātya, is said to have come from Drāviḍa country (South India) and Utkala (Orissa).

Halāyudha (*supra* p. 371.) observes in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* that the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas have no knowledge of the Vedic texts[52a] which are studied only by the Utkalas and the Pāśchātyas. These possibly refer to the two branches of the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas, who must have thus settled in Bengal before the close of the twelfth century A.D. The words might, however, mean in a general way the Brāhmaṇas of Utkala and Pāśchātya without any reference to the Vaidik Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. Save this doubtful reference we have no sure testimony to the existence of the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas in Bengal before the end of the Hindu period. The reference to the two kings Sāmalavarman and Harivarman in the *Kulajis* together with an approximately correct date for their reigns invests their account with an historical character, and we may provisionally accept as true, that a few Brāhmaṇas, with a special knowledge of Vedic texts, migrated to Bengal during the rule of the Varmans. The details of the story, conflicting in themselves, are hardly worthy of credence.

(*c*) *Other classes of Brāhmaṇas*

Of the classes of Brāhmaṇas other than those mentioned above, the Sārasvatas are mentioned by Vallālasena in his *Dāna-sāgara* and the Śākadvīpīs in an inscription dated A.D. 1137[53] as well as in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa. According to the *Kulajis* the former came from the banks of the Sarasvatī river at the invitation of the Andhra king Śūdraka, and the ancestors of the latter, also called Graha-vipra, were brought by Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, in order to perform some ceremonies for curing himself of a disease. Several other classes such as Vyāsa, Parāśara, Kauṇḍinya and Saptaśatī Brāhmaṇas are referred to in *Kulaji* texts, but there is no reliable evidence of the existence of any of these classes, under these names, before the close of the Hindu period.

The main functions of the Brāhmaṇas, as laid down in the Smṛitis, were to perform religious rites, to serve as priests at those

of others, and to study and teach the sacred texts. There can be no question that many of them devoted themselves to these orthodox duties, and we have reference to many famous scholars and priests. They generally led simple and unostentatious lives, and the ideal of plain living and high thinking was actually realised by many of them. Some were fortunate enough to gain wealth by officiating as priests in the sacrifices or religious rites performed by kings [54] and members of the royal family [55] and the rich aristocracy. But apart from sacrificial fees, donations, large or small, were made to Brāhmaṇas by kings and private persons, as such gifts were considered to confer spiritual merits (*puṇya*) on the donors. Many such examples are found in contemporary records.[56] The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena[57] informs us how the king made rich gifts of silver, gold, pearls, emeralds and jewels to the Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, and the wives of these poor fellows had to be taught to recognise and distinguish the precious articles by their similarity with objects well-known to them. In spite of obvious exaggeration of such statements we may well believe that many learned Brāhmaṇas gained wealth and affluence, and others secured their means of livelihood, by the generous gifts of the king and the public, so that they could pursue their high vocations in life without being troubled with cares for the maintenance of their families.

On the other hand, as already noted above, the Brāhmaṇas followed many other vocations, both high and low. We hear of two Brāhmaṇa royal dynasties in Samataṭa in the 7th century A.D.[58] Two important Brāhmaṇa families, renowned for their scholarship and knowledge of sacred Vedic rites and sacrifices, served the Pāla and Varman kings as counsellors and generals (*v. supra* pp. 111, 210), maintaining at the same time their high position in the Brāhmaṇical society. Apart from these actual examples, the Smṛitis and Nibandhas refer to various other vocations followed by Brāhmaṇas, some of which, like agriculture, were approved, and others, covering almost all walks of common life, were disapproved. These condemned vocations, of which a long list is given by Bhavadeva,[59] include teaching the Śūdras, and officiating at their sacrificial rites. Nothing perhaps more strikingly illustrates the moral and intellectual perversion of the age brought about by the caste system. While no blame attached to the Brāhmaṇas who served as ministers and generals—and Bhavadeva himself belonged to this category[60]—one following the sacred vocation of teaching and officiating at religious

rites, which are enjoined upon him by the Smṛitis from time immemorial, was degraded to the lowest rank of society, simply because the object of his care was a person of the lowest caste and who, for that very reason, required all the more the ministrations of the Brahmaṇas, who were repositories of the sacred learning and practices.

The result of this policy was the creation of new classes of Brāhmaṇas, for the idea gradually grew that the Brāhmanas serving these castes attained their rank.[61] Even today we have a number of such castes, called Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas, who serve as priests to Suvarṇa-vaṇiks, Goālās, Kalus, Rajakas, Bāgdis and Kaivartas. These priests form practically independent castes. "The good Brāhmaṇas will not take even a drink of water from their hands, and inter-marriage between them is quite out of the question."[62] This final stage was not reached before the end of the Hindu period, for Bhavadeva prescribes only penance for 'removing the sins of eating the food of these Brāhmaṇas,' but the system was in the making. It is interesting to note that 'the practice of medicine' and painting and other arts were some of the condemned vocations, and the Devala Brāhmaṇas were degraded for cultivating the study of 'astrology.' It is evident that in the opinion of the orthodox Brāhmaṇas, the pursuit of these arts and sciences was more reprehensible on the part of a Brāhmaṇa than to accept the high post of minister or lead armies in battles. This attitude is mainly responsible for the fact that a decline in secular studies in various arts and sciences set in towards the close of the Hindu period, and has continued ever since.

IV. Non-Brāhmaṇa Castes

1. Karaṇa—Kāyastha

Next to the Brāhmaṇas the Karaṇas appear to have been the most important caste in ancient Bengal. This not only follows from the passage in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa quoted above, but also from the high offices and position actually occupied by members of this caste. Reference has already been made to the powerful chief Lokanātha who is described as a Karaṇa (*v. supra* p, 423), and a Karaṇa-Kāyastha is referred to in the Gunaighar CP. (A. 14) as the Minister in charge of Peace and War. The author of a medical

treatise, called *Śabda-pradīpa*, describes himself as belonging to a Karaṇa family (*Karaṇ-ānvaya*).[63] He was a court-physician himself, and his father and grandfather served in the same capacity two kings—Rāmapāla and Govindachandra—of Bengal. (*v. supra* p. 213 f.n. 3. and pp. 376-7). Sandhyākara Nandī, the famous poet and author of *Rāmacharita* (*v. supra* pp. 143, 356), describes his father as 'the foremost amongst the Karaṇas' (*karaṇānām=agraṇī*) and Minister of Peace and War.[64]

Karaṇa occurs as the name of a caste in the old Sūtras and Smṛitis, and perhaps also in the *Mahābhārata*.[65] But according to Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on *Amarakosha*, Karaṇa also denotes a group of officers like Kāyastha.[66] The lexicographer Vaijayantī (11th century A.D.) seems to take Kāyastha and Karaṇa as synonymous[67] and explains it as scribe. This agrees with the view of *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa noted above, and the identity of Karaṇa and Kāyastha is also proved by epigraphic evidence.[68] It is worthy of note, that the Karaṇa caste, whose members performed the same vocations as the Kāyasthas, gradually disappears in Bengal, after the close of the Hindu period, whereas the Kāyastha caste does not come into prominence before the same period. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that the Karaṇa merged itself into the Kāyastha, and these two castes were ultimately amalgamated in Bengal as in other parts of India.[69]

The Kāyastha is mentioned as a royal official in *Vishṇu* and *Yājñavalkya* Smṛitis. According to the former he wrote the public documents, and the commentary to the latter explains his office as that of an accountant and scribe. The term is used in the same sense in the inscriptions from the eighth to the eleventh century A.D., and even later. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to the Brāhmaṇa Śivaratha as a roguish Kāyastha in the twelfth century A.D. The term Karaṇa is also used in the same way.[70]

It is evident, however, from a record of Amoghavarsha[71] that there was a Kāyastha caste in Western India (*valabha-Kāyastha-vaṁśā*) as early as the 9th century A.D. The existence of Kāyastha as a caste in Northern India is also indicated by reference to *Gauḍa-kāyastha-vaṁśa*,[72], *Kāyastha-vaṁśa*,[73] *Mathur-ānvaya-kāyastha*,[74] and *Kāyastha-kaṭāriy-ānvāvāya*, migrated from Mathurā,[75] in inscriptions dated respectively A.D. 999, V.S. 124x (1183 to 1193 A.D.), A.D. 1328, and A.D. 1288. Several inscriptions indicate that a Kāyastha race, descended from Vāstu and hence called Vāstavya

Kāyastha, lived near Kālañjara in or before the eleventh century A.D. One of these inscriptions[76] specifically states that the Vāstavya Kāyasthas followed the profession of a Karaṇa, and it refers to the caste both as Karaṇa and Kāyastha. Two later Smṛitis, *Uśanas* and *Vedavyāsa*, refer to Kāyastha as a caste. The *Uśanas* says that the word Kāyastha is "compounded of the first letters of *kāka* (crow), Yama, and *sthapati* to convey the three attributes of greed, cruelty and the spoliation (or paring) characteristic of the three. The *Vedavyāsa* Smṛiti includes the Kāyastha among Śūdras along with barbers, potters and others."[77]

Mythical accounts of the origin of the Kāyasthas are supplied by some early records. Soḍḍhala, who flourished in the middle of the 11th century, states that he was born in the race of the Kāyastha named Vālabha (*Vālabho nāma kāyasthānāṁ vaṁsa*). He traces his descent from Kalāditya, the brother of king Śilāditya. Kalāditya was an incarnation of the *gaṇa* called Kāyastha, and was an ornament of the Kshatriyas (*Kāyastha-nāmno Māheśvara-gaṇasy=āvatāraḥ kshatriya-vibhūshaṇaṁ Kalāditya..*).[78] The king Śilāditya, referred to, was in all probability a king of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī, which was Kshatriya by caste.[79] According to this statement the Kāyasthas were descendants of the Kshatriyas. The Rewa inscription of a minister of the Kalachuri king Karṇa, dated 1049 A.D.,[80] however, gives a different account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste to which he himself belonged. We are told that a great sage named Kāchara, born of Śiva, gave a boon to his Śūdra (*turīya-janmā*) servant that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds whose caste would thereafter be known by the name of Kāyastha, since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). We are next told that in the Kāyastha race, sprung from this son, were born wise and meritorious diplomats, the last one being the minister of Karṇa. According to this account the Kāyasthas would seem to be of Śūdra origin. It may be noted that the derivation of the word Kāyastha in this record agrees with that in the *Naishadha-charita* (XIV. 66), but is diametrically opposed to that given in *Uśanas Saṁhitā* Smṛiti quoted above. The Ajaygarh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandella king Bhojavarman, traces the origin of the Kāyasthas to the sage Kāśyapa.[81]

The reference to *prathama-kāyastha* (or *jyeshṭha-kāyastha*) in the records of the fifth, sixth and eighth centuries A.D. in Bengal (*v. supra* pp. 291, 302) shows that it had not yet come to

denote a caste. The Tibetan work *Pag Sam Jon Zang* mentions Daṅgadāsa as a Kāyastha (writer or ministerial officer) of Dharmapāla.[82] If true, this would also push the rise of the Kāyastha caste in Bengal to a date later than the eighth century A.D. The mention of *Gauḍa-Kāyastha-vaṁśa*, as noted above, shows that the Kāyasthas were recognised as a caste in Bengal by the tenth century A.D.[83] It is, however, very surprising that the Kāyastha is not mentioned either in the *Bṛihad-dharma* or in the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa.

According to the *Kulaji*s the Kāyasthas of Bengal, at least their upper classes, are descended from the five attendants of the five Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal at the invitation of king Ādiśūra. The historical value of this story has been discussed in Appendix I. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others[84] the Kāyasthas were descended from Nāgara Brāhmaṇas who had a large settlement in Bengal long before the eighth century A.D. These are supposed to have originally migrated from Nagarkot in the Punjab to various parts of Gujarāt and Kathiawar Peninsula, Ānandapur (also called Nagar) in Lāṭa being one of their chief settlements. That some Brāhmaṇas came to Bengal from Lāṭa, as from other parts of India, has already been mentioned above (*v. supra* p. 427). But the evidence in support of a large-scale immigration of Nāgara Brāhmaṇas is hardly convincing. The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas in Vaṅga, mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, may refer to the Brāhmaṇas of the city (*nagara*). The fact that the surnames of Nāgara Brāhmaṇas such as *datta*, *ghosha*, *varman*, *nāga* and *mitra* also occur in the names of the Kāyasthas of Bengal does not signify much, as these surnames or name-endings were commonly used all over India about that period. The existence in Pañchakhaṇḍa (Sylhet) of a *liṅga* called Hāṭakeśvara, which is said to have been the tutelary deity of the Nagara Brāhmaṇas, hardly justifies the assumption of a large settlement, for even individual settlers might introduce their own peculiar cult. Besides, there is nothing to show that the worship of Hāṭakeśvara was exclusively confined to the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas.

2. *Vaidya—Ambashṭha*

The Vaidya, like the Kāyastha, does not appear to have formed an important caste in ancient Bengal. Like Kāyastha, the term Vaidya originally denoted an important profession *viz.* that of the

physician. It is difficult to say when this professional group was developed into a caste. The earliest reference to Vaidya as a distinct social group occurs in the Talamanchi Plates of Vikramāditya Chālukya, dated A.D. 660[85], and next in three South Indian inscriptions of the eighth century A.D.[86] The members of this group occupied very high positions in State and society, and according to Dr. H. Kṛishṇa Sāstrī's interpretation, one of them at any rate was regarded as a Brāhmaṇa. But there is no definite reference to Vaidya as a caste in Bengal before the 12th century A.D. The Bhāṭerā copper-plate Grant of king Īśānadeva (C. 23) refers to his minister (*paṭṭanika*) Vanamālī Kara as *Vaidya-vaṁśa-pradīpa* (brilliant light in the race of Vaidyas). This, as well as the fact that a Karaṇa family served as hereditary royal physicians in Vaṅga during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., goes against the assumption that the Vaidya, as a professional group of physicians, was definitely recognised as a distinct social unit in Vaṅga long before the close of the Hindu period.

The Vaidya as a caste-name does not occur in the old and genuine Smṛitis, The *Uśanas* Smṛiti.[87] refers to a caste called *Bhishak* (physician) born of illicit union between Brāhmaṇa male and Kshatriya female, and designates it as Vaidyaka. A mythical account of the origin of the Vaidya caste is given in *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa, as noted above (p. 421), and also in a passage, which is said to be a quotation from *Skanda* Purāṇa, but does not actually occur in the printed text.[88] The former distinguishes Vaidya from Ambashṭha,[89] but the latter identifies the two, as is the case also in *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa. Ambashṭha as the name of a mixed caste, born of a Brāhmaṇa father and Vaiśya mother, is well known, and occurs in early Dharmasūtras and Smṛitis. Manu prescribes the art of healing as his vocation (X.8.47). The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa gives the following account in Chapter 14. :

"Pṛithu asked the Brāhmaṇas to determine the '*varṇa*' (caste) and '*vṛitti*' (profession) of the mixed castes.....The Brāhmaṇas then took up the case of the Ambashṭhas, who were known as such because of the fact that they created mixed castes (viz. Svarṇakāra and Svarṇavaṇik) on women belonging to the same caste as that of their mother (*ambā*), and who were consequently looked upon as great sinners and despised. The Brāhmaṇas gave these Ambashṭhas 'almost a rebirth' by performing their *saṁskāra* (ceremony of purification), named them as 'Vaidya', and gave the 'Āyurveda' to them through Nāsatya and Dasra. Thus the

Ambashṭhas were made sinless (*pāpa-śūnya*) and good-looking (*chāru-rūpa-dhara*). The Brāhmaṇas asked these Ambashṭhas (i.e, Vaidyas) to adopt the course of the Śūdras in their ordinary life, to perform the Vedic rites, to study the Āyurveda only and not any other work such as the Purāṇa etc., and to follow the profession of Vaiśyas in the manufacture and distribution of medicines."[90]

The identity of Vaidya and Ambashṭha has been generally assumed throughout the post-Hindu period.[91] It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Vaidya was an offshoot of the Ambashṭha caste. But there is no definite evidence of the prior existence of the Ambashṭha caste in Bengal and, in view of what has been said above, it is not likely to have evolved from the professional group of physicians. On the other hand, some Kāyasthas in Bihar and U. P. call themselves Ambashṭhas,[92] and the *Sūta-saṁhitā* identifies the Ambashṭhas with the Māhishyas.[93]

The *Kulajis* refer to Ādiśūra both as Ambashṭha and Vaidya, and also regard the Sena kings as Vaidyas. But the texts in which these views are expressed can hardly claim much historical value, and the utmost that can be said is that they preserve the belief and the tradition current in the sixteenth and following centuries.

3. *The Kaivarta—Māhishya*

The revolt in Northern Bengal during the reign of Mahīpāla II (*v. supra* pp. 142 ff.) and rule of Divya and his two successors indicate the importance of the Kaivarta caste to which they belonged.

The Kaivarta is referred to in Manu (x.34) as an alternative name, current in Āryāvarta, of Mārgava or Dāsa, who is born of a Nishāda father and an Āyogava mother, and subsists by working as a boatman. The Jātakas refer to the fishermen as Kevattas (=Kaivartas).[94] According to the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa, Kaivarta is born of Kshatriya father and Vaiśya mother, but it seems to imply that the Kaivarta was degraded in Kali-yuga by his association with the Tīvara and was known as, or adopted the vocation of, a *dhīvara* or fisherman. Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa also refers to the Kaivarta as one of the seven *antyaja* or low castes, as noted above (p. 425). According to ancient Smṛitis the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Vaiśya mother is known as Māhishya,[95] whose origin is thus identical with that of Kaivarta as given in the *Brahma-vaivarta*. These ancient accounts serve to explain the present state of things

in Bengal.[96] The Māhishyas of Eastern Bengal, also known as Hālika Dāsa and Parāśara Dāsa, are now regarded to be the same as Chāshī Kaivartas of Midnapore and other districts of Western Bengal. Both of these form important sections of the Hindu community. There are many *Zamindars* and substantial land-holders among them, and in Midnapore they may be regarded among the local aristocracy. This position is fully in keeping with the part played by them during the Pāla rule. On the other hand, the Dhīvaras or fishermen in East Bengal are known as Kaivarta. According to *Amara-kosha*, the Kaivartas include both Dāsa and Dhīvara. This, added to the evidence of the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa, Manu and Jātakas, referred to above, indicates that the Kaivartas were from ancient times divided into two sections, the cultivator and fishermen.[97] The tradition recorded in the *Vallāla-charita* (*v. supra* p. 252) that Vallālasena improved the status of the Kaivartas, and made them a clean caste so that they might serve as menials to upper castes, evidently refers to this lower section. On the whole, it would not be unreasonable to infer that the Kaivartas, who are referred to in the *Vishṇu* Purāṇa (IV. 24. 8) as *abrahmaṇya*, were an old aboriginal tribe who, like many others, were merged into the Aryan society and affiliated to the mixed caste known as Māhishya.

4. *Low castes*

Regarding the many other castes mentioned above that existed during the pre-Muslim period our knowledge is very meagre. But attention should be drawn to some of them who were regarded as almost beyond the pale of society. A number of these castes or tribes are mentioned in *Bṛihad-dharma* and *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇas and have been noted above. A few of them are referred to as *antyajas* by Bhavadeva, and reference has already been made above to their status and designation in connection with the impurity attached to their food and drink (*v. supra* p. 425). The early *Charyā-padas*[98] of Bengal refer to Ḍoma, Chaṇḍāla and Śavara. The first two are still well-known in Bengal and occupy the lowest stratum in society. The Śavaras are frequently referred to in literature associated with Bengal, and probably figure in Pāhārpur sculptures. Their primitive and even indecent practices influenced the higher classes, as will be seen later. The Ḍomas lived outside

the town and were regarded as untouchable. They built baskets and looms (*tānt*). The Ḍoma women were of loose character and moved about singing and dancing.[99] The Śavaras lived in hills. Their womenfolk wore ear-rings and decorated themselves with peacock-tail, and garlands of *guñja* seeds.[100] The Chaṇḍālas are said to have occasionally abducted married women from their homes.[101] It appears from the Naihati CP.[102] of Vallālasena that the Pulindas lived in forests in or near the border of Bengal, and their women, too, like the Śavarīs, were fond of garlands of *guñja* seeds. The terracotta plaques at Pāhārpur illustrate the habits and physical appearance of aboriginal tribes of this class. A string of leaves round the waist forms the only clothing of both males and females, The latter neatly dress the hair, and wear ornaments of jungle leaves and flowers, and necklaces of beads and *guñja* seeds. The men sometimes wear boots, and have a cuirass for the breast, bows, and quivers containing arrows. Even the women used bows and daggers, and in one case, a woman carries a deer or other wild animal which was presumably hunted by her and formed their staple food.[103]

Finally, reference must be made to the Śūdras in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, for, according to it, all the Mixed Castes mentioned above, (pp. 417 ff.) i. e., practically all the non-Brahmins of Bengal, had the status of Śūdras which was most humiliating in many respects. This would be evident from Book III, Chapters 4 and 20. The following extracts are taken from a summary made by Dr. Hazra :

A Śūdra is to serve the twice-born but should not read the Purāṇas or teach the members of the higher castes...It is only in times of distress that a Brāhmiṇ is allowed to instruct *mantras* to Śūdras and to read out the Purāṇas to them...A Brāhmaṇa should not give to a Śūdra such food as has been dedicated to a deity. A Śūdra should drink the water with which the feet of a Brāhmaṇa have been washed....A Śūdra should not call a Brāhmaṇa 'grandfather', 'uncle' etc., and *vice versa.* A Śūdra commits *mahāpātaka* by reading of Purāṇas, non-salutation of Brāhmaṇas, sexual intercourse with Brāhmaṇa women....spread of sins among people through conversation, touch of the body, breaths, interdining, riding the same vehicle, and sitting on the same seat.[104]

V. Socio-Religious Rites, Ceremonies and Festivals

A distinctive feature of the orthodox Hindu society is the series of semi-religious rites (*saṁskāras*) concerning almost every stage of a man's life, from conception in the mother's womb to death, or even beyond it. We know in a general way that these *śrauta* and *smārta* rites were performed since the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. (*v. supra* p. 414), when Brāhmaṇas, learned in the Vedas, began to settle in Bengal in large numbers. But we have no definite knowledge of how these *saṁskāras* were performed in Bengal till towards the close of the Hindu period. It is only as late as the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., when Vedic studies made great headway in Bengal (*v. supra* p. 369), that we have the works of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Vallālasena and others (*supra* pp. 364 ff.) which throw light on the Brāhmaṇical society of those days. From these sources we learn that the life of the orthodox Hindus, specially the Brāhmaṇas, in Bengal was characterised by the various purificatory rites and ceremonies prevalent in other parts of India, *viz.*, *Garbhādhāna* (the ceremony of impregnation), *Puṁsavana* (the ceremony to ensure the birth of male progeny), *Śīmant-onnayana* (the ceremony of parting of the hair), *Śoshyantī-homa* (performance of a *homa* which was meant for easy delivery on the part of the wife), *Jāta-karman* (the ceremony performed at the birth of a child), *Nishkramaṇa* (the ceremony of taking out a child for the first time into open air), *Nāma-karaṇa* (the ceremony of naming the child), *Paushṭika-karmaṇ* (the ceremony for the nutrition of the child), *Annaprāśana* (the ceremony of giving a new-born child solid food to eat for the first time), *Naimittika-putra-mūrdhābhighrāṇa* (the ceremony of occasional smelling of the son's head by the father), *Chūḍākaraṇa* (the ceremony of tonsure), *Upanayana* (the ceremony of investing the boy with the sacred thread), *Sāvitra-charu-homa* (the ceremony of offering oblations with *charu* to Savitṛi), *Samāvartana* (the ceremony on the student's return from his teacher's house), *Vivāha* (marriage), and *Śālā-karmaṇ* (the ceremony on the occasion of entrance into a newly built house). In almost all these ceremonies the domestic fire was first to be consecrated with the performance of a rite called *kuśaṇḍikā*, and *homas* such as the *Mahāvyāhṛiti*, *Śāṭyāyana etc.* were to be performed with the citation of relevant Vedic *mantras*. The usual procedure of the main *homa* connected with

the principal function was as follows. At first sacrificial fuel, soaked with clarified butter, was silently thrown into the fire ; then the *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa* was performed with the citation of relevant Vedic *mantras* ; next the main *homa* was conducted with the use of necessary Vedic verses ; then the *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa*, followed by the silent offer of fuel, soaked with clarified butter, into the fire, was repeated. The *Śāṭyāyana-homa* and some other operations ending with the chanting of the *Vāmadevya-sāman* were performed at the end of the whole function to allay the sins that might have arisen out of mistakes committed consciously or unconsciously. Finally proper fees were paid to the Brahmin priest.

A short description of these ceremonies, especially as they were observed by the Sāmavedins, is given below in order to show their distinctive features.[105]

The ceremony of impregnation (*Garbhādhāna*) used to be performed after dusk on the sixth or eighth day from first menstruation. In this ceremony the husband was to wear clean clothes, smear his body with scents, and take his seat by the side of his wife (already seated on blades of *kuśa* grass) with his face turned towards the east. He was then to touch a certain part of his wife's body with his right hand, and mutter relevant Vedic verses invoking the gods for impregnation. After giving to the wife a mixture of the five products of the cow (*i.e.*, *pañcha-gavya*), the husband was to accept, in the hem of his cloth, various fruits offered by his wife after tying them in a piece of yellow cloth, and to return them to his wife. Such acceptance and return were repeated thrice.

The ceremony of *Puṁsavana*, which was to be celebrated on an auspicious day at the beginning of the third month of pregnancy, might be performed in two ways. According to the first method, the husband was to take his bath in the morning, kindle a fire named *Chandra*, perform *kuśaṇḍikā* ending with the muttering of the *Virūpāksha* hymn, seat his wife on blades of *kuśa* on his right to the western side of the fire with her face turned towards the east, and after silently offering fuel, soaked with clarified butter, into the fire, perform the *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa*. He was then to take his stand at the back of his wife, touch her navel with his right hand after touching her right shoulder, and mutter *mantras* to ensure the birth of a male child. According to the second method, a defectless sheath of a fresh *vaṭa* bud (*vaṭa-śuṅgā*), furnished with

two fruits, was collected, with the citation of *mantras*, from a north-eastern branch of a *vaṭa* tree, after besmearing the sheath seven times with the powders of barley (*yava*) and pulse (*māsha*). This sheath was then pounded with a piece of stone by a *Brahmachārin* or an unmarried girl or a pregnant woman or a Brahmin who was well versed in, and regularly studied, the Vedas. While being thus pounded the sheath was to be soaked with dew-water according to the local custom. The husband then tied this herb in a piece of cloth and pressed its juice into the right nostril of his wife, seated by the side of the sacred fire, with his face turned towards the west. While thus pouring the juice, the husband was to pronounce a Vedic verse for a male progeny.

In the ceremony of *Sīmantonnayana*, which was performed in the fourth, sixth or eighth month from pregnancy, the husband was to take his bath in the morning, perform *Vṛiddhi-śrāddha*, kindle a fire called *Maṅgala*, consecrate it with *kuśaṇḍikā*, and seat his wife on blades of *kuśa* to his right on the western side of the fire with her face turned towards the east. He was then to take his stand behind his wife with his face turned toward the east, and tie round his wife's neck a pair of ripe figs having a common stem, after stringing these fruits with a piece of thread of silk and adding to them *nimba*, white mustard, *bhallātaka etc.* for the sake of protection. According to the local custom a pair of Vāsudeva's feet were made with gold or some other metal and tied to the wife's neck with the same purpose along with natural grains of barley. Next the husband was to part his wife's hair, first with *darbha-piñjalis*.[106] for a number of times, and then with a reed (*śara*), a spindle filled with yarn, a white quill of a porcupine, *etc.* He was then to show her the *kṛiśara* (a kind of food) prepared with sesamum, rice and *māsha*, and finish the main function with the performance of the *homas etc.* Next, some Brahmin women, who had sons and whose husbands were living, were to take the wife to the altar, bathe her with the water contained in the pitcher, and perform all other rites which were conducive to her welfare (*maṅgala-kṛitya*). The wife then ate up the *kṛiśara* with a quantity of *ghee* poured on it.

In *Śoshyantī-homa* the wife was to play no part at all, although this rite was meant for her easy delivery and was performed at a time when she was in the mature stage of pregnancy. In this ceremony the husband was to take his bath, consecrate the fire with *kuśaṇḍikā*, silently offer fuel, soaked with *ghee*, into the fire, and perform the

Śoshyantī-homa by offering oblations with the mention of the intended name of his future son.

The *Jāta-karman* ceremony did not require any fire. As soon as a son was born, the father said : "Don't sever the artery, don't allow the child to suck the mother's breast." Thus prohibiting (the nurse), he took his bath, performed *Vṛiddhi-śrāddha*, and rubbed the child's tongue, first with the powder of *vrīhi* and *yava* taken with the thumb and the ring-finger of his right hand, and then twice with *ghee* and gold. It should be mentioned here that this powder of *vrīhi* and *yava* was to be prepared on a piece of stone by a *brahmachārin*, or a virgin girl, or a pregnant woman, or a Brahmin who was well versed in, and regularly studied, the Vedas. Next, giving his permission with the words, "Sever the artery, allow the child to suck the mother's milk," the father again took his bath.

It should be mentioned here that in those days no temporary hut was constructed for child-birth ; one of the permanent living rooms was used for the purpose, and this room was deemed pure as soon as the period of impurity due to child-birth was over.

In the ceremony of *Nishkramaṇa*, which was celebrated on the third day of the third bright half of a lunar month from the date of the child's birth, the child was bathed in the morning. After dusk the father stood with his face towards the moon. The mother wrapped the child in clean and sanctified clothes, went with it to the left side of the father, stood with her face towards the north and handed over the child to the father with its head turned towards the north. Then the mother went to the father's right side and stood with her face turned towards the west. The father then showed the child the moon, offered *arghya* to the moon, and handed over the child to its mother with its head turned towards the north. He next performed the purificatory rites and entered the house. In this way the child was to be shown the moon on three other third days of the bright halves of lunar months, and libation of water was to be offered to the moon on these occasions.

The ceremony of *Nāma-karaṇa* was, according to the local custom, celebrated after the expiry of twelve or hundred-and-one nights, or on the birth-day, though the *Gṛihya-sūtras* ordain that this ceremony was to be performed after the expiry of ten nights, hundred nights, six months, or a year. In this ceremony the father took his bath in the morning, performed the *Vṛiddhi-śrāddha*, and consecrated the fire named *Pārthiva* with *kuśaṇḍikā*. The mother

then handed over the child (covered with clean clothes) to the father, and took her seat on the left side of her husband. The father next performed *homa* for the pleasure of the presiding deities of the child's birth-day and star, whispered the child's name first into the mother's ear and then into that of the child, and handing over the child to the mother, performed *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa* etc.

The ceremony of *Paushṭika-karman*, which was meant for ensuring the vitality of the child, was performed on every *janma-tithi* or *pūrṇimā* of every month in the first year. In this ceremony a fire called *Balada* was required, and the father was to perform the different *homas* almost in the same way as in *Nāma-karaṇa*.

In *Anna-prāśana*, which was celebrated on an auspicious day of the sixth month, the father was to take his bath in the morning, perform *Vṛiddhi śrāddha*, consecrate the fire named *Śuchi* with *kuśaṇḍikā*, silently offer fuel, soaked with ghee, into it, perform the *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa*, offer oblations to Hunger, Thirst *etc.*, and give food into the mouth of the child with citations of *mantras*.

It is to be noted that the present custom of placing a pen, an ink-pot, a gold or silver coin, a piece of earth, and the like for examining the leanings of the child was not in vogue, at least among the Brahmins, in those days, and that the ceremonies of *Nāma-karaṇa* and *Anna-prāśana* were celebrated at different times.

The ceremony of *Naimittika-mūrdhā-bhighrāṇa* (*i.e.*, the occasional smelling of the son's head by the father) seems to have been peculiar with the Bengal Brahmins. It was performed especially when the father returned home after a long sojourn. In this ceremony the father touched the heads of his sons in order of age with both his hands, muttered three *mantras* for their long life, smelt their heads with the citation of a *mantra*, and chanted the *Vāmadevya-sāman*.

The ceremony of tonsure (*Chūḍā-karaṇa*) might be celebrated in the first or third year according to the custom of the family. It required the performance of *Vṛiddhi-śrāddha*, consecration of a fire called *Satya*, and performance of *homas etc.* During *Chūḍā-karaṇa*, a cup of bell-metal containing hot water and a razor made of copper (or a mirror in its stead) were placed to the south of the fire, and a barber took his stand there with an iron razor in his hand ; on the north, bull's dung, sesamum, rice, beans (*māsha*), kidney-beans (*mudga*), *kṛiśara etc.*, were placed : and on the east, three pots filled with *vrīhi, yava, tila, māsha etc.* were kept. The shaving

was done with the iron razor ; the copper one (or the mirror) was meant only for touching the head with. First the father shaved certain parts of the child's head after seasoning the hair with hot water and touching it with the copper razor (or its substitute, the mirror), and then the barber, who was adorned with flowers *etc.*, was to give the finishing touch. The hair, thus severally collected, was first to be placed, according to the local custom, on bull's dung contained in an earthen pot held by a young friend of the child, and then the whole was to be thrown into the forest. Some hung it to the branch of a bamboo tree.

Upanayana (or investiture with the sacred thread) is one of the most important sacraments for a twice-born. For a Brahmin boy, the proper age for *Upanayana* was the eighth year from conception or birth. In case the boy failed to undergo *Upanayana* at that age, the time could be extended up to his sixteenth year ; but after that he was deemed *Sāvitrī-patita*, and, therefore, unworthy of *Upanayana*. The procedure of this ceremony was briefly as follows. The father of the boy was to take his bath in the morning and perform *Vṛiddhi-śrāddha*. Then he himself, or an Āchārya selected by him, or a religious student (*brahmachārin*, in case no Āchārya was available), was to kindle a fire called *Samudbhava* and consecrate it with the performance of *kuśaṇḍikā*. He then conducted the boy, who was to take his meal in the morning, to the northern side of the fire, had his head shaved along with the *śikhā* (*i.e.*, the tuft of hair that was left on the crown of his head), bathed him, made him put on a silken garment or a piece of white and untorn cloth made of cotton, adorned him with ornaments such as ear-rings, and seated him on his right side. The Āchārya then offered fuel, soaked with ghee, into the fire, performed *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa*, offered oblations several times into the fire, and performed the function of *Añjali-pūraṇa*. The boy then asked the Āchārya for *Upanayana*, whereupon the latter asked the former his name, and when he knew it from the boy, held the boy's right hand by the thumb in his own right hand and went round the fire. The Āchārya next touched, with his right hand, first the boy's right shoulder and then his navel, breast *etc.* and muttered Vedic *mantras*. Then, after touching the boy's left shoulder with his left hand, he instructed the boy to collect sacrificial fuel, to work, to avoid sleep by day, to be a *brahmachārin*, and so on. After the boy had consented to abide by his instructions, the Āchārya made the boy

wear a three-fold girdle of *muñja* grass, a sacred thread (*upavīta*) and the skin of a black-antelope, taught the *Sāvitrī*, first by fourth parts, then by halves, and then with the *Mahāvyāhṛitis* (*viz*, *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ* and *svaḥ*), and gave him a staff made of *vilva* or *palāśa* wood. The length of the staff was to be determined by the height of the boy's body. After taking this staff the boy collected alms first from his mother and sister, and then from others including his father, and offered these to the Āchārya, who then performed the *Samid-dhoma*, *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa*, *Śāṭyāyana-homa etc.* Priestly fee was then offered to the Āchārya or, if the father himself was the Āchārya, to the Brahmin who conducted the function. The boy had to pass the whole day at that place. At dusk he finished his evening prayers, offered oblations to the fire and saluted it. He then silently ate the food collected by begging, after mixing it with clarified butter only. While eating he used only the three fingers, *viz.*, the middle finger, the ring-finger and the thumb, and held the dish with his left hand. He then sipped water. In this way the boy had to worship fire daily in the morning and evening till the ceremony of *Samāvartana* ; but the method of taking food was to be followed by him till his death.

On the fourth day from *Upanayana*, *Sāvitrī-charu-homa* was to be performed in the fire called *Samudbhava*, by the father, or his substitute or a religious student or an Āchārya appointed by the father. For the preparation of the *charu*, a mortar, a pestle, a vessel (*chamasa*)—all made of *varuṇa* wood—, a winnowing-basket made of bamboo, and *vrīhi etc.* were required. After the function was over, a cow was to be given to the Āchārya, or, if the father himself performed the duties of the Āchārya, to the Brahmin who conducted the ceremony.

Being thus invested with the sacred thread the students began their studies in right earnest under the supervision of their fathers or some other teachers selected by their guardians. The subjects studied by them were generally the following :—Vedas, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, the Epics, Arthaśāstra, Gaṇita, Mīmāṁsā, Jyotiḥśāstra, Kāvya, Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Alaṁkāra and Chhandas,[107] but from Halāyudha's statement in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* that he wrote this work because he found that the Brahmins of Raḍhā and Varendra did not study the Vedas, and therefore did not know the Vedic rites properly, it seems that though the Brahmins always claimed to have been versed in the Vedas, in reality they did not usually

study these ancient works with much interest and earnestness. As a matter of fact, there were many among the Brahmins who did not care to study the Vedas at all.[108] However, besides the above-mentioned subjects, the Brahmins sometimes also read Āyurveda, Astra-veda, Āmgaa (*i.e.*, Tantra),[109] *etc.* Higher education was, however, by no means confined to the Brāhmaṇas, and the examples of Vallālasena (*v. supra* p. 370) and Kāntideva's father[110] prove that kings and nobles also were noted for learning and scholarship.

The ceremony of *Samāvartana* was performed when the student finished his studies and returned home with the permission of his teacher. In this ceremony the father of the student took his bath and performed *Vṛiddhi-srāddha.* Then he himself, or an Āchārya selected by him, or a *brahmachārin* (if an Āchārya be not available) kindled a fire named *Tejas*, consecrated it with the performance of *kuśaṇḍikū*, and performed *Samid-dhoma* and *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa.* He then seated the boy on his right side and offered oblations to the fire. When the sacrifices connected with the ceremony of *Samāvartana* were over, the student (*brahmachārin*) fed the Brahmins, took his meal, had his head and beards shaved with only a tuft of hair (*śikhā*) left on his head, put on defectless clothes and ornaments, wore a garland on his head and a pair of leathern shoes, had a bamboo stick (his former staff being thrown into the fire), mounted a cart drawn by two bulls (*go-yuga*) and came to the Āchārya, first going to the east or north, and then turning to south. The Āchārya honoured him with the offer of *arghya* and received *dakshiṇā* (fees).

Next comes the most important sacrament in a Hindu's life, *viz.*, that of marriage.

Regarding the proper age of marriage Jīmūtavāhana in his *Dāyabhāga* quotes, with approval, the injunction of Vishṇu and Paiṭhīnasi that dire consequences would follow if a girl is married after puberty, and the statement of Manu that "the nubile age is twelve years for a girl to be married to a man aged thirty, and eight years for one to be espoused by a man aged twenty-four ; and the age prescribed for entry into another order is fifty years."[111] Jīmūtavāhana quotes a line[112] from *Vishṇu* Purāṇa (III. 10. 16) to show that the marriageable ages for the bride and bridegroom should be in the ratio of 1 to 3. In his *Saṁbandha-viveka*[113] Bhavadeva quotes, from earlier authorities, a few verses which say that if a girl attained puberty in her father's house her father became guilty of killing an embryo (*bhrūṇa-hatyā*), and the girl

was deemed to be a *vṛishalī* ; that if any one married such a girl out of greed or infatuation, he became *aśrāddheya* (unworthy of *śrāddha*) and *apāṅkteya* (unfit for sitting in the same line), and was regarded as a *vṛishalī-pati* (husband of a *vṛishalī*) ; and that if a girl attained puberty during the time of her marriage, a special *homa* was to be peformed before the commencement of the actual rites of marriage.[114] It appears from these prescriptions that people were generally in favour of early marriage of girls, and did not like that men should marry after the age of fifty. It is, however, not known how far these prescriptions were actually followed in practice by the different grades of people.

The *Saṁbandha-viveka* further informs us that in matters of marriage great importance was attached to the *sapiṇḍa*, *sagotra* and *samāna-pravara* relationship between the bride and the bridegroom. No marriage was permitted in the first four forms (*viz.*, *Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Arsha* and *Prājāpatya*), if the bride was within the fifth generation on the mother's side of the bridegroom, or within the seventh generation on his father's side, or if the bride and bridegroom were of the same *gotra* (through their fathers or mothers) or of the same *pravara*. In the last four forms (*viz.*, *Āsura*, *Gāndharva*, *Rākshasa* and *Paisācha*), however, a bridegroom might marry a bride who was not within the third generation on his mother's side, or the fifth generation on his father's side ; but those who contracted such marriages were deemed as degraded to the position of Śūdras. Nor was marriage permissible with one's own maternal uncle's daughter or with the daughter of one's step-brother's maternal uncle : because such a girl was as good as a sister to the bridegroom. Among uterine brothers or sisters, marriage was permitted in order of seniority in age. But if the elder brother became a *sannyāsin*, or was afflicted with a dangerous disease (such as insanity, phthisis etc.), or lived in a distant country, or had a savage temperament, or was guilty of any of the *mahāpātakas*, the younger brother was allowed to supersede him in marriage without incurring any social stigma. If anybody married a girl whose elder uterine sister, though free from any serious defect, remained unmarried, he was to forsake that girl, perform the *Prājāpatya* penance, and maintain her with food and raiments.[115]

Though monogamy was the ideal, and probably also the rule, at least among the members of the Brāhmaṇical fold, people were allowed to have more wives than one ;[116] but when a person wanted

to have a second wife, he was to gratify the first one with sufficient wealth in order to have her assent.[117] Whatever might be the number of the wives of a person, the first *savarṇā* (of the same caste) wife enjoyed the highest position in social and religious functions (*supra* p. 424).

Of the different forms of marriage the *Brāhma* seems to have been the most popular with the Brāhmaṇas, the last four forms being rare but not quite unknown to them.[118] The procedure of this *Brāhma* form, as followed by the *Sāmavedins*, has been given by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva in his *Karmānushṭhāna-paddhati*.[119] According to Bhavadeva the marriage rites began with *Jñāti-karman* (or preliminaries done by the bride's blood relations on her father's side) in which the bride's body was besmeared with a mixture of powders of *masūra, yava* and *māsha* by her father's *sapiṇḍa* or *suhṛit*, and she was bathed with the water poured on her head and profusely on her lap, with the citation of relevant Vedic *mantras*. Then the guardian (*sampradātā*) of the bride was to receive the bridegroom, honour him with *pādya, arghya, āchamanīya*, scented flowers, clothes, sacred thread, finger-ring *etc.*, and intimate his intention of giving his ward in marriage to him. The bridegroom having given his consent, *mukha-chandrikā* followed. A cow was tied on the northern side of the marriage-pandal, and *vishṭaras* (*i.e.* seats made with *kuśas* in a particular manner) and other requisite articles were placed in their proper places. The *sampradātā* stood with his face towards the west, and the bridegroom sat on a seat with his face towards the east. The *sampradātā* then offered to the bridegroom two *vishṭaras*, a vessel containing water (*i.e.*, *pādya*), *arghya* (consisting of *akshata* and twigs of *durvā* grass—all placed on a dish made of conch-shell or some other material), *āchmanīya* (*i.e.*, water for sipping), and *madhu-parka* (*i.e.*, a mixture of *ghee*, curd and honey). The bridegroom duly received all these things, and after sipping water, he besmeared his right palm with auspicious herbs and placed on it the right hand of the bride. Then either a woman, who was fortunate and whose husband and sons were living, or a Brāhmaṇa tied these two hands with *kuśa* along with a fruit after performing certain auspicious rites (according to custom). Next followed the 'giving of the girl to the bridegroom' (*kanyā-sampradāna*) after adorning her properly ; the offer of dowries,[120] —a pair of cows, food, water, beds, a maid-servant and five kinds of grains ; the tying of the ends of the bride's and bridegroom's clothes

by a Brahmin woman whose husband and sons were living, with the performance of various auspicious customary rites ; the guardian's untying the knot made with *kuśa* ; and his removal of the piece of cloth so that the bride and the bridegroom might see each other's face. The barber, who stood near the marriage-pandal, exclaimed 'a cow, a cow,' and the bridegroom cited a *mantra*. The barber then let loose the cow. Next the bridegroom performed *kuśaṇḍikā* in front of the main house. A friend of the bridegroom covered his body with clothes, took a pitcher full of water collected from a water-reservoir which never dried up, went to the south of the fire by the east, and stood there silently with his face towards the north. Another friend of the bridegroom took a doll in his hand, went in the same way to the south of the fire, and stood there on the east of the former friend. On the western side of the fire, some mixture of fried grain (*lāja*) and *samī*-leaves were to be placed on a winnowing-basket ; and near it a flat piece of stone, furnished with a smaller piece (*saputra śilā*), and a mat, made of *vīraṇa*-leaves and surrounded by a piece of cloth (*paṭa-veshṭita*), were placed. The bridegroom then entered the house, made the bride put on two pieces of defectless cloth (the *uttarīya* or upper garment being a substitute for the *yajñopavīta*), painted her forehead with a mark of vermilion, and brought her to the side of the fire. The bride first touched a side of the mat with her right foot and then sat on its eastern part to the south of her husband. She touched the right shoulder of her husband with her right hand ; the bridegroom offered oblations six times into the fire, and then performed the *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa*. Next came the bride's *śilākrāmaṇa* (*i.e.*, *the* placing of her foot on a flat piece of stone furnished with a smaller piece), *Lāja-homa* (performance of *homa* with fried grains for a specified number of times). *Agni-pradakshiṇa* (going round the fire with the bridegroom), and *Saptapadī-gamana* (taking seven steps in seven small circles along with the bridegroom). After these functions were over, the bridegroom's friend, who held the pitcher full of water, came forward and bathed the bridegroom and the bride. The bridegroom then muttered six *mantras* after taking the bride's hands into his, came to the fire with the bride, performed the *homas* and gave fees to the priest. The bridegroom next kindled a fire called *Yojaka*, performed *kuśaṇḍikā*, and remained there until the stars were visible (in case the marriage took place in day time). When the stars became visible, he stretched

a dry red-furred hide of a bull, seated the bride on the side furnished with fur, performed the *Mahāvyāhṛiti-homa*, and offered oblations of *ghee* six times into the fire. He then showed the *Dhruva* and *Arundhatī* stars to the bride, and the bride saluted the bridegroom. Then in accordance with the local custom, women, who had their husbands living, placed the bride and the bridegroom on the altar, bathed them with water sanctified with mango-twigs, and peformed other auspicious rites. The bridegroom then entered the house, took rice mixed with *ghee* (*havishyānna*) but without salt, and gave the remnants of his food to the bride. For three consecutive nights the newly married couple were to live on food taken without salt, abstain from all kinds of sexual enjoyment, and sleep on the ground on a bed furnished with *kuśa*. The bride was then seated in a cart made of *kiṁśuka*, *śālmalī* or some other wood, and led to the bridegroom's house.[121] On the way, all the cross-ways (*chatushpatha*) were invoked (for allaying the impediments of the journey). When the bridegroom's house was reached, the bride was taken down and led into the house. Brahmin women, whose sons and husbands were living, performed various auspicious popular rites and then seated the bride on a red bull's hide. They placed a beautiful Brahmin boy on her lap and gave a white-lotus-bulb or some fruits in his hand. The bridegroom then kindled a fire named *Dhṛiti*, performed *kuśaṇḍikā* and the *homas*, and made the bride bow down to her father-in law and others.[122]

On the fourth day from the date of marriage, the *Chaturthī-homa* was performed. The wife took her seat on the southern side of the sacred fire, where a vessel of water furnished with *kuśa* was also placed. The husband offered oblations twenty times into the fire with the mention of the *mantras* of Agni, Vāyu, Chandra and Sūrya—severally and collectively, and each time the ladle, with the remaining *ghee* sticking to it, was dipped into the water. The wife was then taken to the northern side of the fire and bathed with this water.

From the descriptions of the Vedic rites and sacraments given above, it is evident that the contributions of local customs, family traditions, and superstitions, especially of women, to the procedures of these rites and sacraments were not at all negligible. But in this there was nothing peculiar to Bengal. For, in connexion with marriage, the *Aśvalāyana-Gṛihya-sūtra* (1, 7, 1-2) says : "Various indeed are the observances of the (different) countries and villages ;

and one should follow those in marriages...." ; and the *Āpastamba-Gṛihya-sūtra* (2, 15) declares : "People should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be observed according to custom)." Various festivities and amusements were held in connection with the marriage ceremony, and the procession of the bridegroom to the bride's house was accompanied by music.[123]

Besides the Vedic rites and sacraments mentioned above there were other ceremonies which were regularly performed, and many of them served as occasions of mirth and festivities to the people of Bengal. As typical examples, the worship of Durgā in her different forms, and of Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Indra, Sūrya, Manasā[124] and Kāma or Madana (Cupid), the spring festival *Holākā* (the present *Holi*), the *Sukha-rātri-vrata*, the *Dyūta-pratipad*, the *Pāshāṇa-chaturdaśī etc.* may be mentioned. Regarding the merry-makings of the people on the occasion of worship of Durgā and her other forms, Sandhyākara Nandī says in his *Rāmacharita* that Varendrī became 'full of festivities on account of the excellent worship of the goddess Umā.'[125] In the autumnal worship of Durgā, a peculiar kind of merry-making, called *śāvarotsava*, was observed by the people on the *Daśamī tithi*.[126] During this merry-making, those taking part in it had to cover their bodies with leaves *etc.* and besmear themselves with mud and other things to resemble the Śavaras. They had to jump and dance at random, sing, and beat drums incoherently. A couple of verses occurring both in the *Kālikā* Purāṇa and the *Kāla-viveka* show that the programme of this *Śāvarotsava* included not only topics on, and songs about, sexual intercourse, but also the requisite movements of the body, and that the violation of this practice incurred the rage and curse of Bhagavatī.[127] The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa (II, VI, 81-83) introduces certain restrictions in this merry-making, saying :

"People should not utter before others words which are expressive of the male and female organs *etc.* ; they should utter these during the great worship (of the goddess Durgā) in the month of Āśvina. But (even on that occasion) they should never pronounce (such words) before their mothers or daughters or those female disciples who have not been initiated to Śakti-worship."

But it supports by arguments, which cannot be reproduced without using indecent language, that "one, who is worthy of worshipping her, should utter (such expressions) with a view to creating her pleasure."

The use of objectionable expressions was not peculiar to *Durgā-pūjā* only. In the *Kāma-mahotsava* also, the people used such objectionable expressions (*jugupsit-okti*) to the accompaniment of music, because they believed that by such practices Kāma was pleased to confer wealth and progeny on the worshippers.[128] It should be metioned here that this *Kāma-mahotsava*, or the great festival of the Cupid, was celebrated in the month of Chaitra. The worship of Indra, called *Śakrotthāna*,[129] consisted in erecting a flagstaff dedicated to the god, and the ceremony was attended by kings, citizens, ministers and Brāhmaṇs in festive dress. The most important spring festival of the people of the east was the *Holākā* [130] which must have been greatly enjoyed by all people without distinction of caste or sex. In the *Sukha-rātri-vrata* (the vow of a happy night) which was performed in the month of Kārtika, the poor were fed in the evening, and people, whether mutually related or not, were to greet one another with sweet words in the morning following the *Sukha-rātri* (happy night).[131] In the *Pāshāṇa-chaturdaśī*, which was observed in the month of Agrahāyaṇa, big cakes were eaten at night.[132] More interesting was the festival called *Dyūta-pratipad* which was observed on the *śukla-pratipad* in the month of Kārtika.[133] In this festival the morning was spent in playing dice or gambling, because people believed that success in the game indicated a happy year. They then put on ornaments, smeared their bodies with scents, attended to vocal as well as instrumental music, and dined in the company of intimate friends. At night they decorated their beds and bed-rooms, and enjoyed the company of women they loved. On this occasion, they also gave new clothes to their friends and relatives as well as to Brahmins. In the *Kojāgara* also, which was observed on the full-moon day of Āśvina, the night was passed in playing dice, and friends and relatives were gratified with food consisting chiefly of pressed rice (called *chipiṭaka*) and preparations of cocoanuts.[134] In the *Bhrātṛī-dvitīyā* which was celebrated in the month of Kārtika, sisters fed their brothers who, in their turn, gave ornaments, clothes, *etc.* to their sisters.[135] There are many other rites, ceremonies and festivals, referred to in *Kāla-viveka*, with which we are familiar today, such as *Dīpānvitā*, (illumination of houses) and *Ākāśa-pradīpa* (burning a lamp high in the sky) in the month of Kārtika, *Janmāshṭamī*, *Akshaya-tṛitīyā*, *Aśokāshṭamī*, *Agastya-arghya*, holy bathing in the Ganges (known as *Daśaharā*) and in the Brahmaputra (known as *Ashṭamī-snāna*),

bathing on the *Māghī Saptamī* day, *etc.* There are also long lists of food and action forbidden on particular *tithis* ; and the proper days for fasting and appropriate time for study, pilgrimage, journey, *etc.* are laid down with punctilious care.[136] Detailed regulations were also laid down for the disposal of dead bodies and a short account of the funeral rites is given in Appendix III. In short, life was subjected to a series of injunctions and prohibitions, controlling even the minutest details of daily life to an extent which it is difficult for us to realise. How far all these were actually observed in practice it is, of course, difficult to say. But a perusal of the Smṛiti literature in Bengal presents a picture of life tightly bound within a narrow framework of Śāstric rules. On the other hand, the rites and festivals mentioned above must have made family and social life highly enjoyable, and afforded opportunities to people to come into close and intimate touch with one another.

VI. Life of the People

Sufficient data are not available for reconstructing a comprehensive picture of the life lived by people in ancient Bengal. All that we can do is to throw some light on its important phases with the help of foreign accounts, sculpture, literature and inscriptions. The literary works of Bengal, which supply most of the particulars, belong to the twelfth century A.D. with the single exception of the *Charyā-padas*,[137] which were probably one or two centuries earlier. On account of the paucity of data no attempt has been made to trace the evolution of social life, according to distinct chronological periods. The sources of information range between the fourth and twelfth century A.D. and the picture drawn in the following pages may be regarded as broadly true of this period.

1. General nature

The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang has recorded a few general observations on the nature of the people in different parts of Bengal visited by him. The people of Samataṭa, according to him, were "hardy by nature," and those of Tāmralipti, both "hardy and brave." The manners of the people of Karṇasuvarṇa were "honest and amiable," but those of Tāmralipti, "quick and hasty." An excessive

love of learning and earnest application to it characterised the people of Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa and Karṇasuvarṇa.[138] I-tsing's testimony to the high moral standard of the Buddhists of a *vihāra* in Tāmralipti will be referred to later. [138a]

Fondness for learning, to which Hiuen Tsang bears testimony, and which characterises the people of Bengal even today, induced them to visit distant parts of India, even as far as Kashmir, for study. But they were not always noted for good behaviour. In his satirical poem *Daśopadeśa*, Kshemendra observes that the students of Gauḍa who came to Kashmir with frail bodies which seemed to break even at the touch of people, soon acquired overbearing manners under the bracing climate of this country, so much so that they refused to pay the shop-keepers and drew out knife at the slightest provocation. This aspect of the Bengali character is also emphasised by the remark of Vijñāneśvara that the people of Gauḍa were quarrelsome.[139] The Brāhmaṇical writers of Bengal always insisted on a high moral standard of the people. They decried all kinds of vices and sensualities, and the killing of Brāhmaṇas, drinking of wine, theft and adultery were regarded as heinous crimes for which the heaviest penalties and expiations were prescribed.[140] At the same time they encouraged the culture of all kinds of virtue such as truth, charity, purity, kindness and continence.

2. *Position of women*

We know from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* that the women of Gauḍa had the reputation of being soft and timid, sweet-speaking and graceful.[141] It appears from Dhoyī's description (in *Pavana-dūta*)[142] of the women of Vijayapura, the capital city of Lakshmaṇa-sena, that the Purdha system was not much in vogue. But certain remarks of Vātsyāyana indicate that the women of the royal harem of Vaṅga were not accustomed to move out freely, and spoke with outsiders from behind a curtain.[143] Women were educated, and probably many of them were literate.[144] In ancient Bengal, as in the rest of India, a woman had hardly any independent legal or social status, except as a member of the family of her father and husband. The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa (11. 8 1-2), representing the state of things at the very end of the Hindu period, repeats the old dictum that the duty of a wife is to serve her husband and not to forsake her under any circumstances—she must not fast or perform

any Vrata without his permission. It is interesting to note, however, that the great Bengal jurist Jīmūtavāhana asserts the right of a widow to inherit her husband's entire property in the absence of any male issue. Jīmūtavāhana notes the conflicting views on this subject, and refutes in an elaborate argument the opinion of those who held that the brother and other relations of the deceased should have preference over his widow, or that the latter would be entitled only to maintenance. He adds, however, that the widow shall have no right to the sale, mortgage, or gift of the property, and her enjoyment should be consistent with the life of a chaste widow, solely devoted to the memory of her husband. She should live in her husband's family with his parents, abstain from luxury (such as wearing fine clothes), and spend just enough to keep herself alive in order that she might do all acts and rites beneficial to her dead husband. Besides, she had to be fully subservient to her husband's family, even in respect of the disposal of her property. In the absence of any male relation of husband, down to a *sapiṇḍa*, she must live under the guardianship of her father's family.

Women enjoyed few legal rights and privileges even in respect of their person and property, and had to rely mostly upon the natural instinct of love, affection and sense of duty possessed by their husbands, sons and other relatives. The prevalence of polygamy must have made their lives at home somewhat irksome. In spite of strong insistence of physical chastity of women, contemporary evidence indicates that there was a certain amount of laxity in this respect.[145] Mention may, however, be made in this connection of one redeeming feature in society which offers a striking contrast to modern ideas. It is laid down in the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa[146] that a woman, forcibly ravished against her will, is not degraded or excommunicated thereby, but becomes pure on performing a penance (*prāyaśchitta*).

Married women sometimes helped their husbands by earning money by means of spinning, weaving or some other mechanical art.[147] Sometimes employers offered bribes to the wives of labourers in order to induce them to send their husbands or some other members of their families to work.[148] After the death of their husbands the wives had to live in complete chastity and to avoid all kinds of luxury and exciting food such as meat, fish, *etc.*[149] The position of the widows in society was not at all enviable. They were often looked upon as inauspicious, and were very seldom allowed to take part in the different rites and ceremonies. They seem to have been

encouraged by the people to immolate themselves in the funeral pyres of their husbands. The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa (II. 8. 8-10) says :

"A devoted wife should follow her husband in death. By doing so she saves him from great sins. Oh twice-born ! there is no greater exploit for women, because (by this) she enjoys in heaven the company of her husband for a *manvantara*. Even when a widow dies by entering into fire with a favourite thing of her husband, who died long ago, and with her mind absorbed in him, she attains the same state (as mentioned above)."

So, it appears that the custom of the burning of *Satī* came into vogue in Bengal from fairly early times.

3. *Food and Drink*

Rice, fish, meat, fruits, vegetables and milk (in various forms) constituted the chief articles of diet. Fish and meat were not usually eaten by Brāhmaṇas outside Bengal, but the practice was so common in Bengal that Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa had to defend it by a lengthy argument. He quotes the opinion of previous authorities like Chhāgaleya, Yājñavalkya, Manu and Vyāsa, and observes :

"All this (prohibition) is meant for the prohibited (days) like Chaturdaśī *etc*....so it is understood that there is no crime (*dosha*) in eating fish and meat."[150]

As regards fish the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa (II. 5. 44-46) recommends that a Brāhmaṇa should eat *rohita*, *sakula*, *śaphara* and other fishes which are white and have scales. It was due to this consumption of fish by all classes of people in Bengal, that Śrīnāthāchārya also allowed the people to eat fish and meat except on some *pārvaṇ* days enumerated in two verses of the *Vishṇu* Purāṇa which he quoted.[151] Jīmūtavāhana's inclusion of the fat (*taila*) of *illisa* (Hilsa) fish[152] among the different kinds of vegetable and animal fat tends to show that this fish was largely consumed in Bengal, and the people used its fat for various purposes. But the people, especially the Brāhmaṇas, were not allowed to take any kind of fish they liked. They had to avoid those fishes which had ugly forms, or had heads like snakes, or lived in holes.[153] Though people were asked to avoid rotten fish,[154] some of them took dried fish. Sarvānanda says in his *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* that the people of Vaṅgāla were fond of taking dried fish.[155] Among the different species of fish relished by the Bengalis we find mention of madgur, rohit, śakula (śaul),

śṛiṅgī (śiṅgi), śafara (puṇṭhi), mauli (mauralā), moini, nalamīna (shrimp), crabs (kāṅkrā) and timi. The last is mentioned by Sarvānanda. All these were caught both by hook (baḍish) and net.

As regards meat the flesh of goat, lamb, deer, pigeon, and hare seem to have been very popular.[156]

Among the animals whose flesh was not recommended to the people by the Smriti works, were snails, crabs, fowls (both domestic and wild), cranes, ducks, *dātyūha* birds, camels, boars, cows, *etc.* Among the five-nailed animals, the *godhā*, the porcupine and tortoise might be eaten.[157] But in no case was the taking of raw or dried meat permissible.[158] Among vegetables, mushrooms, onions, garlics *etc.* were always to be avoided.[159] Betels were taken with guvāka, khadira lime and *karpūra* (camphor).[160]

Various preparations of milk (of cows, she-goats and she-buffaloes), such as are regarded as delicious even today (ghṛita, mākhan, chhānā and kshīra, as well as pāyas and maṇḍā or sweet-meats) were very popular items of diet, but Bhavadeva prohibits various kinds of milk, chiefly on hygienic grounds.[161]

We find a long list of fruits such as mango, jackfruit, cocoanut, vilva, badari, orange, piyāla, pomegranate, melon, cucumber, lemon, palmyra, kapittha (kayet-bel), drākshā, āmalaka, lakucha, plantain, śṛiṅgāṭaka (pāṇiphal) lavali, lakucha, kaśeru, jambu, kharjura and udumbara. The juice of palmyra and sugarcane was regarded as very delicious and they were cultivated in plenty.

There is also a long list of vegetables such as paṭola, vārtāku, kushmāṇḍa, alābu, mūlaka (radish), kārkoṭaka (kānkrol), māsaka (barbaṭi), tintiri, etc.

Among pot-herbs are mentioned, mustard, vetrāgra, kachu sunisannaka (śuśni), kalambikā (kalmi), haridrā, nimba, hilamochikā (helañcha), etc. Among spices, we find pepper (marīch and pippalī), lavaṅga, jiraka, elā (cardamum), saffron, ginger, camphor, nutmeg, hiṅgu, and ajamodā (rāndhuni). Rice and pulses (mudga, masura, chaṇaka, kalaya, aḍhaka or arahar and māsa-kalāi), and to a certain extent, yava, but not wheat, formed the staple food along with the two well-known preparations of rice, chipiṭaka (chiḍā) and khai.[162]

As regards intoxicating drink those in common use were spirituous liquor made by distillation of rice, molasses, flour and honey. But there were many other kinds of wine. The early *Charyāpadas* refer to drinking at liquor shops where Śauṇḍika's wife

sold the liquor after fermenting it by means of the fine powder of the root of a tree.[163] Reference to Madhuka (Mahuā) and Palmyra tree probably also indicate preparation of intoxicating drink from their juice.

Bhavadeva vehemently disapproves the taking of intoxicating drinks by the people, be they twice-born or not.[164] But to what extent it stopped this evil practice it is difficult to say. The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa (II. 6, 98) says : "In times forbidden by the scriptures, a Brāhmaṇa should not worship Śiva with gold, blood, wine, human sacrifice, fish and meat," thus indicating that wine was used by the Tāntric Devī-worshippers.

As mentioned above (see p. 358) Śrīharsha, the author of the *Naishadhacharita*, was most probably a Bengali, and this Kāvya refers to a number of customs peculiar to Bengal. The menu of the marriage-feast of Damayantī may, therefore, give us some idea of a rich banquet of Bengal. It consisted of a large number of vegetable and fish curries, cooked meats of mutton and deer, many kinds of sweet cakes and fragrant drinks, and the dinner was followed by chewing of betel leaves. An ordinary householder was quite satisfied with "boiled husked rice, boiled or fried tender leaves of sarshapa (sarshapa-śākam), somewhat liquid curd (*pichchhilāni cha dadhīni*), and some cheap sweets (*alpa-vyayena mishṭam*)". The *Prākṛita-paiṅgala*, a text composed about 1400 A.D., refers to a happy middle class householder whose wife serves, on a piece of cleanly washed leaf of a plantain tree, his daily food consisting of "warm boiled rice with its boiled juice or gruel (*oggarā bhattā*), some quantity of clarified butter prepared from cow's milk (*gāika-ghittā*), some milk, properly boiled, duly cooked small fish (*moili or moini machchhā*) and a quantity of pot-herbs called nālitā (pāṭ-śāka).[165]

The above description of food shows how little the diet of Bengalis has changed since ancient times. Similarly we may trace the continuity of some of their habits about food. More than two thousand years ago Megasthenes noted, presumably from his experience of the people of Bihar where he lived, that "they have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined."[166] Since this habit continues even today it may be presumed that the Bengalis have persisted in the habit of their ancestors who must have come from Bihar in large number for centuries after the time of Megasthenes.

The Chinese monk I-tsing who stayed in Tāmralipti towards

the end of the seventh century A.D. once proposed to invite some priests, but was told that "it was the old custom to prepare abundant food, and people would smile if the food supplied be only just sufficient to satisfy the stomach."[167] The tradition in Bengal, before the scarcity of food in very recent times, has been that so much should be given to each guest that he must leave a sufficient quantity on his plate.

As regards the order of taking different items of food, the following direction is given in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa : "At first rice mixed with ghee, then vegetables, next soup etc., and at last rice mixed with milk should be taken. Salt must not be mixed with milk, nor molasses with sour things."[168]

This is strictly observed by the Bengalis even today, with the probable exception of the last. But far different was the case in other parts of India. Thus according to a verse in the *Vishṇu* Purāṇa quoted by Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva*"[169] one should begin with sweet, then partake of objects with saline and sour taste, and end with things of pungent and bitter taste." This is more or less followed by the people of Gujarat even today.

4. *Dress and Ornaments*

Literary evidence indicates that men and women in ancient Bengal generally wore a single piece of cloth as under-garment, and occasionally also an upper garment (*uttarīya* and *oḍṇā*). They also used various ornaments such as ring, ear-ring or ear-pendants (*kuṇḍala*), necklace (*hāra*) armlet (*keyūra*) and bracelet (*valaya*), that made of conch-shell (*śaṅkha-valaya*) being a speciality for women. Reference has been made above (pp. 341-3) to costly garments and jewellery.

A more precise idea of the dresses and ornaments and the mode of wearing them may be formed by a study of the sculptures, chiefly those of Pāhārpur.

Men wore *dhoti* which was generally shorter and narrower than that worn by the Bengalis of the present day (see illustrations). Ordinarily it hardly reached below the knee, and in many cases it was even shorter than that. The cases where the *dhoti* reached up to the ankle may be regarded as exceptional. The usual mode of wearing the *dhoti* was different from the present fashionable mode. The central part of the *dhoti* having covered the lower part of the body below the navel, both the ends of the cloth were drawn in

and tucked up behind. It was held tight round the waist by a girdle, consisting of three or more bands, fastened together by means of a knob in the centre, just below the navel. Sometimes only the left end of the *dhoti* was tucked up behind, and the right end was allowed to hang in graceful folds in front. This mode of wearing *dhoti* exposes the contour of the legs as the cloth fits them closely, and the folds are often marked by incisions both vertical and horizontal.

The women also wore *śāḍīs* in the same way, though they were much longer and generally reached the ankle. This mode appears, however, to have come into fashion during the Pāla period, for in earlier sculptures at Pāhārpur, the *śāḍīs* went round the lower part of the body, one end falling vertically behind the left leg in graceful folds.[170] This resembles the way in which modern Bengali ladies put on *śāḍī* to cover the lower part of the body. In ancient Bengal the *śāḍī*, like the *dhoti*, never covered the upper part of the body which generally remained exposed, though sometimes it was partially covered by a long narrow scarf (*uttarīya* or *oḍṇā*). [171] In addition, in the cases of women, the breast was occasionally covered by a *chauli* or *stanapaṭṭa*, and in a few cases by a bodice.[172] which covered the body above the navel and a portion of upper arm. The *śāḍīs* of the women and even the *dhoti* of the men were embroidered with various designs, composed of lines or floral and ornamental devices of various patterns.

The above may be regarded as the normal dress. There must have been special dresses for special occasion, and Jīmūtavāhana refers to the dress for assemblies.[173] Although we have no definite idea of such a dress, some exceptional modes of dress are represented in the sculptures. Sometimes men dressed in something like short or *lengaṭs* which covered only a small portion of the thigh, and women in a close-fitting tunic or *pyjama* reaching up to the ankle.[174] This was undoubtedly the case with the dancing girls who wore in addition a long *oḍṇā*, which was loosely thrown over the shoulder behind the head and passed under the arms so that its ends fluttered during a dance.[175] The scanty *lengṭi*[176] worn by an ascetic as well as by a drummer (?) is curious : so are the short dresses put on by warriors.[177]

The dress and ornaments of the boy Kṛishṇa in Pāhārpur reliefs [78] probably represent those generally used by the children. The chief points of interest are the three tufts of hair on the crown, called *kāka-paksha* in literature, the torque with medallions round

the neck which is in use even today, and the upper scarf tied round the middle of the body between the chest and the abdomen. The lower garment consisted either of a short *dhoti* or shorts.

The ornaments worn by men and women, like their dresses, were very similar. The many amorous couples in Pāhārpur reliefs have each large ear-pendants, two lines of necklaces,[179] armlets, bracelets, elaborate girdles and anklet. These may be regarded as the ornaments generally used. Sometimes a woman put on too many bracelets like the up-country ladies.[180]

Neither men nor women used any covering for the head, but the sculptures of Pāhārpur show that they elaborately dressed their hair.

"Men wore their hair long with thick tresses falling on the shoulder, tied a knot on the top and had curls or ringlets on the forehead kept in place by a neat fillet. Women had their hair gathered in a bunch at the back or arranged it fan-wise behind the head."[181]

The ascetics had their braided hair arrnged in two piles one above the other.[182]

The literary evidence indicates that men used leather shoes and wooden foot-wears, and carried umbrellas and bamboo-sticks.[183] No figure in Pāhārpur sculptures, except warriors, is, however, represented with any footwear, and it was probably not in common use. It appears, however, that the warriors were also often without shoes.[184] The umbrella is represented in sculptures.

Married women painted their forehead with a mark of vermilion, a custom that prevails even today. They also reddened their lower lips with vermilion, used saffron as a cosmetic, and painted their feet with lac.[185]

As regards furniture we know little of the different articles in use. The bedstead, mirror, and lock with key are referred to in early *Charyā-padas*.[186] Various kinds of household furniture, made of gold with fine artistic designs, are mentioned in *Rāmacharita* (III. 33-34). Terracotta toys, bedsteads, flower-stands, caskets, and domestic utensils such as bowls, vases and pitchers, of which there are large number of varieties, and earthenware of all kinds and of various types are represented in sculptures.[187]

5. *Games and Pastimes*

Among the indoor games dice and chess seem to have been very popular. The first was current in India since the earliest Vedic

period and formed a part of certain religious ceremonies in Bengal (*v. supra* p. 453). We do not know for certain when the second came into use, but as details of the chess, such as sixty-four squares on a piece of cloth, and the pieces known as *rājā*, *mantrī*, *gaja* and *vaḍiā* are referred to in early *Charyā-padas*, the game must have been well-known before the tenth century A.D.[188]

The *Charyā-padas* refer to music, both vocal and instrumental, dancing and theatrical performances. They also mention *vīṇā* (lyre) with thirty-two strings which was constructed and played upon as in modern times.[189] Each region had probably some specialities in these matters, and the *Rāmacharita* (III. 29) refers to various kinds of tabor (*muraja*) 'which were specially practised in Varendrī.' Music and dancing were cultivated as high classes of arts by both men and women, and specially by the public women and *devadāsīs* in temples who strictly followed the directions given in Bharata's *Nāṭyasūtra* and other texts on the subject.[190] There are frequent references in literature[191] and inscriptions[192] to music and dancing and several representations at Pāhārpur,[193] of men and girls in the dancing posture, and musicians playing upon cymbals, gong, lyre and even earthen pots, and holding drum and lute.

Among outdoor pastimes of women may be mentioned gardening and water-sports.[194] Men favoured wrestling and acrobatics.[195]

6. *Conveyances*

The conveyances in ancient Bengal consisted of bullock cart,[196] horse, carriage,[197] elephants and boats. The bullock cart was used even for bridal procession (*v. supra* p. 451) and its shape did not materially vary from the modern type. Horses, carriages and elephants were obviously meant for the rich and the aristocrat. Commenting on the injunctions of Manu and Vishṇu that clothes, vehicles, *etc.* were not liable to partition, Jīmūtavāhana explains vehicles as "carriages or horses and the like,"[198] indicating that these two were the usual vehicles of the well-to-do classes in Bengal.[199]

Elephants, both as a fighting element and an aristocratic conveyance, were known in Bengal from a very early period.[200] The Bengali *Charyā-padas* refer to the capture of camels[201] by means of snares. A camel is represented in the Pāhārpur sculptures, and a rare image of a goddess riding a camel has been discovered in N. Bengal.[202]

In a country covered with a network of rivers, boats must have been the principal means of conveyance.[203] The early Bengali *Charyā-padas* frequently refer to boats, including sea-going vessels, and mention their component parts *viz.*, helms and oars, instrument for baling out water, ropes both for towing and fixing it to a wooden post on the land, sails, mast and wheels. For short journeys rafts were used. Ferry-boats were in use, and had to be paid for by means of *cowries*.[204]

7. *Luxury and Immorality*

Bengal was primarily a rural country and a beautiful description of its countryside is given in the *Rāmacharita*.[205] But even in ancient times there were a number of towns and important commercial centres which were abodes of wealth and luxury (*supra*, p. 340). The description of Rāmāvatī[206] and Vijayapura,[207] the capital cities of the Pālas and Senas, by two contemporary poets, in spite of obvious poetic exaggerations, gives us a vivid picture of the wealthy cities of ancient Bengal. Such towns contained wide roads and symmetrical rows of palatial buildings, towering high and surmounted by golden pitchers on the top. The temples, monasteries, public parks and large tanks, bordered by rockery and tall palm-trees, added to the beauty and amenities of town-life.

These towns, as in all ages and countries, were the homes of all shades of peoples ; the plain, simple, virtuous and religious, as well as the vicious and the luxurious. Luxuries were chiefly manifested in fine clothes, jewellery, palatial buildings, costly furniture, and sumptuous feasts. Abundant supply of food, far beyond the needs and even capacity of invited guests, was characteristic of these feasts in ancient, as in modern Bengal.[208]

Wealth, luxury and extravagance are hardly compatible with a strict code of morality. Evidences, both literary and epigraphic, testify to the immorality and sensual excesses in ancient Bengal. An idea of the moral laxity of the fashionable young men and women of Gauḍa may be formed from the vivid description of their amorous activities in *Kāmasūtra* (VI. 49) and *Pavana-dūta* (*v.* 42). The language of Dhoyī seems to imply that these were not merely tolerated but regarded as part of normal social life. The same conclusion follows from the very slight penalty imposed upon a Brāhmaṇa for illicit union with a Śūdra girl to which reference

has been made above (*supra*, p. 424). Courtesans were familiar, and presumably not unwelcome, features of city-life, for appreciative references are made to them not only in the *Pavana-dūta* and *Rāma-charita*, but also in official records of the Sena kings.[209] Vātsyāyana's references to the most disgraceful amorous intrigues of the members of the royal harem in Gauḍa and Vaṅga with Brāhmaṇas, officers, slaves, and servants,[210] seem to indicate that people outside Bengal held a very low opinion of the moral standard of her aristocratic class. Similarly, Bṛihaspati, describing the manners and customs of the people of different parts of India, remarks that the twice-born people of the east are fish-eaters and their women are notoriously immoral.[211]

The low standard of sexual morality was the cause of, or at least mainly responsible for, the growth of certain evil customs. The first was the general practice of keeping female slaves, referred to by Jīmūtavāhana, and these, as the commentator Maheśvara informs us, mean 'women kept for enjoyment'.[212]

The second was the system of dedicating girl (popularly known as *deva-dāsī*) for service in temples. Whatever might have been the primary nature and object of this very ancient institution in India, there is no doubt of its degradation in Bengal towards the close of the Hindu period. Contemporary records refer in rapturous terms to the personal beauty and charm of the hundred women whom Vijayasena and Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa assigned to the temples erected by them.[213] Dhoyī also refers to such women in a temple erected by the Sena king (Lakshmaṇasena ?) in Suhma.[214] That this practice was in vogue even in earlier periods is indicated by the reference in *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 421 ff.) to the courtesan Kamalā, who was a dancing girl in a temple in Puṇḍravardhana in the eighth century A.D. These girls were well versed in dance and music, and sometimes in other arts, and though dedicated to the service of gods, or associated with ceremonies in temples, were often no better than common courtesans.[215]. The long and detailed account of the very rich and accomplished courtesan Kamalā throws an interesting light on the lives of the higher classes of these women and the moral standard of society in those days.

It may be suggested that this low standard of sexual morality was an inevitable consequence of the Tāntric doctrines and the religious tenets and practices of the last phase of both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist religions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., to

which reference has been made above (*supra*, pp. 379-80). Whether these were the effects or causes of laxity in sexul morality in society it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty, but perhaps each reacted on the other. Certain it is that the literature of the Sena period and the religious texts and practices of the later phases of both Hinduism and Buddhism occasionally betray a degradation in ideas of decency and sexual morality which could not but seriously affect the healthy development of moral and social life.[216] It is obviously a dangerous ground to tread upon, in view of the religious susceptibilities of our people, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that religious influences were responsible to a large extent for the two great evils which were sapping the strength and vitality of society : the disintegrating and pernicious system of rigid caste-divisions with its elaborate code of purity and untouchability ; and the low standard of morality that governed the relations between men and women.

VII. A Nation in the Making

The people of ancient Bengal gradually became conscious and even proud of their distinct entity among the peoples of India. But apart from geographical contiguity, this consciousness was based upon linguistic rather than social or racial affinity. The feeling of nationality, based on a common language, is, however of recent growth, and could not have developed much in pre-Muslim period when the modern vernaculars had not yet taken shape, and were in the unformed and almost fluid state. The Vernacular literature, as we have seen above, was then in its infancy, and "without a literature there cannot be the pride in a language which is needed to make it one of the bases of nationalism in the modern sense of the term."[217] The facts known so far do not encourage the belief that there was enough social solidarity or cultural homogeneity to foster feeling of national unity in ancient Bengal. Socially and culturally, India, in ancient and mediaeval period, was divided horizontally rather than vertically, and a Brāhmaṇa of Bengal felt and consciously maintained greater affinity with a Brāhmaṇa of Upper India than with a member of lower caste in his own province. Besides, social solidarity was rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the evolution of the elaborate structure of caste, which made a permanent cleavage between the Brāhmaṇas

and the remaining elements of people, almost all of which were degraded to the level of Śūdras. Even the latter were divided into numerous isolated and rigid groups by the creation of innumerable castes and sub-castes to which detailed reference has been made above.

There remained, therefore, only two elements which might constitute a nation in Bengal, *viz.*, racial and geographical unity. As regards the first, we have already seen above that the main bulk of the people formed a homogeneous ethnic group. To what extent a full realisation of this was prevented by the social divisions we cannot say, but herein undoubtedly lay an important basis for a truly national feeling.

The geographical unity of Bengal, too, was not evidently fully realised in ancient times. No common name for the whole province was evolved,[218] although the number of old regional names was gradually being reduced. Even up to the very end of the Hindu rule, Gauḍa and Vaṅga denoted not only two distinct geographical divisions but, to a certain extent, also two political entities.

The absence of a common designation for the country or the people as a whole seems to show that in spite of the political unity for a long period under the Pālas, and for shorter periods under other dynasties, a united Bengali nation, as we understand it, had not yet probably come into existence, and there was a broad demarcation between Eastern and Western Bengal, traces of which persist even to-day.

But both the Gauḍas and the Vaṅgas had attained a definite status, and references in inscriptions and literature of other parts of India leave no doubt that they were recognised as two distinguished and important political units. Proud of their past history and achievements, and flourishing in a compact territory with well defined areas, they had each developed a national life which has left its impress even upon posterity. But signs were not wanting that these two component parts would, at no distant date, be welded together into a united nation.

The geographical contiguity, the community of language, and political unity were the forces at work which were destined to bring Gauḍa and Vaṅga closer together, and ultimately evolve a national life among the people who lived in the region later known as Bengal.

In the domain of art and literature they had already developed a common trait which characterised them as distinct from the rest of

India, and this may be regarded as the beginning of that cultural unity which helped the growth of national feeling. There were many other common elements in the culture and civilisation of Gauḍa and Vaṅga in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries which differentiated them from the rest of India, and imparted a distinct individuality to the Bengalis. Reference may be made, for example, to the evolution of Proto-Bengali dialect and alphabet, the special preference for the goddesses representing female energy culminating in the worship of Durgā as national festival, the growth of Tāntrism, the absence of any head-dress, the use of fish and meat as articles of food, and lastly, the peculiar laws of inheritance codified by Jīmūtavāhana which differed in essential respects from those in force in other parts of India. These characteristics were sure to stamp the Bengalis as a separate entity among the Indian peoples.

To sum up, so far as available evidence goes, we cannot say that there was a united Bengali nation by the end of the 12th century A.D., but everything indicates that such a nation was in the making.

APPENDIX I

THE KULAJI OR GENEALOGICAL LITERATURE

1. THE KULAJI TEXTS

There is an extensive literature in Bengal known as *Kulaji* or *Kula-śāstra*. It deals with the history of the Brāhmaṇas and some other principal castes in Bengal in a general way, and also gives a detailed genealogical account of the notable families belonging to the different castes. We are not concerned here with the latter, except in so far as it throws light on the former, and shall confine our discussion to the general account of the different castes preserved in the *Kulajis*. As might be expected, the *Kulajis*, treating of the Brāhmaṇas, form the major and more important part of this literature, and the rest, so far at least as the general history is concerned, forms an insignificant and almost a subsidiary part.

Certain preliminary remarks on the available *Kulaji* texts are necessary in order to estimate their value and historical importance. The more well-known Brāhmaṇa *Kulaji* texts are :—

1. *Mahāvaṁśāvalī* or *Miśra-grantha* by Dhruvānanda Miśra.
2. *Goshṭhi-kathā* by Nulo Pañchānana.
3. *Kularāma* by Vāchaspati Miśra.
4. *Vārendra-kula-pañjikā*, general name for a number of heterogeneous texts.
5. *Mela-paryāya-gaṇanā.*
6. *Kula-pradīpa* by Dhanañjaya.
7. *Kula-dīpikā* by Rāmānada Śarmā.
8. *Kula-chandrikā.*
9. *Sāgara-prakāśa.*
10. *Kulārṇava.*
11. *Nirdosha-kula-pañjikā* by Maheśa.
12. *Kārikā* by Hari Miśra.
13. *Kārikā* by Eḍu Miśra.
14. *Kula-tattvārṇava* by Sarvānanda Miśra.

Among these No. 1 is printed, and there are good grounds to refer its composition to the latter part of the fifteenth century A.D. The authors of Nos. 2 and 3 were certainly later, and have generally

been assumed to be junior contemporaries of Dhruvānanda, the author of No. 1, though there is no definite evidence in support of it. They may, therefore, be referred to the 16th or 17th century A.D.

Genuine manuscripts of texts Nos. 4 to 10 are difficult to obtain. Modern authors have quoted from these books without giving any account of the manuscripts used by them. No definite idea of their age can be formed and the authorship of some of them is in dispute. The author of No. 11 is said to be a contemporary of Lakshmaṇasena, but there is nothing to support this view, and to jndge from the MS. of the work in the Dacca University Library, it cannot be regarded as a very old work.

No texts of Nos. 12, 13 and 14 were known until recent times. N. Vasu, who possessed the only known copies of Nos. 12 and 13, and used the former as the main authority in his voluminous work *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa* ("Social History of Bengal"), proclaimed No. 13 to belong to the twelfth century A.D., and regarded No. 12 as next in date, but the most authentic genealogical work composed in the thirteenth century A.D. The manuscripts of both were, however, very carefully guarded by him, and in spite of repeated demands, both private and public, were never produced for inspection by scholars. The manuscript of No 12, however, was found along with others purchased by the Dacca University after his death, and even a casual inspection is enough to convince anybody that it has no claim to be regarded as either an ancient text or a work of Hari Miśra.[219] The foundation on which the huge superstructure of social history was constructed by N. Vasu has thus been considerably weakened, if not totally shattered.

No. 14 is printed, but no definite account is given of the manuscript on which it is based. There are very good grounds for the general belief that the book is a modern compilation, palmed on to an ancient author, with a view to improving the status of certain classes af Brāhmaṇas. Definite instances are known of deliberate interpolation, omission and distortion of passages in *Kulaji* texts in order to remove the social stigma of some families or provide others with a superior status. Indeed these motives are naturally so strong in human beings, and in the absence of old genuine MSS. or printed *Kulaji* texts, the means of achieving the ends comparatively is so easy, that there is nothing to be surprised at the fabrication of new texts and tampering with the old ones.

The facts stated above lead to the following general conclusions :

1. That there are no genuine and authentic *Kulaji* texts that can be dated before the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D.
2. That with one or two exceptions, the literature exists only in manuscripts, copies of which are difficult to secure.
3. That *Kulaji* texts have been tampered with in various ways, and there are good grounds to doubt the genuineness of many current texts which are attributed to ancient authors.

2. KING ĀDIŚŪRA AND ORIGIN OF BENGALI BRĀHMAṆAS AND KĀYASTHAS

There is one central theme in almost all the *Kulajis* which forms the pivot round which moves their entire conception of the social history of Bengal. It touches upon the origin of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas who form the bulk of the Brahmin community in Bengal. All the *Kulaji* texts maintain that they were descended from five Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal at the invitation of king Ādiśūra. The outline of the story is given below.

King Ādiśūra of Bengal requested the king of Kanauj (or Kolāñcha) to send him five Brāhmaṇas, versed in the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices, for there were no such Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. As the latter refused, Ādiśūra declared war against him. To win an easy victory he decided to send to the battle seven hundred Brāhmaṇas of Bengal, seated on bulls, for an orthodox Brāhmaṇa, like the king of Kanauj, full of devotion to cows and Brāhmaṇas, would not kill them. The Brāhmaṇas of Bengal at first refused to ride on bulls as it violated the injunctions of the *Śāstras*. But Ādiśūra promised to free them from guilt when they returned from their expedition. As expected, the king of Kanauj desisted from fighting these Brāhmaṇa soldiers, and sent the five Brāhmaṇas asked for by Ādiśūra. These five Brāhmaṇas, equipped with bows and arrows, came on horseback to Bengal, accompanied by five attendants. Ādiśūra did not show proper respect to them on account of their military dress, whereupon the Brāhmaṇas threw the flower and herbs, with which they wanted to bless Ādiśūra, on a stump of wood, which immediately blossomed into a living tree. Ādiśūra, deeply impressed by this, begged for their pardon and gave them a proper reception. The Brāhmaṇas performed a sacrifice

and returned to Kanauj. But their kinsmen at home treated them as degraded on account of journey to Bengal, and asked them to perform penances. Thereupon the five Brāhmaṇas, with their wives and servants returned to Bengal, and Ādiśūra granted them five villages to live in.

Such is the story in brief outline, but the details vary in the different *kulajis*. As regards Ādiśūra, different genealogies of his family are given in different texts ; he is referred to as the grandfather (mother's father) of Vallālasena in some, and that of a remote ancestor of Vallālasena in others. He is said to be the ruler of Bengal and Orissa, but some authorities add Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭa, Kerala, Kāmarūpa, Saurāshṭra, Magadha, Mālava and Gurjara to his dominions. Some say that the whole affair was peaceful, as Ādiśūra had married the daughter of the Kanauj king, while according to others he fought with him ; and his capital, where he received the Brāhmaṇas, is placed by some at Gauḍa, and by others at Vikramapura. The reasons why the five Brāhmaṇas were brought by him are variously stated. Six different authorities put forward names of different religious ceremonies for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas were requisitioned. According to a seventh account, the king of Kāśī (not Kanauj, as we have in the other texts), being asked by Ādiśūra to pay tribute refused to do so, and in reply tauntingly referred to Ādiśūra's dominions as bereft of Brāhmaṇas and Vedic sacrifices, whereupon Ādiśūra defeated him in a battle and brought the five Brāhmaṇas, The date of this event is also variously put down as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 854, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while three sets of names are given as those of the five Brāhmaṇas.

3. DIVISION OF THE BRĀMAṆAS INTO DIFFERENT SECTS

The seven hundred Brāhmaṇas who went to fight for Ādiśūra came to be known as Saptaśatī or Sātśatī. According to some they were descendants of Brāhmaṇas living on the bank of the Sarasvatī river, who were brought to Bengal by the Andhra king Śudraka for performing a sacrifice, and settled in this country which till then had no Brāhmaṇas. According to others, these were people of low castes, but were recognised as Brāhmaṇas by Ādiśūra as a reward for their services. According to a third version, Vallālasena got a

boon from the goddess Chaṇḍī that within two *praharas* (six hours) he could make anybody he liked to be a Brāhmaṇa, and the king thereupon created seven hundred Brāhmaṇas who came to be known as Saptaśatī (seven hundred).

Some genealogical texts hold that all the Brāhmaṇas in Bengal, other than the Saptaśatī, were descended from the five Brāhmaṇas, brought by king Ādisūra, and according to *Nirdosha-kula-pañjikā*, the five sons of one of the five Brāhmaṇas were the progenitors of Rāḍhīya, Vārendra and Vaidika Pāśchātya and Dākshiṇātya sections of Bengal Brāhmaṇas. Other texts, however, give different accounts of the origin of these sections and we may next proceed to consider them.

(*a*) *Rāḍhīya and Vārendra*

There is a general agreement among the *Kulajis* that all the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas were descended from the five Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūra. But there are two main versions of the events that led to their division into these two sections.

According to the version current among the Rāḍhīyas, the descendants of the five Brāhmaṇas, settled in Bengal by Ādiśūra, moved in the course of time to various parts, either on account of internal dissensions or under royal orders. Ultimately they were definitely classified by Vallālasena into Rāḍhīya or Vārendra according as they lived in Rāḍhā or Varendra at that time.

The version of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas is quite different. Ādiśūra, we are told, thought that if the Saptaśatī Brāhmaṇas of Rāḍhā gave their daughters in marriage to the five Brāhmaṇas settled in Gauḍa, the latter would have no inducement to return to Kanauj. The Saptaśatīs, under royal command, married their daughters to these Brāhmaṇas who thereupon lived in Rāḍhā. When they died, their sons (by previous marriages), who were still in Kanauj, performed their *Śrāddha* ceremony, but the other Brāhmaṇas refused to take part in it. Humiliated at this they came to Ādiśūra with their family. Not liking to live with their step-brothers in Rāḍhā they settled in Varendra, and came to be known as Vārendra, while the former were called Rāḍhīya.

(*b*) *Vaidika Brāhmaṇas*

Though small in number, the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas occupy an important position in Bengal, as the spiritual leaders (*guru*) of many Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇa families belong to this section.

The Vaidika Brāhmaṇas are divided into two classes, Dākshiṇātya and Pāśchātya. It is said that on account of Muhammadan invasions, the study of Vedas declined in Northern India, but continued to flourish in the South. Hence some Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas came from the South and were welcomed by the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. They settled here and came to be known as Dākshiṇātya Vaidika.

The origin of the Pāśchātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇas is described as follows in their *Kulajis* : Śyāmalavarman, king of Gauḍa, married the daughter of the king of Kānyakubja (or Kāśī, according to some version), and being desirous of performing some Vedic rites brought five Brāhmaṇas from his father-in-law's dominions, as there was no Veda-knowing Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. After the performance of the rites, these Brāhmaṇas were granted villages and settled in Bengal.

Nobody can fail to detect in the above the chief elements in the Ādiśūra story, and the parallelism extends even to the wide diversity of details in respect of each element. Thus we have different ancestries of Śyāmalavarman, different reasons for bringing the Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj or Kāśī, different names of the original Brāhmaṇas, the miracle of dead tree coming to life in similar circumstances, and lastly, the humiliation of the Brāhmaṇas on their return to Kanauj (or Kāśī) as the cause of their return and final settlement in Bengal. To make matters worse, opinions differ in this case even as to the number of the Brāhmaṇas who originally came to Bengal. On the other hand, there is a fair agreement about the date of the event, *viz.*, 1001 *Śaka* (=1079 A.D.) which enables us to identify the king in question with Sāmalavarman (*v. supra* p. 209)

It may be mentioned here that a different account of the origin of the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas, alleged to be written in 1582 Śaka (=1660 A.D.) by one Rāghavendra, has been quoted by N. Vasu. According to this the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas were originally settled on the Sarasvatī river. Having learnt by astrological calculations of

the impending invasions by the Yavanas, they dispersed in different directions, and one Gaṅgāgati came to Bengal and settled in Koṭālipāḍā. His patron was king Harivarman. Other Vaidika Brāhmaṇas followed Gaṅgāgati to Bengal and thus grew the Vaidika community.

(*c*) *Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas*

There is a class of Brāhmaṇas in Bengal known as Graha-vipra, who are said to have migrated from Śākadvīpa. There are two sections among them known as Rāḍhīya and Nadīyā Vaṅga Samāja.

According to *Śākala-dvīpikā*, a *Kulaji* of the Rāḍhīya class, as quoted by N. Vasu, there were eight sages in Śākadvīpa whose descendants made a special study of planets (*graha*) and were known as Graha-vipra. The mythical bird Garuḍa brought eight of them to India who settled in Madhyadeśa. Ten descendants of these eight came to Gauḍa and were known as Gauḍīya Graha-vipra. Judging from the number of generations mentioned in the *Kulajis*, the migration into Bengal appears to have taken place not more than five centuries ago.

According to *Kulajis* of Nadīyā Vaṅga Samāja, twelve Brāhmaṇas living on the bank of the Sarayū river were brought by king Śaśāṅka to Gauḍa in order to cure himself of a disease by offering sacrifices to the planets (*graha-yajña*). At the request of the king they settled in Gauḍa and were known as Graha-vipra. They were settled in Rāḍhā and Vaṅga and were divided into several sections according to their places of residence.

The *Kulajis* of the Vārendra Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas repeat the above account. It is probable, therefore, that the Vārendra and the Nadīyā Brāhmaṇas of the Graha-vipra class had a common origin.

(*d*) *Kulīnism*

According to the Rāḍhīya *Kulajis*, the descendants of the five Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūra numbered fifty-nine during the reign of his grandson Kshitiśūra. To each of them this king gave a village for residence, and hence originated the *gāṁi* of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas. In other words, each Brāhmaṇa and his descendants

were known by the name of the village in which they lived—which became their *gāṁi* (belonging to a village) and later developed into surname. For example, the residents of Mukhaṭi village had Mukhaṭi *gāṁi*, and had the surname *Mukhaṭi* or *Mukh-opādhyāya*, by the addition of *upādhyāya* (teacher) to the village name. The other well-known titles *Bandy-opādhyāya* and *Chaṭṭ-opādhyāya* originated in the same way. The Vārendra Brāhmṇas also had one hundred *gāṁis*. As usual, the *Kulajis* differ about the number of these *gāṁis* and their names. A list of all the *gāṁis* is given in App. II. King Dharāśūra, the son of Kshitiśūra, made further innovation by dividing the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of fifty-nine *gāmis* into three grades, *viz.*, Mukhya-kulīna, Gauṇa-kulīna and Śrotriya.

The Vārendra *Kulajis*, on the other hand, regard Vallālasena as the founder of Kulīnism. According to Vāchaspati Miśra, the king laid down nine virtues as the criterion, and assigned the rank of Kulīna to those Brāhmaṇas who possessed all of them. Those who possessed eight or seven of them were called, respectively, Siddha-śrotriya and Sādhya-śrotriya, and the remaining Brāhmaṇas were called Kashṭa-śrotriya.

There is, however, nothing in older *Kulajis* to indicate that Kulīnism was based on such a test. Various silly stories are told about the motive of Vallālasena in creating the Kulīnas, and the rough and ready method he adopted in selecting them. The *Kulajis* are, however, unanimous—rather a rare thing—that the rank of Kulīna was personal and the distinction was conferred on only 16 (or 19). Besides, Vallāla placed all these Kulīnas in the same grade and they could marry daughters of non-Kulīnas. It was Lakshmaṇa-sena who deviated from both these practices, and made the system a complex one, by introducing, among the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas, restrictions of marriage and classification of the Kulīnas into different grades according to their faithful observance of the marriage rules. This process of periodical classification is known as *samīkaraṇa*, the first two of which are said to have taken place during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, and the next four in that of Danujamādhava (*v. supra* p. 277). Dhruvānanda refers to 117 *samīkaraṇas* up to his time. Abstruse philosophical ideas were also introduced into the system of Kulīnism during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena. But there was still one saving grace. Kulīnism had not yet become a hereditary rank.

(e) *General Conclusion*

King Ādiśūra is the pivot round which the genealogical accounts move. No positive evidence has yet been obtained of his existence, but we have undoubted references to a Śūra family ruling in Western Bengal in the eleventh century (*v. supra* pp. 134, 148, 224). Ādiśūra may or may not be an historical person, but it is wrong to assert dogmatically that he was a myth, and to reject the whole testimony of the *Kulajis* on that ground alone.

On the other hand, if we consider the date and the unreliable nature of the modern *Kulaji* texts, we can hardly accept their accounts as historical without corroborative evidence. Such evidence is available in respect of the existence of *gāñi*[220] as well as of the broad divisions of the Brāhmaṇas into Rāḍhīyas and Vārendras,[221] and possibly also Vaidikas and Graha-vipras, in the Hindu period, as already noted above. Further, in several instances,[222] the genealogies of particular families as given in the *Kulajis* seem to be corroborated by literary and epigraphic evidence.

As against all these there is a volume of evidence of both positive and negative character, which discredits the story of the *Kulajis*. The account of the two great Brāhmaṇa families given in the Bādāl Pillar inscription (*supra* p. 111) and that of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (*supra* p. 210) prove the existence of Brāhmaṇas in Bengal in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.D. who, according to the *Kulajis*, must have been descended from the Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūra. This becomes impossible if Ādiśūra lived in the eleventh century A.D., as is rendered probable both by the dates supplied by most of the *Kulajis* and the fact that all the epigraphic evidences refer the royal Śūra family in Bengal to that century. On the other hand, if Ādiśūra lived at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., the earliest date assigned to him in the *Kulajis*, it is not a little surprising that the two families are not mentioned in the *Kulajis*, though the founder of one of them could not have been removed by more than one or two generations from the five Brāhmaṇas of Kanauj, or that these families do not refer to their exalted Kanauj origin. That the account of the origin of certain *gāñis*, as given in the *Kulajis*, is incompatible with what the author of *Chhāndoga-pariśishṭa-prakāśa* says of his own family, has been admitted by N. Vasu himself, the great champion of *Kulajis*. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda has demonstrated that the *Kulaji* account

of the Vārenda Brāhmaṇas and the orgin of the Karañja-*gāñi* was unknown up to the end of the fifteenth century A.D.[223] Besides, although we have references to a large number of Brāhmaṇas in the Sena land-grants of the period after Vallālasena, not one of them has been referred to as Kulīna. If the rank were really bestowed in consideration of personal merits on a very few, it is not a little surprising that eminent Brāhmaṇas like Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Vallāla's own *guru*, and Halāyudha, (and also Bhavadeva, his grandfather, and Kedāramiśra, assuming that Kulīnism was introduced in the ninth century by Ādiśūra's grandson), were not thought fit for an honour which was only reserved for persons whose names are not known outside the pages of the *Kulajis*.

But the most potent argument against the *Kulaji* story is that it involves the absurd assumption that while the descendants of five Brāhmaṇas multiplied to millions in course of less than thousand years, the large number of Brāhmaṇas, orginally settled in Bengal before the 8th century A.D., and the hosts of immigrants to whom reference is made in inscriptions (*supra* p. 427) practically vanished from the soil without leaving any trace.

While, therefore, we may freely admit that the *Kulajis* contain a kernel of historical truth about the social condition of the Brāhmaṇas in the closing centuries of the Hindu period, their story with all its details can by no means be regarded as of any historical value. The close similarity in the general theme, *viz.*, the origin of different classes of Brāhmaṇas from one or more individuals imported from outside by a king, bears on it the stamp of popular fancy, which is evident also in many other details.

The same conclusion may be drawn from the *Kulaji* accounts of the Vaidyas, Kāyasthas and other castes which belong to the same type as those of the Brāhmaṇas and cannot certainly be regarded as of greater historical value. Two of the well-known *Kulajis* of the Vaidyas, *viz.*, *Kavi-kaṇṭhahāra* by Rāmakānta and *Chandraprabhā* by Bharata Mallika are dated, respectively, in 1653 and 1675 A.D. No authentic *Kulaji* of the other castes of a prior date is known. The Vaidya *Kulajis* claim Ādiśūra and Vallālasena to be Vaidyas. This view is supported by some Brāhmaṇa *Kulajis*, but opposed by those of the Kāyasthas. The general view in all the *Kulajis* is that the five attendants of the five Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūra were the progenitors of the high-class Kāyasthas in Bengal. The Vaidyas and Kāyasthas (and some other castes) have also similar stories of

the origin of Kulīnism among them. How far these can be regarded as historical may be gathered from what has been said above about the *Kulajis* in general and the origin of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas in particular.

A consideration of all the available facts leads to the conclusion that the *Kulaji* story owes its origin to an attempt in the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D. to trace the beginnings of the social divisions which existed at that time to the early period to which the Hindus naturally looked back as their golden age. The attempt was a sign as well as a symptom of the national reawakening that we notice in other spheres of life among the Hindus in the fifteenth century, and may be compared, and regarded as a supplement, to the work of Raghunandana in respect of social usages, manners and customs.

The very poor knowledge that the Bengalis of the 15th and 16th centuries possessed about the political history of their country in pre-Muhammadan times[224] does not encourage the belief that they had any correct idea of the social history of the same period. Of course, some individual families might have preserved more or less genuine accounts of their ancestors reaching back to the Hindu period, but the accuracy of these could not be tested, and they would touch only incidentally upon the general history of society in old times. For a general view of the social history they had to rely partly on these family stories without discrimination, and partly on the current traditions about social and political history, readjusting the two and filling in the gaps by means of an imaginative reconstruction. This seems to be the genesis of the elaborate but varying accounts of the *Kulaji* literature discussed above.[225]

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that anthropometric tests are definitely against the view that the Brāhmaṇas or Kāyasthas of Bengal are descended from those of Kānyakubja.[226]

APPENDIX II

GĀM̐IS OF THE RĀḌHĪYA AND VĀRENDRA BRĀHMAṆAS

The *Kulajis* mention fifty-six *gām̐is* of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas and one hundred *gām̐is* of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas under five *gotras*.

RĀḌHĪYA GĀM̐IS

Śāṇḍilya *gotra* (16)—Vandyaghaṭī, Gaḍagaḍī, Keśarakunī, Kusumakulī, Pārihāla, Kulabhi, Ghoshalī, Seyu, Māsachaṭaka, Vaṭavyāla, Vasuyārī, Kayarāla, Kuśārī, Kulakuli, Ākāśa, Dīrghāṅgī.

Bharadvāja *gotra* (4)—Mukhaiṭī, Ḍiṇḍisāyī, Sāharika, Rāyī.

Kāśyapa *gotra* (16)—Guḍa, Amvulī, Bhūrigrāmī, Tailavāṭī, Koyārī, Parkkaṭī, Simalāyī, Poshalī, Palasāyī, Haḍa, Poḍāri, Pāladhī, Pītamunḍī, Chaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭagrāmī, Mūlagrāmī.

Sāvarṇa *gotra* (12)—Gāṅgulī, Kuṇḍa, Siddhala, Dāyī, Nandī, Vālī, Ghanṭeśvarī, Pālī, Puṁsika, Siyārī, Shāṇḍeśvarī, Nāyārī.

Vātsya *gotra* (11)—Mahintyā, Ghoshāla, Pūtituṇḍa, Pūrvagrāmī, Pippalāī, Chautkhaṇḍī, Kāñjilāla, Dīghala, Simbulāla, Kāñjārī, Vāpuli.[227]

VĀRENDRA GĀM̐IS

Śāṇḍilya *gotra* (14)—Rudravāgchi, Lāheḍi, Sādhuvāgchi, Champaṭī, Nandanāvāsī, Kāmendra, Siharī, Tāḍoyālaviśī, Matsyāśī, Champa, Suvarṇa, Toṭaka, Pushāṇa, Beluḍi.

Bharadvāja *gotra* (22)—Bhādaḍa, Lāḍuli, Jhāmāla (Jhampaṭi), Āturthī, Rāī, Ratnāvalī, Uchharakhi, Gochchhāsi, Bāla, Sākṭi, Śimbivahāla, Sariyāla, Kshetragrāmī, Dadhiyāla, Putī, Kāchaṭi, Nandīgrāmī, Gogrāmī, Nikhaṭī, Pippalī, Śṛiṅgakhorjāra, Gosvālambi.

Kāśyapa *gotra* (18)—Maitra, Bhāduḍī, Karañja, Bālayashṭhī, Modhāgrāmī, Balihārī, Moyāli, Kirala, Bījakuñja, Śaragrāmī, Sahagrāmī, Kaṭigrāmī, Madhyagrāmī, Maṭhagrāmī, Gaṅgāgrāmī, Belagrāmī, Chamagrāmī, Aśrukoṭi.

Sāvarna *gotra* (19)—Siṁdiyāḍa, Pākaḍī, Dadhi, Śṛiṅgī, Medaḍi, Undhuḍi, Dhundhuḍi, Tātoyāra, Setu, Naīgrāmī, Nedhuḍi,

Kapālī, Tuṭṭari, Pañchavaṭī Nikaḍi, Samudra, Ketugrāmī, Yaśogrāmī, Śītalī.

Vātsya *gotra* (24)—Sānnyāla, Bhīmakālī, Bhaṭṭaśāli, Kāmakālī, Kuḍamuḍi, Bhāḍiyāla, Laksha, Jāmarukhī, Simalī, Dhosāli, Tānuri, Vatsagrāmī Deūli, Nidrālī, Kukkuṭī, Boḍhagrāmī, Śrutavaṭī, Akshagrāmī, Sāharī, Kālīgrāmī, Kalihaya, Paunḍrakālī, Kālindī, Chaturāvandī.[228]

Names of some of these *gāñis* are found in the records of the pre-Muslim period. Ārtihara's son Sarvānanda, the author of *Ṭikā-sarvasva*, describes himself as Vandyaghaṭīya.[229] The *Kulajis* mention Atihara as belonging to Vandyaghaṭīya *gāñi*.[230] Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's mother was the 'daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa'.[231] Bhavadeva and the donee of the Belāva copper plate, both belonging to the Sāvarṇa *gotra*, were residents of the village Siddhala in Uttara-Rāḍhā.[232] A Brāhmaṇa of Tataka in Varendrī settled in Vikramapura in the Dacca district.[233] Halāyudha, the chief judge in the court of Lakshmaṇasena, connects his mother with Gochchhāshaṇḍī.[234] The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa mentions Karañja, Tailapāṭī, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Śakaṭī and Ratnāmālī (Ratnāvalī ?).[235] The Ādāvāḍī copper-plate refers to Diṇḍi *gāñi*, Pālī *gāñi*, Seū *gāñi*, Māsachaṭaka, Mūla, Sehaṇḍāyī, Puti, Mahāntiyāḍā, and Karañja-grāmī.[236] Names of the villages Matsyāvāsa, in North Bengal, and Bhūriśreshṭhī and Pūrvagrāma in Rāḍhā are known from early records.[237] Nārāyaṇa, in his *Chhāndogya-pariśishṭa-prakāśa* mentions that Kāñjivillī, Tālavāṭī, in Uttara-Rāḍhā, Chaturthakhaṇḍa, Vāpaḍalā and Hijjalavana were seats of his family (*kulasthāna*).[238] Śrīnivāsa, the court-poet of Lakshmaṇasena, belonged to Mahintāpanī-vaṁśa.[239] Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa, the preceptor of Vallālasena, was Chāmpāhiṭī or Chāmpāhaṭṭīya.[240] Jīmūtavāhana calls himself Pāribhadrīya.[241]

All these names of places in their usual or abbreviated forms are referred to as *gāñis* of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas in the *Kulajis*.

APPENDIX III

FUNERAL RITES AND CEREMONIES

After death the dead body was cremated, unless the age of the deceased was less than two years. An idea of the method of cremation can be had from a perusal of Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa's *Pitṛi-dayitā* (pp. 74-84) and *Hāralatā* (pp. 119-192). In these works the method of cremation, as prevalent among the Sāmavedī Brāhmaṇas of those days, is described as follows :—

When the dying person's condition became hopeless, and he exhibited signs of the approach of death, he was taken out of the house in which he was lying, and laid down on the ground, with his head turned towards the south. The place, at which he was laid, was already besmeared with cow-dung and strewn over with blades of *kuśa*, the tips of which were turned towards the south. In this position he was made to give to a Brāhmaṇa a piece of gold, a piece of silver, a piece of land of the measurement of a *go-charma* (cow-hide), a lamp, a copper vessel filled with sesamum and covered with two pieces of cloth, and a black cow, of which the horns were covered with gold, the hoofs with silver, and the back with copper, and which was furnished with a milking vessel of bell-metal covered with two pieces of cloth. All these gifts, except the last one, were made with the object of getting rid of sins committed in this life and attaining heaven, but the last one was intended to enable him, after death, to cross the river Vaitaraṇī which is supposed to run by the dreadful gate of Yama's residence. The Brāhmaṇa recipient had to mutter the *Sāvitrī* before receiving the gifts which were followed by the offer of *dakshiṇā* (fee).

After death, the dead body was besmeared with clarified butter and bathed with water. While thus bathing, the person, who bathed it, had to think of holy places, mountains, rivers and seas. The dead body was then stripped of all its garments and dressed with a piece of sacred cloth, an upper garment and a sacred thread, besmeared with sandal-paste and other scents, and adorned with flowers. A piece of gold was placed in each of the seven places, *viz.*, two ears, two nostrils, two eyes and the mouth. The dead body was then covered with a sacred cloth and taken by the deceased person's sons,

or blood-relations on his father's side, or kinsmen, or by other Brāhmaṇas, to the burning ground which was generally situated on the bank of a river, or near water. While the dead body was thus carried, one of the accompanying persons carried the fire with which the dead body was to be cremated. This fire was *śrauta*, *smārta*, or *laukika* (common) according as the deceased maintained the *śrauta* or the *śmārta* fire, or maintained no fire at all. Another person took some rice in an unannealed vessel. Half of this rice was poured out on the way, and the remaining half was taken to the burning ground. After reaching the burning ground they selected a suitable place, besmeared it with cow-dung, drew a line there, and placed on this line some blades of *kuśa*, on which the *agni-dātā* (*i.e.*, the person entitled to set fire to the dead body) offered to the deceased, after the method of offering *piṇḍas*, the rice brought there with the dead body. Then the *agni-dātā* took his bath and made, with the help of others, a large pile of wood, on which the dead body was placed on its back with its head turned towards the south. The implements of sacrifice, such as the ladle, the winnowing-basket, two pieces of fire-producing wood (*araṇi*), the mortar and the pestle, *etc.*, which the deceased used in life were also placed on different parts of the body. In placing the dead body on the funeral pile care was taken to see that it was furnished with cloths and a sacred thread and was not naked. Next, the *agni-dātā* took the fire in his hand turned round the dead body by keeping it to the right, placed his right knee on the ground near the head of the dead body, and, after citing the *mantra* "*asmāt tvam=abhijāto=si*" (thou art born from him) *etc.*, set fire to the pile, without tears or fear, at the place where there was the head. When the body was mostly consumed by fire and only a very small part of it remained, it was covered with burning charcoals and buried underground. After the burning was over, the members of the party gave the clothes of the deceased to the Chaṇḍālas and others who lived in the cemetery, took their bath, and offered libations of water to the deceased. They then changed their clothes, sipped water, and sat on a grassy spot outside the village. Those, who were older or more venerable among them, were to allay grief (*śokāpanodana*) by referring to the transitoriness of all things on earth and the inevitability of death, and by pointing out, with examples, how the tears shed in grief by the deceased person's relations and others cause great distress to him and bring him down from heaven. If the dead body was burnt out by day-time,

they were not to enter the village before the night-fall, and if it was burnt at night, they were to wait till day dawned. After entering the village, they sat outside the house until the *agni-dātā*, being followed by one of the members of the party with a club in his hand, brought water from a neighbouring pool, cooked rice with it and offered the balls of rice in the prescribed manner to the deceased at the gate of the house. They then bit three leaves of *nimba*, and, after washing their feet and sipping water, touched the *durvā*-sprouts, a *samī* tree, fire, water, cow-dung, a bull, and a he-goat. They touched their own heads and all other limbs with *ghee* and grains of white mustard, stepped on pieces of stone and iron, and entered their houses.

If a person died when away from home, his body was brought home and burnt in the above manner. If his body was not available, his bones were brought, soaked with *ghee*, covered with wool, and burnt in the same way along with his implements of sacrifice. In the absence of bones, an effigy was made with leaves of *śara* (reed) and *palāśā*, covered with an antelope-skin, tied with a woolen thread, besmeared with water mixed with finely powdered barley, and burnt.

Death was followed by a period of impurity, which was determined by various factors, such as the nature of relation of the persons with the deceased, their occupation, their caste, their performance or non-performance of *śrauta* or *smārta* rites, the caste, age, or character of the deceased, *etc.* During this period the persons undergoing impurity were required to avoid all kinds of physical comfort such as sitting on fashionable seats, use of bedsteads, *etc.*, and become strict vegetarians. The sons of the deceased were to avoid salt for ten or twelve days according to capacity. They were not allowed to use any metallic utensil, and had to bear in their hands a piece of iron or a small weapon of the same metal for three days. During the period of impurity, or, in case of incapacity, on the first, third, seventh and ninth days, the sons of the deceased invited, for the benefit of the departed soul, their blood-relations on their father's side to bathe and dine with them. From the second day they offered balls of rice, or barley-meal (*saktu*), or fruits, to the deceased according to the prescriptions of the *Smṛitis*. On the fourth day, water for bath and cow's milk for drink were offered to the deceased in the evening in two earthen pots which were then suspended in the air during the night and thrown into water in the

morning. This practice might be repeated for nine nights more for greater benefit to the departed soul.

On the second or third day the bones of the deceased were collected from the burning ground, placed in an earthen pot which was furnished with a cover and tied round with a piece of thread, and buried underground in a sacred place. These bones were taken out and thrown into the Bhāgīrathī in opportune times.

In case of death of children aged less than two years, the dead body was adorned by the relatives with ornaments, flowers, scents, garlands *etc.*, placed in an earthen pot, and buried underground in a sacred place outside the village. No fire, no libations of water, and no collection of bones was necessary in such cases, and the relatives were advised not to entertain any grief.

Persons eligible for setting fire to the dead body were the following :—the eldest of the living sons, or wife, or daughter, or younger brother, or elder brother, or father, or paternal uncle, or grandfather, or maternal uncle, or mother's father, *etc.*—in the case of males : and son, or daughter, or co-wife's son, or husband, or son's wife, or brother, *etc.*—in the case of females.

The method of cremation, followed by the Ṛigvedī and Agnihotrī Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇas, differed from the above methods in a few minor points only.

Śūdras were allowed to touch neither the dead bodies of Brāhmaṇas nor the fire with which these bodies were to be cremated. But if none of the higher castes was available to carry the dead body of a Brāhmaṇa to the cremation ground, the Śūdras might take it there. In case of incapacity of Brāhmaṇas, the Śūdras might carry fuel to the burning ground, but they were not allowed to prepare the funeral pile.

In the case of Śūdras no removal from the house was compulsory even at the time of death. They might be kept indoors even when they breathed their last. But, as in the case of the other higher castes, all the earthen wares of the house were to be thrown away, after the dead body had been removed to the burning ground. As the Śūdras had no *śrauta* fire to maintain, the method of cremation was necessarily simpler in their case.

APPENDIX IV

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE BṚIHAD-DHARMA PURĀṆA AND BRAHMA-VAIVARTA PURĀṆA

I. *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa

"Only two editions of this Upapurāṇa have hitherto been printed, viz., the Vaṅgavāsī edition printed in Bengali characters and the ASB ed. printed in Devanāgarī. These two editions differ in readings in numerous cases. Their corresponding chapters are the following:

Vaṅga. ed.		ASB ed.
Pūrva-khaṇḍa, chaps. 1-30	—	chaps. 1-30 (called Pūrva-khaṇḍa)
Madhya-khaṇḍa, chaps, 1-30	—	chaps. 31-60 (called Madhya-khaṇḍa)
Uttara-khaṇḍa, chaps, 1-14	—	Uttara-khaṇḍa, chaps, 1-14
„ chaps. 15-21	—	(omitted)

Chaps. 15-21 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅga. ed., which are wanting in the ASB ed., must not be taken as spurious. They occur in almost all the Mss. of the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa. Moreover, the final chapter of the ASB ed. (which is the same as chap. 14 of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅga. ed.) clearly shows that it is not the concluding chapter of this Upapurāṇa. It does not contain a single word on the praise of this work, nor does it mention Sūta who is the main reporter. On the whole, this chapter (14) shows no sign of conclusion of the work."[242]

The importance of the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa as a source material for the social history of Bengal towards the end of the Hindu rule has been stressed above (pp. 417 ff.) It is necessary, therefore, to discuss in some detail the date of the work and the locality in which it was written. As far back as 1943, the assumption was made, with some degree of hesitation, that it was composed in Bengal not later than the 13th or 14th century A.D.[242a] Since then the question has been thoroughly discussed by Dr. R. C. Hazra, perhaps the greatest living authority on the Upapurāṇas, to which category

this text belongs. A summary of his views is given below as far as possible in his own words.[243]

In this work there are numerous evidences which point to Bengal as the place of its origin. These evidences are as follows :

(i) In *Bṛihad-dharma*. III. 13 there is a list of 'thirty-six (mixed) castes with a few additional ones' (*shaṭtriṁsajjātayaḥ..sādhikāḥ··*) which are all non-Brahmin and include the name of Vaidya ; and in *Bṛihad-dharma* III. 14 these 'thirty-six castes' have been called 'Śūdras', and their vocations have been given. In these two chapters the Brahmins also have been divided into two main classes, viz., *Śrotriya* and *Patita*. It is to be noted that the tradition of 'thirty-six castes' (*chhatriś jāti*) is very popular in Bengal, that all the castes (including Gaṇaka) mentioned in *Bṛiahad-dharma*. III. 13-14, still exist only in Bengal and follow the same professions as mentioned in the *Bṛihad-dharma*, that Vaidya, as a caste, is found in no other province than Bengal, and that even at the present day the non-Brahmin castes of Bengal are called Śūdras.

(ii) *Bṛihad-dharma*. III. 1.23-24 prescribe the following surnames to be used by the members of the different castes: (*a*) 'Deva-śarman' for Brahmins, (*b*) 'Rāya' and 'Varman' for Kshatriyas, (*c*) 'Dhana' (i.e., words indicative of wealth) for Vaiśyas, (*d*) 'Dāsa' for Śūdras, (*e*) 'Devī' for females belonging to the Brahmin and Kshatriya castes and (*f*) 'Dāsī' for females of the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes. These surnames, especially 'Devī' and Dāsī, are still used in Bengal.

(iii) The *Bṛihad-dharma* uses the word 'mā' in the sense of 'mother', and the word '*bhagnī*' in the sense of 'sister' (*bhaginī*).

(iv) Some Sanskrit words and verbal roots have been used in the *Bṛihad-dharma* in such peculiar senses as are found attributed to them in Bengali, viz.,

(*a*) the root '*vas*' in the sense of 'sitting', and the phrase '*mukhe jagāda*' for '*mukhena jagāda*',

(*b*) the word '*svīkāra*' in the sense of 'promise',

(*c*) the word '*vilakshaṇa*' in the sense of 'sufficient',

(*d*) the word '*kshati*' in the sense of 'loss',

(*e*) the word '*dvārā*' in the sense of 'with' or 'by',

(*f*) the word '*nikaṭa*' in the sense of 'to' or 'near',

(*g*) the word '*he*' in place of '*bho*', and

(*h*) the word '*pārita*' used in the sense of 'capable of being done' but without any word ending in the suffix '*tum*'.

(v) The form of goddess Kālī and the method of her worship with 'Mālasī' songs, as described in *Bṛihad-dharma* I. 23, is peculiar to Bengal (and also perhaps to Assam).

(vi) The method of the autumnal worship of Durgā, as given in *Bṛihad-dharma* I. 22, is followed in Bengal. It includes certain rites which are peculiar only to Mithilā, Bengal and Kāmarūpa.

(x) Among the names of the principal holy places situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā from Gaṅgā-dvāra to Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṁgama, mention is made of Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, the confluence of the Gaṅgā with the Padmāvatī, and Triveṇī where the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā become separate from the Gaṅga, in the same order as given above. Hence the Padmāvati must be identical with the river Padmā, and Triveṇī with Muktaveṇī near Hughli in Bengal.

These references to the Padmāvatī, and the course of the Gaṅgā show how greatly the author of the *Bṛihad-dharma* tried to identify the river Hughli with the Gaṅgā and to pass the Padmā as a sacred river.

(xii) In Bengal, the use of paddy and *Dūrvā* grass in blessing on ceremonial occasions has become a custom with women ; and this custom has been referred to in *Bṛihad-dharma*, III. 17, wherein *gopīs* are found to bless the new-born Kṛishṇa with paddy and *Dūrvā* grass.

(xiv) The text refers to many stories peculiar to Bengal only and are almost the same as those given in the Chaṇḍī-Maṅgala Kāvyas in Bengal.

(xv) The influence of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* is clearly discernible on the style, metre and spirit of the song (on Kṛishṇa-līlā at Vṛindāvana) which is given in *Bṛihad-dharma*. II.14. 88ff.

(xvi) *Bṛihad-dharma* III. 5. 48 contains direction about the sequence in which different kinds of food are to be eaten ; and this sequence is followed in Bengal even at the present day.

(xvii) The *Bṛihad-dharma* contains some of the Sanskrit proverbs which are still very popular in Bengal.

(xviii) In *Bṛihad-dharma* III. 5. 44-46 Brahmins are allowed to eat particular kinds of fish except on some particular days. It is to be noted that it is only some Nibandha-writers of Bengal (such as Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Śrīnātha Āchārya-chuḍāmaṇi and others) who allow the Brahmins to eat fish under certain restrictions (p. 457).

(xix) From an examination of the names of the trees, plants and flowers mentioned in the *Bṛihad-dharma*, Jogesh Chandra Roy

thinks that the author of this Upapurāṇa lived in the eastern part of the district of Burdwan.

(xx) Of the mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of the different parts of Satī's body, the *Bṛihad-dharma* (I.14) mentions only three, viz., Kāmarūpa, Vakreśvara (in the district of Birbhum), and Ujjayinī (modern Mangalkot in Burdwan district) of which the last two belong to Western Bengal.

(xxi) Almost all the Mss. of the *Bṛihad-dharma*, hitherto discovered, belong to Bengal and are written in Bengali script.

(xxii) The peculiar method of composition called *chautriśā*, which is so favourite with the vernacular poets of Bengal, is found in *Bṛihad-dharma*, II. 20. 134-171 (in which more than 250 names of Gaṅgā have been arranged according to the alphabetical order of their initial letters, viz., *ka* to *ksha*, *a* to *au* and *aṁ* and *aḥ*. It is to be noted that in this arrangement *ksh* has been regarded as a separate *varṇa*.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the author of the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa was an inhabitant of Bengal.

As regards the date of composition Dr. Hazra observes: "Among the standards of measurement of weight it mentions '*seraka*' (modern *ser*) which was introduced by the Muhammadans ; and in verses 88ff. of chap. 14 of its Madhyakhaṇḍa it clearly betrays the influence of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*. It knows the spread and tyranny of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in Bengal. Hence the date of this work cannot be placed earlier than 1200 A.D."[244]

This is supported by many references to the Mlechchhas and Yavanas in III. 6.89; 19.16; 19.43; 20.15.

But in III.3. 2, the Kshatriya Kings are advised to have *darpa* (pride) to collect war materials, and to make all kinds of preparations for self-defence.

From a study of these references Dr. Hazra concludes: "It is clear that at the time of composition of the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa the Muhammadans spread in Bengal but could not bring the whole province under their power, that the insult of defeat at the hands of these aliens was still fresh in the mind of the people, and that there were Hindu monarchs who were expected by the people to drive out these undesirable elements and become the saviours of the Hindus and the Hindu religion.

"Hence it is highly probable that the *Bṛihad-dharma Purāṇa was composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D.* Jogesh

Chandra Roy thinks that it was composed a little after the thirteenth century.[245]

"We have already seen that chaps. 15-21 of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Vaṅga. ed. are not spurious. Among the remaining chapters also there is none which seems to have been added later. Hence the above general date of the *Bṛihad dharma* Purāṇa can safely be taken to be that of all its chapters."[246]

II. *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa

Dr. Hazra thinks that the genuine *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa is lost and the current work of that name is a spurious work of later date.[247] But he regards it as a work of Bengal which, in its present form, "cannot be dated earlier than the tenth century A.D."[248] At the same time he points out that almost all the chapters of Skandha IX of the *Devī-bhāgavata* have been taken from the *Prakṛiti-Khaṇḍa* of the present *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa, and as the *Devī-bhāgavata* "must have preceded Śrīdhara Svāmin and others by a few centuries, it cannot be dated later than 1200 A.D."[249] It would, therefore, follow that the present text of the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa must have been composed between 1000 and 1200 A.D.

In an earlier work, published in 1940, Dr. Hazra expressed the following view about the date of the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa.

"A perusal of the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa shows that it is one of the latest of the extant Purāṇic works. Jogesh Chandra Roy has carefully examined the Purāṇa and come to the conclusion that it *was first composed most probably in the 8th century A.D. From about the 10th century it began to be changed by the interfering hands of the Bengal authors who recast it to its present form and contents in the sixteenth century.* In spite of this late recast, there are portions which have been retained from an earlier form of the Purāṇa.

"The above view of J. C. Roy is supported by the quotations made by the Nibandha-writers from a '*Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa.'[250]

Footnotes

[1] Cf. Chapter II, specially, p. 29.

[2] For an interesting account of the process, cf. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I, xv-ff.

[3] *Mbh*, I, 104, II. 51, XIV. 29; *Vishṇu* P. IV. 8. I ; *Matsya* P. 48. 24 ff; Manu, x. 44.

[4] For the ethnographical significance of this, cf. R. P. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*. p. 43.

[5] In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 216) Arjuna is said to have visited the holy places in Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, and made gifts to the Brāhmaṇas of those places. Vātsyāyana, in his *Kāmasūtra* (V. 6. 38, 41), refers to Brāhmaṇas of Gauḍa and Vaṅga.

[6] For a philological discussion of the place-names cf. Chatterji-*Lang*. 179-188; also cf. *IHQ*, XV. 137.

[7] Cf. *IHQ*, XVI. 689

[8] Risley, *op. cit*. I. XV ff.

[8a] This is the Saṅkara theory. The other explanation is afforded by the Vrātya theory which explains the origin of castes from the sons of the twice-born who became *vrātyas* (fallen from their caste) for not fulfilling the sacred duties (Cf. *Manu* x. 20 ff). For an account of the 'Vrātya and Saṅkara theories of caste' cf. *JASB*. 1902, p. 149. A detailed exposition of the system is given by Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. Ch. II.

[9] Kane, *op. cit*. 58.

[10] Inter-caste marriages may, of course, give rise to additional castes, in a general way (Risley, *op. cit*. p. XXXVII).

[11] Edited in Bibliotheca Indica Series. Its *Uttara-khaṇḍa* containing only Chapters I-XIV will be referred to as Part II, and the other portion as Part. I. for Chapters XV-XXI of Part III cf. the Vangavāsi Edition. Cf. Appendix IV.

[12] For example Kane, who has dealt exhaustively with this kind of literature, does not refer to it. A good account of the text is given in '*Upapurāṇa*' II, pp. 396-466.

[13] II. XIII-XIV All the subsequent references to the mixed castes are to be found in these two chapters.

[14] The reference to Veṇa as having caused a confusion of the castes in *Manu* IX. 67, is explained in a different way by the commentators.

[15] For a slightly different account, cf *Upapurāṇa*, II, pp. 437-440.

[16] In Ch. XIII the name 'Gāndhika-vaṇik' occurs in the list of Uttama Saṅkaras; but in Ch. XIV, in which the vocations of some of the mixed castes are given, we find simply 'Vaṇik,' and its profession is mentioned as '*gandhavikraya*' (sale of spices, scents and incense). Hence no question can be raised against their identity. As the name 'Gāndhika-vaṇik' is more expressive and helps us to distinguish the members of this caste from the Svarṇa-vaṇiks we have preferred this name to the simple title 'Vaṇik.'

[17] The reading 'Taulika' occurs in II. XIII, 39 ; but in II. XIV. 64 the reading 'Tailika' is found. Even in the latter case MS. C reads 'Taulika,' as the footnote shows. In the Vaṅgavāsi edition the reading 'Tailika' occurs in both the chapters.

The words 'Tailika and 'Tailakāraka' (No. 26 in the list) being synonymous, we have preferred the reading 'Taulika.'

[17a] The vocation of Sūta is not clearly specified but is stated simply in the line '*dāse tu kṛishi-karmāṇi sūte tad-upayogitām.*' Hence Sūta here means most probably a carpenter (who helps the cultivator by manufacturing the implements of cultivation) rather than a charioteer or a bard. So Sūta seems to be the same as Sūtradhāra (carpenter) mentioned in the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa (I. x. 33). The mention of Dhīvara and Jālika (both fishermen) as two distinct castes encourages us to suppose that the Sūta and Takshan (No. 21 in the list) also were distinct castes among the carpenters.

[18] The line stating the profession of Tāmbūlī is missing in the Bibl. Ind. edition of the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa but occurs in the Vaṅgavāsī edition.

[19] 'Kānaka-vaṇik,' mentioned in II. XIV. 68 where the vocations of some of the castes already mentioned in Ch. XIII have been given, must be regarded to be the same as 'Svarṇa-vaṇik,' the word '*kānaka*' being an adjective formed from '*kanaka*' (gold) and there being no mention of 'Svarṇa-vaṇik' in Ch. XIV. The Vaṅgavāsī edition wrongly reads '*kalika*' for '*kānaka.*'

[20] The Vaṅgavāsī edition reads Śāvaka.'

[21] The Vaṅgavāsī edition has 'Gṛihi' for 'Malegrahi.'

[22] The reading 'Ghaṇṭajīvī' ('for Ghattajīvī'), which occurs in the Bibl. Ind. edition, is supported by only one MS., *viz.* MS. A. The Vaṅgavāsī edition reads 'Ghaṭṭajīvī.'

[23] The 'Mala' caste, mentioned in II. XIII. 51, seems to be the same as 'Malla' (which is one of the *antyaja castes*), because 'Mala' has been mentioned there as an instance of *antyajas* along with Chāṇḍāla (*sachāṇḍāla-malādayaḥ*).

The Vaṅgavāsī edition reads 'Matta' for 'Malla'. Malla may refer to Māle (Māl, Maler, Māl Pahāria), a tribe of the Rājmahal Hills. Russell regards it as an isolated branch of the Śavaras. (*The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, IV. 153).

[24] But practically these principles have not been strictly followed in making the classification. For example, the Chāṇḍāla, born of a Śūdra father and Brāhmaṇa mother, has been classed with the *antyajas*, and among the *antyajas* there are some, born of Madhyama Saṅkara males and Vaiśya or Śūdra females.

[25] No mention of Vādaka is found in the Vaṅgavāsī edition.

[26] For an account of the castes in Bengal cf. Risley, *op. cit.* ; J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (1896).

[27] The same phenomena are observed in the evolution of the caste-system all over India. Cf. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India* (1932), 91 ff.

[28] Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Part I, Brahma-khaṇḍa Ch. X. vv. 16-21, 90-137.

[29] That the list of Sat-śūdras in the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa is not exhaustive seems to follow from I. X. 18.

[30] The origin of the 'Nava-sāyakas,' a caste-group peculiar to Bengal, may perhaps be traced to these nine castes with a common traditional origin.

[31] Some of the mixed castes mentioned in the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa are not included here. But even the long list in the Purāṇa is not exhaustive, for after the enumeration of the names of mixed castes the Purāṇa states : "The mixed castes are innumerable ; who can mention their names or number ?" (II. x. 122).

[32] It is to be noted that, unlike the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa distinguishes Vaidya from Ambashṭha, who is separately mentioned as born of a Vaiśyā mother by a twice born (*i.e.*, Brahmin father).

[33] Views on the relative superiority of the existing castes vary widely, and it is not our intention to express any opinion on the present social condition. Our object is merely to give a very broad review of the present for the sake of comparison with the past. Lest any one's susceptibilities are wounded, it may be added that the description of the present condition is based on Dr. J. N. Bhattacharya's *Hindu Castes and Sects*, and we do not hold ourselves responsible for any opinion expressed by him.

[34] See p. 431.

[35] These have been discussed later in connection with Karaṇas and Vaidyas.

[36] Cf. Bhāṭerā CP. No. II, of Isānadeva, C. 23.

[37] Kane, *op. cit.* 52 ff. 447 ff.

[38] Ch. IX. I-11. Colebrooke's translation (1858), pp. 159-61.

[39] *PRP.* 90. It is to be observed also that marriage with a lower caste (including Śūdra) is not included in the list of forbidden marriages, entailing a penance, given by Bhavadeva on p. 117.

[40] *DB. Ch.* XI. 47-48 ; Colebrooke's tr. 197-99.

[41] Cf. Kane. *op. cit.* pp. 789 fl.

[42] *PRP.* 51 ff.

[43] *Ibid.* 118.

[44] *Ibid.* 58 ff.

[45] Cf. Ghurye, *op. cit.* 91-93.

[46]. Cf. Inss. No. B. 2, 30, 40, 50, 92 ; *EI.* XIII. 292 ; *IB.* 24, 67, 157. Kolañcha and Kroḍañchi or Kroḍañja may be identical. It is frequently mentioned in inscriptions and genealogical works (cf. *IC.* II. 358). Chandavāra may be identified with Chandwār near Etawa in U. P., well-known in Muhammadan history (*IB.* 151). Muktāvastu is referred to in three grants of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman, and the Mandhata Plates of his successor Devapāla dated 1225 A.D (*EI.* IX. 107 ; D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 201) as the home of the Brāhmaṇa donees, but cannot be identified. Hastipada may be identified with the village of the same name, mentioned in the Kudopali Grant of the Somavaṁśī ruler of Kosala as the place from which one of the donees had immigrated (*EI.* IV. 254 ff.).

There is great controversy about the location of 'Tarkāri, within the limits of Śrāvasti,' the Brāhmaṇas from which place, according to Silimpur Ins. (*EI.* XIII. 283), settled in the village of Bālagrāma in Varendrī. Tarkāri was a famous settlement of the Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇas, and is referred to as Tarkāri, Tarkārika, Tarkāra, Ṭakkāra, Ṭakārī, Ṭakārikā, *etc.* in a large number of inscriptions (*EI.* I. 336, III. 348, 353, IX. 107 ; *IA* XVII. 118,

XVI. 204, 208). Dr. R.G. Basak, while editing the Silimpur inscription, concluded from the expression *Sakaṭī-vyavadhānavān* that Bālagrāma was separated from Tarkāri by the (river) Sakaṭī. This places Śrāvasti in North Bengal. In support of his suggestion Dr. Basak points out that some of the Purāṇas locate Śrāvastipura in Gauḍa. Mr. J. C. Ghosh (*IA.* 1931, pp. 14 ff. and *IC.* II 358-59) and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (*EI.* XXIII. 103) agree with Dr. Basak's view. They point out in support of it that two inscriptions from Assam place Kroḍañcha and Vaigrāma in Sāvathi or Śrāvasti, and Vaigrāma is identical with the village of Baigram in the Bogra district. Mr. N. G. Majumdar (*IA.* 1919, pp. 208 ff,) opposes this view and identifies Śrāvasti with the well-known city in Āvadh. He thinks that *Sakaṭī-vyavadhānavān*..may be taken to mean that Bālagrāma was bounded by Sakaṭī. Monier-Williams gives the meaning of *vyavadhāna* as 'separate", "divide", *etc.* In our opinion the verse in question means that Bālagrāma was divided by the (river) Sakaṭī. Attention may be drawn to the verse 6 of the Silimpur inscription, which mentions about the eastern division (*pūrva-khaṇḍa*) of Bālagrāma. An inscription from Orissa (*IA.* XVII. 121) places the village Ṭakkārikā in the Madhyadeśa. More than three quarters of a century intervened between the two inscriptions from Assam, referred to above. Śrāvasti, in which the village Kroḍañcha was situated, as has been mentioned in one of these inscriptions, may be referring to the famous Śrāvastī in Madhyadeśa. On the whole, it is more reasonable to place Tarkārikā in Śrāvastī in Āvadh.

[47] The existence of the Rāḍhīya, Vārendra and Vaidika Brāhmaṇas in Bengal before the close of the Hindu period is proved by a passage in Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (*infra*, p. 430). Classification, according to localities, into Rāḍhīya, Vārendra, Vaṅgaja *etc.* is found also among other castes such as Kāyastha, Vaidya, Bārui etc.

[48] Ādāvāḍī CP. of Daśarathadeva (C. 20). See also App. II.

[49] For full discussion cf. App. I. The same view is maintained by R. P. Chanda after elaborate discussion (*Indo-Aryan Races*, Ch. V).

[50] *JASB.* N.S. XII. 295 ; *EI.* XXIII, 105 ; XXII. 137, 165.

[51] Madra Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman (*IA.* 1893, p. 74)

[52] Two Brahman families from Varendrī settled in the Deccan, and received grants of lands from the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Govinda (A.D. 933) and Khoṭṭiga (A.D. 968) (*IA.* XII. 248 ; *EI.* XXI. 265). The Paramāra Muñja (A.D. 972-997) granted lands in Mālava to a Brahman emigrant from Vilvagavāsa in Dakshiṇa Rāḍhā (*EI.* XXIII. 105). The Gaṅga Devendravarman (*c.* A.D. 808), and some Tuṅga kings (11th century) donated lands in Orissa to Brahmans emigrated from Rāḍhā and Varendrī (*EI.* XXIII. 77 ; *JASB.* N. S. XII. 295 ; *Arch. Survey of Mayurbhanj*, p. 156.)

[53] This shows that the descendants of the five Brāhmaṇas, brought from Kanauj, according to the Kulaji story, for their knowledge of the Vedas, were also as ignorant of the Vedas as those resident in Bengal, referred to by the Kulajis.

[54] An inscription (*EI*, II. 330) from Govindapur, in the Gaya district, Bihar, dated S. 1059=A.D. 1137, states that the Maga Brāhmaṇas, who sprang

from the sun's own body, were brought to India from Śākadvīpa by Sāmba. The first of these Maga Brāhmaṇas was Bharadvāja, whose family had a hundred branches. In one of them were born two brothers Manoratha and Daśaratha, who were induced to accept service under Varṇamāna, king of Magadha. Manoratha's son Gaṅgādhara, a counsellor and friend of the king Rudramāna of Magadha, composed this record. Gaṅgādhara married a daughter of Jayapāṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa. It proves that a family in Bengal was socially related to the Śākadvīpa Brāhmaṇas in the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

[54] The inclusion of Purohita and Mahā-Purohita in the list of officials in the land grants of the Kamboja, Varman, and Sena kings is very significant.

[55] *IB.* 8-9 ; 67.

[56] Ānuliā CP. (C. 9) v. 10 (*IB.* 86, 89-90) refers to gift of myriads of excellent villages consisting of lands excessively growing paddy. Cf. also Bhowal CP. (C 12) of Lakshmaṇasena and other inscriptions of the Senas.

[57] v. 23 (*IB.* 48. 54)

[58] These are the dynasties to which Śīlabhadra and Lokanātha belonged (*supra* pp. 78-79).

[59] *PRP.* 60.

[60] *IB.* 29.

[61] Cf. the passage from *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa (II. XIV. 75) referred to above.

[62] J. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* 125.

[63] Egg-*Cat.* v. 974 ff.

[64] *RC., Kavi-praśasti,* v. 3,

[65] Cf. Kane. *op. cit.* 74.

[66] The Karaṇika and Kāyastha are distinguished in the Gurmhā CP. dated 870 A.D (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions,* No. 34) where the Mahāmantrin is called Karaṇika and the Mahākshapaṭalika, a Kāyastha.

[67] *Kāyasthaḥ syāl-lipikaraḥ Karaṇo=kshara-jīvanaḥ lekhako=kshara-chuñchuś=cha.*

[68] Jalhaṇa, who wrote two copper-plate grants of Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra, describes himself as *Kāyastha* in one (*EI.* IV. 104) and *Karaṇik-odgato* in another (*EI.* VIII. 153). In the Ajaygarh Rock inscription of the Chandella king Bhojavarman (*EI.* I. 330) Karaṇa and Kāyastha are used as interchangeable terms (*e.g.* the descendants of Vāstu are called Karaṇa in v. 4 and Kāyastha in v. 7).

[69] According to Dr. J. N. Bhattacharya, there is a Karaṇa clan of Kāyasthas in North Bihar, and the Uttara-Rāḍhīya Kāyasthas of Bengal claim to be Karaṇas (*op. cit.* 188-89). Cf. Russell, *op. cit.* III. 418. The Karaṇa caste in C.P. and Orissa traces its descent from Chitragupta like the Kāyasthas in Bengal (*ibid.* 343).

[70] Kane, *op. cit.* 76-77. A Karaṇika Brāhmaṇa is referred to in the Dhoḍ (Udaipur State, Rājputāna) inscription, dated A.D. 1171 (Bhandarkar's *List,* No. 350). A Brāhmaṇa donee of the Nidhanpur CP. of Bhāskaravarman (7th cent. A.D.) is called '*nyāya-Karaṇika*' (*EI.* XII. 75). Two Brāhmaṇa

donees in an inscription at Madura, dated 1586 A.D., are called Karaṇikya and Karaṇika (*EI.* XII. 167 ; donees Nos. 118, 120).

[71] *EI.* XVIII. 251. The writer of the Gurmhā CP, (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 34), dated 870 A.D., is called *Mahākshapaṭalika Kāyastha*. But whether the Kāyastha here refers to a caste cannot be definitely settled.

[72] *EI.* XII. 61.

[73] *Proc. ASB.* 1880 (p. 78). The inscription was found at Bodh-Gayā and refers to the *guru* of the king of Kāśi.

[74] *EI.* XII. 46.

[75] *Ibid.* XIX. 50.

[76] *Ibid.* 1. 332.

[77] Kane, *op. cit.* 76

[78] *Udayasundarī-kathā. GOS*,. p. 11.

[79] Beal-*Records*. II. 267.

[80] *EI.* XXIV. 101 ff. The portion containing the account is mutilated, and so the account cannot be fully understood. The editor of the inscription has summarised all the important points in his introductory remarks (pp. 108-109). As he has pointed out, v. 34 seems to refer to the Kāyasthas as '*dvijas*,' though, on account of the mutilation of the record, it is not clear how this was reconciled with their Śūdra origin stated in vv. 36-38.

[81] *JASB.* VI. 882.

[82] *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, ed. S. C. Das, Introd., p III. On p. v there is reference to a Kāyastha-vṛiddha.

[83] Śrīdhara wrote *Nyāya-kandalī*, a commentary on *Padārtha-dharma-saṁgraha* by Pratāpadāsa. He states that he was a resident of Bhūriśreṣṭhi, in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, and wrote this book at the request of Pāṇḍudāsa, foremost of the Kāyastha race, in Śaka 913=A.D. 991 (Kasi ed. p. 269), Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in order to establish the existence of Kāyastha clan in Bengal in the pre-Muslim period, refers to the above passage of *Nyāya-kandalī* (*IA.* 1932,p.50). It does not, however, necessarily follow from the statement in *Nyāya-kandalī* that Pāṇḍudāsa of the Kāyastha race was an inhabitant of Bengal, or that the book was written in Bengal, though this appears to be the most plausible view.

[84] *IA.* LXI. 48 ; N. Vasu, *Kāyasther Varṇa-nirṇaya*, p. 184 ; J. C. Ghosh in *IHQ.* VI. 60 ff.

[85] *EP. Ind.* IX. 102. The writer of the record is referred to as Vajravarman of the Vaidya family (*Vaidyānvaya*)

[86] These inscriptions are :

I. The Velvikuḍi Grant of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ) Year 3 (c. 765-815) (*EI.* XVII. 291-309).

II. The Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman (Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ) (*IA.* 1893, pp. 57 ff).

III. Annamalai inscriptions of Māraṇjaḍaiyan, dated in Kali Era 3871 (=769-70 A.D.) (*EI.* VIII. 317-321).

They all belong to the reign of one and the same Pāṇḍya king (for the identity, cf. *EI.* XVII. 295) and refer to several Vaidya chiefs who occupied high offices in the State. One of them, referred to as the crest-jewel of the

Vaidyakas (*Vaidyakaśikhā-maṇi*) in No. I, and simply as Vaidya in No. III, was a great general, the prime minister (*uttara-mantrin*), and great favourite of the king. As regards another great feudal chief, who was probably the younger brother of the first (*EI.* XVII. 296), it is said (No. II.) that his birth had conferred splendour on the Vaidya race (*Vaidya-kula*) of Vaṅgalaṇḍai which was famous for (skill in playing) musical instruments, singing and music. Another chief, Maṅgalarāja Madhuratara (perhaps identical with the first), an *ājñapti* of the grants, is called a Vaidyaka, and a master of the Sāstras, a poet and orator. The expression *Vaidyā-kula* undoubtedly indicates a social group whose members are also referred to as simply Vaidya or Vaidyaka. We are indebted for these references to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri.

[87] *An. S.*, v. 26.

[88] At least we have not been able to trace it. The passage is quoted in *Jāti-tattva-vāridhi* and *Viśvakosha*. It may be summarised as follows : "Once a Vaiśya girl offered a drink to sage Gālava who was very thirsty. The sage gave her a boon that she would have a son who would purify the family. The girl then told the sage that she was unmarried. The sage took her to the hermitage. The other sages held that the words of Gālava must be honoured, and Dhanvantari, the divine physician, would be born of her. So they put a child made of Kuśa grass on the lap of the girl with the recitation of Vedic *mantras*, and infused life into it. Thus a boy was created. He was called Vaidya, as he was born from Veda, and also Ambashṭha because he was born on the lap or fixed in the family of *ambā* (mother). He was taught medical sciences by the sage and was called Amṛitāchārya (Umesh Chandra Gupta, *Jāti-tattva-vāridhi*, I 36 ; *Viśvakosha. s.v, Vaidya-jāti*).

[89] The Uśanas also distinguishes Ambashṭha from Vaidyaka.

[90] *Upapurāṇa*, II, 441-2

[91] Bharata Mallika, the famous Vaidya author of *Chandra-prabhā* and *Bhaṭṭi-ṭīkā*, who lived in the 17th century A.D., calls himself a Vaidya and Ambashṭha, and has quoted in the former work three passages from *Vyāsa, Agniveśa*, and *Śaṅkha* Smṛitis to prove the identity of the two. Whether these passages are genuine or not (the passages from *Śaṅkha*, *e. g.*, does not occur in the printed text), they indicate the view current in his age.

[92] J. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* 188. Russell, *op cit.* III. 417.

[93] Kane, *op. cit.* 91 (*s. v. Māhishya*).

[94] Fick, *Sociale Gliederung*. 302.

[95] Gautama (IV. 20) ; Yājñavalkya (I. 92) ; Kane, *op. cit.* 91,

[96] The account of the present condition of the Kaivartas or Māhishyas is based on Dr. J. N. Bhattacharya's *Hindu Castes and Sects* (pp. 279-281) and the Report submitted by Mr. J. S. Sen, a Deputy Magistrate, dated Dacca, 13th July, 1907, to the Government of Bengal. Both of these are quoted with approval in *Māhishya-vivṛiti* by Basanta Kumar Ray (4th Edition, Dacca 1322 B.S.), a book written with a view to explain the origin and importance of the Māhishya community. We do not hold ourselves responsible for the opinions quoted.

[97] The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, as noted above, includes the caste 'Dāsa' (cultivator) as an *uttama-saṅkara* and Dhīvara (fisherman) as *madhyama-*

saṁkara. These two might refer to the two sections of the Māhishyas or Kaivartas who are not otherwise mentioned in the text. (Cf. Halāyudha's lexicography on the Kaivartas.)

[98] These have been discussed above. Their language represents the oldest specimen of Bengali. They were probably composed between 950 and 1200 A.D. (pp. 392-94).

[99] *BGD*. 19, 32.

[100] *Ibid*. 43.

[101] *Ibid*. 60, 73.

[102] v. 8 (*IB*. 72, 77)

[103] *Paharpur*, 64-65, Pl. XLIX. Dikshit takes the figures to be Śabaras, but it is better to regard them as representatives of wild tribes like Śavaras, Pulindas, Bhilas, Kirātas *etc*. who are known, from literature, to have lived in the forest regions in Bengal or on its border. Cf. Ch. XV.

[104] Upapurāṇas II. 430, 448.

[105] The description of these ceremonies as well as of the *kuśaṇḍikā* is based upon the MS. of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's *Karmānushṭhāna-paddhati* in the Dacca University Library (MS. No. 502). The performance of the *homas, etc*. and the payment of fees to priests, being constant features in these ceremonies, will not be repeated in the descriptions.

[106] A *darbha-pāñjali* is formed when two blades of *kuśa*, each of the length of a *pradeśa*, are tied in the middle with another piece of *kuśa* blade of the same length.

[107] For an idea of the branches of knowledge regarded as important in ancient times one might compare the list of subjects in which Bhavadeva is said to have been efficient (*IB*. 34, 39) and also the list of works drawn upon by Sarvānanda in his *Ṭīkā-sarvasva*. The Brāhmaṇas referred to in the Pāla records are said to be proficient in Vedānta, Pada-vākya, Pramāṇa, Mīmāṁsā, Tarka, and Vyākaraṇa.

[108] Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa also refers to the lack of Vedic study (*Pitṛi-dayitā*, p. 8).

[109] Cf. *GL*. 83.

[110] For Kāntideva, cf. *supra* p. 130. His father is said to have been efficient in *subhāshita, Rāmayaṇa, Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas.

[111] *DB*. p. 21.

[112] *KV*. 427.

[113] Dacca University MS No. M 27/40/2B (number in valuation list). This is a complete but undated MS. consisting of fols. 1-3, and written in Bengali characters. It begins with the words "*atha Bhavadeviya-Sambandha-vivekaḥ*," and ends with the colophon "*iti Kāla-vaḍabhī* (? *Bāla-valabhī*)*-bhujanga-śrī-Bhavadeva-Bhaṭṭa-virachitaḥ Sambandha-vivekaḥ samāptaḥ*." Though both in the beginning and in the colophon the work is called *Sambandha-viveka*, and its authorship is clearly ascribed to Bhavadeva, the fact that some of the references, made in the later Smṛiti Nibandhas, to Bhavadeva's *Sambandha-viveka* are not found in the above mentioned MS., tends to show that our MS. contains only a summary of the original work.

[114] See *Sambandha-viveka*. fol. 3a.

[115] For similar injunction cf. *PRP*. 117.

[116] King Sāmalavarman had quite a large number of wives (*IB.* 23) ; Bhavadeva's father had two wives (*IB.* 37).

[117] *DB.* 83.

[118] Cf. *Saṁbandha-viveka*, fol. 2b ; also *DB.* 79, 98.

[119] Fols. 10a-27b.

[120] The dowry of the bridegroom is referred to in the Charyā-padas (*BGD.* 33).

[121] Gifts were made to the bride in this bridal procession (*DB.* 80).

[122] Unimportant details have been left out of the account of the marriage ceremony given in the text.

[123] The Charyā-padas refer to various musical instruments which were played when the bridegroom proceeded to the bride's house. These were *paṭaha*, *mādal*, *karaṇḍa*. *kasālā* and *dundubhi* (*BGD.* 33 ; *DUS.* IV. No. II 28-29 ; *JL.* XXX. 41-42).

[124] *KV.* 412, 102, 294, 417, 413

[125] *RC.* III. 35.

[126] *KV.* 514 ; also *Kālikā* Purāṇa (Venkaṭeśvara Press ed.) 61, 21-22. For *KV.* cf. *supra* p. 368. Regarding the date and provenance of the present *Kālikā* Purāṇa, cf. Hazra, *ABORI.* XXII. 1-23.

[127] See *KV.* 514 ; *Kālikā* Purāṇa 61, 21-22. It is difficult to believe that the action hinted by the line '*bhaga-liṅga-kriyābhiś=cha krīḍayeyur=alam janāḥ* was actually practised by the people on this occasion.

[128] *KV.* 470.

[129] *KV.* 294 ff.

[130] *DB*, 43, 127.

[131] *KV.* 403-4. For a more detailed description of this festival, see Śrīnāthāchārya-chuḍāmaṇi's *Kṛitya-tattvārṇava* (Dacca University MS. No. 4630), fols. 70a, 71b.

[132] *KV.* 470.

[133] *Kṛitya-tattvārṇava*, fols. 71b-72b.

[134] *KV.* 403. See also *Kṛitya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 68a-b.

[135] *KV.* 405-6.

[136] *KV.* 325, 494-95, 409, 106. 292-93, 400, 422, 418, 333, 265, 278, 351. See also *Kṛitya-tattvārṇava*, 72b-73a.

[137] The meaning of the Charyā-padas (*supra* pp. 392-4) is not always clear. Dr. M. Shahidulla published an article in *Naṭarāja* (a Bengali journal) quoting many passages referred to in this chapter with an indication as to their meaning, and subsequently published the texts with translations (*DUS.* IV. No. II. 1-87). Dr. P. C. Bagchi's interpretation is occasionally different (*JL.* XXX. 1-156).

[138] Beal-*Records.* II. 194-204.

[138a] *I-tsing*, pp. 62-4. Cf. Chapter XIII, concluding section of Part I.

[139] *Mitākṣharā*, Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 257.

[140] This will be evident from *PRP.* Also cf. *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, Part II, Chs. 2-6, summarised in Hazra, *Upapurāṇas* II. 429-33

[141] *Kāmasūtra*, VI. 5. 33.

[142] *Supru* p. 357.

[143] *Kāmasūtra*, V. 6. 41.

[144] Love-letters written by women are referred to in *Pavana-dūta* (v. 40).
[145] Cf. pp. 464-5, and also *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa (Brahma-khaṇḍa x- 166-70)
[146] Prakṛiti-khaṇḍa, LXI. 79.
[147] *DB.* p. 85.
[148] *Ibid.* 105.
[149] *PRP.* 69 ; *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, II. 8. 11.
[150] *PRP.* 67-68.
[151] Govindānanda, in his *Varsha-kaumudī* (p. 216) condemns the view of Śrīnāthāchārya.
[152] *KV.* 379.
[153] *PRP.* 67.
[154] *Ibid.* 66.
[155] *SPP.* 1326, p. 86 f.n., 103.
[156] *BGD.* 12.
[157] *PRP.* 66 ff.
[158] *Ibid.* 59, 66.
[159] *Ibid.* 65
[160] *BGD.* 44.
[161] *PRP.* 66 ff.
[162] The detailed account given above is based on *Food and Drink in Ancient Bengal* by Taponath Chakravarty.
[163] *BGD.* 7 ; *JL.* XXX. 6. According to Dr. Shahidullah's interpretation (*op. cit.* 5) the wine was fermented by a thin bark.
[164] *PRP.* 40 ff.
[165] Taponath Chakravarty, *op, cit*, pp. 48, 14-5.
[166] Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India*, Ed. by R. C. Majumdar, Fragment XXVII (p. 69)
[167] I-tsing, 40.
[168] Upapurāṇas II. 431.
[169] Edited by T. Vidyananda, 2nd Ed. p. 174.
[170] Cf. plates of illustrations in Ch. XV.
[171] The upper scarf of the women was worn in different fashions ; cf. *Pavana-dūta.* v. 35 ; *Āryā-saptaśatī.* II. 5. I ; Bhatt-*Cat.* Pl. II, XXV. LXII (*a*).
[172] Cf. Bhatta-*Cat.* Pl. XIV.
[173] *DB.* 148.
[174] *Paharpur.* Pl. XIX *a, b, d.*
[175] *Ibid.* Pl. XXXIV (*a*).
[176] *Paharpur.* Pl. LI (*b*). The Charyā-padas refer to naked Kāpālis. They besmeared their body with ashes, held *khaṭvāṅga* in one hand and *ḍamaru* on the other, wore garlands, *kuṇḍalas* and anklets, and tied a bell on their leg (*BGD.* 19. 21).
[177] Cf. *Paharpur.* Pl. LVII.
[178] *Paharpur. Pl.* XXVIII. XXIX (*a.*)
[179] For bead-necklaces, cf. *Ibid.* Pl. LXII.
[180] *Ibid.* Pl. XXXIV (*a*).
[181] *Ibid.* p. 67. Cf. Pls. XLVII—LVIII.

[182] *Ibid.* Pl. XXXV (*c*).
[183] *Karmānushṭhāna-paddhati*, fol. 53a ; cf. also *Pitṛi-dayitā*, p. 4.
[184] *Paharpur*. Pl. LVII.
[185] *Pavana-dūta*, VV. 40, 42, 43, 44,
[186] *BGD*. 44, 49, 9,
[187] *Paharpur*. Pls. LX, LXI, ,LXIV. Bhatta-*Cat*. pp, XXXV-XXXVI.
[188] *BGD*. 22.
[189] *BGD*. 30.
[190] According to *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 422) the dancing and music in the Kārtikeya temple at Puṇḍravardhana, which followed the rules of Bharata, were enjoyed by Jayanta who himself knew the literature on this subject (*Bharatānugam-ālakshya nritya-gītādi-śāstravit*).
[191] *RC*. III. 35-37
[192] Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's Ins. v. 30 (*IB*. 35, 41)
[193] For dancing, cf. *Paharpur*. Pl. XXXIV (*a*), XXXIX (*c*), XL. (*c*), XLIII (*d*), ; for musical instrument, cf. *ibid*. Pl. LI.
[194] *Pavana-dūta*, VV. 33. 38.
[195] *Paharpur*. Pl. XXVIII (*b*), XLII (*e*).
[196] Cf. *go-rathyā* in the second Grant of Dharmāditya (Ins. No. A. 21).
[197] Cf. classical accounts of four-horsed chariots maintained by the king of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai (*supra*, p. 30)
[198] *DB*. 148
[199] A caparisoned horse is represented in *Paharpur*, Pl. LIII (*f*).
[200] Elephants as a military force in Bengal are referred to in classical accounts of the Gangaridai, and in Indian literature and inscriptions. For literature on elephants written in Bengal, cf. *supra* p. 353. For sculptural representations, cf. *Paharpur*, Pl. LIII (*a*).
[201] *BGD*. 30. The original text has *karaha* which Dr. Shahidullah translates as camel (*DUS*. IV. No. II. 26). But *karaha* (=*karabha*) may mean a young elephant ; cf. also *JL*. XXX. 38.
[202] *Paharpur*. Pl. LIII (b). *ASI*. 1930-34, Pt. II p. 256, Pl. CXXVII (*b*).
[203] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*. IV. 36 where the Vaṅgas are referred to as *nau-sādhanodyatān* which indicates the skill of the people in the use of boats for all purposes including war (cf. *supra* pp. 316, 344-5).
[204] *BGD*. 16, 24, 26, 27, 58, 59, 73 ; *JL*. XXX. 28-30. The use of the wheels (*chakra*) is not quite apparent. For further references to boats and harbours cf. Ins. Nos. A. 17-21.
[205] *RC*.[2] III. VV. 5-28.
[206] *RC*.[2] III. VV. 29-31.
[207] *Pavana-dūta*, VV. 36 ff.
[208] *I-tsing*, 40. See pp. 459-60.
[209] Edilpur C.P. v. 9 (*IB*. 122, 127), which is repeated in the records of Viśvarūpasena.
[210] *Kāmasūtra*, v. 6, 38, 41.
[211] The verses of Bṛihaspati are quoted in *Smṛiti-chandrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa (Mysore ed.) I. p. 25, and *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha (ed. P. V. Kane), p. 7.

[213] *DB.* 149. The institution of slavery can be traced in Bengal from a very early period. It is referred to in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (v. 6. 38). The slaves were regarded as absolute property of a person and were inherited by his successors. It is laid down in the *DB.* (p. 7) that if there is a single female slave inherited by more than one, she must serve, in turn, the different owners, during specific periods, according to number of shares held by each.

[214] Deopārā Ins., v. 30 (*IB.* 49,55). Bhavadeva's Ins., v. 30 (*IB.* 35,41).

[214] *Pavana-dūta*, v. 28. The '*deva-vāra-vanitā*' of Rāmāvatī, capital of Rāmapāla, mentioned in the *Rāmacharita* (III. 37), probably also refers to *Deva-dāsis*.

[215] Nothing more strikingly illustrates the very low standard of sexual morality of the time than the description of these courtesans. Dhoyī calls them *vāra-rāmāḥ*, but does not hesitate to add that they made one feel as if the goddess Lakshmī had come down on earth (to attend her lord, the god Murāri). According to the Ins. of Bhavadeva (B. 90), 'the hundred damsels (given to Vishṇu) restored to life, as it were, the god of love..and were the prison-houses of the passionate, and the meeting-hall of Music, Dalliance and Beauty." These leave no doubt that the sensual dominated the religious aspect of the institution of *Deva-dāsīs*.

[216] The following remarks of Dr. R. L. Mitra about a certain Tantric text, though perhaps not quite accurate or just, are very relevant to this question. "The professed object is devotion of the highest kind, but in working it out, theories are indulged in and practices enjoined which are at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of. The work is reckoned to be the sacred scripture of millions of intelligent beings" (*Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 261). In spite of all that can be reasonably said in extenuation of Tāntric literature (*v. supra* pp. 379-80), its degrading effect on society can hardly be doubted. Even in important and widely popular Hindu religious festivals such as Durgotsava, Kāmamahotsava, *etc.* (*supra* pp. 452-3) the sacred texts emphasise certain features which cannot be uttered or written without violating rules of decency according to modern ideas.

[217] Dr. S.K. Chatterji in *New Review*, 1937, p. 546.

[218] For the origin of the common name Vaṅgāla (from which are derived the modern *Vāṅglā*, *Vāṅgālī*, and European *Bengala*, *Bengal*, *Bengali*), see *supra* p. 11 and *IHQ.* XVI. 225 ff.

[219] This has been fully discussed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Bhāratavarsha, Jyaishṭha* 1348 B.S., p. 698).

[220] The existence of *gaṅi* does not necessarily mean a corroboration of the *Kulaji* story, as a whole, about its origin. The fact that Saptaśatī Brāhmaṇas have also their *gāṅi* goes against the assumption in the *Kulajis* that the system originated with the grant of villages to the five Brāhmaṇas and their descendants. That the details of this *gāṅi* system as given in the *Kulajis* have been proved to be wrong in specific instances will be shown later. For a detailed account of the *gāṅis* see App. II.

[221] Epigraphic evidence shows that these Brāmaṇas also settled in Vaṅga, outside the limits of Rāḍhā and Varendra, even during the Hindu period (*EI.* XVII. 356).

[222] According to *Kulcjis*, Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Chhāndaḍa (Ś. 654) of Vātsya *gotra*, flourished in Rāḍhā in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. (*VJI.* 142). An inscription from Orissa relates that Govindaśarman, son of Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa of the Vātsya *gotra*, an emigrant from Uttara-Rāḍhā, received grant of land in (Gaṅga Era) 308=*c.* A.D. 808 (*EI.* XXIII 74). One may be inclined to identify Nārāyaṇa of the *Kulajis* with Nārāyaṇa of the inscription.

The *Kulajis* mention the name of Atihara of the Vandyaghaṭīya *gāñi*, who was a contemporary of Vallālasena (*VJI.* 40). Sarvānanda, who wrote *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* in 1159 A.D., states that his father was Ārtihara of Vandyaghaṭī. It is very likely that Atihara is identical with Ārtihara of the *Ṭīkā-sarvasva*.

The *Kulajis* further relate that Atihara's father was Pitho, and his grandfather was Aniruddha. His brother Dharmāṁśu's sons were Devala, Vāmana, and Kuvera, who were contemporaries of Lakshmaṇasena. All of them belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*. The donee of the Śaktipur Grant of Lakshmaṇasena is Kuvera of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, whose father was Ananta, grandfather was Pṛithvīdhara, and great-grandfather was Aniruddha. (*EI.* XXI. 215). Kuvera of the *Kulajis* may be identified with Kuvera of the inscription, if we regard Dharmāṁśu as the second name of Ananta, and Pitho, a contracted form of Pṛithvīdhara.

Govardhanāchārya, the author of the *Āryā-saptaśatī* flourished in the court of the Senas (v. 39). His father was Nīlāmbara and his brother was Balabhadra. It is known from the *Kulcjis* that Utsāha's sons, Govardhanāchārya and Bala were contemporaries of Lakshmaṇasena. (*VJI.* I. 142.154). Paṇḍit Lāl Mohan Vidyānidhi in his *Saṁbandha-nirṇaya* (p. 504) takes Nīlāmbara as the other name of Utsāha. He does not, however, give the source of this information. It may be argued that Govardhanāchārya of the *Āryā-saptaśatī* is identical with Govardhanāchārya of the *Kulajis*.

[223] *Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 173-75.

[224] Cf. R. C. Majumdar, "An Indigenous History of Bengal" (*Proc. of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, XVI. 59 ff.).

[225] It would be a tedious task to give detailed reference to the statements made in this Appendix. In addition to the *Kulcji* texts the following works in Bengali may be consulted for supplying the necessary data.

(*a*) Lāl Mohan Vidyānidhi Bhaṭṭāchārya, *Saṁbandha-nirṇaya* (first published in 1874, 3rd ed., 1909).

(*b*) Mahimāchandra Majumdar, *Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa* (1st. ed. 1889, 2nd. ed. 1900).

(*c*) Nagendra Nath Vasu, *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*.

(*d*) Kālīpada Bhaṭṭāchārya, *Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇa-kulatattva* (1934).

(*e*) Umesh Chandra Gupta, *Jāti-tattva-vāridhi*, the second part being known as *Vallāla-moha-mudgara*.

For criticism of the historical value of the *Kulajis*, cf. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan*

Races, Ch. v and a series of five articles entitled 'Vaṅgīya Kulaśāstrer Aitihāsik Mūlya" by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (published in *Bhāratavarsha*, in 1346 B.S. Kārtika-Phālguna). The authorities for most of the statements made in this Appendix and a fuller discussion of many points briefly treated here will be found in these articles.

[226] This will be evident from what has been said above on pp. 18-19.

[227] *VJI.* Pt. I. 116. 126 ; Pr. II. 21. The Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas had originally fifty-six *gāñis*. Later on three more were added to them. The list given above, which follows Vāchaspatimiśra, contains the names of fifty-nine *gāñis*. The so-called *Kārikā* of Hari Miśra gives the list of fifty-six *gāñis*. Bokaṭyāla and Jhikrāḍī of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, and Hijjala of the Vātsya *gotra*, as mentioned by the *Kārikā*, do not find place in the list of Vāchaspati. Kulakuli, Kayaḍī or Koyāri, Bhaṭṭa, Puṁsika, Dīghala, and Ākāśa *gāñis*, referred to by Vāchaspatimiśra, are not mentioned in the *Kārikā*. According to some, Dīghala, Puṁsika, and Bhaṭṭa are the three new *gāñis*, which were added to the list of fifty-six.

[228] *VJI.* Pt. II, 21.

[229] *TSS.*

[230] *VJI.* Pt. I. 140.

[231] *IB.* III. 33.

[232] *Ibid.* 33, 21.

[233] *EI.* XVII, 356, cf. Toṭaka *gāñi*.

[234] *Brāhmaṇa-śarvasva. IC.* I. 505. Cf. Gochchhāsi *gāñi*.

[235] Ed. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, Introd. 43, 47, 58, 71, 81. Cf. Tailavāṭī *gāñi*.

[236] *Bhāratavarsha*, Pausha 1332 p. 78 ; *IB.* 181.

[237] *EI.* XV. 301. Cf. Matśyāśī *gāñi* ; Śrīdharas' *Nyāya-kandali*. *JAHRS.* IV. 158-162.

[238] *India Office Cat.* (Vol. I, Pt, I, No. 450) ; Dacca University MS. No. 4092. Cf. Chautkhaṇḍī Bāpula or Bapuli *gāñis*.

[239] *Adbhuta-sāgara* ; *IA.* 1922, p. 47 cf. Mahintyā *gāñi*,

[240] *JASB.* 1912, 343. Cf. Champāṭī *gāñi*. The donee of the Manahali Grant of Madanapāla is Vaṭeśvara, son of Śaunaka, grandson of Prajāpati, and great-grandson of Vatsa. They belonged to Kautsa *gotra*, and they had the *pravaras* of Śāṇḍilya, Asita, and Devala. Vaṭeśvara was Champāhiṭṭīya and a resident of Champāhiṭṭī (*Champāhiṭṭīyāya Champāhiṭṭī-vāstavyāya*..)(*GL.* 154).

The Kautsa *gotra* has the *pravaras* of Āṇgirasa or Māndhātā, Āmbarīsha, and Yauvanāśva (*VJI.* Pt. I. 46), and not Śāṇḍilya, Asita, and Devala, which are the *pravaras* of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* (*Ibid.* 47). This anomaly cannot be explained. Champāṭī is a *gañi* of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas. Vaṭeśvara was outside the society of the Rāḍhiya and Vārendra Brahmans, as he belonged ta Kautsa *gotra*. But that he was closely related to Śāṇḍilya *gotra* admits of no doubt. Some Saptaśatī Brāhmaṇas are found belonging to Kautsa *gotra* (*Ibid.* p. 88). The Saptaśatīs have forty-two *gāñis*, some of which are identical with those of Rāḍhīyas and Vārendras. But Champāṭī is not mentioned as one of them. It is obvious that Champāhiṭṭī was more than a place of residence to Vaṭeśvara. It was his *gāñi* or the seat of his family (*kula-sthāna*).

[241] Cf. colophons of *KV.* Pāribhadra has been taken as equivalent to Pāri (hāla), which has given the name to a *gāñi* of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas (*KV.* Introduction, p. viii).

[242] *Upapurāṇa, II.* pp. 396-7,f.n.,80.

[242a] *HB.* p. 567

[243] Ibid, pp. 448-455.

[244] Ibid, p. 458.

[245] Cf. *Bhāratavarsha* (Bengali Journal), XVII, Part II (1336-37 B.S.), p. 677.

[246] *Upapurāṇa*, II. p. 461.

[247] *Upapurāṇa*, I. p. 346.

[248] *Upapurāṇa*, II. p. 343.

[249] Ibid, p. 345.

[250] *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 166.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION

PART I. RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

Reference has been made above (p. 22) to the religious ideas of the primitive peoples of Bengal before they came into contact with the Aryans, and of their gradual Aryanisation (p. 26). There is no doubt that the different religious systems—Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina—made their influence felt in Bengal from a very early time, not later than 4th century B.C., though their gradual progress cannot be traced in detail, with any degree of certainty, before the Gupta period. A short sketch of the available information on the different religious systems in Bengal, both before and after it, as given below.

I. BRĀHMAṆICAL RELIGION

The most important evidence of the stronghold of Vedic culture in Bengal is furnished by the large number of land grants of which a list is given in the Appendix at the end of this volume. As many of these record grant of land to the Brāhmaṇas, they contain incidental references to the different Vedic schools to which they belonged and their religious performances for which lands were granted. Thus we find that the Brāhmanas of the Ṛigvedic, Yajurvedic (Vājasaneya) and Sāmavedic schools belonging to Bhāradvāja, Bhārgava, Vātsya, Gautama, Kāṇva, Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinya and many other *gotras*, were settled in Bengal and performed *Agnihotra* and the five *Mahāyajñas* (great sacrifices). This was rendered possible, to a large extent, by the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas, versed in the four Vedas, all over Bengal, to which specific reference is made in many epigraphic records of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries A.D. A typical instance is furnished by the Nidhanpur CP. (A. 27) which refers to the settlement, in Sylhet, of 205 Brāhmaṇas belonging to various *gotras* and such Vedic *śākhās* as *Vājasaneyī*, *Chārakya* and *Taittirīya* of the *Yajurveda*, *Chhāndoga* of the *Sāmaveda* and *Vāhvṛichya* of the *Ṛigveda*. Villagers also granted lands to prominent Brāhmaṇas for the

enhancement of merits (*puṇya*) of themselves and their parents. Reference is made in one of these records (A. 36) to settlement of Brāhmaṇas, versed in the four Vedas, even in the remote region of Tippera, the easternmost region of Bengal, "full of dense forest, where tigers and other wild animals roamed at large." The epigraphic records also refer to the construction of temples for various Brāhmaṇical gods, and permanent endowments were made for defraying expenses of their repair and making provisions for supply of cow's milk, incense, flowers and lamp etc. and maintenance of *Madhuparka, bali, charu, satra* etc.

Such references are found in the epigraphic records from the fourth to the end of the twelfth century A.D. Incidentally, many records refer to the great scholarship of the Brāhmaṇas in Bengal to which reference has been made above in Chapter XI on Literature. They prove that there was no lack in Bengal, in the Hindu period, of Brāhmaṇas versed in the study of the different branches of the sacred Brāhmaṇical literature, including the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Mīmāṁsā etc., and capable of performing Vedic sacrifices. This refutes, in a way, a very popular tradition in Bengal to the effect that a king named Ādiśūra had to import five Brāhmaṇas from Kānyakubja (Kanauj) in order to perform a sacrifice as no one competent to perform it was available in Bengal. Various dates have been assigned to Ādiśūra from the eighth century A.D. downwards, in the various genealogical texts which all belong to the late medieval period. But the more reliable contemporary epigraphic records give quite a different picture.

The Vedic culture made a great headway in Bengal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries under the patronage of the Varman and Sena kings. The inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (B. 90) refers to hundred villages as the birth-place of Sāvarṇa *gotra* Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedic lore. The Belava CP. of Bhojavarman (B. 88) refers to Brahmins who were attached to the studies of the Vedas and were settled in Uttara-Rāḍhā. The same plate refers to the "zeal of the Varman family for the three Vedas which cover the nakedness of men". The names of various Vedic *śākhās* like Kauthumī, Āśvalāyana, Kāṇva, and Paippalāda are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Sena kings. Sāmantasena, the founder of the Sena royal family in Bengal (above, p. 219), is called a *Brahmavādī*, who retired in his old age to a hermitage in forests on the banks of the Ganges "which were full of renowned ascetics and were fragrant with the smoke of

sacrificial butter—where the young deer sucked the breasts of the kind-hearted hermit-wives and the multitude of parrots were familiar with the entire text of the Vedas. Of course, as said above, Brāhmaṇas from outside Bengal were settled in Bengal, but, as will be shown in the next Chapter, many eminent Brāhmaṇas of Bengal were similarly settled in many parts of India outside Bengal.

As happened in other parts of India, Purāṇic forms of Brāhmaṇical religion flourished side by side with the Vedic cults. Though the Vedic religion never ceased to be a living force the Purāṇic gradually became more and more popular, till it almost replaced the latter, so far at least as the general populace was concerned. Though the gods who were worshipped still bore Vedic names, the system of worship was completely transformed, as would be evident from the construction of temples and some of the ceremonials associated with them, mentioned above, such as worship with incense, flowers etc. which were not probably known in the Vedic period.

The epigraphic records leave no doubt that the people of Bengal had a complete knowledge of Purāṇic mythology. Reference may be made to a few culled from the inscriptions found in Bengal.

Indra (Nos. B.2,8,18,24) was the lord of the gods and his consort Paulomī was a model of fidelity. He is also called Purandara who suffered defeat at the hands of the Daitya king Bali. Lakshmī, although restless by nature, is a faithful consort of Hari who was born from the Ocean, is a co-wife of Vasundharā or earth, and often rides on Garuḍa with her lord (B. 2,8,18,20). Vishṇu is now transformed into Kṛishṇa with his numerous names Śrīpati, Kshmāpati, Murāri, Janārdana *etc.*, and reference is made to his various exploits described in the epics and the Purāṇas (B. 8, 18, 20, 46, 47). We also find references to Gopāla, the child-god, who, though born of Devakī, was carried to Yaśodā and brought up by her. But this child-god was worshipped as an *Avatāra* of Vishṇu, as he is spoken of as the lord of Lakshmī (B.20). The other *Avatāras* of Vishṇu are also known (B.8,18,88, C.7). The Dwarf (*Vāmana*) incarnation is mentioned with the story of Bali, as narrated in the Purāṇas, and so are Varāha, Narasiṁha, and Paraśurāma. The incarnation of Kṛishṇa and his amorous alliances with one hundred Gopīs are also mentioned, though at the same time he is called the leading figure (*sūtradhāra*) of the *Mahābhārata* (B.88). The Sun-god (driven in the chariot drawn by seven horses) is described as the right eye of Hari and also founder of the royal family of the Pālas (B.94). Mention is also

made of the humbling of the Vindhya by the sage Agastya (C. 2). The Moon-god Chandra, also called Śītāṁśu, who bears the mark of hare (*śaśadhara*), is born from the ocean, and Rohiṇī and Kānti (?) are his wives. He is said to have been a descendant of Atri, who was the offspring of Brahmā, and a long line of the descendants of Chandra (up to the historical Varman family) is mentioned in B.88.

Among other Purāṇic myths there are allusions to the pairs, Hutabhuja (Fire) and his consort Svāhā, Dhanapati (Guhyakapati, Kuvera) and Bhadrā, Brahmā (born from the lotus that sprang from the navel of Vishṇu) and Sarasvatī, *etc.* Stories of Pṛithu, Sagara (and other Purāṇic heroes), Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of gods (the model of wisdom), Agastya who drank the ocean, and Paraśurāma (who led a campaign against the Kshatriyas) are frequently alluded to, and examples of Pṛithu, Dhanañjaya, Nala, Yayāti, Ambarīsha, Sagara *etc.*, are held out as models, to inspire the kings of Bengal (A.18, 20-23; B.2,8,20,94). The epigraphic records also mention many of the myths connected with Śiva and his consorts Umā and Sarvāṇī (both models of fidelity), and the death of Satī at an early age in the sacrifice of Daksha.

Śiva's different names such as Sadāśīva, Ardhanārīśvara, Dhūrjaṭi and Maheśvara were known and we find reference to Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa, his two sons (B.20; C. 1,5)

Images of most of the gods and goddesses mentioned above have also been found in Bengal to which a detailed reference will be made in Part II on Iconography.

II. SECTS OF BRĀHMAṆICAL RELIGION

The Purāṇic religion is characterised by the growth of a number of sects, each of which showed devotion to a particular god. The two most important of these sects are Vaishṇavas and Śaivas (including Śāktas).

A. Vaishṇavism

The Vaishṇavas are special devotees of Vishṇu in his various forms or *Avatāras* (incarnations). The earliest reference to this cult is found in a short record (A.3) of three lines engraved on the back wall of a cave in a hill named Susunia, situated about 12 miles north-west of the town of Bankura. The first two lines of it incised

below a big wheel (*chakra*) with flaming rib and hub, refer to it as the work of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Chandravarman, the lord of Pushkaraṇa. The third line is incised to the right of the wheel, but its reading, and consequently also the meaning, is not very clear. It certainly refers to the dedication (of the cave) to Chakrasvāmin, which literally means the "wielder of the discus". i.e., Vishṇu.

It may be reasonably inferred that the excavated cave, on the wall of which the inscription was incised, was intended to be a temple of Vishṇu. King Chandravarman, who dedicated it, probably flourished in the 4th century A.D. (pp. 39-40).

Another inscription (A.5) dated G.E. 128 (=447-8 A.D.). found at Baigram in the Bogra District (N. Bengal), refers to a gift of land for the purpose of making an endowment for defraying the expenses of the "repairs to the temple of Lord Govindasvāmin, when damaged or dilapidated, and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers." There is a large number of similar epigraphic records, which leave no doubt that practically the whole of Bengal, including its remote frontiers in the North and East, was studded with temples in the fifth century A.D. A copper-plate Grant of Dāmodarpur (A.9) refers to endowments for building two temples and store-rooms for gods Kokāmukhasvāmin (and ?) one nāmaliṇgam (?) in Ḍoṅga-*grāma* in the summit of the Himālaya (Himavachchhikhara).

A perpetual endowment was also made in N. Bengal by an inhabitant of Ayodhyā (A. 10) for making repairs of whatever is broken or torn in the 'shrine of Bhagavān Śvetavarāha-Svāmin in the forest here' in order to increase the religious merits of his mother and for the continuance of *bali, charu, satra*, the supply of cow's milk, incense and flowers, and the maintenance of *madhuparka*, lamps, *etc.* This inscription is dated in G.E. 224 (=543 A.D.) and the temple of Varāha-Svāmin may refer to the older temple of the same god mentioned in A. 9, as both are situated in a forest region in Koṭivarsha-*Vishaya*. But these may be different shrines. The existence of a temple of Pradyumneśvara in the Tippera District before the sixth century A.D. is proved by the fact that the lands granted to it are said to form the boundary of a Buddhist monastery in a record dated 507 A.D. (A.14). At a somewhat later date King Jīvadhāraṇa, at the request of his powerful feudal chief Lokanātha (above, pp. 79 ff), granted lands for the temple of Lord Ananta-Nārāyaṇa, erected in an almost inaccessible forest-region

in Tippera District. The following paragraph of the record (A. 36) is of great interest on account of the description of the locality, and the thorough knowledge of the Puraṇic mythology displayed in it: (Lines 21-26.) "In the *vishaya* (district) of Suvvuṅga, in the forest-region, having no distinction of natural and artificial, having a thick network of bush and creepers, where deer, buffaloes, boars, tigers, serpents, *etc.* enjoy, according to their will, all pleasures of home-life.....I have caused a temple to be made and have had set up therein (an image of) the infinite Lord Ananta-Nārāyaṇa who has shown favour to me. There, for the perpetual maintenance of *ashṭapushpika*[1], *bali*, *charu*, *satra*, to Bhagavān Ananta-Nārāyaṇa, whose person is adored by the chief gods, the *Asuras*, the sun, the moon, *Kuvera*, the *Kinnaras*, the *Vidyādharas*, the chief serpent (-gods), the *Gandharvas*, Varuṇa, the *Yakshas*....., and (also for the residence of) Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, who have a community there, an endowment in this forest-region, having no distinction of natural and artificial, has been granted with full title, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, by king (Loka) nātha by a copper-plate grant."[2]

Even though influence of Buddhism steadily grew during the Pāla period, development of Vaishṇavism is also proved by epigraphic records. A temple (*deva-kula*) of the god Nanna-Nārāyaṇa is referred to in a record of Dharmapāla (B.2), while the Garuḍa Pillar Inscription at Bādāl (B. 20) shows its continued importance, during the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla.

The early Sena rulers were devoted to the God Sadāśiva, but Lakshmaṇasena and his successors were devout Vaishṇavas. Even Vijayasena, though a Śaiva, built a lofty temple of Pradyumneśvara—a god described as a composite deity formed by the union of Vishṇu and Śiva.

The opening verses of the Chittagong copperplate of Dāmodara-deva (C. 19) dated 1165 Śaka (=1243 A.D.) also make obeisance to both Vishṇu and Śiva.

It is evident from the epigraphic records that the tutelary deity of the Vaishṇavas was known by various names such as Vishṇu, Hari, Govinda-svāmin, Śvetavarāha-svāmin, Nārāyaṇa (with Ananta or Nanna prefixed to it), and Kokāmukha-svāmin. We may reasonably accept the associations of these names with the Vaishṇava cult, but there is some doubt about the last. There has been a keen and protracted controversy over the real significance

of this somewhat obscure deity, into which it is not necessary to enter for our present purpose. It will suffice to give a short summary. Dr. R. G. Basak, who originally edited the record (A. 9), referred in this connection to Kokāmukhā, a form of the goddess Durgā, and to the Kokāmukha *tīrtha*, both mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. He did not, however, suggest any satisfactory identification of the god Kokāmukha-svāmin. Dr. D. C. Sircar at first held that Kokāmukha was a form of Śiva.[3] This theory was based on the supposed connection of the name "Ādya Kokāmukha-svāmin", as given in the Dāmodarpur inscription (A. 9), with the appellations *Ādyā* and *Kokāmukhā* used in reference to Durgā, the consort of Śiva, and on the term *nāma-liṅga* which, according to Dr. Sircar, occurs in the epigraph in the sense of *'a Liṅga* established after someone's name,' and points to the god Kokāmukha-svamin. The land donated in favour of the deity according to the Dāmodarpur Grant was situated on the Himavachchhikhara. Dr. Sircar pointed out that the expression Himavachchhikhara literally means 'a peak or summit of the Himālayas' ; but he added : "Here however it appears to refer to a territorial unit called a forest in Inscription No. A. 10. The situation of the land granted to the gods suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. There is as yet no proof that the Koṭivarsha district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal".[4] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri threw fresh light on the question by citing verses from chapters 219 and 229 of the *Brahma* Purāṇa which, in his opinion, "prove beyond doubt that like Śvetavarāha-svāmin, with whom he is associated in the record, Kokāmukha is a form of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Vishṇu and that the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* was in the Himalayan region on the northern fringe of Bengal." He further added :

"In chapter 219 of the *Brahma* Purāṇa we have a legend about the origin of the place of pilgrimage styled Kokāmukha *tīrtha*. It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of the story. In short it relates how Vishṇu in his Boar form rescued the divine *piṭris* who had been engulfed in the waters of the Kokā, a stream that dashed through the Himālayan rocks (*śiśir-ādri*)... It may be noted in this connection that according to the same legend, Narakāsura, who sprang from the union of Vishṇu in his Boar form with the goddess Mahī or Chhāyā, and was made lord of the city of Prāgjyotisha by his Divine Father, was born in the Kokā-

mukha *tīrtha* in the Himālayas. The story apparently points to the proximity of the holy spot in question to Prāgjyotisha in Kāmarūpa (Lower Assam and North Bengal to the east of the Karatoyā). In the Gupta period, the sacred site is known to have fallen within the limits of the Koṭivarsha *vishaya* (district) of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (province) in North Bengal."[5] Dr. D. C. Sircar later admitted that "Kokāmukha was a form of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu and drew the attention of scholars to Chapter 140 of the *Varāha* Purāṇa styled *Kokāmukha-Māhātmya-Varṇanā* which gives the location of the temple of Kokāmukha in the Himālayas.[6] It is interesting to note that J. C. Ghose had already discussed the whole question on the basis of the two Purāṇas mentioned above and quoted more or less the same verses,[7] but neither Dr. Raychaudhuri nor Dr. D. C. Sircar referred to it.

The reference to the Kokāmukha-svāmī and Śveta-Varāha-svāmī in the Damodarpur copperplate (A. 9) and to the latter alone in A. 10 is of great historical importance. It proves that the cult of the *Avatāras* of Vishṇu prevailed in Bengal during the Gupta age and there was already a belief in at least two different varieties (Sveta-Varāha and Kokāmukha) of the Varāha form of Vishṇu. The construction of the temples in the Himālayas shows the extent of the Brāhmaṇical religion in Bengal even in that early age.

It is also of interest to note that a *nama-liṅga* was also probably installed by the side of the statues of the Varāha *Avatāras* of Vishṇu. Dr. D. C. Sircar, who emends the word as *nāma-liṅga*, takes it to denote a *Liṅga* with a particular name (generally of the devotee who is responsible for its construction and establishment). If we accept this interpretation it only proves that there were persons who worshipped both Vishṇu and Śiva—a fact demonstrated by the worship of Pradyumneśvara, mentioned above, who is expressly referred to as the union of Hari and Hara in the self-same body (C. 2).

There is no doubt that of all the Avatāras of Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa was the most popular in Bengal, at least from the sixth century A.D. onwards.

"The most important archaeological evidence is supplied by the sculptures at Paharpur, the oldest of which probably belongs to the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., and the latest to the 8th. In the oldest group there are representations of various incidents from the life of Kṛishṇa, such as his uprooting the twin Arjuna trees, killing the demon Keśin etc. Balarāma is also represented and also

the fight of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma with Chānūra and Mushṭika, the wrestlers of Kaṁsa. Incidents of the early life of Kṛishṇa at Gokula are also depicted. There are representations of Vasudeva's carrying the new born Kṛishṇa to Gokula, Kṛishṇa and Balarāma with the cowherd boys, Kṛishṇa's holding up the mount Govardhana, amorous scenes with the Gopīs *etc.* Special interest attaches to one of these sculpturcd panels in which Kṛishṇa is represented as engaged in amorous activities with a lady. Mr. K. N. Dikshit has taken the latter to be Rādhā, but this may be justly doubted. She is more probably to be identified with Rukmiṇī or Satyabhāmā."[8]

Whatever we might think of this there is no doubt that the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult formed the characteristic feature of Bengal Vaishṇavism before, probably long before, the end of the Hindu rule. This is definitely proved by the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva mentioned above (p. 356). As a matter of fact, since then the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult must have grown in popularity which reached its climax in the fifteenth century, as is testified to by the poems of Chaṇḍīdāsa, and the doctrine of Chaitanya. Its great popularity has continued undiminished till today. It has even been suggested that Rādhā was probably a Bengali innovation. For, though Kṛishṇa's amorous acts with the Gopīs (cow-herd girls) are described in detail in the *Bhāgavata-* as well as in the *Brahma-* and *Vishṇu-* Purāṇas, Rādhā is not mentioned in them. The origin and antiquity of Rādhā has formed the subject of a keen and protracted controversy, but it is beyond the scope of the present work.[9]

Another knotty problem is the influence of the Pāñcharātra system on Bengal Vaishṇavism. The following observations of Dr. P. C. Bagchi seem to be very reasonable, though it has met with severe critism from many quarters.

"The Bhāgavatism, whatever connection it might have had with Pāñcharātra at the beginning, was completely different from it in the Gupta period. The *vyūha-vāda* which was the central idea in the Pāñcharātra is absent from the Bhāgavatism of the Guptas which appears as a syncretism of various Vaishṇavite beliefs which had come to stay in the country. Vishṇu of Vedic Brāhmanism, Nārāyaṇa of the Pāñcharātras, Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva of the Sātvants, Gopāla of a pastoral people, *etc.*, all had been put in the melting pot from which originated the Bhāgavatism of the Gupta period. It is this Vaishṇavism which had found its way to Bengal in the Gupta period and had been firmly established in the Pāla period."[10]

According to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri Vyūhāvāda disappeared with the rise of worship of *Avatāras*.[11] But Dr. Bagchi differed from this view. In his opinion the "ideological basis of the *vyūha-vāda* is completely different from that of the *avatāra-vāda*, and the growth of the latter had nothing to do with the disappearance of the former. The Pāñcharātra, with its *vyūha-vāda*, did not merge into the Bhāgavatism, but lived long as a distinct form of religion. Even the Gauḍīya Vaishṇavas did not confuse *vyūha-vāda* with the *avatārāvāda* (Cf. *Chaitanya-Charitāmṛita*, Adi, Ch. 5)."[12]

Dr. D. C. Sircar opposes the view that Bhāgavatism was completely different from Pāñcharātra in the Gupta period and that the latter had nothing to do with *avatāravāda*. He points out that the "*Padma Tantra*, one of the 108 canonical Vaishṇava Tantras or Saṁhitās which is earlier than 800 A.D., uses the word *bhāgavata* and *pāñcharātrika* as synonymous and that the 39 *vishavas* (*vyūhas*) mentioned in a much earlier work, *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, include all the well-known *Avatāras*. The '*Vyūha-vādins* were very much influenced by the *avatāra-vāda*. This, however, does not signify that the *vyūha-vāda* completely died out as a philosophic doctrine."[13]

It has been claimed that Vaishṇavism in Bengal probably made a contribution to the systematisation of the theory of *Avatāra*. The grounds for this claim have been stated as follows :

"It is true that some of the *Avatāras* like Varāha, Vāmana, *etc.*, are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. It is also true that in the *Mahābhārata* and in some of the Purāṇas a number of *Avatāras* is mentioned, but an attempt at systematisation is first met with in the *Bhāgavata* Purāṇa where there are three lists of *Avatāras* of twenty-two, twenty-three and sixteen, respectively. In the inscriptions of the Pāla period we come across names of several *Avatāras* like Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana and Paraśurāma. But it is Jayadeva, of the court of Lakshmaṇasena, who gives a list of ten *Avatāras* : Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha, and Kalkin. This has since been the standard list of *Avatāras* and has been widely accepted."[14]

But the one serious flaw in this argument is the fact, ignored by the writers, that the *Varāha* Purāṇa and *Agni* Purāṇa give the same list of ten *Avatāras*, and it is difficult to decide whether Jayadeva copied from them or the case was just the reverse. For though the dates of these two Purāṇas are not known with certainty, they are generally believed to be earlier.

The *Harivaṁśa* also gives a list of ten *Avatāras*, but they are not in accordance with the established tradition of ten *Avatāras*, though the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha makes an attempt to bring the two in agreement. Thus the *Harivaṁśa*, after enumerating, Vishṇu's incarnations as (1) Lotus, (2) Boar, (3) Narasiṁha, (4) Dattātreya, (5) Jamadagni, (6) Rāma, and (7) Krishṇa, refers to the last as the ninth incarnation. On this Nīlakaṇṭha comments that though not specifically mentioned, two other *Avatāras*, namely those of Fish and Tortoise, are to be taken for granted. Then the *Harivaṁśa* mentioned Vedavyāsa as the tenth incarnation of Vishṇu and mentions Kalki as a future incarnation. The next verse says, "After the expiration of the tenth incarnation He (Lord) will send Yājñavalkya before Him and then engage in discussion with the followers of Buddhism." On this the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha remarks: "This indicates the *Avatāra* of the Lord as the sage Buddha before Kalki."[15]

It is evident from the above that the traditional list of the ten *Avatāras*, as we find in the *Gītagovinda*, had been evolved some time between the dates of *Harivaṁśa* and Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary. In any case, the description of the ten *Avatāras* by Jayadeva has obtained celebrity all over India, and the evolution of the final form of the ten *Avatāras*, which is an important landmark in the history of Vaishṇavism, must have been current in Bengal before the end of the twelfth century A.D.[16]

B. Saivism

Śaivism in its fully developed form, including the cults of Rudra, Śiva, and the phallus (ordinary and more developed *mukhaliṅga* form), and the Purāṇic mythology about them were probably evolved in the Gupta period. As mentioned above (p. 511) the Damodarpur CP. (A.9) probably refers to the installation of a *liṅga* in the Himalayan region. Saivism also enjoyed the patronage of King Vainyagupta in the sixth, and Śaśāṅka and Bhāskaravarman in the 7th century. A record of the Pāla period (B.1) refers to the installation of a four-faced image of Mahādeva in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Dharmapāla at Bodh-Gayā. The stone-slab containing the inscription has the images of Vishṇu, Sūrya and probably Śrī in three comparments. If we remember that it was installed in Bodh-Gayā during the reign of the Buddhist Emperor

Dharmapāla, it offers an interesting evidence of the catholicity of religious ideas in Bengal in those days. The same conclusion follows from the Bādāl Pillar Inscription (B.20) to which reference has been made above (pp 304-5). It gives a long description of an orthodox Brāhmaṇa family of hereditary ministers of the Buddhist Pāla kings, and we are told that the Pāla king personally attended their sacrificial ceremonies many times and accepted, with bowed head, the holy sacrificial water sprinkled on it. Another record (B.18) refers to the construction of a temple by Nārāyaṇapāla with an image of god Śiva set up therein, and the endowment of lands for its maintenance and daily worship. This temple evidently belonged to the Pāśupata Sect, as its *āchāryas* are mentioned immediately after. The Pāśupatas formed an old and very important sect of the Śaivas,[17] and the existence of this sect in Bengal is vouched for by the above record. But it is perhaps not safe to conclude from it that Śaivism in Bengal was solely of the Pāśupata Sect. The canonical texts of the Pāśupatas—the eighteen Āgamas and eight Yāmalas—declare that Bengal was outside the area which formed the centre of Śiva-Siddhānta, and though the people of Gauḍa are admitted, i.e., not excluded as unfit, the *gurus* of the country are regarded as inferior to those of the Āryāvarta proper (to the west of Magadha).[18]

As has been mentioned above, the early Sena rulers were followers of Śaivism, and though the later rulers of the dynasty were Vaishṇavas their royal seal was engraved with the image of Sadāśiva.

It is difficult to say how far Śāktism prevailed in Bengal before the end of the Hindu rule. It has been suggested by R. P. Chanda[19] that Śāktism originated in the countries of the outer Aryan belt such as Bengal, North Bihar and Gujarāt. He even quoted a verse of unknown origin which says that the Śakti cult was revealed in Gauḍa. This view is not, however, accepted by many scholars. Dr. P. C. Bagchi observers : 'There is no difficulty in admitting that there were mountain goddesses like Vindhyavāsinī, vegetation deities like Śākambharī, *etc.*, but these did not give rise to Śāktism. The basis of Śāktism was a well-established system of philosophy like the Sāṁkhya in which Prakṛiti and Purusha play the same role as that of the Śakti and Śiva. Once this philosophy was accepted, the affiliation of various local or tribal goddesses to Prakṛiti became a matter of course."[20] Dr. Bagchi traces the origin of Śakti cult directly from

the Śaiva canon. He supports this view by the following passage which occurs at the beginning of *Brahma-Yāmala*:

"The supreme energy of the ultimate being, the Śiva, assumed the form of desire (*ichchhā*). The *bindu* was energised by this desire and from it pure spiritual knowledge emanated. Sadāśiva represents this knowledge in its plenitude and from him the creation starts."[21]

Another Śaiva canonical text, the *Jayadratha-yāmala* "gives the details of the *Sādhana* of a large number of aspects of Kālī like Iśānakālī,, Rakshākālī. Vīryakālī, Prajñākālī, Saptārṇakālī, *etc.* Chakreśvarī, Ghoratārā,, Yoginīchakra, *etc.* also occur in the same text which originated in Mid-India.

"It seems probable that these orthodox traditions of Śāktism were prevalent in Bengal in the later Gupta and Pāla periods. These traditions were largely elaborated in the innumerable Tantras that were written in subsequent times, and Bengal had a large share in it. None of these Tantras, however, seems to be older than the twelfth century. There are no definite traces of Śāktism in the inscriptions of the Pālas and Senas."[22]

C. Minor religious Sects

A fair idea of the various gods and goddesses, worshipped in ancient Bengal, may be formed from the actual images, found within its geographical limits, which may be assigned to the period before 1200 A.D. In addition to the Śaiva deities like Kārtika, Gaṇeśa, and forms of Durgā, we find images of Indra, Agni, Kuvera, Bṛihaspati, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Mātṛikās, from the sixth century A.D. onwards. It is a moot point to decide whether any religious cult had developed around any of them. A passage in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 422) testifies to the existence of a temple of Kārtikeya in Puṇḍravardhana in the eighth century A.D., wherein his worship was marked by dance accompanied by vocal and instrumental music.

There is also abundant evidence that worship of the Sūrya (Sun) prevailed in Bengal. This god is not the same as the Vedic deity of that name who occupied a prominent place in the Vedic pantheon and gave rise to the Saura Sect, a school in the south which came into existence for the exclusive worship of the Sun,

identified with Brahman. But the Sun-worship prevalent in North India from the early centuries of the Christian era was imported by the Magas of Śakadvīpa who were special Sun-worshippers. These Magas or the Magi (old Persian priests) of ancient Persia who, according to the tradition recorded in an inscription, dated Śaka 1059 (1137-38 A.D.) found at Govindapur in the Gaya District, were brought into India by Sāmba, the son of Kṛishṇa. This tradition is supported by the injunction laid in the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* (60,19) of Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.) that "the installation and consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas, and generally those who worship a certain deity according to their special ritual should be made to perform the ceremony concerning that deity. Alberuni also says that the Persian priests or Magians existed in India and were called Magas."[23]

Reference to the worship of the Sun and temples erected for the deity is found in inscriptions of the fifth century A.D. found in U. P. Three generations of kings preceding Harshavardhana (7th cent. A.D.) were devotees of the Sun-god. A characteristic feature of the idol of the Sun, as described by Varāhamihira, is that his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees, and the images of the Sun, discovered in Bengal and elsewhere, have boots reaching up to the knees. This also supports the theory of importation of the cult from outside.

The oldest Sūrya image in Bengal, found at Niyāmatpur (Rajshahi District), shows distinct traces of Kushān features. Many images of the Gupta and later periods have come to light in different parts of Bengal. The popularity and importance of the Sun-worship in Bengal down to the end of Hindu rule is indicated by the opening verse in the Copper-plates of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena (C. 14, 15, 16) in praise of the Sun-god. Perhaps this popularity was partly the cause as well as effect of the deeprooted belief recorded on the pedestal of a Sūrya image from Bairhatta (Dinajpur Dt.) that the god was the healer of all diseases (*samasta-rogānām harttā*). It may be noted that in spite of its foreign origin, the solar cult was thoroughly assimilated with the Brāhmanical religion, and this was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the Sun was one of the most prominent gods in the Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā.

It may be noted that images of Revanta, reputed to be the son of the Sun-god, have also been found in Bengal.

III. JAINISM

The last two of the twenty-four Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, Pārśva and Mahāvīra, are associated with Champā and Pareshnath Hill. As both the localities are situated just outside the border of Bengal, it is natural to expect the influence of Jainism in Bengal from an early period. Curiously enough, an incident in the life of Mahāvīra, recorded in early canonical literature of the Jainas, gives a somewhat different idea. For we are told that Mahāvīra and his followers at first were ill-treated by the people of West Bengal. But, as mentioned above (pp 25-7), the same Jaina scriptures prove that Jainism gradually eatablished its influence in Bengal.

Similarly, while the sacred canons of both the Buddhist and the Jainas give lists of sixteen great States in North India at the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra, those of the former include only Aṅga, while those of the latter (in the *Bhagavatī Sutra*) adds Vaṅga and Ladha, among the eastern States, showing that the Jainas were more familiar with Bengal than the Buddhists in the early period of their history.

The earliest epigraphical evidence of the prevalence of Jainism in Bengal is a copper-plate (A. 12) discovered within the ruins of the famous temple at Pāhārpur. It records an endowment by a Brāhmaṇa and his wife for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, *etc.* and the construction of a resting place at the *Vihāra* of Vaṭa-Gohāli which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor (*Nirgrantha-nāth-Achārya*) Guhanandin belonging to the Pañcha-stūpa Section (*nikāya*) of Banaras. It may be added here that Jainism was known as Nirgrantha in the earlier days.

The inscription presents several points of interest. The name Vaṭa-Gohāli is still preserved in the name of the present village *Goālbhiṭā* where the ruins of the big temple have been unearthed. It would appear that the Jaina Vihāra was founded long before the date of the record, namely 479 A.D., as we have reference to three generations of *āchāryas*. It is also interesting to note that they were affiliated to a Jaina school with headquarters at Vārāṇasī. Lastly, the endowment of a Jaina Vihāra by a Brāhmaṇa and his wife is a further illustration of the religious catholicity of which we get so much evidence.

That Jainism continued to flourish in Bengal is proved by the account of Hiuen Tsang who travelled in Bengal about 150 years after the date of this record. This Chinese pilgrim makes a statement of the relative strength of the different religious sects in Bengal, and as this is the only source of information for such comparative estimate, his account may be quoted in full.

Referring to Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal, he says :

"There were twenty Buddhist Monasteries and above 3000 Brethren by whom the 'Great and Little Vehicles' were followed ; the Deva-Temples were 100 in number, and the followers of the various sects lived pell-mell, the Digambara Nirgranthas being very numerous."[24]

Regarding Samataṭa or East Bengal he observes :

"It had more than 30 Buddhist Monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all adherents of the Sthavira School. There were 100 Deva Temples, the various sects live pell-mell and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous."[25]

It has been suggested that the preponderance of the Nirgranthas (Jainas) was partly due to the fact that the Ājīvikas were merged with them. Dr. P. C. Bagchi observes :

"The Ājīvika sect, as is well known, was an important religious organisation of early times. It had many points of similarity in matters of doctrine with the Nirgranthas. Aśoka attaches great importance to them by mentioning them along with the Nirgranthas in Pillar Edict VII, and also by dedicating caves to them in the Barabar Hills. In the *Divyāvadāna* (xxviii) the names of the Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas alternate in an indiscriminate way. It is, therefore, not impossible that the Ājīvika sect had, by the time of Hiuen Tsang, merged into the community of the Nirgranthas who were then numerous in Bengal. In any case, there is no evidence to prove the separate existence of the Ājīvikas in Bengal."[26]

For reasons not known to us, the importance of the Nirgranthas steadily declined in Bengal, and we find no reference to them in the numerus inscriptions of Pāla and Sena periods. But their existence is proved by Jaina images which may be referred to the Pāla period. This will be discussed in detail in the section on iconography.

Reference may be made to a tradition recorded in the *Vṛihat-Kathākosha* of Harisena, composed in 931 A.D., to the effect that the Jaina *guru* of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, namely Bhadrabāhu, was the son of a Brāhmaṇa of Dvakoṭa in the Puṇḍravardhana

country.[27] While this story possesses little historical value, it perhaps indicates that North Bengal was an important centre of Jainism even in the 10th century A.D. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Devakoṭa may be the original name of the more famous town Devikoṭa in N. Bengal mentioned in the Muslim Chronicles.

IV. BUDDHISM

It is difficult to decide when Buddhism was first introduced in Bengal. According to the tradition in *Divyāvadāna* mentioned above (p. 26) in connection with the Nirgranthas, Buddhism must have been already established in N. Bengal at the time of Aśoka. This is supported by the very reasonable assumption that it formed a part of his empire. It is hardly possible that Aśoka sent missionaries to preach Buddhism not only all over India and even in distant foreign lands, but neglected the adjacent region of Bengal, even if it did not form a part of his empire. Another evidence is supplied by the fact that while the Pali Vinaya-piṭaka fixes Kajaṅgala as the eastern limit of Āryāvarta beyond which ordination was not sanctioned, the Sanskrit Vinaya text, which is generally believed to have preserved traditions of pre-Aśokan age, extends the limit to the kingdom of Puṇḍravardhana (N. Bengal). The probability, therefore, is that Buddhism was introduced into North Bengal, if not the other parts of the Province, before the time of Aśoka. This view is in full accordance with the testimony of two Votive inscriptions on the railing of the Buddhist *Stūpa* at Sāñchi of about second century B.C. recording the gifts of two inhabitants of Puñavadhana which undoubtedly stands for Puṇḍravardhana.

That Buddhism continued to prosper in the whole of Bengal during the early centuries of the Christian era is proved by an inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which may be dated in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. It gives a long list of countries—Kāshmīr, Gandhāra Chīna, *etc.*—and the Isle of Tambapaṁna (Ceylon), along with Vaṅga, as the countries converted by the fraternities (of monks of Tambapaṁna). The purport of the record is not quite clear, but it certainly proves that Vaṅga was reckoned to be one of the important centres of Buddhism.

The first definite evidence of the prosperity of Buddhism in Bengal is furnished by the accounts of Fa-hien who visited India in the first decade of the fifth century. A.D. Unfortunately, the only place in

Bengal visited by him was Tāmralipti, and he describes Buddhism to be in a flourishing state in this sea-port of South Bengal. There were twenty-two monasteries with resident monks and Fa-hien stayed there two years, writing out his *sūtras*, and drawing pictures of images.[28]

The Gunaighar (Tippera Dt.) Grant of Vainyagupta (A. 13), dated 507-8 A.D., refers to the Buddhist Avaivarttika Saṅgha of the Mahāyāna Sect, a monastery, called Āśrama-Vihāra, dedicated to Ārya Avalokiteśvara, and two other Buddhist Vihāras in the same locality, one of which was called Rāja-Vihāra or royal Vihāra. It shows that Buddhism was firmly established even in the remote eastern frontier of Bengal before the sixth century A.D.

From the detailed accounts of the Chinese pilgrims we may form a fairly good idea of the condition of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D. Hiuen Tsang visited Bengal about 637 A.D. His general description of Buddhism in Puṇḍravardhana and Samataṭa has been quoted above (p. 520). To this may be added the following details about "a magnificent Buddhist establishment" situated about 3 miles to the west of the capital of Puṇḍravardhana : "In this monastery which had spacious halls and tall storeyed chambers, were above 700 Brethren, all Mahāyānists ; it had also many distinguished monks from "East India."..... Near it was an Aśoka tope (*stūpa*)....and not far from it was a temple with an image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara which gave supernatural exhibitions and was consulted by people from far and near."[29]

Near the capital of Samataṭa also there was an Aśoka tope. In a monastery near it there was a dark-blue jade image of the Buddha, eight feet high, exercising marvellous powers.[30]

Sheng-che, to whom reference has been made above (p. 78), visited India in the second half of the 7th century A.D., and has left a valuable account of the state of Buddhism in Samataṭa. "The king of the country at this time was Rājabhaṭa, who was a fervent worshipper of the *triratna* and played the part of a great Upāsaka. He used to make every day hundred thousand statues of Buddha with earth, and read hundred thousand *ślokas* of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. He also used to take out processions in honour of Buddha, with an image of Avalokiteśvara at the front, and make pious gifts. In the city there were more than 4000 monks and nuns in his time."[31] As noted above (p. 78), the king probably belonged to the Buddhist Khaḍga dynasty ; otherwise we have to recognise another Buddhist ruling family in Samataṭa.

As regards Tāmralipti Hiuen Tsang says that there were above ten Buddhist monasteries and more than a thousand Brethren. Here, too, there was an Aśoka tope.

Karṇasuvarṇa, whose location is now definitely settled (p. 7), was also a flourishing centre of Buddhism. Hiuen Tsang gives the following account :

"There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries, and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatiya School ; there were 50 Deva-Temples and the followers of the various religions were very numerous. There were also three Buddhist monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta milk-products were not taken as food. Beside the capital was the Lo-to-wei (or mo)-chih Monastery, a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious Brethren. It had been erected by a king of the country, before the country was converted to Buddhism, to honour a Buddhist *śramaṇa* from South India who had defeated in public discussion a boasting disputant of another system, also from South India."[32]

Another famous Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, who visited Tāmralipti in A.D. 673, has left a detailed description of the rites practised by the priests in a Buddhist monastery.[33] He stayed there for some time, learnt Sanskrit and translated at least one Sanskrit text into Chinese.[34] Another Chinese pilgrim, Ta Ch'eng-teng, whom I-tsing met at Tāmralipti, stayed there for 12 years, acquired an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, and on his return to China explained the Nidānaśāstra of Ullaṅga. Another Chinese pilgrim, Tao-lin, stayed for three years in Tāmralipti, learnt Sanskrit, and was initiated to the Sarvāstivāda school.[35]

The Chinese accounts leave no doubt that Tāmralipti was an important centre of Buddhist studies, at least from the time of Fa-hien up to the end of the seventh century A.D., and Buddhism was in a flourishing condition all over Bengal in the seventh century A.D., if not from an earlier period.

The establishment of the Buddhist Pāla dynasty in Bengal about the middle of the eighth century A.D. may not, therefore, be a mere fortuitous event but was probably facilitated by the growing dominance of Buddhism in this region. In any case, the long period of Pāla rule, for nearly four centuries, saw the heyday of Buddhism, not only in Bengal, but probably also over a large part of Eastern India.

Bengal played an important role in the International sphere of Buddhism. In particular, it was Bengal which moulded the entire framework of Buddhism in Tibet to which reference will be made in Chapter XIV. Bengal also played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism in Java and adjacent regions.

The Śailendra Emperors had intimate relations with the Pāla Emperors of Bengal. As early as 782 A.D., we find Kumāraghosha, an inhabitant of Bengal, as the royal preceptor (*guru*) of the Śailendra kings who were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. An inscription (B. 9) on a copper-plate found at Nālandā, in Bihar, dated about the middle of the ninth century A.D., records that the illustrious Balaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa and son of Samarāgravīra, built a monastery at Nālandā, and at his request the Pāla Emperor Devapāla granted five villages for defraying the expenses of the monastery.[36]

The Buddhist Universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla, though situated outside the geographical limits of Bengal, had close associations with Bengal because they were situated in territories which formed an integral part of the Pāla kingdom, and several eminent sons of Bengal like Śīlabhadra and Dīpaṅkara were heads of these great educational-cum-religious establishments. In Bengal proper the flourishing state of Buddhism is indicated by the establishment of a large number of famous monasteries and temples. Reference has been made above (pp 110-11) to the patronage of Buddhism by Dharmapāla and foundation of some of these monasteries by him. Detailed account of the most famous among them, the Somapura *Vihāra* will be given in Chapter XV.

Among other monasteries may be mentioned the Traikūṭaka, Devīkoṭa, Paṇḍita, Sannagara, Phullahari, Paṭṭikeraka, Vikramapurī and Jagaddala. The Traikūṭaka-*vihāra* was the place where Haribhadra composed his famous commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* under the patronage of Dharmapāla.[37] It was situated probably somewhere in West Bengal as there is mention of a Traikūṭaka Devālaya being unearthed in the Rāḍhā country.[38] Devīkoṭa was in North Bengal, and the Paṇḍita-*vihāra* in Chittagong.[39] Phullahari and its hermitage are frequently referred to as a place where several famous Buddhist Ächāryas lived, and Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan in collaboration with Tibetan scholars.[40] It was situated in western Magadha, probably some-where near Monghyr. Sannagara in Eastern India is mentioned as an important

seat of Buddhist learning, and a Buddhist scholar named Vanaratna, who was responsible for a large number of Tibetan translations, hailed from that place.[41] The site of Paṭṭikera has already been discussed above (*supra* p. 278). Vikramapurī was Vikramapura in Dacca and flourished mostly under the patronage of the Chandras and Senas.[42] The Jagaddala *Mahāvihāra*, according to the *Rāmacharita* (III. 7), was in Varendrī.[43] A number of scholars, famous in Tibet, like Vibhūtichandra, Dānaśīla, Mokshākaragupta and Śubhākaragupta, belonged to this monastery, and there is evidence of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts being actually prepared at Jagaddala. The presiding Buddhist deity at Jagaddala was Avalokiteśvara.[44]

"These are only the famous institutions of the period whose names have been preserved in literature, but throughout eastern Magadha and Bengal, which had attained a sort of cultural and political unity, there were many other smaller institutions whose names have been lost."[45]

The reference in the *Rāmacharita* (III, 7) to the Jagaddala *Mahāvihāra* in Varendra, "whose great glory was still more increased (or pronounced) by (the presence of) the great (heads of monasteries) and the (images of) Tārā (the Buddhist goddess)" indicates that the Buddhist monastic establishments flourished till almost the end of the Pāla rule.

The royal patronage has always been an important factor in the growth of religious sects into importance, and Bengal enjoyed it to the full during the period between 750 and 1150 A.D. Not only the Pālas but even minor ruling dynasties during the period were followers of Buddhism.

"Reference may be made in particular to Kāntideva and the Chandra kings (*v. supra* pp. 130, 199 ff). The Tibetan sources tell us that Tantric Buddhism flourished in Vaṅgāla under the Chandras, and that king Gopīchandra, who is associated by tradition with a particular form of mysticism, belonged to this dynasty.[46] The famous Buddhist scholar of Vikramapura, Atīśa Dīpaṅkara, is said to have been born in the royal house of that place.[47] It is, therefore, not improbable that he was related to the Chandras."[48]

The Senas, who succeeded the Pālas, were followers of orthodox Brāhmaṇical religion and this was undoubtedly an important factor in the decline of Buddhism in Bengal which had been its last refuge in India.

But apart from this factor, the decline and final disappearance

of Buddhism from Bengal was due to a large extent to the change in the character of Buddhist religion to which we may now turn.

The transformation of Mahāyāna into the mystic forms generally referred to as Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna, more specifically, Sahajayāna and Kālachakrayāna, and the leaders of this movement, known as the Siddhāchāryas—traditionally eighty-four in number—have been referred to above (p. 378) and an account has been given of their literature.

The rise of this mysticism is associated with Bengal "which played a great role in its dissemination throughout India. Although it is difficult to discuss the chronology of the Siddhas here, we have strong reasons to believe that they lived some time between the 10th and 12th centuries. From the number of works attributed to them, it appears that the principal amongst the Siddhas were Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Tillopāda, Nāro-pāda, Advayavajra and Kāhṇu-pāda. Writings of Lui-pāda, Śabara, Bhusuku, Kukkuri, *etc.*, also have been preserved. According to some Buddhist tradition Saraha was born in the city of Rājñī in Eastern India, and was a contemporary of king Ratnapāla. He was initiated to Tantric Buddhism by a king of Orissa, and later succeeded to a chair at Nālandā. Nāgārjuna is said to have been the disciple of Saraha and is sometimes supposed to be identical with Nāgabodhi. These two, however, appear to be two distinct personages. The two met at Puṇḍravardhana, and it was there that Nāgārjuna formed a part of his mystic career. Nāgārjuna was initiated to Buddhist mysticism and alchemy at Nālandā by Saraha and his assistants. One of his disciples, Nāgahava, became a professor at Nālandā. Tillo-pāda was a Brahmin of Chittagong, associated with the Paṇḍita-*vihāra* of that place, and a contemporary of king Mahīpāla. Nāro-pāda belonged to Varendra, was a disciple of the famous logician of that country, Jetāri, and a contemporary of king Nayapāla (*c.* 1038-54 A.D.). The great Atīśa Dīpaṅkara also flourished in this period. Nāro-pāda at first was at Phullahari and then at Vikramasīla monastery. Many of the other Siddha writers belonged to Bengal.

"The Siddhas deviated from the orthodox Mahāyāna tradition by adopting, as the vehicle of expression, two popular literary forms, namely, the *apabhraṁśa* and the vernacular. The *apabhraṁśa*, which was a more artificial form, does not seem to have had a long popularity and was soon given up in favour of the vernacular."[49]

The collection of their writings in Bengali—the Charyā-charya-Viniśchaya—and the names of the more important among them, have been referred to above (pp. 392-4).

The Siddhas also wrote other works in both *Apabhraṁśa* and Sanskrit. "From the Tibetan collection of Tanjur (Bstan-ḥgyur) we get the names of fifty-three works composed by them either in *apabhraṁśa* or in the vernacular of Bengal, works which are now mostly lost in original but preserved in Tibetan translation. Amongst these fifty-three works the late *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Haraprasad Śāstrī discovered and published two, the *Dohā-koshas* of Saraha and Kṛishṇa. As the Mss. were very corrupt, the texts remained unintelligible for a long time till Dr. Shahidullah came forward to settle their reading with the help of Tibetan translations in his *Les Chants Mystiques de Kanhu et Saraha.*"[50]

Better MSS. of these two texts, a MS. of the *Dohā-kosha* of Tillopāda, fragments of two other *Dohā-koshas* of Saraha, and fragments of other similar works were discovered by Dr. P. C. Bagchi and published by him.[51]

Dr. Bagchi has, on the basis of this literature, made an attempt to expound the doctrines of this school which has left its marks on various schools of later times.

Dr. Bagchi's views may be summed up as follows :

"Though it is at present difficult to explain all the details of this mysticism, it is possible to determine its characteristic features with the help of the texts now available. Its general trend was esoteric as nobody except a qualified *guru* or preceptor was allowed to initiate the disciple into its mysteries. This is why even in modern times the few followers of this school in Nepal call themselves *gubhāju* or *gurubhāju*, i.e., the followers or worshippers of the *guru*, and thus distinguish themselves from the followers of the Brāhmaṇical faith who are called *devabhāju* or the worshippers of *devas*. The literature of the Sahajayāna is full of such statements as "the truth that is free from duality is taught by the *guru*", "there is nothing unattainable for the man whom the *guru* favours," "the truth is clearly revealed through the instruction of the *guru*", *etc.*

These clearly testify to the exalted position which the preceptor enjoyed in this mystic school. But there is a warning to him, too, when the Siddha Sarahapāda says : "You should not initiate disciples as long as you do not know yourself. If you do that, you

will act like the blind man who while leading another blind man both fell into the well."

Though the *guru* was given that exalted position, it was no easy task for him to lead the disciple to this goal. He had to find out the special aptitude of the disciple and suggest to him the path most suitable for him. In his analysis of the spiritual aptitudes of various disciples he seems to have arrived at a novel classification called *kula*. *Kula* was the special spiritual aptitude of the disciple. There are five such *kulas*, technically called Ḍombī, Naṭī, Rajakī, Chaṇḍālī and Brāhmaṇī. The nature of these *kulas* is determined by the five *skandhas* or the essence of the five basic elements (*mahābhūtas*) constituting the material existence of the being. The five *kulas* are conceived as the five aspects of the *prajñā* which is the same as the psychic energy (*śakti*) in these texts. The *śakti* assumes five different forms according to the predominance of each of the five *skandhas* or constituents, and the best course for the *sādhaka* is to follow up his special *śakti* during his spiritual march. In the technical language of the school it is said that the five classes of *sādhakas* should practise their *sādhanā* in the company of the five *prajñās* or *śaktis* called Ḍombī, Naṭī, Rajakī, Chaṇḍālī and Brāhmaṇī. The first task of the *guru* was to find out to which of these five classes a particular disciple belonged and which of the five energies was dominant in him. That particular energy was to be evoked in the disciple and he was to be initiated to perform his *sādhanā* by cultivating that energy.

Now the question arises what was that *sādhanā* to which the *guru* had to initiate his disciple. This *sādhanā* involved the practice of a new system of *yoga* which seems to have developed in the hands of the Siddhas. It believed in the existence of thirty-two *nāḍīs* or nerve-channels within the body and supposed that the *śakti* flowed up into the topmost station within the head called "the place of great bliss" or *mahāsukhasthāna*. Various names were given to these nerve-channels such as *lalanā*, *rasanā*, *avadhūtī*, *pravaṇā*, *kṛishṇā*, *kṛishṇarūpiṇī*, *sāmānyā*, *pāvakī*, *sumanā* and *kāminī*. Of these the first three, *lalanā*, *rasanā* and *avadhūtī*, were the most important and combined in themselves at particular stations the currents supplied by the rest. The *avadhūti* is the middlemost channel and corresponds to the *sushumnā* of the Brāhmaṇical Tantras. According to this system also there were a number of stations compared either to lotuses or to wheels within the

body, and the *śakti* in its upward march had to pass through them.

The topmost station was imagined to be a lotus having either sixty-four or thousand petals. These stations were sometimes compared to places of pilgrimage like *Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrṇagiri* and *Kāmarūpa.*

The state of *sahaja* which is the goal is a state of great blissfulness. It is a state which is without beginning and without end, and which is free from duality. When this state is attained, the objective world disappears from view, and the aggregates, elements, sense organs and senses all merge into it. The *sādhaka* then finds himself to be the sole reality, one with the universe and one with the Buddha—the being who is ever free. Everything else dwindles into nonentity (*śūnya*).

These are some of the main characteristics of the later Buddhist mysticism and they can be traced in the old literature of Bengal, not only in the *Charyā-padas,* but also in the early Vaishṇava literature, the Sahajiyā literature, and the literature of the Nāthas and Bāuls of Bengal."[52]

"The fusion of Śāktism with this type of Buddhist mysticism gave rise to new schools of Śāktism on the one hand, and certain forms of popular religion on the other, both of which have survived till our times.

"The Kaula school which identified itself with Brāhmaṇical Śāktism could not be ousted in spite of the vehement attacks of its orthodox critics, as its great strength lay in the acceptance of the Varṇāśrama. The other movements which did not accept the Varṇāśrama and in which Buddhist mysticism survived, were the Nāthism, Avadhūta, Sahajiyā, Baul *etc.* It is at present impossible to trace the history of the rise of these movements, and it is probable that they were indistinguishable from each other in the transitional stage. They gradually developed their distinctive character, and the transition seems to have been over by the 13th century. The followers of Nāthism, in course of time, lost their monastic character and were affiliated to the Hindu society as a separate caste.

"Nāthism originated from the religion of the Siddhāchāryas, as its reputed founder Matsyendranātha seems to have been the same as Siddha Lui-pāda. The great teachers of this religion are called Nāthas, and the most famous amongst them were Gorakshanātha, Mīnanātha, Chauraṅgīnātha *etc.* Mīnanātha was probably the same

as Matsyendra, of whom Goraksha was the disciple. Their teachings exercised such a considerable influence, particularly in Northern and Eastern Bengal, that their miraculous tales became the subject of popular songs in Bengali which are of great importance for the early history of Bengali literature.[53]

"The Avadhūtas, who were all *sannyāsins*, also drew their inspiration from the teachings of the Siddhas. Advayavajra, we know, was known as Avadhūti-pāda.[54] The very name of the sect indicates that it followed the Buddhist method of Yoga in which an exact knowledge of the *nāḍī* called Avadhūti is essential.

"The Sahajiyā was well established in Bengal before the time of Chaitanya, and its progress could not be checked by the protagonists of the Chaitanya movement, although they tried their best to do so. On the other hand, it was the Chaitanya movement which, in course of time, became deeply influenced by the Sahajiyā. The oldest reference to Sahajiyā is found in an inscription of the 13th century, the Maināmatī Plate, which speaks of "a superior officer of the royal groom" (?) as practising the *Sahajadharma* in Paṭṭikeraka in Tippera (*-Sahajadharmasu karmasu*).[55] Chaṇḍīdāsa was the earliest Bengali writer on Sahajiyā, and lived most probably in the 14th century A.D. The writings of Chaṇḍīdāsa have come down to us in a much altered form, and the *Kṛishṇa-kīrtana*, which has probably been preserved in its original form, contains very little of the inner doctrines of the Sahajiyā. We have, unfortunately, no other early texts of Sahajiyā, but it is possible to trace in the altered songs of Chaṇḍīdāsa and his *Kṛishṇa-kīrtana* some of the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhist Sahajayāna. Although Rādhā is the Śakti and Kṛishṇa, the Supreme Reality, the Haṭhayoga is not dispensed with, and the much discussed Rajakī of Chaṇḍīdāsa reminds us of one of the five *kulas* spoken of in the Vajrayāna. The later writings of the Sahajiyās also attach great importance to the inner *nāḍīs*, the various *chakras* of the stations, and the lotus with thousand petals. They do not lose sight of the fact that Kṛishṇa is the Supreme Reality, and Rādhā, only the Śakti that makes him attainable.

As only fragments of the literature of the Bāuls have been made accessible, it is not possible to say to what extent they have preserved the ancient traditions of the Buddhist Sahajayāna. From the few songs already collected, it appears that they have preserved that tradition more faithfully than the Sahajiyās, as they have not allowed themselves to be influenced by Vaishṇavism. Rādhā and Kṛishṇa

have no meaning to them, but the *nāḍīs*, the *chakras*, the *śakti etc.*, are regarded by them as of the greatest importance. The Sahaja bliss is the ultimate goal with all of them."[56]

Though Buddhism disappeared from India as a separate religious sect we may trace its influence in Medieval Bengal through the above religious sects. MM. H. P. Śāstrī held the view that the cult of *Dharma* worship which formed a strong religious current in Western and Southern Bengal in Medieval Age was the last relic of Buddhism in India. At one time this view found general acceptance, but both Dr. S. K. Chatterji[57] and Dr. Sukumar Sen[58] have demonstrated the fallacy of this theory. Dr. Sen has also sought to prove that the cult of *Dharma* worship is really the remnant of one of the most primitive forms of religious practice in Bengal, which is still very popular in the form of *Chaḍak Pūjā* and *Gājan* ceremony in honour of Śiva at the end of the Bengali year.

The following observation of Dr. P. C. Bagchi seems to be very apposite:

"Buddhism, which was once a great religion, could not have survived only in some debased forms of popular cults like the Dharmaṭhākur *pūjā*. It transformed itself into those living forces which inspired and guided the religious and literary life in Bengal for centuries even after the disappearance of its distinctive features."[59]

VIII General Review.

In conclusion a few general observations may be made on the state of religion in ancient Bengal.

In the first place, we find all the important religious sects, prevailing side by side, enjoying popular favour and royal patronage. The relative importance of the prominent religious sects like Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, Buddhism and Jainism must have varied at different times, and perhaps it was due, to some extent, to royal patronage ; it is not reasonable to take it always an index of popularity.

As mentioned above, the Khaḍgas, the Chandras, and the Pālas, and individual rulers like Kāntideva and Raṇavaṅkamalla were followers of Buddhism. Vainyagupta, Śaśāṅka, Lokanātha, Ḍommaṇapāla and the early Sena rulers like Vijayasena and Vallālasena were Saivas. The Varmans, the later Sena kings and the Deva family

were Vaishṇavas. No royal Jaina family is known, nor even any individual ruler of that faith. Yet, as noted above (p. 520), according to Hiuen Tsang the Jainas were very numerous in the 7th century A.D.

But in spite of the existence of different sects, instances of catholicity and tolerant spirit in religion formed a characteristic feature. "This is proved by references in contemporary epigraphs whose value cannot be ignored. The catholic attitude of the Buddhist Pāla kings has already been referred to above. Dharmapāla and Vigrahapāla III are given credit in official records (B.50) for maintaining the orthodox social order of castes ; Nārāyaṇapāla himself built and endowed a temple of Śiva, and not only attended sacrificial ceremonies of his Brāhmaṇa ministers, but also reverently put the sacrificial water on his head ; Chitramatikā, the chief queen of Madanapāla, regarded it as meritorious to hear the recital of *Mahābhārata*. (B.66). Similarly Prabhāvatī, the queen of Devakhaḍga, set up an image of Chaṇḍī. On the other hand, the Śaiva king Vainyagupta endowed a Buddhist monastery, while a Brāhmaṇa and his wife made pious gift of land to a Jaina *vihāra* (A.12,14,33-4).

While these instances show respect and reverence for others' creed, certain facts indicate even a more intimate association between different religious sects. Thus the Buddhist Dhanadatta married a devout Śaiva princess, and takes credit for his knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* aud the *Purāṇas*. Their son Kāntideva, although a Buddhist, adopts a royal seal which seems to combine the religious emblems of his parents, *viz.*, the lion and snake.[60]

Still more interesting are the cases in which a king openly declares his devotion to more than one religious faith. Thus Vaidyadeva styles himself both *Parama-māheśvara* and *Parama-vaishṇava*, and Ḍommaṇapāla, although a *Parama-māheśvara*, pays his respect to Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa.[61] The copper-plate grants of Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena (C. 14-16) are perhaps the most instructive on this point. The royal seal attached to the plates bears the representation of Sadāśiva, and is actually called Sadāśiva-mudrā in the body of the inscriptions ; they open with adorations to Nārāyaṇa, followed by an invocation addressed to Sūrya ; and finally the kings themselves are given the title *Parama-saura*. It seems the kings not only professed the two great faiths followed by their forefathers, but added a new one. These two Hindu kings of Bengal seem to typify the true spirit of the age. For even to-day the same spirit characterises the religious life of Bengal, where every orthodox Hindu

performs the worship of Nārāyaṇa, Lakshmī, Śiva, Durgā, Kārtika, Sūrya and other gods and goddesses with equal zeal and veneration. Although some families are labelled Vaishṇava and others Śākta, they have faith in, and reverence for, all the gods.

While both Vaishṇavism and Śaivism derived their strength and inspiration from the magnificent temples and the great community of Brāhmaṇas distinguished for their religious zeal, learning, and scholarship, the main strongholds of the Buddhists were the numerous *vihāras* or monasteries. Hiuen Tsang records that there were seventy Buddhist *vihāras*, accommodating eight thousand monks, and no less than 300 Deva temples in Bengal proper. So far as we can judge from archaeological evidence and the accounts of Tibetan writers, the number of *vihāras*, monks, and temples increased in subsequent times. We can easily visualise ancient Bengal studded with temples and *vihāras*, the name and fame of some of which had spread far beyond the frontiers of India. Bengal was then the home of a body of learned Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist *bhikshus* (monks) whose livelihood was made easy and secure by private or royal charity, and who dedicated their lives to the highest ideals laid down for them in the holy scriptures. The most notable evidence in this respect is furnished by the detailed account of a monastery at Tāmralipti by I-tsing, who himself lived there for some time.[62] In view of the general moral lapse in later phases of both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical religions, we should take note of the high moral standard of monastic life recorded by an eye-witness. That the Brāhmaṇas were also inspired by an equally high ideal is abundantly proved by the works of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Halāyudha and Vallālasena to which reference has already been made (*supra* Ch. XI).

Further, we must emphasise the intense religiosity which characterised the people at large. This is proved by the nature, scope and volume of the extensive religious literature, both in Sanskrit and Vernacular (Chap. XI), which grew up during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. As already noted above, we have to trace to this formative period the beginnings of many of those folk religions which exercised considerable influence over the mass of people in Bengal during the mediaeval period."[63]

In conclusion, reference must be made to one aspect of the religious life in ancient Bengal to which sufficient attention has not been paid so far. As noted above, it was dominated by the *Śahajiyā* cult towards the end of the Hindu rule.[64] Though there was much

in it that has been condemned from our modern point of view, not perhaps unjustly, there was something in its doctrine which deserves praise, even admiration. This may be illustrated by a few scattered statements in the *Dohākosha* of Saroyavajra (Saroruha) such as the following : (1) "Whether sacrificial fires bring out salvation, no one knows, but the smoke produced by them certainly troubles the eye." (2) "A set of people pretending to be devotees of God besmear their body with ashes, wear matted hair, burn lamps and sit within the room, all the while twinkling their eyes, in Yogic posture, and ring the bell, to delude the people." (3) "The *kshapaṇakas* (Buddhist and Jaina mendicants) do not know the truth, but delude the people by going naked, and inflicting self-torture, uprooting their own hair etc. If nudity brings salvation then jackals and dogs would be the first to get it ; if salvation comes to one who lives by gleaning grains (*uñchhita-bhojanena*) then the horse and elephant have prior claims to it." (4) "Ascetics wearing pink clothes (*geruā*) enroll ten to crore of disciples and live on their earnings by deceiving them." (5) They say the Brāhmaṇas were born from the mouth of the Brahmā, but what then ? Now the Brāhmaṇas are born exactly as a man of any other caste, then wherein lies the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas ? If you argue that the Brāhmaṇas become superior by virtue of their *Saṁskāras* (rites and ceremonials), I would say let the Chaṇḍālas have those *Saṁskāras* and become Brāhmaṇa. If you say that knowledge of the Veda makes one a Brāhmaṇa, let the Chaṇḍālas read the Vedas. As a matter of fact they do read them, for the Grammar, which they read, contains Vedic words." (6) "Veda is neither infallible nor divine."[65]

These and similar statements give evidence of a rational spirit and freedom of thought, triumphing over age-long beliefs and traditions, which is truly remarkable. Such ideas in India have been generally associated with *Sūfīsm* in Medieval Age and Christianity and Western education in the nineteenth century. It is to be remembered, however, that the *Dohākosha* is earlier in date than all these, and that the tradition of this type of free thought, unrestrained by canons or traditions, was continued by the *Bāuls* in Bengal throughout the Medieval Age. It would not, therefore, be illogical to take the view that the old *Sahajiyā* doctrine was one of the contributing factors to the Renaissance in Bengal in the nineteenth century. The laxity of orthodox views among the Bengalis, as compared with the Hindus of other parts of India, may also

be traced to this source. This, of course, requires further elucidation and research.

It is indeed somewhat strange that the freedom of thought displayed, by the *Sahajiyās* was found compatible with an implicit faith in the *guru*. It is this element which explains the gradual moral degradation of the sect, but the other element, namely the rationality and freedom of thought, perhaps did not altogether disappear, and left its legacy to posterity.

PART II.

ICONOGRAPHY

I. Introduction

The origin and antiquity of image-worship in India is a very controversial subject and cannot be discussed here in detail. It would suffice to state briefly the generally accepted views on the subject. R. P. Chanda held that "the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro have brought to light ample evidence to show that the worship of images of human and superhuman beings in Yoga postures, both seated and standing, prevailed in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period."[66]

But it has been argued that "whether these and such others appearing on a few more seals of this type can be regarded as definite representations of cult objects cannot be determined with certainty so long as we are unable to unravel the mystery of the script and language of the highly cultured people of the Indus Valley. Similarly, many of the numerous terracotta figurines, unearthed there in course of excavations and tentatively described by Mackay as images of household gods, are very difficult of correct interpretation at the present state of our knowledge."[67]

The next important question is whether the Aryans of the Vedic period worshipped images. Max Müller positively answered it in the negative, and observed : "The religion of the Vedas knows no idols. The worship of idols in India is a secondary formation, a later degradation of the more primitive worship of ideal gods."[68]

Most Vedic scholars accepted this view, but a few, both Indian and European, argued that the "images played a very prominent part in the religious practice of the early Vedic Aryans." One of them, however, held that "there was no idol worship, but that images were used as concrete representations of gods whose real form and existence were conceived as different."[69]

There is, however, hardly any doubt that Brāhmaṇical cult gods like Śiva and Vishṇu, objects of *Bhakti* (love and devotion to a personal god), came to be inconically represented in the first and second centuries B.C. It is also very likely that various peoples in India, before they came into contact with the Aryans, were

accustomed to worship the images of the gods whom they held in veneration. These folk-gods have left their trace in popular primitive cults partly modified by Aryan influence.

We may, therefore, easily presume that the followers of Brāhmaṇical religions in Bengal were accustomed to image worship from almost the very beginning of their contact with the Aryan immigrants. It is, therefore, a matter of surprise that no images of gods, so far discovered in Bengal, belong to a period earlier than the Christian era. This may be partly due to the fact that early images were usually made of clay or wood which perished within a few centuries, and images of stone or metal, which have survived the ravages of time and man, were not generally introduced till some time had elapsed after the evolution of the idea of worship of images. The images of the Gupta period in Bengal are also very few. It is not till the Pāla period that we come across the images in large number, made mostly of stone, occasionally also of bronze or octo-alloy, sometimes gold-plated, and, very rarely, of precious metals like silver. The stone used generally belonged to the hornblende schist variety usually quarried from the Rajmahal hills. Along with these images, excavations at various sites in Bengal have brought to light numerous terracotta plaques illustrating religious and mythological themes.

The divine images belong to various religious sects and may best be studied under the following heads : Vaishṇava, Śaiva, minor Brāhmanical sects, Jaina, and Buddhist.

II. Images of Vishṇu Cult.

The common form of Vishṇu is four-handed, representing one or other of the twenty-four Vyūhas described in the fully developed Pāñcharātra theology (p 513.) These twenty-four forms are four-handed, and are differentiated by the varying order in which the four hands hold the usual attributes, viz., *śaṁkha* (conch-shell), *Chakra* (wheel or discus), *gadā* (mace), and *padma* (lotus). Sometimes the attributes are represented as figures (*Chakrapurusha*, *Śaṁkha-purusha*, *Gadā-devī*), and usually two female figures (Lakshmī and Sarasvatī) are placed on the two sides of the lower part of the body.

The earliest Vishṇu image is that from Hankrail (Malda Dt.) which probably belongs to the Kushāṇa period i.e., the first or

second century A.D. It is of uncouth appearance, with two hands broken, the other two holding lotus bud and conch-shell. Another Vishṇu image of uncouth (at least unusual) appearance, made of reddish sandstone, was found at Sanchra (now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta) has been assigned to the seventh century, but may be much earlier.[69a] Among other Vishṇu images, significant from iconographic point of view or on account of artistic excellence, may be mentioned the following.

1. Greyish-black stone image of Vishṇu (6′4″ in height) found near Lakshmankāṭhi (Bakarganj Dt.)

"The image is in a perfect state of preservation. Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu, kneels on one leg, with folded hands, on a lotus pedestal. Vishṇu sits on his outstretched wings with right leg pendant. The god has the Chakra in the normal right hand, which he holds not by a handle as in the images ordinarily met with, but by the rim. The Chakra-purusha is depicted in miniature in the centre of the Discus, as if turning round and round. The normal left hand holds within its palm the miniature representation of a female with a mace in her right hand,—evidently Gadā-devī. The attributes of the remaining two hands are also unique. The right hand holds the stalk of a lotus on which sits the goddess Kamalā with crossed legs, granting boons with her open right hand and holding a lotus in her left. Two elephants stand on two lotuses on her either side and pour water over her head from pitchers held by their trunks. The left hand of the god similarly holds the stalk of a lotus on which sits the goddess Sarasvatī playing on her *Vīṇā*. The *Vīṇā*, in the hands of the image of Sarasvatī accompanying Vishṇu in the images ordinarily met with, has a straight shape. But here the *Vīṇā* is a boat-shaped instrument, exactly like that held by Samudra-Gupta, as depicted on his coins of the Lyrist type. On the crown of the god is depicted a four-armed male figure sitting with crossed legs. The two normal hands are placed on the lap in the *Dhyānamudrā*, one over the other. The other two hands hold indistinct objects. Two Vidyādhars appear on either side of the crown of the god."[70]

2. The black basalt image, from Chaitanpur (Burdwan) and now in the Indian Museum, possesses some uncommon features. *Gadā* and *Chakra* are represented, respectively, by a female (*Gadādevī*, holding a mace, and a male (*Chakrapurusha*) holding the rim of a wheel, with two lower hands of Vishṇu placed on their heads. The

other two hands of the god have the usual conch-shell and lotus head. He wears a loin cloth, and has a curious string of amulets instead of the usual necklace and garlands. This has been classified as 'abhichārika-sthānaka' image of Vishṇu.

3. The Baghaura image, is referred to as Nārāyaṇa in the inscription engraved on its pedestal (B. 37), but the arrangement of the attributes in its four hands follow the order appropriate to Trivikrama Vishṇu. This shows that the theoretical classification in the sacred texts was not always followed in practice.

4. The standing stone image of Vishṇu of the Trivikrama order found at Surohor (Dinajpur Dt.) is unique in some respects. The figure stands under a canopy of seven serpent hoods, the *Gadā* and *Chakra* (in two of the four hands) are placed on full-blown lotus flowers, two male figures stand on the two sides, holding, respectively, *chakra* and *śaṅkha* on a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*), and most important of all are two miniature figures—one like an Amitābha just above the central snake-hood and a six-handed dancing Śiva carved in the middle of the pedestal. Some have taken the miniature figure on the top as Brahmā and regard the image as a Trimūrti (Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva), while others trace Mahāyāna influence in the placing of attributes on lotus flowers.

5. The standing bronze figure of Vishṇu (of Trivikrama order), found at Rangpur, has the figure of Vasumatī, in place of the usual Pushṭi or Sarasvatī on its proper left.

6. Deora (Bogra Dt.) image of Vishṇu is seated in *lalitāsana* on the back of the Garuḍa, though he is usually shown as seated astride on his Vāhana.

7. The Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa relief at Basta, about four miles to the south-west of Dacca.

8. A large image of Vishnu Lokeśvara under the canopy of seven-hooded snake at Sardāṅgā (Dt. Burdwan).

"The god Nārāyaṇa is seated on a lotus with the right leg pendant. He has four hands holding, clockwise, *Śaṅkha*, *Padma*, *Gadā* and *Chakra*. The normal left hand which holds the *Chakra* also encircles the body of Lakshmī.

"The goddess Lakshmī is sitting on the left thigh of Vishṇu. Her right hand is placed round the neck of her lord. With the left hand, she holds a lotus by its stalk. Her right leg is folded over the thigh of Vishṇu. The left leg is pendant. The kneeling Garuḍa is depicted below as if supporting the lotus seat on which

the pair is sitting. Garuḍa has four hands. The normal two are folded in the usual *añjali* pose. The other two support the pendant legs of the god and goddess."[71]

Three other images of this type were found at Bansihari and Marail (Malda Dt.) and Eshnail (Dinajpore Dt.). These images have a striking resemblance with those of Śiva-Pārvatī or Umā-Maheśvara.[72]

In addition to the images of Vishṇu, there are images of his *Avatāras* (incarnations). In the images of the Varāha *avatāra*, usually the head alone is that of a boar, the rest being a human figure. In the image found at Silimpur (Bogra Dt.) perhaps belonging to 10th century A.D., the boar-head is shown like a conch-shell placed sideways on the neck of the deity, and the earth-goddess is placed on the left shoulder of the god, which is very unusual.

The Narasiṁha image shows the head of the demon placed on its left thigh, while the rest of its body seems to hang on the nails of the deity. Sometimes the main figure has six hands, "its front pair of hands thrust into the entrails of the demon, the middle pair taking hold of its head and legs, and the back pair shown in two poses *abhaya* and *tarjanī*)."[73]

The image of the Vāmana (Dwarf) incarnation is shown "with one foot raised heavenwards, above which is seated Brahmā ; just to the proper left of its right leg planted firmly on the lotus pedestal is carved the scene of the grant by the demon king Bali to the Dwarf God, and on the pedestal below are placed the worshipping couple."[74] A separate sculpture of the Dwarf incarnation having four arms accompanied by Śrī and Pushṭi on either side, found at Purapārā, is a rare specimen of great interest.

A Rāma-Lakshmaṇa plaque of the early Medieval period was found in Kartikpur (24 Parganas) and is now in the Asutosh Museum.

The image of Balarāma is almost a replica of the ordinary image of Vishṇu with the substitution of a plough for the lotus. The images have an umbrella or snake-hood over the head. In two cases the deity holds a bowl, a club and a plough in three hands, the fourth resting on his thigh. It is a peculiarity of all the icons of Balarāma that, as prescribed in the texts, the ornament of the right ear differs from that of the left.

Though Garuḍa is usually represented with Vishṇu on his back, separate images are also found serving as capitals of pillars,

specially in front of Vaishṇava temples. A fine specimen with the face and limbs of a man, belonging to the tenth century A.D., is preserved in the Rajshahi Museum.

Though Lakshmī and Sarasvatī (Śrī and Pushṭi) are usually represented as attendants of Vishṇu, there are independent images of them, and as a temple of Sarasvatī is referred to in an inscription,[75] she, and perhaps also Lakshmī, were worshipped as cult images. The Gaja-Lakshmī image—the goddess in the act of being bathed by two elephants—is a well-known motif of Indian art from very early times, and there are independent figures of this type. "An eleventh century bronze figure discovered in, Bogra, and now in the Rajshahi Museum, is a very good representative specimen of the four-handed variety of this icon. The goddess stands in graceful *tribhaṅga* pose holding in three of her hands, *mātuluṅga*, *aṅkuśa* and *jhāṁpi* (a peculiar kind of basket generally placed in the hands of the clay images of Lakshmī, annually worshipped during autumn in Bengal), while the fourth is broken. She is attended on either side by two chowry-bearing female attendants standing in the same pose. A beautiful lotus aureole decorates the head of the goddess who is being bathed by two elephants with upturned pitchers. The modelling of the whole piece is very artistic. The Rajshahi Museum has also a very beautiful bronze figure of two-handed Lakshmī without the aureole and the elephants."[76]

"Separate images of Sarasvatī found in Bengal are usually four-armed, playing on a harp with the natural hands, while the back right and left hands carry *akshamālā* and *pustaka* (book), respectively. Curiously enough, the *vāhana* of the goddess carved on the pedestal is in some cases a swan, her usual mount in other parts of India, but in others, a frisking ram. The explanation of the second vehicle is perhaps afforded by mythological story in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xii. 7.1.3 and 14 ; xii. 7.2.3 and 7) closely associating rams and ewes with Sarasvatī.[77] The Chhātingrām (Bogra) image of Sarasvatī in the collection of Rajshahi Museum is the finest specimen so far known."[78]

Reference may be made to some unique Vaishṇava images which cannot be easily identified.

1. A unique image of the composite gods Brahmā-Vishṇu found in North Bengal and now in the Indian Museum. Of the four faces of Brahmā only three are shown, his attributes *sruk*, *sruva*,

akshamālā and *kamaṇḍalu* being present in the four hands. Vishṇu's attendant goddesses, Śrī and Pushṭi, as also the *āyudha-purushas*—*Śaṇkha* and *Chakra*—clumsily executed with their respective emblems on the head, stand on two sides of the central figure, who is also decorated by the *vanamālā*. On the pedestal are depicted the respective mounts of the gods—goose in the centre and the Garuḍa on the right.[79] This composite sculpture is reminiscent of the Dattātreya or Hari-Hara Pitāmaha reliefs of both Northern and Southern India, materially differing from them, however, by the omission of some features of Hara in it."[80]

2. A unique figure of a deity with twenty hands, with two pot-bellied figures seated on two sides is in the Rajshahi Museum. Some of the objects distinguished in the right and left hands are *gadā*, *aṅkuśa*, *khaḍga*, *mudgara*, *śūla*, *śara*, lotus mark, etc. (r) and *chakra*, *kheṭaka*, *dhanu*, *tarjanī*, *pāśa* and *śaṅkha* (l). The central deity is decorated with *vanamālā* and other usual ornaments.[81]

Some regard it as a figure of Viśvarūpa, a variety of Vishṇu image, but it shows differences in many respects from the textual description.

3. Two figures closely resembling each other were found in North Bengal, standing on a double-petalled lotus, and holding a long sugar-cane bow and the tip of an arrow in his two hands. In one case there are two female figures on his two sides, and in the other case were a female figure carrying a water pot and a male with a quiver full of arrows. The figure has been identified by some as Kāmadeva and the two female attendants as his consorts Rati and Tṛishā. The second image has a couchant rat just below the pedestal and has been identified as a Śaiva deity. A similar figure found at Deopārā is now in the Rajshahi Museum.[82]

III. Śaiva Images

The four-armed Vishṇu images and phallic symbols of Śiva have been found in Bengal in larger number than any other iconic representation, and may thus be regarded as the most popular objects of worship. Even today in Bengal, as in the rest of India, the phallic emblem of Śiva is the most popular deity among the Hindus. The Bengal specimens, either in the past or in the present, however, do not depict any realistic feature of phallus as we find in other regions down to the Gupta period. Side by side with

the ordinary Śiva-*liṅga*, we find many *mukhaliṅgas*, i.e, with one or four faces engraved on them (*ekamukha* or *chaturmukha* liṅga). The stone *liṅga* of Unakoṭi (Tripura State) has four well-carved human busts (shown up to the waist) engraved on the four sides of its *pūjā-bhāga*.[83] A number of sand-stone *liṅgas* with four seated Śaktis on its four sides (c. 9th century A.D.) have been discovered in North Bengal.[84] A bronze *chaturmukha liṅga* of c. 10th or 11th century A.D. brought from Murshidabad district to the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, is of great interest from iconographic point of view. The *arghya* and *nāla* bear wavy incisions indicating the water passing from the top along the surface of the four busts on the *liṅga*. One of these, with a severe face, perhaps depicts the Virūpāksha or the extremely terrific aspect of Śiva.

The anthropomorphic figures of Śiva, though fewer in number, show a large number of varieties. One of the oldest images is that of Jayanagar (24 Parganas) of about 7th century A.D.[85] The basement reliefs of the main mound of Pāhārpur contain several representations of Śiva Chandraśekhara with two hands.[86] They hold the usual attributes of Śiva images, namely, *triśūla* (trident) rosary, and vase, have the third eye, the *ūrdhaliṅga* and *jaṭā-mukuṭa*.

To the same period belongs a metal image of Śiva found at Manir Tat (24 Parganas), standing erect on a lotus placed over a pedestal, and distinguished by *ūrdha-liṅga* and *jaṭā-mukuṭa* which bears a crescent moon. Behind the head is an oval, decorated aureole on a lintel supported by two struts. A *triśūla* (over which is probably placed the left hand of the god) stands on the pedestal which has the figure of a bull on one side, just below the *triśūla*. The image is regarded as the 'Hara' aspect of Śiva described in the *Hayaśīrsha Pañcharātra*.[87]

A more elaborately carved Śiva image has been found at Ganeshpur (Rajshahi Dt.). "It is a four-handed specimen with its front hands broken, its back right and left hands carrying a lotus flower with long petals and a *śūla* or *khaṭvāṅga* with its upper part broken. It stands in *tribhaṅga* pose on a viśva-*padma* placed on the central section of a *saptaratha* pedestal, attended by a couple of male and female figures on either side (the male figures carry *kapāla* and *śūla* in their hands, while the female ones carry *chowries* ; the male figure on the proper right is fierce-looking). On the left corner of the pedestal are shown five figures in a row with their hands in *añjali* pose, perhaps the donors of the image.

The whole relief is tastefully carved and is one of the finest specimens of such icons of the late mediaeval period. Along with these sculptures may be noticed the four-armed standing Śiva, still being worshipped as Virūpāksha at Kāsipur near Barisal, which has been identified as Nīlakaṇṭha by N. K. Bhattasali on the basis of *Śāradātilaka-tantra*. The image, though without the five heads enjoined by the text, closely follows it with regard to its attributes, which are rosary, *triśūla*, *khaṭvāṅga* and *kapāla*. The additional features noticeable in the sculpture are : the umbrella in place of *kīrtimukha*, Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya on the top right and left sections of the *prabhāvalī*, the lotus-carrying figures of Gaṅgā and Pārvatī, recognisable as such from their respective *vāhanas* (a dolphin and a lion) on the proper right and left of the central figure, below whom is shown his mount Nandī."[87a]

The unique bronze image of Śiva with a Dhyānī-Buddha-like figure at the top centre of the stela, now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, is another early type of this deity of outstanding importance.

There are quite a large number of images of Naṭarāja Śiva, dancing on the back of his mounts. One class of them, with ten hands, closely follow the descriptions given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (ch, 269. vv. 4-11). *Khaḍga*, *śakti*, *daṇḍa* and *triśūla* are held in the right, and *kheṭaka*, *kapāla*, *nāga* and *khaṭvāṅga* in the left hand ; the ninth holds a rosary and the tenth is in the *Varada* pose (*mudrā*). Anothor class with twelve hands holds a *vīṇā* across the breast with one pair of hands, while another pair marks time—thus showing the god engaged in music and dancing. The Sankarbāndhā (Dacca Dt.) image of the first class depicts not only Gaṅgā and Gaurī on their respective mounts on the two sides of the central figure, but also a number of nāgas, nāginīs and gaṇas—some of them dancing in an ecstatic pose—on the pedestal. Even the Bull, on which Śiva is represented as dancing, looks up towards the god and dances with two legs raised. A highly favourable background is created for the *tāṇḍava* dance of Śiva, who is referred to in one of these sculptures as Narteśvara.

The image of Sadāśiva is found on the seals of the copper-plates of the Sena kings. Independent figures of this god, following closely the description given in the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* are found in large number. According to these two texts the five-faced and ten-handed god should be seated in the *vaddha-*

padmāsana pose showing in his right hands, *abhaya* and *varada-mudrās*, *śakti*, *triśūla*, and *khaṭvāṅga*, and in his left ones, *sarpa*, *akshamālā*, *ḍamaru*, *nīlotpala*, and *vījapura*; and he should be accompanied by Manonmānī. The sculpture in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, bearing the inscription No. B. 62, is a fine representative one of this type and closely follows the above description, especially with regard to the arrangement of the attributes in its ten hands. There is no Manonmānī by its side, but on the central section of the *pañcharatha* pedestal are gracefully carved two male attendants of Śiva, carrying *śūlas* in their left hands, the left one being that of a pot-bellied corpulent figure. On the extreme right corner is shown Nandī looking upwards, and on the corresponding corner on the other side is the donor couple. The sculpture is a finely carved specimen of the Pāla period. This close agreement of the plastic representations with South Indian texts, as well as their main association with the Senas who hailed from Karṇāṭa country in South India, has led some scholars to suggest that the Senas brought the cult of Sadāśiva from the south where it was much in vogue.[88] But there is no doubt that the cult belongs to Āgamānta Śaivism and was of North Indian origin.[89]

The next type of composite Śiva icons which are common in Bengal and other parts of Eastern India is the Āliṅgana or Umā-Maheśvara-mūrti. The extreme frequency of such images in this province as well as in Eastern India in general can be explained if we remember that these are the regions where Tantric cult originated and developed to a great extent. One of the three-fold vows undertaken by Tantric worshippers of Tripurasundarī is to concentrate the mind on the Devī as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the *mahāpadmasana* (*Saundarya-laharī*, v. 40 ff,), and it is no wonder that initiates into the Śakti cult will have requisitioned these images as aids to concentration of mind (*dhyāna-yogasya saṁsiddhai*). A North Bengal sculpture of the late mediaeval period (*c.* 12th century A.D.), now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta is one of the typical specimens belonging to this group. The goddess, with a mirror in her left hand and her right hand placed on the right shoulder of her consort, is seated in the *sukhāsana* pose on the left thigh of Śiva. The latter closely embraces the Devī with front left hand, his front right one holding a *nīlotpala* is placed in *jñāna-mudrā* against his breast, while his back right and left hands carry respectively a rosary and a trident. The deities are seated on a *mahāpadma* on

a *navaratha* pedestal along which the right leg of Śiva hangs down, and their respective mounts, with a dancing female between them, and the donor, are carved between the top and bottom layers of the pedestal. Such reliefs, with slight variations in sitting postures of the central figures, in the number of accessory figures on the stela, or in the nature of the attributes in the hands of Śiva, are to be found in the collection of the different museums of Bengal.

In the above types of Śiva images, the bodies of Śiva and Śakti are shown separate, though in a very close embrace. But there is another variety where both are merged into one body, the right half being male and the left female. This is the Arddhanārīśvara form of Śiva which is comparatively rare in Bengal. The Purāpārā image, now in the Rajshahi Museum, is fully in the round. It has two arms, and the Śivaite characteristic of the *ūrddhva-liṅga*. The left half of the image bears all the features peculiar to Umā, and the right half, the traits of her consort. It is a fine piece of sculpture and can be included among the best specimens of the late Pāla sculptures of Bengal. There are a few stories explaining this variety of Śaiva icon, but there is no doubt that all these are after-thoughts explaining, by way of mythology, one of the interesting old Indian concepts regarding the primeval cause at the root of the whole creation.[90]

A few specimens of the Vaivāhika or Kalyāṇa-sundara type of Śiva which was long regarded as specially South Indian in character, have been found in Bengal. The Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat (Calcutta) sculpture is the most elaborate of all the known Bengal specimens. Here Śiva stands erect facing front with Pārvatī before him, and is surrounded by a number of spirits and deities. The Navagrahas are shown in two groups, on each side of Śivā's head, and there are several other deities, sages, and spirits carved on either side of the central figures.

All the above types represent the placid (*śānta*) aspect of Śiva. A few specimens of his terrific (*ugra*) aspect have also been found in Bengal. An Aghora Rudra image in the Dacca Museum has been described as follows :

"The god is standing in the *ālīḍha* posture with his legs planted on nude human and demoniacal figures, on a pedestal composed of nine skulls each, arranged pyramidally in groups of three. To the right and left of this pedestal a jackal and a vulture are shown feasting on carrion. The bull, carved between the legs of the deity,

is looking up towards him. The eight hands of the god hold *ḍamaru*, *śūla* (piercing the breast of one of the prostrate figures), *śara* (being drawn from the quiver at his back), *khaḍga*, *kheṭaka*, *dhanu*, *kapāla* and *ghaṇṭā*. Two attendants holding *kartṛi* and *kapāla* in their hands are shown, one on either side of the deity, the fierce look of whose face has been heightened by the teeth protruding from the lips parted in a weird smile. Though the whole image seems to have 'curious unfinished look about it,' still it is an admirable piece of sculpture belonging to c. 11th century A.D."[91]

The miniature Vaṭuka-Bhairaba image in the Dacca Museum "depicts the god with a flabby belly and a long skull-garland. Flames issue out of its head, 'the eyes are round and rolling, and the lips are parted in a horrible smile.' Of the four hands, the front right is broken, the back right holds a sword, the back left a *khaṭvāṅga* or *śūla*, and the front left a *kapāla*.[92] The four-armed image of Bhairava discovered in the Dinajpur District (now in P. C. Nahar collection) stands in the *pratyālīḍha* posture on a severed human head.[93]

A detached image of Śiva's *Vāhana*, the Nandī (Bull), has been found at Rangamati (Murshidabad Dt).[93a] It has been assigned to the seventh century A.D.

The images of Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa are very familiar and found in large number all over Bengal, though there is no evidence that the Gāṇapatya sect ever prevailed in Bengal. The reason probably is that, according to popular belief Gaṇeśa is the god who removes obstacle (*vighnahara*) and bestows success (*siddhidātā*). The god with elephant's head is shown in various postures—seated, standing and dancing—and his mount, the mouse, is seldom absent. A typical seated Gaṇesa image has been described as follows :

"It is a four-armed grey sandstone image, and a rosary, a small radish with plenty of leaves, *triśūla*, and the end of a snake coiled round its body like a sacred thread are placed in its four hands. On the pedestal is a crude linear representation of a mouse, his peculiar mount, and the third eye of the deity is suggested by the lozenge-shaped mark on the middle of his forehead."[94]

An image of the god of about 11th century A.D., now in the Indian Museum, shows him dancing on the back of the "rat, accompanied by two figures, one on each side, who are dancing as well as playing on musical instruments. Of the six hands of the

god, the right ones hold the tusk, axe, and rosary, while the left ones bear assurance pose (palm defaced), blue lotus and a pot of sweetmeat into which the trunk of the god is placed. Just in the top centre of the pointed stela hangs a bunch of mangoes with leaves attached to the stalk. This fine sculpture does considerable credit to the artist who so successfully treated this grotesque theme with such balance and sense of proportion."[95]

"There is one unique five-faced and ten-handed image of Gaṇeśa seated on a roaring lion, dug up from among the ruins of Rāmpāl and now being worshipped at a Vaishṇava monastery at Munshiganj, which was perhaps the icon of such sectary."[96] It has been suggested that the image was set up by an inhabitant of South India, as South Indian texts specifically refer to five faces of Gaṇeśa.[97]

Curiously enough, though, as stated above,[97a] there were temples of Kārtikeya, single stone images of the god are very rare in Bengal. But one image, found in N. Bengal and now in the Indian Museum, is of interest not only from the point of view of iconography but also as a fine specimen of artistic excellence. "The god sits in the *mahārāja-līlā* or *sukhāsana* pose (an unusual one ; cf. the abnormal pose in some Garuḍāsana Vishṇu figures) on the back of his *vāhana* peacock—the Śikhi Paravāṇī—standing with its outspread wings and plumes on a double-petalled lotus on a *saptaratha* pedestal. Two female figures with *chowries* (possibly his two consorts Devasenā and Vallī) stand in graceful pose on his two sides. The back right hand holds his characteristic emblem, the *śakti* (spear), and the front right one, a *vījapūraka* ; the pedestal and the stela are tastefully decorated with ornamental carvings usual in sculptures of the period. "The graceful attitude and feeling of calm repose, as well as the dreamy eye, mark it out as a remarkable specimen among the products of the Bengal school of art ; it is assignable on grounds of style to the 12th century A.D."[98]

The cult of Śakti or Devī arose out of the conception of Universal Mother. 'She is specifically the energy of Śiva though sometimes regarded as the product of the combined energy of all the gods whose main function was to deliver the gods from the danger caused by the demons.' The Śakti worship was very popular in Bengal and naturally we have numerous images of many 'varieties'. Like Śiva, she has a placid as well as a terrific aspect.

Reference has been made above (p. 78) to the inscribed Deulbāḍī (Tippera) bronze or octo-alloy image of Sarvāṇī of the 7th century

A.D. "It is an eight-armed deity, standing in *samapāda-sthānaka* pose on the back of a lion couchant on a double lotus and a *triratha* pedestal, accompanied by two *chowry*-bearing female figures ; the hands carry conch-shell, arrow, sword, discus, shield, trident, bell and bow. The image, though described as Sarvāṇī in the inscription (Sarvāṇī is the feminine form of Sarva, one of the eight names given to Rudra in the *Atharva Veda*), closely follows the description of the goddess with such names as Bhadra-Durgā, Bhadra-Kālī, Ambikā, Kshemaṅkarī and Vedagarbhā, given in the *Śāradātilaka-tantra*, a work compiled much later than the period of the image.[99] A four-handed stone image of the goddess, found at Mangalbāri (Dinajpur), stands erect on a pedestal on which is carved the figure of a lion with one of its paws raised. Her front hands are broken, but the back right and left hands carry a *triśūla* and an *aṅkuśa*, respectively. The simplicity of the whole composition and the elegance of its carving mark it out as one of the fine specimens of the early Pāla art...

"The commonest variety of the standing four-armed Devī images in Bengal, however, is that which has been described as Chaṇḍī by some writers, and as Gaurī-Pārvatī by others. This variety is characterised by the erect pose of the central figure, the presence of an iguana on the pedestal, and such attributes as *liṅgam* with rosary on the upper right, a *tridaṇḍī* or a trident on the upper left, boon or pomegranate on the lower right, and vase on the lower left hands. Such images have not only been discovered from various parts of Bengal, but also from the distant region of Java, showing the widely diffused cult of this goddess which probably migrated there from Bengal.[100] The large stone figure of the Devī from Mandoīl (Rajshahi) is a good specimen. Kārtikeya, with two lions beneath him, and Gaṇapati, with two antelopes, are on the right and left of central figure. There are plantain trees on either side, and the miniature figures of the Navagrahas and of the donors. The iguana is missing in this relief. The sculpture is in the best tradition of the Bengal school and can be dated in the 11th century A.D.[101] The unique Dacca stone image of Chaṇḍī with an inscription dated in the year 3 of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena (No. C.10), has couchant lion for her vehicle, and holds *vara*, *aṅkusa*, *padma* and *kamaṇḍalu* in the four hands. Like Gaja-Lakshmī, the goddess is being bathed as it were by two elephants with their trunks holding upturned pitchers, carved on the top part of the pointed stela. No iconographic

text is known which describes such an image, denominated Chaṇḍī in the inscription. Bhattasali tentatively identifies it as Bhuvaneśvarī on the basis of certain texts in the *Sāradātilaka-tantra* (Ch. 8)."[102]

There are a few seated images of Devī with four or more hands. An image, found at Bogra and now in the Indian Museum, is seated on the back of the lion and holds in her four hands a fruit (pomegranate), sword, shield and water-vessel, and she is tastefully decorated with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, *hāra*, *keyūra*, and other ornaments. A four-armed goddess from Nowgong (Rajshahi), seated in an identical manner, and holding in her hands *vara*, *padma*, *triśūla* and *bhṛiṅgāra*, is flanked by miniature figures of Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa on either side. A six-handed Devī image, similarly seated, with her right hands showing *vara*, *akshamālā* and *padma* and her left hands, *abhaya*, *bhṛiṅgāra* and *śūla*, is still being worshipped at Shekhāti (Jessore) as Bhuvaneśvarī.[103] A twenty-armed image of the goddess, seated in an identical manner on a double-petalled lotus placed on the back of her mount, and bearing such attributes and poses as a fruit (pomegranate), boon, protection, discus, sword, pestle, arrow *etc.* in the right and conch-shell, water-vessel, bows, trident, mirror *etc.*, in the left hands, with a miniature *liṅga* on her head among the *jaṭās*, may be tentatively identified as Mahālakshmī, the supreme goddess.[104] This unique relief, which is now lost, was discovered at Simla (Rajshahi) and may be dated in the 10th century A.D.

The unique composite sculpture discovered at Kāgajipārā, among the ruins of ancient Vikrampur, depicts a stone *liṅga*, out of which emerges the half length figure of a four-armed goddess, with her front hands in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, and the back right and left hands holding a rosary and a manuscript, respectively. The goddess has been identified as the Mahāmāyā or Tripura-Bhairavī.[105]

All the different varieties of the Durgā images so far described belong to her placid or *saumya* aspect ; but the goddess, like her consort Śiva, had her terrific or *ugra* form. A good many images depicting the latter have been discovered. Mythologically, the most important among such icons is the Mahishamardinī type which, with certain elaborations, came to be the accepted iconic model of the composite clay image in the annual autumnal Durgā worship in Bengal. A very interesting stone sculpture depicting the ten-armed goddess slaying the demon in the above manner was discovered at Dulmi in the district of Manbhum, and is now in the Indian Museum,

Calcutta. The goddess is shown in *pratyālīḍha* pose with her right and left legs planted firmly on the lion and buffalo, respectively. She carries in her ten hands *triśūla* (piercing the neck of the demon), *kheṭakā, ṭaṅka, śara, khaḍga, dhanu, paraśu, aṅkuśa, nāgapāśa* and *sūchīmudrā*. There are two *chowry*-bearing male figures on her either side and the whole composition is shown as if it were enshrined in a *rekha deul* with *āmalaka* and *kalasa* on the top. The black-stone ten-armed image of Mahishamardinī discovered at Sakta (Dacca), with a pedestal inscription describing it as *'Śrī-Māsika-Chaṇḍī'* in characters of the 12th century A.D., is similar in its composition to the above relief, differing only in minor details.[106] The relief of Nava-Durgā from Porsha (Dinajpur) represents an extremely rare type consisting of nine figures of Mahishamardinī, one represented as the central piece, with eight other miniatures grouped round it—five in the top part of the stela, two on either side, and one on the middle face of the *saptaratha* pedestal—all in the usual manner. The central figure is eighteen-armed, while the rest are endowed with sixteen arms ; the head and the trident-bearing right hand of the former are broken away ; the remaining right hands have elephant-goad, thunderbolt, chisel, stick, mace, discus, arrow and sword, while the left ones hold the *tarjanī-mudrā*, the tuft of hair of the demon, shield, bow, flag, kettle-drum, mirror, bell and *nāgapāśa*. The whole composition corresponds fairly well to the description of the goddess Nava-Durgā given in the *Bhavishya Purāṇa*.[107] The central figure is named Ugrachaṇḍā, the surrounding ones being Rudrachaṇḍā, Prachaṇḍā, Chaṇḍogrā, Chaṇḍanāyikā, Chaṇḍā, Chaṇḍavatī, Chaṇḍarūpā, and Atichaṇḍikā. The whole composition, in spite of the multiplicity of the hands and the vigorous action of the figures, shows a dignified balance.[108]

An interesting group of Śakti icons consists of Mātṛikā images. The Mātṛikās are usually seven in number, and they really represent the personified energy of several of the well-known Brāhmanical deities. Their names are Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Indrāṇī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī and Chāmuṇḍī. Their worship is very old, and their images, flanked on either side by the figures of Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, and generally carved in a row on a single slab of stone, are found all over India. Several such composite reliefs have been discovered in Bengal. One of the Mātṛikās, *viz.* Chāmuṇḍā, seems to have been very popular, for several images, typifying some of her various forms such as Rūpavidyā, Siddha-yogeśvarī and

Danturā, have been found in different parts of Bengal. The Dacca Museum specimen, originally found among the ruins of Rāmpāl, is one of the best preserved images of this class. The goddess dances on a *gaṇa* holding in her six right hands boon, knife, kettle-drum, one end of elephant skin, arrow and sword, while of the corresponding ones on the left, the small finger of the front one is raised to the lips, the rest carrying bow, the other end of the elephant skin, skull, corpse and trident.[109] These twelve-armed standing or dancing images of Chāmuṇḍā may represent her Siddha-yogeśvarī aspect as mentioned in the *Agni Purāṇa*. An image of the two-handed Chāmuṇḍā sitting on her haunches, originally hailing from Aṭṭahāsa (Burdwan), one of the fifty-one *Śakti-pīṭhas* in India, represents the Danturā aspect of this goddess. The terrible figure, with its bare canine teeth, rounded eyes, ghastly smile, emaciated body, lean and pendulous breasts, sunken belly, and peculiar sitting posture, portrays in a remarkable manner the weird and the uncanny.[110] Two stone sculptures in the Rajshahi Museum represent two other varieties of seated Chāmuṇḍā : one seated on an ass is described as '*pisitāsanā*' (*piśitāśanā*) in the pedestal inscription, while the other seated on a corpse underneath a tree is labelled '*Charchikā*'.

A ten-handed image of Chāmuṇḍā, found in Betna, a part of the Harirampur village in Dinajpur District, probably represents the Rupavidyā form. "The emaciated goddess sits in *lalitāsana* on what is evidently a corpse. She has ten hands, of which eight exhibit the usual weapons, and attributes, such as *kapāla*, corpse, *ḍamaru* (rattle), *asi*, *kheṭaka*, *śūla* fingers touching the lips, *ghaṇṭā* (bell), etc. But what makes the image so interesting is a severed human bust seen in the background, held by its two hands in the two uppermost hands of the goddess, exactly in the manner of the *gajacharmma* (elephant's skin), that we find so frequently in such images.[111]

The most interesting sculpture at Betna is, however, the image of a female figure in *pratyālīḍha* pose fighting with a host of pot-bellied *Asuras*, and with a prancing lion between her feet. Evidently the whole theme is an aspect of Chaṇḍikā fighting with the demons. The theme, quite different from the commonly-found representations of *Mahishāsura-vadha* (slaying of the Buffalo Demon), is wonderfully vigorous and dramatic. The goddess is fighting with the demons with the various weapons held in some of

her thirty-two hands. The main pair holds a *śaṅkha* (conch), the blowing of which gives the signal for the fight. A second pair thrusts a *triśūla* (trident) into the belly of a demon, while another pair above the goddess's head hurls something, perhaps a *mushala* (pestle). The other hands exhibit various other weapons and attributes, such as *varada mudrā, sarpa* (snake), *ḍamaru, śakti, karttṛi* (dagger), *tarjanī* (pointing finger), *dhanush* (bow), *vāṇa* (arrow), *asi, kheṭaka, chakra, śūla, pāśa* (noose), *utpala* (lotus), *daṇḍa, paraśu* (axe), *gadā, ghaṇṭā, abhaya, vajra* (thunderbolt), *darpaṇa* (mirror), *etc.* In spite of the rather large number of additional arms the image is wonderfully organic, a point which signifies concentrated energy before which the demons are already seen to be retreating. A female figure on the proper right holds an umbrella over the head of the goddess, while on the top are shown representations of various other gods, such as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva, Sūryya, Gaṇeśa *etc.* Of the fighting attendants of the goddess, two are seen in the present sculpture, one at the top and the other on the pedestal, which also shows, besides lotus rosettes, the donor and his wife, as well as the representation of a bearded and emaciated male figure seated in *dhyāna* posture.

The execution of the sculpture is masterful in the extreme. The artist has put remarkable life and reality into the whole theme. The prancing lion, the *pratyālīḍha* (fighting) pose, the various weapons—held not merely as qualifying attributes but being actually used as weapons of war—, beautifully portray an actual fight going on between the goddess and the demons, who, unable to bear the combined and concentrated energy of the goddess, slowly retreat before her onslaught.[112]

The VSP. Museum possesses a unique rectangular stone slab in the shape of a miniature shrine, having carved in its centre a four-armed standing figure of Brahmāṇī, flanked by a swan below her left hand and a lion below her right. This sculpture was found at Devagrām (Nadia).[113] This, the several Vārāhī images, and one Indrāṇī in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum are the only separate sculptures of the Mātṛikās, other than the varieties of Chāmuṇḍā noticed above, so far discovered in Bengal.

IV. Images of Sūrya

Next to images of Vishṇu, those of Sūrya are the most numerous in Bengal. As in the case of Vishṇu, the earliest images of

Sūrya, namely those in two reliefs from Kumārpur and Niyāmatpur (Rajshahi Dt.), show distinct traces of Kushāṇa features.[114] The chief iconographic details are the chariot of seven horses drawing the deity, clad in long tunic and low head-dress, standing between attendants, with the legs either inserted in pedestal or covered by high boots, and holding lotuses with stalks in two hands. The chief attendants are Daṇḍī and Piṅgala to whom were later, during the Gupta period, added two arrow-shooting goddesses, Ūshā and Pratyūshā, standing on two sides of the charioteer Aruṇa, and there were still more attendants in the Pāla period, namely Mahāśvetā and the two queens, namely Saṅgā and Chhāyā. The Kushāṇa tunic disappeared during the Gupta period, and an image found at Deora shows scanty dress with upper part of the body left bare and a circular halo at the back of the head. A long sword is fastened with a slanting strap on the left side below the waist.

A stone figure of Sūrya found at Koṭālipāḍā and now in the Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, which has been referred to the eleventh century A.D., represents the fully developed type of Sūrya. The attendant figures stand by the side of the main figure, with the figures of Ūshā and Pratyūshā placed just above their heads, the legs of all of them being heavily booted like that of the deity. A swan is depicted below the charioteer Aruṇa, and the sacred thread of Sūrya is replaced by a Vanamālā and a cord tied in the middle of the chest into knots like a *chhannavīra*. The god and his principal attendants stand on lotus flowers issuing from *agni-kuṇḍas* on the *saptaratha* pedestal—Ūshā and Pratyūshā being carved along with three kneeling devotees. An imāge from Mahendra (Dinajpur Dt.) shows the unique feature of the god having six hands, and it is also remarkable from artistic point of view.[115]

A twelfth century image from Manda (Rajshahi Dt.) with ten hands and three heads—the flanking ones of terrific type—has been taken to be Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, a combination of Sūrya and Bhairava, described in the *Śāradātilaka-tantra* (paṭala. XIV).

Seated images of Sūrya are very rare. One with an inscription, describing the deity as "the remover of all diseases", was found at Qasba (Ekdala) in Dinajpur Dt. Images of Revanta, the son of Sūrya, are also found in Bengal. According to iconographic texts he is to be represented as a hunter on horse-back attended by followers. The Ghatnagar (Dinajpur) image presents him in a very

interesting manner. The booted deity is represented as riding horse, "with a lash in the right hand and the reins of the horse in his left, with an attendant holding an umbrella over his head, but he is shown here in the midst of two robbers, one ready to attack him from the front, the other on a tree-top from behind. The pedestal shows a woman standing, a devotee, and a man with a sword and shield about to assault a woman cutting a fish with a fish-knife, and just above the horse's head on the right corner of the partially broken stela is a dwelling house with a couple within it."[116]

Another image depicts him seated on horse-back with a bowl in his right hand followed by dogs, musicians, and other male and female attendants.

The images of Navagrahas, intimately associated with Sūrya, are usually carved in a row either on a slab of stone or on an architectural piece like lintels of door. A long rectangular slab found at Kanakdighi (24 Parganas) contains a fine representation of the whole group.[117] Separate representations of some of these deities are very rare.

V. Images of Miscellaneous Brāhmanical Deities

There are a large number of deites in Bengal who may be regarded as folk-gods, originally worshipped by primitive peoples but gradually finding a place in the orthodox pantheons of the Hindus. Some of these, whose icons are still objects of popular worship, are Manasā, Śītalā, Shashṭhī, *etc.* The general type of the stone image of Manasā has been thus described :

"The deity is seated on a lotus in the *lalitāsana* pose, with hoods of seven snakes spread over her head, her left hand holding the eighth one (mythologically, eight *nāgas* are associated with the goddess). Her right hand in the *varada* pose holds a fruit, and she is attended on either side by a seated emaciated figure and a crowned male person."[118] A beautiful bronze figure of Manasā, probably belonging to the Pāla period, is now in the Indian Museum. "It shows the goddess seated under the usual snake-hoods in the *lalitāsana* pose, with a child on her left lap and her right hand holding a long leafy branch."[119]

Hāritī, the goddess symbolising the diseases of small-pox and measles, may be regarded as the prototype of modern Śītalā. A four-armed stone figure, 'with a child in her two front hands clasped

on her lap, and a fish and a bowl placed on her back right and left hands,' has been tentatively identified by N. K. Bhattasali with the goddess Hāritī.[120] Another, still being worshipped, has been found in the Sundarbans. But the identification is doubtful.[121]

A mutilated image, identified as Shashṭhī, has (or rather had) four hands all of which are broken. "Her upper right hand holding a leafy branch is partially preserved ; a cat looking upwards, on which the dangling right leg of the goddess is made to rest, is carved by the side of the *bhadra-ghaṭa* on the pedestal."[122]

A few images of the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā have been found, but they are usually represented as decorative motifs on the door jambs of temples. They are recognised by their respective *vāhanas*, *makara* and the tortoise. Both have attendants, one of whom holds an umbrella over the head of the goddess.

"Numerous reliefs depicting a goddess lying on a bed with a male child lying by her side, attended to by females and with the miniature figures of Śiva-liṅga, Kārtikeya, Gaṇeśa, and the Navagrahas, have been discovered in Bengal and other parts of Eastern India. Various suggestions have been made with regard to the identity of the Mother and Child represented in them. According to N. K. Bhattasali they represent the Sadyojāta aspect of Śiva. But this identification has been justly challenged, and in the absence of any better or more acceptable one, it is better to stick to the view of Alexander Cunningham that these reliefs represent the scene of Kṛishṇa's nativity."[123]

Vedic gods like Indra, Agni, Yama and Varuṇa, degraded later as Dikpālas or guardians of the quarters, are also represented by images, mostly in bas-reliefs. Indra, for example, is recognised by his mount, elephant, and the third eye placed horizontally on his forehead, two of his chief characteristics mentioned in ancient texts. Agni is also easily recognised by the *Kamaṇḍalu* and *akshamālā* held in his two hands, with flames of fire in the background. A stone sculpture holding a *pāśa* in his hands, and a male and female attendant, holding noose, standing on either side, may be identified as Varuṇa or Yama. Images of another Dikpāla, Kuvera, have been found at Pāhārpur.

"The god is seated in *lalitāsana* on a settee below which a *śaṅkha* and a *padma* (two of the *ashṭanidhis* of Kuvera) are shown. The god holds a long purse in his left hand and its right one is broken.

Two female *chowry*-bearers stand on either side of him, and there are the usual flying Vidyādharas."[124]

A figure of Varuṇa found at Dhuroil (Rajshahi Dt.) is a beautiful specimen of Bengal art of the 11th century A.D. "The tastefully decorated god sits in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat on a *triratha* pedestal on which his much mutilated mount (*makara*) is discernible. He holds a snake (really a noose in the shape of a snake—*nāgapāśa*) in his right hand, and his left hand, now broken, must have held a water-pot".[125]

A figure of Yama showing daṇḍa and *tarjanī* in his two hands, and standing astride, with his *vāhana* buffalo in relief on the pedestal, is in the Rajshahi Museum.

VI. Jaina Images

The predominance of Jainism at one time in Bengal is hardly in keeping with the very small number of images representing that religion. The twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras are all generally shown as naked and standing erect with two hands hanging on two sides—in more or less the same manner—and can be distinguished only by their *lānchhanas* on the body or pedestal. One of the rare exceptions is the seated, and in many respects the unique, image of Ṛishabhanātha discovered at Surohor (Dinajpur Dt.) belonging approximately to the tenth century A.D. The richly decorated sculpture is shaped in the form of a miniature temple.

"The image shows a marvellously well-executed piece of sculpture in magnificent preservation. The Jina (Tīrthankara, or Arhat) is seated cross-legged (*vajraparyanka*) on a *siṁhāsana*, carried on a *pañcharatha* pedestal, which is divided into two sections, the upper occupied by a wheel flanked by two lions, while the lower has a bull (the distinctive *lāñchhana*, or identifying mark, of this Jina) and a kneeling worshipper. The two hands of the Jina are placed on the soles of his feet in *dhyāna mudrā*. He is completely nude. *Urṇā* (mole covered with hair, between the eye-brows), *ushṇīsha* (knob of matted hair), and the wheel marks on his palms and the soles of his feet, are among the auspicious marks (*mahāpurusha-lakshaṇa*). Behind the head is the *prabhāmaṇḍala* borne on the top of the back of the throne. On either side is seen a male attendant, with a flywhisk, in slight *tribhaṅga*. Above, on each side, is seen a *vidyādhara* couple in the clouds carrying garlands. An umbrella

covers the head of the Jina, on both sides of which are to be seen pairs of hands, sounding cymbals and showering flowers on his head. What make the image peculiarly interesting are the figures of the twenty-three other Jinas arranged in rows of niches, the uppermost ones ending in an *āmalaka* and finials, exactly as in the *śikharas* of the *Nāgara* (North Indian) temples. Each of these figures shows the hands in *dhyāna* pose and has the head canopied by an umbrella. Each has his distinctive *lānchhana* marked on the pedestal. These symbols tally closely with the list given by Hemachandra in his *Abhidhāna-Chintāmani* except in a case."[126]

Several other images of Ṛishabhanātha including the elegant figure at Mandoil (Rajshahi Dt.) and those of Ādinātha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha, and several other Jinas have been found in Bengal. A seated image of Pārśvanātha, found at Deulbhira (Bankura Dt.), and probably of the tenth century A.D., is now in the Indian Museum. The deity is shown seated in the usual Yoga posture, with the seven hoods of a snake spread over his head, and his characteristic *lāñchhana* beneath the lotus seat ; the *chowry*-bearing figures on either side are present, but no other Jinas are represented by his side. An image of the same deity standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture with his usual characteristics and attendants having the miniature figures of twenty-three other Jinas seated in rows of two each, eleven on its right and twelve on its left, is now at Kāntābeniā (24-Parganas). The execution of the image is good and its date is probably 11th century A.D.

The VSP. Museum, Calcutta, contains a rare specimen of Jina Śāntinātha standing in usual pose between two *chowry*-bearing attendants. On the back slab are carved the *navagrahas*, five on one side and four on the other, and the pedestal shows his *lāñchhana*, an antelope. The sculpture which originally hailed from Ujāni (Burdwan) is a heavy one and can be roughly dated in the 12th century A.D.[126a]

The Asutosh Museum possesses large sandstone Jaina sculptures and a smaller Jaina image of c. tenth century from Bankura and another of the tenth-eleventh century from Mayta (Midnapur Dt).[126b]

A Jaina image has been found at Khatra (Bankura Dt).[126c]

VII. Buddhist Images

I. Introduction.

In order to understand properly the iconography of Buddhism it is necessary to have some idea of the hierarchy of the Buddhist gods and goddesses. It is a well-known fact that Gautama Buddha, the founder of the religion, had left positive instructions to his disciples not to make, far less worship, his images, and, as a matter of fact, for a few centuries after his death, Gautama Buddha was represented in the sculptures, not by any human figure but by symbols such as a throne under a tree, a pair of feet, *etc.* Later, his images were made, and this innovation is attributed by some scholars to the Bactrian Greeks of Gandhāra who were familiar with the representation of their gods and goddesses by human figures. The idea of making images of Buddha was gradually introduced all over India.

But the Buddhists did not stop with the image of Gautama Buddha alone. With the growth of Mahāyāna system there developed a complex idea of a multiplicity of gods and goddesses and their divine or semi-divine associatese who were all represented by icons.

The philosphical concept behind this motely group may be explained as follows :

"Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā may, for all practical purposes, be taken as the Universal Father and the Universal Mother of the Buddhist hierarchy of gods. Ādi Prajñā is also sometimes called Prajñā-Pāramitā,—the Saving Wisdom. The position of the pair is akin to *Purusha* and *Prakṛiti* or Śiva and Śakti of the Brāhmaṇical conception.

"Five Dhyānī Buddhas (i.e., Buddhas deep in eternal meditation) are conceived to have emanated from the pair. They take no part in the affairs of the world, but are passive and in deep meditation. For purposes of creation they have each an active counterpart called *Bodhisattva*. These Bodhisattvas, in successive ages, uphold the creation and then retire and merge again into their original sources. The Bodhisattvas exert their influence over the universe in successive ages through the most exalted of human beings called *Mānushī Buddhas* or Buddhas incarnate. They are a sort of human agent

to the Bodhisattvas. The following table will explain the relations.

Dhyānī Buddhas	Corresponding Dhyānī Bodhisattvas	Corresponding Mānushī Buddhas.
Vairochana	Samanta-bhadra	Krakuchandra
Akshobhya	Vajrapāṇi	Kanakamuni
Ratna-sambhava	Ratnapāṇi	Kāśyapa
Amitābha	Avalokiteśvara	Gautama
Amogha-siddhi	Viśvapāṇi	Maitreya

Three Ages have already passed and the present is the 4th world, being the creation of Avalokiteśvara. The Mānushī Buddha of this Age is Gautama Buddha, the Śākya *muni*. Five thousand years after the *nirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha, Viśvapāṇi Bodhisattva will create the 5th World and Maitreya will appear as the Mānushī Buddha."[127]

The most favourite of the above deities is Avalokiteśvara, also known as Avalokita, Lokeśvara—the keen-seeing one, the Lord of Mercy. Later, some new Bodhisattvas were added, the most important of whom was Mañjuśrī, whose consort was Sarasvatī, obviously a replica or counterpart of the Brāhmaṇical goddess.

There are numerous goddesses, the most important of whom—the Tārās—are as much emanations from the Dhyānī-Buddhas as the male Bodhisattvas are, and therefore hold equal rank with them. In iconographic representations of these goddesses a small image of the parent Dhyānī-Buddha is portrayed on the tiara over their head. Some scholars regard the Tārās as the Śaktis of the Dhyānī-Buddhas from whom they originated. But a more reasonable view regards them as the Śaktis of the Bodhisattvas originating from the same Dhyānī-Buddha. In other words, the emanation from a Dhyānī-Buddha divides itself into the male and female energies.

In addition to this aristocratic family of gods and goddesses, there are (1) tutelary deities or protectors of devotees such as Jambhala, Hevajra, Heruka, (2) defenders of the faith such as

Kuvera, Yama, *etc.*, of terrible appearance, and (3) the host of Piśāchas, Bhairavas, Ḍākinīs, *etc.*

The oldest and one of the best images of Buddha is the one found at Bharail (Rajshahi Dt.) and may be dated in the first half of the 5th century A.D. It is a typical Gupta sculpture of the Sārnāth School both from stylistic and iconographic point of view and will be discussed in chapter XV.

A very different type of the Pāla period is illustrated by the richly decorated image of a seated Buddha, now worshipped as Siva at Śivvāṭi (Khulna Dt.). It has been described as follows :

"It is in the *bhū-sparśa* pose (thus typifying the Enlightenment scene), with the three other Great Miracles, viz., the birth, preaching of the first sermon, and *mahāparinirvāṇa*, and the four added ones of Buddha's taming of Nālāgiri at Rājagṛiha, the descent of the Master from the Trayastriṁśa Heaven at Śāṅkāsya, his performance of the miracles at Śrāvastī, and the monkeys offering honey to him at Vaisālī, carved on the *prabhāvalī* of the principal figure in the centre of the composition. Although many images of this type have been found in Bihar, this is the only specimen discovered so far in Bengal."[128]

Another seated Buddha image, of the same but very much simpler type, of the post-Gupta period is represented by the figure at Ujani (Faridpur Dt.).[129]

Quite a large number of Buddhist images, representing the Mahāyāna pantheon and Sahajiyā cult and belonging to the Pāla and early Sena period, have been found in Bengal. Reference has been made above (p. 526) to the philosophical concept behind them.

The images of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, both standing and seated, and belonging to different varieties such as Khasarpaṇa, Sugati-sandarśana, Shaḍakṣharī, *etc.* have been found in Bengal. One of the best is the image of Khasarpaṇa of the 11th century A.D. found at Mahākāli near Rāmpāl (Dacca Dt.) which has been described as follows :

"The god is seated in *lalitāsana*, underneath a trefoil arch on a double-petalled lotus carved on a *saptaratha* pedestal, on which are shown various accessory figures like Sūchīmukha, the donor couple, some of the *upachāras* and *ratnas*, a female figure dancing to the tune of musical instruments played by others, *etc.* The tastefully decorated central figure, holding a full-blossomed lotus flower by its stalk in its left hand (its right hand is

broken), looks down with compassionate eyes (cf. the epithets *parama-karuṇa* and *avalokita*). The usual attendants of the lord, viz., Sudhanakumāra and Tārā on the right, and Hayagrīva and Bhṛikuṭī on the left, are artistically placed on subsidiary lotuses by his side, while on the top section of the *prabhāvalī* are carved the images of the Pañcha-Tathāgatas, each shown in his characteristic pose enshrined in miniature temples, and other accessories. The artist had poured his whole soul into his work and turned out one of the noblest objects of religious art in Bengal.[130]

A gold-plated bronze figure of Mañjuśrī was found near the ruins of Mahāsthān (ancient Puṇḍravardhana.) "The figure is fully in the round, and is depicted standing in a *dvibhaṅga* pose. A figure of the Dhyānī-Buddha Akshobhya, the spiritual father of Mañjuśrī, is placed among the clusters of *jaṭā* on its head. Of its arms, the right fore-arm is broken, and the left is shown in the *vyākhyāna* or the *vitarka* pose, one quite suitable for a god of wisdom, the Buddhist counter-part of Brahmā. The upper part of the body is only covered by a scarf worn in the *upavītī* fashion, the lower half being clad in a *dhoti* fastened to the waist by means of a two-stringed girdle. The sacred thread, the ūrṇā, the distended ear-lobes, the *trivalī* marks on the front neck *etc.* are all present in the cast bronze figure. It is undoubtedly one of the finest pieces of bronze icons discovered in Northern and Eastern India."[131]

Images of female deities associated with Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna—Tārā (of different varieties), Mārīchī, Prajñāpāramitā, Parṇaśavarī, Chuṇḍā, Hāritī, *etc.* have been found in Bengal.

"Of the several varieties of Tārā, emanations of different Dhyānī-Buddhas, well represented in the local museums, mention may be made of Khadiravanī-Tārā, Vajra-Tārā and Bhṛikuṭī-Tārā, respective emanations of Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava and Amitābha. Khadiravanī, known also as Śyāma-Tārā on account of her green colour, is one of the commonest varieties of such images. She may be depicted seated or standing, holding a blue lotus in her hand, and usually accompanied by Aśokakāntā (Mārīchī) and Ekajaṭā. An elaborately carved image of this variety of Tārā, datable in the 12th century A.D., has been found at Sompārā.[132]

"She sits with the right leg pendant. The right hand is in the *Varada Mudrā*, the left holds a half-blown blue lotus in the *Vitarka*

Mudrā. The right leg rests on a lotus springing from the stem of the main lotus throne on which the goddess is seated. Beneath this throne, at the base, is represented Vajrasattva sitting with legs locked, a Vajra in the right hand and a Bell in the left. On the right of the goddess is represented in miniature, the goddess Aśokakāntā (Mārīchī) with an Aśoka leaf in her left hand, the right hand being in the *Abhaya Mudrā*. The Aśoka leaf, however, looks like the feather of a peacock and the goddess represented may in reality be Mahāmāyūrī and not Aśokakāntā. To the left of the goddess sits a rather corpulent female deity (Ekajaṭā) with a knife in the right hand and skull-cup in the left. Miniature figures of eight Tārās are given one above the other in two rows of four and four on the right and the left sides of the goddess. They all hold lotuses with the left hands ; the right hands in the *Abhaya Mudrā* are placed between the breasts. All these goddesses have companions, altogether ten in number ; of them only the 3rd on the right side is a female ; the rest are all males. The first two goddesses on the right side have respectively a lion and an elephant as *Vāhana*. A *Kṛittimukha* is represented at the top."[133]

An image of four-headed Vajra-Tārā found at Baragram (Birbhum Dt.) is a fine specimen of sculpture.[133a]

Goddess Mārīchī, an emanation of Dhyānī-Buddha Vairochana, is "usually depicted with three faces, the left one being that of a sow, eight hands holding *vajra, ankuśa, śara, aśoka* leaf, *sūchī, dhanu* and *pāśa* (the other hand being in the *tarjanī* pose), with the figure of her spiritual father in her head-dress, and riding in *pratyālīḍha* pose on a chariot drawn by seven pigs, driven by the charioteer Rāhu. She is also generally accompanied by four other subsidiary goddesses, *viz.*, Varttālī, Vedālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī. Her Brāhmaṇical counterpart, though in male aspect, is Sūrya."[134] The details of the Dacca Museum specimen, hailing from Ujāni (Faridpur Dt.) and datable in the 11th or 12th century A.D., correspond to most of those noticed above. Icons of Prajñāpāramitā, typifying the spirit of divine wisdom, are rarely found in Bengal. Very often this goddess is painted in bright and variegated colours on the covers of the Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts locally procured. She is shown seated in *padmāsana* in deep tranquillity of wisdom, both of her hands placed against her breast, the right in the *vyākhyāna*, and the left in the *jñāna*-mudrā holding the book *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*."[135]

"A partially preserved metal image of Vajra-Tārā (Tārā of the yellow colour) in the Dacca museum, originally hailing from Mājvāḍi (Faridpur Dt.) is of unique importance, for, so far as it is preserved, it closely resembles the metal image of the same deity in the shape of an eight-petalled lotus flower, enclosing within its petals the goddess with the figures of the eight attendants carved on the insides of the petals, originally found at Chaṇḍīpur (Bhāgalpur Dt.) and now in the Indian Museum."[136]

Among other Buddhist deities whose images have been found in Bengal mention may be made of the following :

1. Hevajra, though evolved during the latest phase of Buddhism, is held in high esteem in Tibet. A very good image with his *śakti* has been found at Murshidabad. "The deity has eight heads, and sixteen hands, which hold skull-caps containing different animals and deities. Miniature dancing figures are carved round the central pair and beneath them are a number of corpses.' [137]

2. There are numerous images of Jambhala, the Buddhist counterpart of Brahmanical Kuvera, the god of riches and the king of Yaksha. The god is easily recognised by his pot-belly and squat dwarfish features, the up-turned coin-jars below the leg hanging down the seat, and the left hand pressing the neck of a mongoose vomiting jewels.

3. The image of Heruka is very rare ; one has been found at Śubhapur (Dt. Tippera). "The god is represented in the dancing attitude. He stands on the left leg, bent in the dancing attitude. The right leg is raised to the thigh of the left leg. The god is grinning horribly and wears a garland of 17 skulls. The right hand is upraised as if to hurl the *vajra*, which, however, is broken away and lost. The left hand carries the *khaṭvāṅga* with the banner, to the flowing ends of which two small bells are tied. The image of the Dhyānī Buddha Akshobhya appears on the blazing tiara."[138]

4. An image found in Vikrampur (Dacca Dt.) has been "identified as that of Mahāpratisarā, one of the five protection goddesses (Pañcharakshā). She has three faces, all of them of *pleasant* expression. The neck has a slight bend to the left. She carries in her four right hands—1. Sword. 2. Arrow. 3. Trident. 4. Discus. In the four left hands, she carries,—1. Thunderbolt. 2. Bow. 3. Lasso, with a ring tied to the end, held in the Tarjanī Mudrā between the breasts. 4. Hatchet. The legs are not locked, the right one being placed over the left. The sole of her left foot is not

visible. The *Sādhanā* from the *Sādhanamālā* agrees closely with the image described above."[139]

5. The distinctive characteristic of goddess Parṇaśavarī is that she wears only an apron of leaves. She was most probably evolved from a goddess of the primitive tribe, still known as Śavara in Eastern India. Her image is very rare. Two images, closely resembling each other, were found in two neighbouring villages in the Dacca District. The following is the description of one of them.

"The goddess has six hands ; in the three right hands, she holds Thunder-bolt, Arrow and Hatchet, and in two of the three left hands she holds a small Branch with leaves and a Bow ; but the third hand has only the Tarjanī Mudrā and no Lasso. The girdle of leaves restraining the dress of tiger skin is prominently depicted.

"The following additional features may be noticed. The goddess is slightly big-bellied, as required by the *Sādhanā* ; she is treading upon the heads of two prostrate male figures placed upon a lotus seat with heads in the opposite directions and having circular scales or small-pox marks all over their bodies. These undoubtedly personify the diseases and epidemics which the goddess is required to trample down under her feet.

"The god Gaṇeśa is represented prostrate at the bottom with a shield and a sword in hand, evidently vanquished after a fight with the goddess.....

"The Brāhmaṇical god Hayagrīva is depicted to the right of the goddess in a threatening attitude, while Śītalā, the Brāhmaṇical goddess of epidemics, with a broomstick in the right hand and the winnowing basket (*kulya*) in the left, is departing to the left on the back of her vehicle, the donkey. The prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa at the bottom, the flight of Śītalā and the threatening attitude of Hayagrīva appear to indicate the suppression of the worship of these Brāhmaṇical deities of diseases by the introduction of that of Parṇaśavarī. The five Dhyānī Buddhas are represented at the top with Amoghasiddhi in the middle. The goddess is worshipped as Jiyas Ṭhākurāṇī at the village of Naynanda, P.S. Tangibadi, Dt. Dacca."[140]

Apart from the stone or metal images of deities actually discovered, coloured paintings of some of them, now lost, are found in Buddhist manuscripts. Some of them are designated as follows :—

1. Chandradvīpe Bhagavatī Tārā
2. Paṭṭikere Chundavara-bhavane Chundā

3. Harikeladeśe Śīla Lokanātha
4. Samataṭe Jayatuṅga Lokanātha
5. Samataṭe Buddhardhi Tārā
6. Champita Lokanātha Bhaṭṭāraka.

Evidently these were some of the images in Bengal which, for some reason or other, attained celebrity all over Bengal, particularly among the Buddhists.

APPENDIX I

MEANING OF THE TECHNICAL TERMS[141]

[For a full discussion of iconograpic terminologies cf. Rao-*Icon.* and Banerjea-*Icon.* Ch. VII].

Ābhaṅga—a standing pose with a slight bend in the figure.

Abhaya-mudrā—The different poses of the hands of the deities indicating different ideas or attitude of mind are technically known as *mudrā*. The more important of these *mudrās* are :—

(1) Abhaya (assurance)—in which the hand, with fingers raised upwards, is turned to front.

(2) Bhūsparśa (touching the earth)—in which the left hand rests on the lap with palm outward, and the right touches the seat below. (For the significance, of this *mudrā*, cf. Banerjea-*Icon.* 286).

(3) Dharmachakra—in which Buddha's hands are depicted as preaching the law. It is a combination of *jñāna-* and *vyākhyāna-mudrās*, the left hand being in the former and the right in the latter poses (For full significance, cf. Banerjea-*Icon.* 279).

(4) Dhyāna (meditation)—in which the palm of the right hand is put in that of the left hand, and both are placed together on the crossed legs of the seated image.

(5) Jñāna (knowledge)—in which 'the tips of the middle finger and of the thumb are joined together and held near the heart, with the palm of the hand turned towards the heart' (Rao).

(6) Sūchī—in which the index-finger is stretched out, the other fingers being bent, and the hand is usually held down.

(7) Varada (conferring boon)—in which the hand is held down with palm outwards.

(8) Vitarka (discussion) or Vyākhyāna (explanation)—in which 'the tips of the thumb and the fore-finger are made to touch each other. The palm of the hand is made to face the front' (Rao).

Akshamālā—rosary.

Ālīḍha—a mode of standing, in which the right knee is thrown to front and the leg retracted, while the left leg is firmly planted behind, in a slanting position.

Aṅgada—Armlet.

Aṅkuśa—Elephant-goad.

Apsmāra-purusha—the evil demon trampled on by Śiva especially in his Naṭarāja aspect ; the demon's other name is Mūyaḷaka.

Arghya—the *pīṭha* or the circular base into which the Śiva-*liṅga* is inserted.

Atibhaṅga—an emphasised form of *tribhaṅga*, the sweep of the curve being considerably enhanced.

Bhadraghaṭa—auspicious pitcher.

Bhṛiṅgāra—narrow-necked water-pot with a spout.

Bhūsparśa—See under Abhaya-mudrā.

Chakra—discus held by Vishṇu and sometimes by divinities associated with him.

Chhannavīra—a kind of jewelled disc worn in front of the breast ; it is kept in position by two chains or pearl strings placed crosswise on the torso.

Ḍamaru—a kettle-drum sounded by moving it in the hand.

Daṇḍa—a staff or cudgel.

Dhanu—bow.

Dhyāna-mudrā—See Abhaya.

Dvibhaṅga—a standing pose in which the body has one bend in the middle.

Gadā—mace, club.

Gaṇa—An impish attendant of Śiva.

Ghaṇṭā—bell.

Hāra—necklace.

Jaṭā—matted locks of hair.

Jaṭā-mukuṭa—a sort of crown made up by arranging the matted locks of hair in a particular manner.

Jñāna-mudrā—See Abhaya.

Kamaṇḍalu—a water-pot of a peculiar shape, with a handle and a spout.

Kapāla—upper part of the skull shown as a cup in the hands of deities of terrific aspect.

Karatāla—clapping of the hands marking time with music.

Kartṛi—a short chopper, a big knife.

Kāyotsarga—a standing pose usually shown in Jina images, in

which the hands hang down straight along the two sides of the stiffly erect body.

Keyūra—an armlet, an ornament of the upper-arm.

Khaḍga—a sword.

Khaṭvāṅga—'a curious sort of club, made up of the bone of the fore-arm or the leg, to the end of which a human skull is attached through its foramen' (Rao).

Kirīṭa—jewelled head-gear.

Kirīṭamukuṭa—a conical crown.

Kīrtimukha—the grinning lion-face shown usually on the top centre of the stela.

Kuṇḍala—ear-ring

Lalitāsana—a sitting posture, in which one leg, usually the left leg, is tucked up on the seat, while the right one dangles down along it.

Lāñchhana—cognisance, mark.

Mahārāja-līlā—a sitting posture, also known as *Sukhāsana*, where one leg (generally the left one) rests on the seat, while the right knee is raised upwards on the seat and the right arm rests on the raised knee.

Mātuluṅga—a citron.

Mudgara—a pestle.

Mudrā—hand-pose (see Abhaya).

Nāga—snake, also a peculiar hybrid figure made up of human and serpentine forms.

Nāgapāśa—a snake in its real shape used as a noose.

Nāginī—female snake.

Nāla—the projecting part of the base of Śīva-liṅga for draining the water poured on its top.

Navaratha—a type of pedestal with nine facets.

Nīlotpala—blue lotus.

Paḍma—lotus.

Padmāsana—(1) lotus seat ; (2) a sitting posture in which 'the two legs are kept crossed so that the feet are brought to rest on the thighs' (Rao).

Paraśu—a battle-axe.

Pañcharatha—a type of pedestal with five facets.

Parṇapichchhikā—the feathers of a peacock's tail tied in a bunch.

Pāśa—a noose.

Prabhāvalī—the stela or background of an image.

Pratyālīḍha—standing pose, just the reverse of *ālīḍha* (see *ālīḍha*).

Pūjābhāga—the top section of the *liṅga* which is shown out of its base.

Ratna—jewel.

Śakti—(1) consort ; (2) a spear.

Samapāda-sthānaka—a standing posture, in which the body, without any bend in it, faces front.

Śaṅkha—(1) a conch-shell ; (2) one of the *nidhis* or treasures of Kuvera-Vaiśravaṇa.

Saptaratha—a type of pedestal with seven facets.

Śara—an arrow.

Sarpa—a snake.

Śiraśchakra—the halo or nimbus behind the head of an image.

Sruk—sacrificial ladle for taking out clarified butter from the pot.

Sūchī—needle.

Sūchī-mudrā—see Abhaya.

Sruva—a sacrificial ladle for pouring clarified butter on the fire.

Sukhāsana—a comfortable sitting posture, same as *mahārāja-lilā* (see *Mahārāja-līlā*).

Ṭaṅka—a stone-mason's chisel.

Śūla—trident.

Tarjanī—(1) index-finger ; (2) a kind of hand-pose, in which the index-finger of the upraised hand is stretched out upwards, while the other fingers are bent.

Tribhaṅga—a standing pose with two bends in the body.

Tridaṇḍī—a wooden staff with three prong-like projections.

Triratha—a type of pedestal with three facets.

Triśūla—trident.

Upachāra—offerings necessary in worshipping a deity.

Upavītī (fashion)—running across the chest from above the left shoulder below the right arm-pit, as the sacred thread is usually worn.

Ūrṇā—the hairy mole between the two eye-brows, usually shown on the heads of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

Vaijayantī—a long flower garland usually shown on Vishṇu images.

Vāiśākha-sthānaka—standing on the back of the bull.

Vajra—thunder-bolt.

Vanamālā—a long flower-garland usually shown on Vishṇu figures.

Varada-mudrā—see Abhaya.

Vījapura—a citron.

Vīṇā—a stringed musical instrument of the type of lyre.

Vīrāsana—a sitting posture in which the left foot rests upon the right thigh and the left thigh on the right foot.

Viśvapadma—a double-petalled lotus, the upper set of petals usually pointing upwards and the lower set drooping down.

Vitarka-mudrā—See Abhaya.

Vyākhyāna-mudrā—See Abhaya.

Yajñopavīta—sacred thread worn by Brahmins.

APPENDIX II

THE UPAPURĀṆAS

Shortly after the Gupta period a new class of religious texts came into prominence. They are known as Upapurāṇas and regarded as mere supplements (*khila*) to the principal Purāṇas. Like the latter, their traditional number is also eighteen, though there are considerable divergences in the lists of their names given in the different Purāṇas, and there are also Upapurāṇas outside the list. They are valuable sources of history inasmuch as they reflect the great transformation that took place in the Brāhamaṇical religions as portrayed in the orthodox eighteen Purāṇas. Generally speaking, the majority of these Upapurāṇas have been placed approximately between 650 and 800 A.D., though some were perhaps composed at an earlier, and many at a later date.

The genesis of these Upapurāṇas has been explained as follows:

The Smārta adherents of the worshippers of Brahmā, the Pañcharātras, the Pāśupatas and the Bhāgavata system first began to use the Purāṇas for controlling the masses, who had been seriously influenced by these and other systems of religion, by establishing the varṇāśrama-dharma and the authority of the Vedas among them. Thus arose the traditional group of eighteen Purāṇas. After this grouping had been complete, there came into prominence many sub-systems which arose from the main systems of religion, mentioned above, either directly or by identifying the local deities with one or other of the prominent deities of the main systems. In addition to these, there were also other independent systems, viz., Saura, Śākta, etc., which began to hold the field and enter into rivalry with the systems already established in the country. These sub-systems and independent systems also had their Smārta adherents who interpolated chapters in the Purāṇas of the already established group, and, in some cases, wrote new and independent Purāṇic works styled 'Purāṇa' in order to propagate their own ideas. Thus, with the progress of time, the number of the Purāṇas was further increased with fresh additions. But as the followers of the famous group of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas believed deeply that there could be no 'Purāṇa' beyond the famous 'eighteen,' they were unwilling to assign these new Purāṇic works to a status equal to

that of the famous Purāṇas. On the other hand, these new Purāṇic works had become too well-known and popular to be ignored totally.[141a]

Thus came into prominence the Upapurāṇas, though many of these were called Purāṇa. For example, Narasiṁha-, Sāmba-, Devī-Purāṇa etc., call themselves 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa', and even the Matsya Purāṇa mentions Nandi-purāṇa and not Nandi-upapurāṇa.

Bengali origin has been claimed for some of these Upapurāṇas by Dr. R. C. Hazra. The most important among these are the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa and *Brahma-Vaivarta* Purāṇa to which a detailed reference has been made above (pp. 416 ff.). Among others, the following deserve special mention:

1. The *Kriyāyogasāra.* It has been regarded as a Khaṇḍa of the *Padma* Purāṇa but is really a distinct and independent work. It begins like other independent Purāṇic works and styles itself 'Upapurāṇa' in its concluding verse. It is a Bhāgavata document on the praise of Vishṇu worship. The date of this work is not later than the eleventh century A.D.[142]

2. The *Śiva* Purāṇa composed not later than the twelfth century A.D.[143]

3. The *Mahābhāgavata* Purāṇa which calls itself Purāṇa as well as Mahāpurāṇa, but never Upapurāṇa, is included among the eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas' by the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa. Its date cannot be later than the twelfth century A.D. It is a Śākta work showing Śaiva tendency.[144]

4. The *Devī-Bhāgavata* which, according to Hazra, was composed by a Smārta Śākta Brāhmaṇa of Bengal who migrated to Banaras, was compiled in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.[145]

5. *Devī*-Purāṇa, one of the most important of the Śākta Upapurānas, parts of which go back to the sixth century A.D., assumed its present form before 12th century A.D., for Ballālasena refers to it, though he rejects it on account of its connection with the Pāshaṇḍas (Tantrics).[146]

There are also some *Upapurāṇas* which, according to Hazra, were *probably* written in Bengal.

1. The *Bṛihannāradīya* Purāṇa, a Vaishṇava work, composed between 750 and 900 A.D., was written by one who migrated from the land about the Narmadā or Vārāṇasī to the eastern part of Orissa or the western part of Bengal.[147]

2. The Āṅgirasa Upapurāṇa was "written earlier than 1000 A.D., most probably in Western Bengal or Orissa".[148]

3. The Laghu-Bhāgavata Purāṇa, a Vaishṇava work, must have been written in Western Bengal or Orissa not later than 1000 A.D., but most probably not before 800 A.D.[149]

4. The earlier Kālikā Purāṇa was most probably composed in Bengal sometime during the seventh century A.D.[150]

5. The spurious Agni Purāṇa (now available in print) was written most probably in Western Bengal during the ninth century A.D.[151]

Footnotes

[1] It means 'eightfold offering of flowers'; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XV., p. 311, footnote 3.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 311.
[3] *Sel. Ins.* (*1st. Edn.*) 329, f.n. 3; *IC* vol v, 432 ff.
[4] *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, p. 88. Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (2nd Ed. 1965) p. 337, f.n. 3, *IC*, V. pp. 432-3.
[5] *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, pp. 88-90.
[6] *Sel. Ins.* (2nd Ed.) p. 337, f.n. 4.
IHQ, XXI p. 56; *IC*. XII, p. 115.
[7] *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 241-2
[8] *HB*. 401. This view is held in 'Sarasvati-*Sculpture*, Ch. v. pp. 43 ff.
[9] For a full discussion cf. Bimanbehari Majumdar, *Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend*, ch. v.
[10] *HB*. 402-3. Mr. R. P. Chanda held the view that Pāñcharātra developed in the outlying provinces of which Bengal is one, for it was a kind of Tantra and contains un-Vedic elements (*Indo-Aryan Races* pp. 99 ff). Dr. P. C. Bagchi disagrees with it (*HB*. 403 f.n. 1).
[11] *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, 2nd Edn. p. 176
[12] *HB*. 402, f.n. 4.
[13] *JASBL*, IX (1943), p. 232. In a very recent discussion of the origin of the Pāñcharātra system Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya holds the view that it "maintained the theory of incarnation or *avatāras*" (*Evolution of Hindu Sects* (1969) p. 62.
[14] *HB*. 403.
[15] *Harivaṁśa*, Ch. 41.
[16] For a detailed discussion, cf. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 84 ff. He thinks that the list of ten Avatāras did not find general acceptance before 800 A.D. (p. 88).
[17] For an account of the Pāśupatas, cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects.*, Part II, Chapters v, vi, vii. For a more recent discussion of the subject cf. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 120-49. According to the latter the Pāśupata Sect was undoubtedly the most important one in the early centuries of the Christian Era (ibid, p. 120). "A new sub-sect of the Pāśupatas came into existence about the early years of the second century A.D. under a teacher named Lakuli" (p. 123), A mutilated image of Lakuli or Lakulīśa has been found at Rangamati (Murshidabad Dt.) *Ind. Arch.* 1960-61, p. 70. Pl. LXXXI-A.
[18] *HB*. p. 406.
[19] *Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 122 ff.
[20] *HB*. p. 406, f.n. 3.
[21] *Tantras*, p. 102.
[22] Ibid, 112 ff. *HB*. 407.
According to the *Devī* Purāṇa, composed about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eight century A.D. (*NIA*, V. 22 ff), the Devī was worshipped in her different forms, after the manner of the Left-hand Śāktas (*vāmāchāreṇa*) in different places in Rāḍhā, Varendra, Kāmarūpa Kāmākhyā, Bhoṭṭadeśa, etc. (39.14-15; 42.9).

[23] Bhandarkar, op. cit, Ch. XVI. Section 116.
[24] Watters, II. p. 184.
[25] Ibid, p. 187
[26] *HB* p. 411, f.n. 3. For a more detailed discussion on this point, cf. *IC*. III, pp. 527-8.
[27] *IC*. III, p. 525.
[28] Fa-hien, p. 100.
[29] Watters, II, pp. 184-5. The Vihāra was identified by Cunningham with 'Vihāra or Bhāsu Vihāra' four miles to the west of Mahāsthāna in the district of Bogra (*Archaeological Survey Report*, XV. pp. 104-117).
[30] Ibid, 187.
[31] Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents*, p. 128.
[32] Watters II, p. 191. The Lo-to-mo-chih is the Chinese translation of Raktamṛittikā ; the ruins of this old monastery have recently been excavated (cf. S.R. Das, *Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā*, 1962, (published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta).
[33] Takakusu, *I-tsing*, pp. 152-4.
[34] P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, II. 539.
[35] Chavannes, op. cit p. 94.
[36] R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 35.
[37] RC. 15; Sumpa, op. cit. xciv.
[38] Sumpa, op. cit. lxvi.
[39] Ibid. lxii. Cordier-Cat. II. p. 27.
[40] Sumpa, op. cit. lxviii; Cordier-*Cat*. II. 102, 162.
[41] Cordier-*Cat*. I. 78, 79. 121, 226, 303; II. 105, 116, 126.
[42] Sumpa op. cit. II. xviii.
[43] It was not in Rāmāvatī, as H. P. Śāstrī held (RC[2].XXXI)
[44] Cordier-*Cat*. I. 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 33, 40, 49, 50, 122, 142, 293, 302, 365; II. 78,85, 227.
[45] *HB*. 417-18
[46] Sumpa.
[47] Ibid I. XVII; II. xviii.
[48] *HB*, 418.
[49] *Cultural Heritage of India* I. p. 310.
[50] Ibid, p. 311.
[51] Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*, Vol. XXVIII (1935).
[52] *Cultural Heritage of India*, I, pp. 311-13.
[53] *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, pp. 8 ff.
[54] H. P. Śāstrī, *Advayavajra-Saṁgraha*, p. vi.
[55] *IHQ*. IX. 282 ff.
[56] *HB*. 422-25.
[57] *B. C. Law Volume*, I, pp. 75 ff.
[58] Ibid. 669 ff.
[59] *HB*. 425.
[60] See p. 130.
[61] *IHQ*. X 321.

[63] I-tsing. pp. 62-64. After describing how the monks lived "their just life, avoiding worldly affairs, and free from the faults of destroying lives", I-tsing refers to the strictness of procedure observed when the monks and nuns met. The nuns walked together in a company of two, but to a layman's house they went in a company of four. A minor teacher sent a small quantity of rice to a tenant's wife through a boy. It was brought to the notice of the Assembly, and the teacher, being ashamed, retired from monastery for ever. A Bhikshu named Rāhulamitra never "spoke with women face to face, except when his mother or sister came to him, whom he saw outside his room."

[64] *HB.* 426-8

[64] See pp. 378 ff, 527 ff.

[65] *Bauddhagān O Dohā* (in Bengali) by H. P. Śāstrī, p. 87.

[66] R. P. Chanda, *Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum*, p. 9.

[67] J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*. p. 42 ; also cf. authorities cited by him in f.n., 1.

[68] *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. 1, p. 38.

[69] For this statement and the general view of S.V. Venkateswara, cf. his prolonged controversy with Macdonell in *JRAS*, 1916, 1917, 1918, summarised by J. N. Banerjea (op. cit., pp. 44 ff.).

[69a] *Ind. Arch.* 1956-7. p. 73, Plate LXXXV. A.

[70] Bhatt-*Cat.*, pp. 86-7

[70a] *Ind. Arch*, 1960-61, p. 70, Pl. LXXXI. C.

[71] Ibid, p. 88.

[72] *JASB*, 1932, p. 177.

[73] *HB.* 436.

[74] *HB.* 437.

[75] Cf. *Kādambarī-devakulikā* in line 32 of Ins. No. B. 2.

[76] *HB.*, 439. Cf. *VRS-Rep.* 1926-7, Museum Notes by N.G. Majumdar, p. 5, fig. 3.

[77] Ram-fight and ram-sacrifice take place even now on the occasion of the Sarasvatī *Pūjā* (Bhatt-*Cat.*, pp. 188-90),

[78] *HB.*, 440.

[79] *ASI.*, 1934-5, pp. 79-80.

[80] *HB.*, 438.

[81] *HB.*, 437.

[82] *ASI.*, 1934-5, p. 79 ; *Rūpam*, No. 40, p. 117. fig. 38.

[83] *EISMS*, III. Pl. LI (b) and (d)

[84] *JASB.*, N.S. XXVIII (1932) p. 189. One such image is in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta. *Ind. Arch.* 1960-61, Pl. LXXXI. E.

[85] *JISOA.*, IX, 147-8.

[86] *Paharpur*, pp. 39, 49, 50.

[87] Saraswati-*Sculpture*. p. 32.

[87a] *HB.*, 442. Bhatt-*Cat.* pp. 116-7.

[88] *JASB.*, N.S., XXIX, pp. 171 ff.

[89] *Tantras*, 102. The two views can be reconciled by suggesting that the particular Sadāśiva cult, prevalent in Bengal from the Sena period,

was derived from the southernised version of the original cult of Northern India.

[90] *Kālikā Purāṇa*, Ch. 45. Rao—*Icon*, II (1), 321-22.
[91] *HB.*, 447. Bhatt-*Cat*, pp. 118-20, Pl. XLVII (a).
[92] Bhatt-*Cat*, pp. 133-4, Pl. LIII (a).
[93] *HB.* 446. *EISMS.*, p, 110, Pl. LV (c).
[93a] *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 70 Pl. LXXXI B.
[94] *HB.*, 448.
[95] Ibid. For a mutilated image of dancing Gaṇeśa cf. *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, Pl. LXXVIII. F.
[96] Cf. *HB.* pp. 448-9 for arguments in favour of as well as against this view.
[97] *Ibid.*
[97a] p. 456. *RT.* IV, v. 422,
[98] *HB.*, 449 ; *ASI*, 1934-5. p, 79, Pl. XXIV (d).
[99] Bhatt.-*Cat.* pp. 203-5, Pl. LXX.
[100] *JGIS.*, 1937, pp. 122-4, 137-44, Pls. XII-XV.
[101] *EISMS.*, 116, Pl. LVII (a).
[102] *HB.* 450-51 ; Bhatt.-*Cat.*, pp. 202-3, Pl. LXIX.
[103] *EISMS.*, p. 123, Pl. LVII (a).
[104] Rao-*Icon* I (ii), App. C. p. 136 ; *VRS.*, M. No. 6.
[105] *ASI.*, 1924-5, p. 155, Pl. XI (c). Bhatt,-*Cat.*, pp. 192-4, Pl. LXIV.
[106] For Dulmi Image cf. *ASI.*, 1928-9, Pl. LIV (a); for Sāktā Image, cf., Bhatt-*Cat.*, Pl. LXVI.
[107] Rao-*Icon.*, I (ii), App. C. pp. 114-16.
[108] *VRS.-Rep.*, 1936-38, pp. 24-26, fig. 2.
[109] Bhatt.-*Cat.* 207-13, Pl. LXXI (*b*). For the twelve-armed seated and dancing specimens in the Rajshahi Museum, cf. *VRS-Rep.* 1936-38, pp. 27-28, fig. 4. Reference may be made in this connection to the Jemokāndi figure of the four-armed dancing Chāmuṇḍā in VSP. Museum, Calcutta.
[110] *VSP-Cat.* 84, Pl. XX. A few other Danturā images are known, most of them being in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum.
[111] *JASB*, N.S. XXVIII (1932), p. 194, Pl. 9, fig. 3.
[112] Ibid.
[113] *VSP.-Cat.*, pp. 84-5, Pl. XIX.
[114] For the dates, cf. Sarasvati-*Sculpture*, Ch. XV, pp. 11-2.
[115] *JASB.*, N.S. XXVIII (1932), p. 191, Pl. 8, fig. 3.
[116] *VRS.-Rep.*, 1927-8, p. 1, fig. 2.
[117] Appendices to the *VRS.-Rep.*, 1928-9 p. 6, fig. 5.
[118] *HB.* 460.
[119] Ibid.
[120] *HB.* 461; Bhatt.-*Cat.*, p. 63, Pl. XXV.
[121] *HB.* 461, f.n., 3.
[122] *HB.* 461.
[123] Bhatt-*Cat.*, pp. 134-42, Pl. LIII (b) ; *HB.* 462.
[124] *HB.* 463.
[125] Ibid.
[126] *JASB.* N. S. XXVIII (1932). pp. 192-3.
[126a] *VSP.-Cat.*, pp. 47-8, Pl. X.

[126b] *Ind. Arch.* 1956-7, p. 73 ; 1958-9, p. 77.
[126c] Ibid., 1960-61, p. 70.
[127] Bhatt.-*Cat.*, pp. 16, 18, 19.
[128] *HB.* 461.
[129] Bhatt.-*Cat.*, pp. 30-31, Pl. VIII.
[130] *HB.* 468 ; Bhatt.-*Cat.*, pp. 27-8, Pl. VII (a).
[131] *HB.* 466.
[132] *HB.* 472.
[133] Bhatt.-*Cat.*, pp. 56-7, Pl. XXI.
[133a] *Ind. Arch.* 1960-61, Pl. LXXVIII. A.
[134] *HB.* 472.
[135] Ibid.
[136] *HB.* 473.
[137] *HB.* 471-2.
[138] Bhatt.-*Cat.*, p. 37.
[139] Ibid, p. 61,
[140] Ibid, pp. 60-61.
[141] *HB.* pp. 475-9.
[141a] Hazra, Upapurana, 1. p. 23
[142] Ibid, pp. 267-279
[143] Ibid, p, 341, fn. 187
[144] Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 259-83
[145] Ibid, pp. 343-5, 359.
[146] Ibid, pp. 35-194
[147] Ibid, I. pp. 344-5
[148] Ibid, p. 351.
[149] Ibid, pp. 239-41.
[150] Ibid, p*k*. 239-41
[151] Ibid, p. 209

CHAPTER XIV

BENGALIS OUTSIDE BENGAL

No survey of the history and civilisation of the people of Bengal can be regarded as complete without some account of their activities outside the boundaries of their own province, both in and outside India. From very early times many sons of Bengal distinguished themselves in various spheres of life both in India and abroad. Apart from these individual instances, we must presume that Bengal, as an integral part of India, must have taken her due share in the various activities of the Indians, and contributed her quota to the general influence exercised by them, in the outside world. But it is not always easy to distinguish the part played in these respects by Bengal or any other region comprised within the great sub-continent of India. We propose, therefore, to touch briefly upon those incidents alone in which the Bengalis are specifically known to have taken the leading part.

I. ACTIVITIES OF BENGALIS OUTSIDE INDIA

The chief activities of the Bengalis outside India lay in religious and commercial spheres. The port of Tāmralipti was the great emporium of trade between Northern India and the Eastern world across the sea. Being situated in the eastern extremity of India, Bengal also served as the connecting link, by way of land, between the great sub-continent and extensive regions in the east, from South China to Burma and thence to Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. The Chinese evidence leaves no doubt that there was an active intercourse by both the land and sea-routes, and streams of traders, merchants, pilgrims and other classes of people followed them in their journey between India and the Far East (*supra* pp. 344 ff).[1] Apart from being an intermediary in trade and commerce, Bengal must, therefore, have played an important part in the cultural contact between India and the diverse civilisations of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia which forms such a distinguished feature in the history of this great continent for more than one thousand and five hundred years. Two special cases may be cited by way of illustrating the part played by the Bengalis in the ancient Indian colonisation in the Far

East. In the first place, it appears from the Kalyāṇī Inscription that the settlement in Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) was apparently colonised from Bengal by the Golas (Gauḍas). Their name has become the Mon and Burmese appellation for all foreigners from the west.[2] Secondly, two Sanskrit inscriptions found in Cambodia exhibit so completely all the peculiarities of the Gauḍa style, as defined by Daṇḍin and other rhetoricians[3], that the great French scholar Georges Coedés, who edited them, has expressed the view that the records were composed by a Paṇḍit who either belonged to Bengal or was trained there.[4]

Fortunately, this view, mainly based on general grounds, is corroborated by some specific instances.

As regards maritime and colonial activity, an inscription in Malay Peninsula, of the fourth or fifth century A.D., records the gift of a *Mahānāvika* (great captain) Buddhagupta, who was probably a native of Bengal.[5] Tradition also connects Bengal with the Indian settlement in the island of Ceylon (*v. supra* p. 31). The truth of the story of prince Vijaya may, however, be doubted, and no final conclusion is possible until fresh evidence is available.

But we are on surer grounds when we come to missionary activities. It is now admitted on all hands that Bengal exercised great influence on the development of later Buddhism in Java and neighbouring regions during the Pāla period.[6] An inscription in Java[7] definitely mentions that the *guru* (preceptor) of the Śailendra emperors was an inhabitant of Gauḍa (*Gauḍīdvīpa-guru*). This royal preceptor, named Kumāraghosha, set up an image of Mañjuśrī in the year 782 A.D., and was probably also the *guru* for whose worship the famous temple of Tārā at Kalasan had been built four years earlier. We are told that at the command of the *guru* some officers of the king built a temple, an image of goddess Tārā, and a residence for monks proficient in Vinaya-Mahāyāna. Reference has already been made above (p. 116) to the grant of five villages by Devapāla, at the request of king Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa, for maintaining the monastery that the latter had built at Nālandā. The intimate intercourse between the Pāla and the Śailendra kingdoms explains the great influence exercised by the Pāla art upon that of Java.[8] It will be shown in Chapter XV, that such influence was by no means confined to Java, but also extended to the mainland, and the peculiar architectural style of a group of temples in Burma was probably derived from that of Bengal

and neighbouring regions. As a further evidence of the close contact between Java and Bengal, reference may be made to the affinity between the scripts used on certain Javanese sculptures and the proto-Bengali alphabet.[9] This contact continued till at least the 14th century A.D.[10]

The influence of Bengal upon the development of art and religion in the Far East must thus be regarded as considerable, although sufficient data are not available to trace in details the relationship between them. We are, however, more fortunate in this respect in regard to Tibet, the other region where Bengal exercised a deep influence on the evolution of culture.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the form of Buddhist religion and monastic order in Tibet was largely shaped by a number of famous Buddhist teachers from Bengal. Fortunately, the Tibetan chronicles have preserved a detailed account of a large number of Indian *Paṇḍits* from the Pāla kingdom who visited the Land of Snow, and not only preached the Buddhist religion and translated Indian texts, but transmitted to that inaccessible region the various elements of Indian culture and civilisation. Their literary and religious activities have been treated in a general way in Chs. XI and XIII. Here we would refer to only a few distinguished persons among them who may be regarded, on reasonable grounds, to be inhabitants of Bengal. The detailed accounts of their lives are culled from Tibetan sources, and though much of them may be merely traditional, unsupported by positive testimony, they are still of great value, at least in so far as they hold out before us a general picture of the honour and respect accorded to the Bengali scholars and religious teachers in Tibet.

The native religion of Tibet was Bon-po. It advocated demon-worship and other sacrifices. During the reign of Srong-tsan Gampo, as noted above (p. 83), Buddhism was introduced in Tibet. Bon, however, remained the predominant religion in Tibet till the accession of Khri-srong-lde-btsan (*supra* p. 118), a descendant of Srong-tsan Gampo, in the middle of the eighth century A.D. Khri-srong-lde-btsan was a great devotee of Buddhism. He invited Śāntirakshita (*supra* pp. 380-81),[11] who was at that time living in Nepal, to Tibet in order to strengthen the cause of Buddhism there, Śāntirakshita went to Tibet. He had hardly preached there the Buddhist doctrine for four months when, we are told, the demi-gods of Tibet grew indignant and caused many phenomenal disturbances. Śānti-

rakshita was sent back to Nepal. Sometime afterwards he, on the request of the Tibetan king, went for a second time to Tibet. He introduced there the observance of the 'ten virtues' and Dharma. But the local gods, demi-gods, genii, and female spirits, finding the people inclined to Buddhism, became very violent again. They were evidently the adherents of the Bon religion. Śāntirakshita was not strong enough to cope with them. He advised the king to invite Padmasambhava, who knew mystic charms for combating the evil spirits. Padmasambhava, at the invitation of the king, went to Tibet, and within a very short period brought all the evil genii under his control. The king was highly pleased with Padmasambhava and Śāntirakshita and built Bsam-ya, a monastery after the model of that at Odantapurī in Magadha (*supra* p. 110). The two Indian teachers established there the order of the Lamas. Lama, in the true sense, means the head of the monastery, though in modern times the title is given to all the monks and priests in Tibet connected with the Buddhist order. The religion of the Lama is simply called "The Religion" or "Buddha's Religion." Its followers are called 'Nan-pa' that is 'within the fold.' Padmasambhava and Santirakshita trained some Tibetans as monks, who carried on their mission assiduously, and translated many Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Padmasambhava, after a residence of a short period, left Tibet in order to preach Buddhism in other lands. Śāntirakshita was made the first abbot of the monastery at Bsam-ya. He occupied that position for thirteen years. Shortly before his death Hoshang Mahāyāna, a Chinese missionary, visited Tibet. He started preaching Buddhism of an order which differed from that advocated by Śāntirakshita. Śāntirakshita, failing to defeat his opponent in controversy, requested the king to invite his disciple, Kamalaśīla, to Tibet. The latter was then in Magadha. But Śantirakshita, shortly before Kamalaśīla's arrival in Tibet, died of an accident. Kamalaśīla defeated the Chinese missionary in a debate, and established the soundness of the doctrine preached by Śāntirakshita.

The Tibetan literature closely connects another Bengali teacher named Dīpaṅkra Śrījñāna, also known as Atīśa,[12] with the religious movement in Tibet. Dīpaṅkara was born in 980 A.D. in the royal family of Gauḍa at Vikramaṇipura in Baṅgala. He was known as Chandragarbha in his early age. His father was Kalyāṇaśrī and his mother was Prabhāvatī. While young, he learned five minor sciences under the guidance of the great teacher Jetāri. He studied the im-

portant literature of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. Rāhulagupta taught him the meditative science of the Buddhists in the Kṛishṇagiri monastery. Kṛishṇagiri, modern Kanheri, in the Bombay Presidency, was an important centre of the Buddhists. Chandragarbha received there the name of Guhyajñāna-vajra. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows in the Odantapurī-*vihāra* from the Mahāsaṅghika Āchārya Śīlarakshita, who gave him the name Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna. Twelve years later, at the age of thirty-one, he was ordained as a Bhikshu. He received the vow of a Bodhisattva from Dharmarakshita. He intended to study Buddhism under the guidance of Chandrakīrti, the High Priest of Suvarṇadvīpa. Suvarṇadvīpa, which was a general name for Java and other islands in Eastern Archipelago, was at that time an important centre of Buddhism in the East. A merchant vessel, after several months' strenuous journey, brought him to that island. He studied there for twelve years, and returned to Magadha, visiting Tāmradvīpa (Ceylon) on his way. He was invited to the Vikramaśīla monastery (*supra* p. 110) by the king Mahīpāla. Dīpaṅkara assumed the post of the High Priest of the Vikramaśīla monastery at the request of king Nayapāla, son of Mahīpāla,. Sthavira Ratnākara was at that time the chief of monastery.

About the middle of the eleventh century A.D. Lha Lama Ye-śes-ḥod was the king of Tibet. He was a pious Buddhist. He intended to reform Buddhism in Tibet, which was debased by Tantric and Bon mysticism. He sent Rinchhen Zaṅ-po, the great Lochava, and Legs-pahi Śerab to India in order to invite some Indian scholars to Tibet.[13] These two officers of the Tibetan king, in course of their sojourn, went to the Vikramaśīla monastery. They came to learn there that Dīpaṅkara was the best of the Buddhist scholars in Magadha. But realising that there was no chance of their request being complied with, they did not dare extend him their invitation to Tibet. They went back to their country and communicated to the king everything they knew about the great Bengali teacher. The king despatched a Tibetan mission under Rgya-tson-gru Sengé, a native of Tag-tshal in Tsang, to Vikramaśīla with rich presents to invite Dīpaṅkara to his country. Dīpaṅkara, on receipt of invitation, replied to the Tibetan mission :

"Then it seems to me that my going to Tibet would be due to two causes : first, the desire of amassing gold, and second, the wish of gaining sainthood by

the loving of others ; but I must say that I have no necessity for gold nor any anxiety for the second at present."

The Tibetans, thus having failed to achieve their end, went back to their country. About this time a great calamity befell the king of Tibet. He was taken prisoner by the king of Garlog in the frontier of Nepal. The king, shortly before his death in the enemy's prison, sent through his nephew and successor Chan Chūb the following message to Dīpaṅkara :

"Lha Lama, the king of Tibet, has fallen into the hands of the Rājā of Garlog while endeavouring to collect gold for diffusing the religion of Buddha, and for the *Paṇḍit* himself. The *Paṇḍit* should therefore vouchsafe his blessings and mercy unto him in all his transformed existences. The chief aim of the king's life has been to take him to Tibet to reform Buddhism, but, alas, that did not come to pass ! With a longing look to the time when he could behold the *Paṇḍit's* saintly face, he resigned himself absolutely to the mercy of the three Holies."

After the death of the king, Chan Chūb sent a Tibetan mission in charge of Tshul Khrim-gyalwa to Dīpaṅkara at Vikramaśīla with the deceased king's letter. It was also instructed, in case Dīpaṅkara refused to come, to invite a scholar, next to him, to Tibet.

Tshul Khrim-gyalwa, also known as Vinayadhara, formerly studied Buddhist literature in India for two years. He proceeded to Vikramaśīla with the mission, and met there unexpectedly his preceptor Gya-tson Sengé. The preceptor told him that the Tibetans had no influence there, and advised him not to disclose at once the object of his visit. Both of them saw Dīpaṅkara from time to time. Dīpaṅkara was very much moved when he heard the news of the king's death in a tragic circumstance. He consented to pay a visit to Tibet after finishing his work in hand, to which he would have to devote a period of eighteen months. He advised the Tibetan monks to keep the matter secret. Once Vinayadhara and Gya-tson made an attempt to know the opinion of Ratnākara on the matter of Dīpaṅkara's visit to Tibet. Ratnākara discarded the idea with the remark,

"in the absence of Atīśa, no other *Paṇḍit* would be able to preserve the moral discipline of the monks here. He holds the key to many a monastery of Magadha. For these reasons we can ill afford to lose his venerable presence."

The day of Dīpaṅkara's departure for Tibet was drawing near. It was not, however, possible for him to leave the Vikramaśīla monastery without the permission of his chief, Ratnākara. Once he sought the permission of Ratnākara for leave to accompany Vinaya-

dhara to many places of pilgrimages including Nepal. Ratnākara could, howevr, discover that Dīpaṅkara cherished an idea of visiting Tibet on that occasion. He eventually agreed to the proposal of Vinayadhara about Dīpaṅkara's visit to Tibet on condition that the venerable teacher should return to Vikramaśīla within three years. He remarked :

"without Atīśa India will be in darkness. He holds the key to many institutions. In his absence many monasteries will be empty. The looming signs prognosticate evil for India. Numerous Turushkas (Muhammadans) are invading India, and I am much concerned at heart. May you proceed to your country with your companions and with Atīśa to work for the good of all living beings there."

Dīpaṅkara started for Tibet, accompanied by Vinayadhara, Gya-tson, *Paṇḍit* Bhūmigarbha, and the *Mahārāja* Bhūmisaṅgha, the king of Western India, who was his disciple. Some Śaivas, Vaishṇavas, and Kāpilas, who did not like that Dīpaṅkara should preach Buddhism in Tibet, engaged some robbers to take his life as soon as he passed the border of India. The robbers, when they saw the saintly appearance of the teacher, could not raise their hands against him, and went away. As soon as Dīpaṅkara entered Nepal a local chief took fancy to a beautiful little table made of sandalwood, which was being carried by the venerable teacher. He set some brigands to rob him of it. But Dīpaṅkara, it is reported, averted the danger by some mystic charms. After this he paid his reverence to the temple of Ārya Svayambhū. Gya-tson unfortunately died there of fever. Dīpaṅkara was much moved by this calamity, as Gya-tson was his close companion, and was to serve him in Tibet as an interpreter (*lochava*). At this time he wrote a note to king Nayapāla. He met Ananta-kīrti, king of Nepal, at Palpa, then called Palpoi-thaṅ. He presented the king with an elephant, and the latter in gratitude laid the foundation of a monastery called Thaṅ-*vihāra*. His son Padmaprabha was ordained as monk by Dīpaṅkara. Padmaprabha accompanied the Bengal *Paṇḍit* to Tibet.

Dīpaṅkara was received by the officers and the army of the king Chan Chūb in the frontier of Tibet. He stopped on the bank of Mānāsa-sarovara for a week. Finally he reached the monastery at Tholing[14] with his party. He was given grand ovation by the king in the capital. He moved from province to province and preached Mahāyāna doctrine. Brom-ton, the founder of the first great hierarchy of Tibet, became his disciple. Dīpaṅkara succeeded in eliminating Tantric and foreign elements from the Tibetan Buddhism.

He wrote several books on Buddhism during his stay in Tibet. *Bodhipatha-pradīpa* is the most prominent among them.[15] The authorship of about two hundred books is ascribed to him.[16] He lived in Tibet for thirteen years and died there c. 1053 A.D. at the age of seventy-three. His memory is still cherished by the people of the country.

II. ACTIVITIES OF BENGALIS IN INDIA OUTSIDE BENGAL

We have many references to Bengalis playing an important part, both in secular and religious affairs, in different parts of India outside Bengal. A short account of some of these persons is given below to indicate the nature and scope of these activities.

We may begin with Gadādhara who founded a principality in the Far South. Gadādhara was born in the village of Taḍā, in Varendrī. He is described as the crest-jewel of Gauḍa, and the illuminator of Varendrī. He proceeded to Southern India, and became the chief of the territory called Kārtikeya-tapovana. The seat of his government was Kolagala, the modern village of Kolagallu, in the Bellary district, Mysore. He was a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. (A.D. 939-967) and Khoṭṭiga (967-*c.* 972 A.D.). He installed the images of Sūrya, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Maheśvara, Pārvatī, Vināyaka, and Kārtikeya, and founded a monastery at Kolagallu.[17]

The Gopeśwar inscription of Anekamalla, dated Śaka 1113 (=1191 A.D.), refers to the king as sprung from the family of Gauḍa[18]. He was a king of the Garhwal district where the inscription was discovered, and is said to have conquered Kedāra-bhūmi, no doubt the holy city of Kedāra and the adjoining territory.

Another son of Gauḍa distinguished himself in the same region about the same time. He is Udayarāja, of the Gauḍa family, who was appointed commander of the Chāhamānā army by Pṛithvīrāja III. (1177-1192 A.D.). Pṛithvīrāja III defeated Muhammad Ghūrī in 1190-91 A.D., but lost his life in a battle with the same Muslim general at Tarāorī, near Karnal, in 1192 A.D. These informations are supplied by the Muhammadan historians. The *Hammīra-mahā-kāvya* gives a somewhat different account of the conflict. It records that Pṛithvīrāja fought successfully with Sāhābadina (Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Ghūrī) many times. On the last occasion the Muslim general, referred to as the king of the Sakas, invaded the

kingdom of Pṛithvīrāja, and captured Dilli (Delhi). Pṛithvīrāja, commanding Udayarāja to follow him, hurried to oppose the enemy with a small army. He suffered defeat at the hand of Muhammad Ghūrī, and was taken prisoner, before Udayarāja could come to his assistance. Muhammad Ghūrī, after the arrival of Udayarāja in the battle-field, being dubious about his ultimate success, withdrew to the city of Delhi with the captive Pṛithvīrāja. The pride of his being a member of the Gauḍa family prevented Udayarāja from retracing his steps, leaving his master in that perilous condition. He made an onslaught on the city, and fought bravely with the enemy for a month without interval. A Muslim officer, apprehending grave danger, advised Muhammad Ghūrī to ease the situation by releasing Pṛithvīrāja. But Muhammad Ghūrī, in his rage, ordered the execution of the Chāhamāna king. Udayarāja, after the death of Pṛithvīrāja, in despair made a desperate attempt to capture the city, and fell fighting in the battle.[19]

Two ruling dynasties of Orissa, the names of whose kings ended in Tuṅga, are said to have come from Rohitāgiri which is located by some in Bengal (above, pp. 200-201). One of these was founded by Jagattuṅga, whose descendants ruled about 9th century A.D. Another was founded by Rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga and ruled in parts of Talcher, Pal Lahara and Keonjhar States.[20]

A Brāhmaṇa named Śakti, belonging to the Bharadvāja family of Gauḍa, obtained Darvābhisāra, which is now represented by the tract of the lower and the middle hills between the rivers Chandrabhāgā and Vitastā. His son was Mitra. Mitra's son was Śaktisvāmī. Saktisvāmī became the minister of king Muktāpīḍa,[21] also known as Lalitāditya, who ruled Kashmir from *c.* A.D. 724 to 760 (*supra* p. 76).

Gadādhara, son of Lakshmīdhara, an ornament of the Gauḍa family, attained to the position of the great minister of peace and war under the Chandella king Paramardi (*c.* 1165-1201 A.D.). There was another personage named Lakshmīdhara, who was born in the Gauḍa family, and who was an ornament in the kingdom of the Chandella Kīrtivarman (*c.* A.D. 1073). Lakshmīdhara's son was Yaśaḥpāla, who was a minister under the next Chandella king Sallakshaṇavarman. Yaśaḥpāla's son Śrīdhara was an officer of the Chandella king Jayavarman (A.D. 1117). Śrīdhara's son Gokula was a minister of the Chandella Pṛithvīvarman. Gokula's son Bhoja (?) flourished during the reign of the Chandella Madanavarman (C.A.D. 1129-1163). Bhoja's son Mahīpāla was an officer under

the Chandella Paramardī. Mahīpāla's son Gaṅgādhara became a favourite of the Chandella Trailokyavarman (C.A.D. 1205-41). Gaṅgādhara's son Jagaddhara was a minister of the Chandella Vīravarman (A.D. 1254-1285).[22]

An inscription of the fifth century A.D. mentions that a Kshatriya family from Gaura, founded a kingdom in the Upper State, Rājaputāna.[23] Gaura appears to be the same as Gauḍa, though this cannot be definitely proved.

The Bengalis in foreign land showed more zeal in religious and missionary activities than in any other sphere of life. Both Buddhist and Brahmanical teachers went far and near, and propagated their respective tenets.

The earliest Bengali Buddhist teacher to achieve distinction outside Bengal is Śīlabhadra (*supra* pp. 78, 380), a member of the Brahmanical royal family of Samataṭa.[24] We are fortunate in getting a detailed account of his life from the contemporary Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. Śīlabhadra, in his young age, travelled throughout India for acquiring special knowledge in Buddhist philosophy. He met Dharmapāla at Nālandā and received religious instruction from him. Dharmapāla, finding in him the qualities of a great man, ordained him as a monk. Śīlabhadra mastered the principles of Buddhism, and attained high efficiency in explaining the subtleties of the Śāstras. His fame as a great Buddhist scholar spread to foreign lands. A Brāhmaṇa from South India, who was proud of his learning, came to Magadha and challenged Dharmapāla for a religious discourse. Dharmapāla engaged Śīlabhadra, who was then only thirty years old, for initiating discussion with the Brāhmaṇa. Sīlabhadra thoroughly outwitted his opponent, and succeeded in proving the soundness of his faith. The king of Magadha was highly pleased with Śīlabhadra for his achievement, and expressed his willingness to endow him with the revenue of a city. Śīlabhadra first refused the offer on the ground that a monk should not have any attraction for such a thing. But he had ultimately to accept the gift at the king's earnest request. He built a monastery and donated the above endowment for its maintenance.

In the course of time Śīlabhadra became the chief minister of the community of Nālandā. At this time 'the priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (*residing therein*) always reached to the number of 10,000.' They all studied Mahāyāna, the doctrines belonging to eighteen schools, the Vedas, Hetu-vidyā, Śabda-vidyā,

Chikitsā-vidyā, Atharva-veda and the Saṅkhya (Sāṅkhya). Śīlabhadra was the only scholar who mastered all the collections of the Sūtras and the Śāstras. Hiuen Tsang reports that the members of the convent, from their great reverence to Sīlabhadra, did not venture to call him by his name, but gave him the appellation *Ching-fa-tsong* ("Treasurer of the good Law").

When Hiuen Tsang arrived at Nālandā in 637 A.D. Śīlabhadra was the chief of the monastery. The pilgrim submitted to the teacher that he came from the country of Chīna in order to learn the principles of Yoga-śāstra under his guidance. Śīlabhadra received Hiuen Tsang with great respect. Hiuen Tsang attended a series of lectures, delivered by the venerable teacher, on Yoga-śāstra. About this time Harsha Śīlāditya, at the request of Sīlabhadra, granted the revenues of three villages to a Brāhmaṇa, who attended the above lectures along with the Chinese pilgrim.

Hiuen Tsang prepared a work entitled "*The Destruction of Heresy*," and handed it over to Śīlabhadra. Śīlabhadra received a letter from Kumāra, king of Kāmarūpa, requesting him to send the Chinese pilgrim to his kingdom. Śīlabhadra did not comply with this request, as he expected a similar invitation from Śīlāditya about the same time. Kumāra ultimately sent a threatening letter to Śīlabhadra. "If necessary," said he, "I will equip my army and elephants, and like the clouds sweep down on and trample to the very dust that monastery of Nālandā." Śīlabhadra, probably to get out of the unpleasant situation, sent Hiuen Tsang to Kāmarūpa. This happened about the beginning of 643 A.D.

We hear nothing more of Śīlabhadra. He was the greatest Buddhist teacher of his age. He commanded respect from everybody. One of his works is known to us. It is entitled *Arya-Buddha-bhūmi-vyākhyāna*, which was translated into Tibetan.

Śīlabhadra and Śāntirakshita, referred to above, were both teachers of the Nālandā monastery. Another Bengali teacher, whose name was Chandragomin (*supra* pp. 354, 380),[25] is known to have been connected with that institution. Chandragomin was born in a Kshatriya family in the east in Varendra. He studied *Sūtra-* and *Abhidharma-piṭakas* under the guidance of Āchārya Sthiramati. He mastered literature, grammar, logic, astronomy, music, fine arts, and the science of medicine. He was initiated into the Buddhist faith by Āchārya Aśoka, and became a great devotee of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā.

Chandragomin proceeded to Ceylon and Southern India. While residing in Southern India he wrote a grammar entitled *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa*, which was an improvement on Nāgaśesha's (Patañjali's) *Bhāshya* on Pāṇini's grammar. Next he proceeded to Nālandā where he met Chandrakīrti, who was at that time the High Priest of the monastery there. The priests of Nālandā did not give him a warm reception as he was only a lay disciple. But Chandrakīrti found in Chandragomin a great scholar, and succeeded in removing the unfriendly feeling from the minds of the host of priests. He arranged a procession of priests, which was headed by three chariots. He placed Chandragomin in one of them, an image of Mañjuśrī in the second, and himself in the third. After this event the priests paid great reverence to Chandragomin. Chandragomin, who was a follower of the Yogāchāra system, carried on philosophical discussions in the monastery. The story runs that he once threw off the grammar, which he wrote in South India, into a well, considering that it was inferior in merit to one prepared by Chandrakīrti. But at the instance of goddess Tārā, who told him in dream about the superior quality of his work, he recovered the book from the well.

Chandragomin wrote a book on logic known as *Nyāya-siddhy-āloka*, the Tibetan translation of which is now available. His Tibetan name is Zla-wa-dge-bsnen.

The Bengali *Paṇḍit*, most highly esteemed in Tibet, is Abhayākaragupta (*supra* p. 382).[26] He is worshipped there as one of the Panchhen-Rinpochhes *i.e.*, Lamas possessing royal dignities. He was born at a place near the city of Gauḍa, in Eastern India. In his young age he went to Magadha, in Madhyadeśa, and learnt there five sciences. Within a very short time he earned renown as a great Buddhist scholar. He became a priest in the palace of Rāmapāla, who is described as the king of Magadha in the Tibetan literature. It is reported that he wrote Śāstras during the first two watches of the day, explained Dharma in the third watch, worshipped his gods till midnight in the Himavana cemetery, and retired to bed after that. He gave relief to many hungerstricken beggars in the city of Sukhavatī. It was due to his intervention that a Chaṇḍāla king of the city of Charasiṁha gave up the project of sacrificing one hundred men. He furthered the cause of Buddhism. In his later life he became the High Priest of the Vikramaśīla monastery, which accommodated three thousand monks. He was the head of the Mahāyāna sect in the Odantapurī monastery. It is reported that

when Abhayākara was residing in the Vikramaśīla monastery under the protection of the son of king Śubhaśrī of Eastern India, a Turuskha war took place. Abhayākara performed many religious rites as the result of which, it is said, the Turuskhas were forced to leave India. He died before Rāmapāla's abdication of the throne. He is said to have been succeeded to the position of the High Priest of Vikramaśīla monastery by Ratnākara-śānti. It is, however, known from another Tibetan source that Ratnākara-śānti preceded him to that post. Abhayākara was a great writer. He translated many books into the Tibetan language. It is not known whether he ever visited Tibet.

Other Bengali scholars, who were closely connected with the Vikramaśīla monastery, were Jetāri and Jñānaśrī-mitra. They were senior contemporaries of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna.

Jetāri[27] (*supra* p. 381) was a resident of Varendra. His father Garbhapāda, a Brāhmaṇa *āchārya*, was the religious teacher of Sanātana, who is described as the king of Varendra by Tāranātha. Sanātana was probably a vassal of king Mahīpāla I. In his young age Jetāri was expelled by his relations. This incident turned the course of his life. He became a devotee of Buddha. He studied the Buddhist doctrine, and became thoroughly conversant with *Abhidharma-piṭaka*. King Mahā-(ī)pāla conferred on him the diploma of '*Paṇḍita*' of the Vikramaśīla monastery. He served there as a professor for a long time. Ratnākara-śānti and Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, who became High Priests of Vikramaśīla monastery, were his pupils. He wrote many books on Tantra and Sūtra. Tāranātha reports that he was the author of one hundred books. Many of his works have been translated into Tibetan. He was known in Tibet as Dgra-las-rgyal-wa.

Jñānaśrī[28] (*supra* p. 382), who was also known as Jñānaśrī-mitra, was a native of Gauḍa. According to Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa, he is probably the same as Jñānaśrī-bhadra, who carried on activities in Kashmir. He was one of the gate-keepers (guardians) of the Vikramaśīla monastery. Ratnavajra and Ratnākara-śānti were his colleagues. Dīpaṅkara, in his early age, studied Buddhism under his guidance. He was a contemporary of king Chanaka (Sanātana ?). He has written many books on logic and other subjects. Most of them have been translated into Tibetan language. He is known in Tibet as Yeses-dpal-bases-gnen.

With the decline of Buddhism in the twelfth century A.D.

Śaivism became predominant in Bengal. During this period some Bengali Śaiva teachers went to North and South India, and exercised considerable influence over the kings and the people there. The earliest known among them is Umāpatideva,[29] who bore another name Jñāna-Śivadeva. He was a native of Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, in Gauḍa-deśa. He settled in the Choḷa country, and acquired great renown for his divine qualities. He was known there as Svāmidevar. He was a contemporary of Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1163-1179), successor of Rājarāja II on the Choḷa throne. In the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D. the Ceylonese army, under their generals Jayadratha, Laṅkāpurī and others, conquered the Pāṇḍya country, and forced the Pāṇḍya Kulaśekhara to flee away from Madura. Thereafter they attacked the feudatories of Rājādhirāja, and threatened to invade the districts of Toṇḍi and Pāsi. The people in the Choḷa country got panic-stricken. Ediriḷi-Śoḷa-Śambuvarāyan, a feudatory of Rājādhirāja, prayed to Umāpatideva for offering oblation and worship to the great god for their safety. Umāpatideva worshipped Śiva for a period of twenty-eight days, as the result of which it is said, the Ceylonese army with its generals fled away from the Choḷa country. Ediriḷi-Śoḷa-Śambuvarāyan, as a token of gratitude, granted the village of Arpakkam to Umāpatideva. Umāpatideva distributed the income of that village among his relations.

The Śaiva teacher Viśveśvara-śambhu[30] exercised still greater influence on the thought and culture of the people of the Deccan. He was a resident of Pūrvagrāma, in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, in Gauḷa. He rose to the position of the chief teacher in the famous Golakī *maṭha*, in the Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala*, situated between the Narmadā and Bhāgīrathī. Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala* was the country round the modern town of Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces. This Golakī *maṭha* was founded by Durvāsas. Sadbhāva-śambhu, a remote successor of Durvāsas to the position of the High Priest of that *maṭha*, received three *lakhs* of villages as a gift from the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja I (*c.* A.D. 925-50), and dedicated it to the *maṭha* for its maintenance. In the line of Sadbhāvā-śambhu flourished the teachers Soma-śambhu, Vimala-śambhu, Śakti-śambhu, Kīrti-śambhu, Vimala-śiva of the Kerala country, and Dharma-śambhu. Dhārma-śambhu's successor was Viśveśvara-śambhu of Bengal, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. Viśveśvara-śambhu was a great Vedic scholar. The Choḷa and Mālava kings were his disciples. He was the *dīkshā-guru* (preceptor for initiation) of the Kākatīya king

Gaṇapati (A.D. 1198-1261) of Warangal, and of a king of the Kalachury dynasty of Tripurī. Gaṇapati is stated to have been his (spiritual) son. Viśveśvara-śambhu lived in the court of Gaṇapati. It offered a pleasing sight when he, with his gold-coloured matted hair, pendent ear-ornaments, and brilliant face, took his seat in the open Hall of Learning of Gaṇapati. Gaṇapati expressed his desire to grant the village of Mandara, situated in the Kaṇḍravāṭi, in the Velināḍa-*vishaya*, on the south bank of the Kṛishṇaveṇī (Krishna) river, to his preceptor. His daughter and successor Rudrāmba granted, in Śaka 1183 (= 1261 A.D.), that village along with the village of Velaṅgapuṇḍi, and the *laṅkā* lands, on the Krishṇaveṇī river, to the Śaiva teacher. Viśveśvara-śambhu amalgamated the two villages, thus granted to him, into one, and named it Viśveśvara-Golakī. He founded there a temple, a monastery, a college, a *chaultry* for distribution of food, a maternity home, and a hospital. He settled there sixty families of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas, and granted them altogether 120 *puttis* of lands for their maintenance. They were given full power to dispose of these lands in any way they liked. The remaining lands were divided into three parts. The income of one part was granted for the maintenance of the temple of Śiva, the income of the second was allotted for meeting the expenditure of the college and the Śaiva monastery, and that of the third was reserved for meeting the expenditure of the maternity home, the hospital, and the feeding-house. Altogether eight professors,—three for teaching Vedas, *viz.*, *Rig*, *Yajur*, and *Sāma* and five for teaching logic, literature, and Āgama—were appointed for the college. One very able physician and one expert clerk were appointed, apparently for the hospitals. Ten dancing-women, eight drummers including two pipers, one Kashmirian (music teacher?), fourteen songstresses and *Karaḍā* drummers were employed for the temple. Two Brahman cooks, four servants, and six Brahman attendants were engaged for the monastery and the feeding-house. Ten village-guards, belonging to the Choḷa country, and known as Vīrabhadras, whose duty was to cut the scrotums, the heads and stomach, were employed. The duty of the Vīrabhadras, mentioned above, cannot be properly explained. There were twenty Vīramushṭis, who were *bhaṭas* or police-officers. The village was provided with a goldsmith, a coppersmith, a stone-cutter, a bamboo-worker, a potter, a blacksmith, an architect, a carpenter, a barber, and an artisan. Some Brahmans of the Śrīvatsa-*gotra* and *Sāma-*

veda, who were natives of Pūrvagrāma in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā of Gauḍa, were appointed to supervise the income and expenditure tof the village, and to keep an account of them in writing.

All the employees, referred to above, were granted lands for heir maintenance. Their sons and grandsons *etc.* were give n the right of ownership of these lands. Some lands were granted for meeting the expenses of the food and clothing of the Śaiva ascetics, Kālānana (Kālamukha), Pāśupatas, and the students, and also for meeting the cost of supplying food to all, irrespective of caste, who came to the village. Viśveśvara-śambhu laid down that the Golakī line would be appointing an *Achārya*, who would be in charge of all the charitable establishments of the village, *viz.*, the temple, the feeding-house, and the monastery. The *Achārya* must possess the required qualifications, *viz.*, he must be a virtuous and a learned Brahman, well-conversant with Śaivism and its mysteries. He would be drawing in return for his service one hundred *nishkas* as his fee. The whole Śaiva community of the village was given the power of appointing a new *Achārya* if the existing one was found negligent in his duty or was guilty of misbehaviour.

Some other benevolent activities of Viśveśvara-śambhu are known to us besides those mentioned above. He founded a monastery known as Upala in the city of Kālīśvara, and making the village of Ponna an *agrahāra*, granted it for the maintenance of the monastery. He installed a *liṅga*, and founded a monastery after his own name in the city of Mandrakūṭa, and donated Manepalli and Uṭṭupīlla for their maintenance. He installed a *liṅga* in the city of Chandravalli, and having extended the boundary of a pond, gave half of it to the deity. He founded a city called Viśveśvara in Ānandapada, and having installed Ānanda (Siva) and a monastery granted the city for the maintenance of the god. He set up a *liṅga* after his own name, and donated the village of Kommu for its maintenance. In Īśvarapurī on the north-east of Śrīśaila, he erected a monastery with sixteen surrounding walls, for the maintenance of the feeding-house of which his disciple king Gaṇapati donated a village. This disciple granted him Kaṇḍrakoṭa in Pallināḍa as a fee to his preceptor. The latter installed a *liṅga* in Nivṛitta, and gave it the dry land adjacent to Vellāla, part of the forest of the village Dudyāla, and the whole village of Pūnūru. He set up a *liṅga* in the northern Somaśīla, and donated it the village of Aitaprol. In Śaka 1172=A.D. 1250, he made some gift of gold to the temple of

Tripurāntakeśvara, in the Markupura *tāluk* of the Karnul district (Andhra Pradesh). Three years later, the central shrine of this temple was erected by his son Śānta-śambhu, under orders of king Gaṇapati.[31]

Viśveśvara-śambhu's activities in the Andhra country reveal to us the nature of the cultural and civic conceptions of the Bengalis in the early times. And we know of a few more Bengalis who carried on similar activities in other parts of India.

Avighnākara, an inhabitant of Gauḍa, visited Western India in the middle of the ninth century A.D. Kṛishṇagiri, modern Kanheri, in Maharashtra State, was, at that time, under Kapardin, a chief of Koṅkan, who was a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I. Avighnākara excavated in the hill there a great monastery for the residence of monks. In Śaka 775=A.D. 853, he made a gift of one hundred *drammas*, from the interest of which the monks residing there were to be provided with clothes after his death.[32] A Bengali also perhaps made some contribution to the famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora.[33]

Vasāvaṇa, a famous Brahman of the Vatsa-bhārgava *gotra* from Gauḍa, settled at Siṁhapallī, in the Hariyāṇa country (modern Hariyāna in the Hissar district, Punjab). His eldest son Īśānaśiva forsook the world, proceeded to Vodāmayūtā (modern Badāun, Uttar Pradesh), and lived in a well-known Saiva monastery there. He received initiation from Mūrtigaṇa, the chief of the monastery. In the course of time Īśānaśiva himself became the chief of that monastery. He was a contemporary of the local Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Amṛitapāla. He founded a temple of Śiva and donated for its maintenance the revenues of Bhadaṇaulikā.[34]

Devendravarman III, king of Orissa, granted, early in the 9th century A.D., a village to a Brāhmaṇa of Uttara Rāḍhā.[35] Devendravarman IV of the same family granted, towards the end of the same century, a *pradeśa* in a village to a number of Brāhmaṇas of Vaṅga "who are eager in performing sacrifices and studying the Vedas, are well-versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and who always practise *dharma* as prescribed in the Śrutis and Smṛitis."[36]

King Gayāḍatuṅga, of the Tuṅga dynasty of Orissa named above, granted lands to a Brāhmaṇa who had emigrated from Varendra-*maṇḍala*.[37]

Another ruler, Devānandadeva, ruling in the modern Dhnkaenal region of Orissa, about the end of the 9th century A.D., granted lands

to a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhaṭṭa community whose family hailed from Puṇḍravardhana.[38]

Mahābhavagupta I, the Somavaṁśī king of Orissa, gave a village to Bhaṭṭaputra Jātarūpa, who was an immigrant from Rāḍhā. He and his son Mahāśivagupta I, as well as the Chandella kings Dhaṅga, Devavarmadeva and Madanavarmadeva granted villages to Brāhmaṇas immigrating from Tarkarika[39] which has been located by some scholars in Bengal.[40]

Bengalis are also known to have achieved high distinction outside Bengal in the domain of literary art. It has been mentioned above (p. 589) that a Bengali, named Śaktisvāmī became the minister of Lalitāditya of Kashmir. His son was Kalyāṇasvāmī, who has been compared with Yājñavalkya. Kalyāṇasvāmī's son was Kāntaśchandra, whose son was Jayanta. Jayanta is identified with Jayantabhaṭṭa, the author of *Nyāya-mañjarī*. Jayanta was a poet and had also the gift of eloquence. He acquired thorough knowledge in Veda, Vedāṅga, and all other Śāstras. His son was Abhinanda, who is the author of *Kādambarī-kathāsāra*. The book gives in verse the brief outline of the prose composition, named *Kādambarī*, by Bāṇabhaṭṭa.[41]

Lakshmīdhara, a native of the village of Bhaṭṭa-Kośala, in Gauḍa, was a well-known poet. He went to Mālava, and lived in the court of the Paramāra king Bhoja (A.D. 1000-1055). He is the author of a Mahākāvya entitled *Chakrapāṇi-vijaya*.[42]

Halāyudha, a resident of Navagrāma, in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhī(ā), seems to have settled in Mālava. He composed sixty-four verses, in v. s. 1120=A.D. 1063, which are found engraved in the temple of Amareśvara in Māndhātā (Nimar district, Madhya Pradesh).[43]

M adana, who was born of a family of Gauḍa, was a poet of outstand ingmerit. In his early years he went to Mālava, and learnt the art of poetry from the great Jaina scholar Āśādhara. He obtained the title of *Bāla-sarasvatī* in recognition of his poetic genius. He rose to the position of the preceptor of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (A.D. 1210-1218), a remote successor of Bhoja. He wrote a drama entitled *Pārijāta-mañjarī* (also called *Vijayaśrī*) commemorating the victory of Arjunāvarman over Jayasiṁha, king of Gujarat. He also composed three inscriptions, belonging to Arjunavarman's reign.[44]

Gadādhara, mentioned above (p. 589), and his two sons

Devadhara and Dharmadhara were poets in the court of the Chandella king Paramardi.[45]

Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī was a native of the village Vīravatī, in Gauḍa. In his early age he became thoroughly conversant with Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Śruti, Smṛiti, Mahākāvya, Āgama, Alaṅkāra, Chhanda, Jyotisha, and Nāṭaka. He went to Ceylon and embraced Buddhism. The king Parākramabāhu[46] conferred on him the title of *Bauddhāgamachakravartī*. Rāmachandra wrote three books in Ceylon, *viz.*, *Bhakti-śataka*, *Vṛitta-mālā* and *Vṛitta-ratnākara-pañchikā*.

The Gauḍa Karaṇa-Kāyasthas (*supra* pp. 432-33) were proficient in Sanskrit language and were expert scribes. They lent their services to various ruling dynasties for writing *praśastis*. The Aphsaḍ inscription[47] of Ādityasena (A.D. 672), king of Magadha, was written by Sūkshma-śiva, a native of Gauḍa. An inscription[48] of the time of the Chandellas of Khajurāho (A.D. 954) was written in pleasing letters by the Karaṇika Jaddha, the Gauḍa. Jaddha is said to have attained proficiency in Sanskrit language. The Dewal *praśasti* (A.D 992),[49] in the Pilibhit district (Uttar Pradesh), was written by Takshāditya, a Karaṇika from Gauḍa, who knew the Kuṭila alphabet. The Kinsariyā inscription (AD. 999)[50] of the time of the Chāhamāna Durlabharāja of Śākambharī was written by Mahāḍeva, a native of Gauḍa. The Nāḍlāi inscription (A.D. 1141)[51] of the Chāhamāna Rāyapāla was written by the Ṭhakura Pethaḍa, a Kāyastha of the Gauḍa lineage. The Delhi-Siwalik Pillar inscription (A.D. 1163)[52] of the Chāhamāna Vīśaladeva was written by Śrīpati, a Kāyastha of Gauḍa descent. The Peṇḍrābandh Plates of the Kalachuri king Pratāpamalla (1214 A.D.) were engraved by Pratirāja of the Gauḍa family who is described as the ocean of learning and the light (*i.e.*, chief) of Karaṇa (office or caste).[53]

This brief outline, based only on what is definitely known of the activities of some of the glorious sons of Bengal outside the land of their birth, throws interesting light on the part they played in the bigger cultural life of the Indians, both in and outside India. We have seen them holding prominent positions, political and spiritual, establishing monasteries and temples, reforming religions and writing sacred and secular texts, founding educational institutions and hospitals, and contributing in various ways to the lustre of the courts of different kings by their intellectual pursuits. Everywhere they held their position with honour and dignity, and gave practical demonstration of the ideal and vision of the cultural unity of India.

Footnotes

[1] R. C. Majumdar,—*Champā*, pp. XIII-XXIV; *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, Bk. I. specially Ch. IV.

[2] *IA*, 1894, p. 256; *Epigraphia Birmanica*, III. Part I, p. 185, f.n., 12.

[3] See pp. 351-2.

[4] *Melanges Sylvain Levi*, p. 213.

[5] R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I. 82-83.

[6] *Ibid.* II. 121 ff. [7] *Ibid.* I. 151-52. [8] *Ibid.* II. 304.

[9] H. B. Sarkar in *IHQ*. XIII. 597. Several other instances of cultural contact, noted by him in the same article, are neither definite nor conclusive.

[10] A Javanese text, composed in 1365 A.D., includes Gauḍa in a list of countries whose people came to the Javanese capital "unceasingly in large numbers....They came in ships with merchandise. Monks and distinguished Brāhmaṇas also came from these lands and were entertained" (*Suvarṇadvīpa*, I. 336).

[11] For the account of Śāntirakshita and Padmasambhava that follows, *cf.* L.A. Waddell. *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 20,24, 25; *IP*. 49; *JASB*. LI. Part 1, 7-8; *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, Part II, 170 ff. (see table of contents, pp. X. ff.); A. H. Franck, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II. 87-88. Śāntirakshita, also known as Śāntarakshita, whose Tibetan name was Zi-ba-htsho, became the high priest of Nālandā monastery in the first half of the eighth century A.D. S. C. Das points out from the Tibetan authority that Śāntirakshita was a native of Gauḍa. The *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, a work compiled in 1747 A.D., states (p. 112) that Śāntirakshita was born in the royal family of Zahor during the reign of Gopāla and died when Dharmapāla was ruling. The identification of Zahor has been discussed above (p. 402, f.n. 97). Dr. B. Bhattacharya remarks that Zahor is a regular phonetic equivalent of Sābhār, a well-to-do village in the Dacca District, Bengal. It is legitimate to infer from all available evidences that Śāntirakshita was a native of Bengal (*supra* p. 380). His sister was Mandaravā. The tradition runs that Indrabhūti, a king of Uḍḍiyāna, had a son named Padmasambhava (Waddell, *op. cit.* 380-82). Padmasambhava in his early age was tyrannical. The king, in order to please his subjects, banished the prince. Padmasambhava in course of his travel reached Zahor, and married the sister of Śāntirakshita. Waddell identifies Uḍḍiyāna with Udyāna in the Swat Valley (*op. cit.* p. 26). According to *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, the first Siddhāchārya Lui-pā belonged to the fisherman caste of Uḍḍiyāna, and was in the service of the king of Uḍḍiyāna, as a writer. He is referred to in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as a Bengali (Cordier-*Cat*. II. 33). He composed some Bengali songs (*BGD*. 21). On this and other grounds it has been suggested that Uḍḍiyāna might have been situated in Bengal (*IHQ*. XI. 142-44). For other views *cf. supra*, p. 403. f.n. 100*a*.

[12] Cf. *supra*, pp. 381-2. Dīpaṅkara is mentioned as Phul-byuṅ in an inscription in Tibet (Francke, *op. cit.* II. 169). For the account that follows *Cf. IP*. 50-76; *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, II. 183 ff. (*Cf.* table of contents, XVIII ff.); Francke, *op. cit.* 167, 169, 170.

[14] Francke (*op. cit.* 169-71) points out that Ye-śes-ḥod was a king of Gu-ge (Goggadeśa, in Western Tibet) which included parts of Kunawar and Spyi-ti, and that it was not he, but one of his descendants, that invited Atīśa to his country.

[15] It is identified with Totling *maṭh* in Western Tibet (*PHC.* Lahore 1940, p. 179)

[16] Cordier-*Cat.* II. 45 ff ; *IP.* 76.

[17] P. N. Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, pp. 73-79; *IP.* 76.

[18] Kolagallu inscription (*EI.* XXI. 260-64) ; *IMP.* I. 265, No. 82; 266, Bellary No. 91. The name is wrongly read here as Gajādhara and Gaṇḍādhara.

[19] Atkinson, *Notes on the History of the Himalaya of the North-Western Province of India*, Ch. IV. 16. The name of the king may also be read as Bhaneka Malla. There is a second inscription of the king on an iron trident in front of Gopeśvara Temple (*Ibid.* 17-18).

[20] *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri, Canto III. vv. 65-73, (*Cf. IHQ.* XVI. 349).

[21] *HCIP.* IV. 77.

[22] *Kādambari-kathā-sāra* by Abhinanda (Kāvyamālā, No. II), p. 2.

[23] *EI.* I. 207, 214 ; *ASI.* 1935-36, p. 91 For the date and history of the Chandella kings, Cf. *HCIP*, vol. V, pp. 58-60.

[24] *ASI.* 1929-30, p. 187.

[25] Watters, II. 109-110 ; *supra* pp. 8-9. Hiuen Tsang has recorded various interesting anecdotes about Śīlabhadra (cf. Beal-*Life.* 106-112, 121, 153, 160, 165).

[26] The account of the Buddhist teachers, given below, is based on Tibetan tradition. For Chandragomin *cf.* S. C. Vidyabhusana, *Hist. Ind. Logic.* 121-23, ; *Tar.* 145-158; *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, 95-96; *JASB.* N. S. III. No. 2 ; *IA.* IX. 178.

[27] *JASB* LI. Part I. pp. 16-18 ; *Sādhana-mālā*, II. Introd. pp. XC-XCI.

[28] *Tar.* 230-33 ; *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, 116 ; S. C. Vidyabhusana, *op. cit.* 136.

[29] *Tar.* 235-42 ; *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, 117-20 ; Vidyabhusana, *op. cit.* 137.

[30] Tiruvalīśvara Temple inscription at the village of Arpakkam in the Conjeeveram *tāluk* of the Chingleput District, Tāmil Nāḍu (*IMP.* I. 353, *CG.* No. 248 ; D. C. Ganguly, *Eastern Chālukyas*, p, 140).

[31] Malkapuram Stone Pillar Ins. The pillar stands in front of the ruined temple of Viśveśvara, at Malkapuram, Guntur *tāluk* in the Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh (*JAHRS.* IV. 158-62 ; *IMP.* II. 938, No. 316),

[32] *IMP.* II, *KL.* No. 262.

[33] *IA.* XIII. 133. Inscription, found on the architrave of the verandah of the Darbar of Mahārājā's Cave (No. 10) at Kanheri.

[34] A rock-cut inscription from Kailāsa at Ellora reads :—"(The gift) of Lakshmī sporting in water and Udadhichaṇḍa (a *gaṇa* of Śiva) by Bhadrāṅkura of the Rāḍhe family (*Rāḍhe-kula*)" (Burgess, *Ins. Cave Temples of W. India* p. 97). Rāḍhe may be taken as identical with Rāḍhā.

[35] *EI.* I. 61, 63.

[36] *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 79.

[36] *IAHRS*, II pp, 145 ff.
[37] *JASB*, N.S. V, 350 ;
[38] *Ep. Ind.* XXVI, p. 74
[39] *IC.* XIII, 158-60.
[40] See p. 493, fn. 46.
[41] *Kādambarī-kathāsāra*, Kāvyamālā No. 11. *sarga*, I, VV. 7-13.
[42] *IC.* I. 703-704.
[43] *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the C.P. and Berar* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, First Ed. p. 72 ; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 138. Hiralal refers the date to Vikrama Saṁvat. Mr. J.C. Ghosh thinks that it is in Śaka era and identifies Navagrāma with a village of the same name in Hooghly district (*IC.* I. 502).
[44] D. C. Ganguly, *Hist. of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 295 ; *JAOS*, VII. 33; *JASB.* V. 378 ; *EI.* VIII. 101 ff.
[45] *EJ.* I, 207, 214.
[46] It was believed fomerly that this king was Parākramabāhu II (1236-70) and this view was accepted in *HB* (p. 688). But is now proved that he was Parākramabāhu VI (1412-67 A.D.) and so the career of this scholar from Bengal falls onside the scope of this work.
[47] *CII.* III. 208.
[48] *EI.* I. 122.
[49] *Idid.* 81.
[50] *Ibid.* XII. 61.
[51] *Ibid.* XII. 41.
[52] *IA.* XIX. 218.
[53] *EI.* XXIII. 6, 8.

CHAPTER XV

ART

A. Architecture

I. INTRODUCTION

The actual remains of buildings and sculptures found in Bengal do not convey an adequate idea of the state of things in ancient Bengal. This particularly applies to buildings. Both epigraphic records and accounts of foreign travellers testify to the existence of numerous temples and monasteries all over Bengal, and some of them, even allowing for the usual exaggeration, must have been magnificent structures. The only contemporary literary text available to us, namely the *Rāmacharita*, fully corroborates this when it refers to the city of Rāmāvatī built by Rāmapāla as a city of gods and wealthy residents (III. 31), having a series of lofty temples of gods (III. 30) and "rows of palaces with plenty of gold therein" (III. 32). It may be easily surmised that there were many other cities of this type.

No trace of all these has survived. The nature of the soil and the climate of Bengal are no doubt partly responsible for the destruction of some of them, specially those built of easily perishable materials, but the more magnificent buildings, particularly temples, must have been deliberately destroyed by the Muslim invaders. Apart from the record of such destruction all over India in Muslim chronicles, we have positive reference in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* to vandalism of this type committed by the first Muslim hordes that invaded Bengal. But we have more positive evidence of this deliberate destruction of fine stone buildings in the use of the materials of the demolished Hindu palaces and temples in the structures built by the Muslim rulers. Prof. Percy Brown, an authority on Indian art, who cannot be accused of any communal feelings against the Muslims, after referring to the natural causes of ruin and decay, observes: "At the same time the destruction brought about by the hand of man cannot be omitted from any account of the architecture of this portion of the country, as the remains of some of the finest buildings amply testify. In no part of India are the two great cultural movements,

the Hindu and the Muhammedan, and the manner in which the one superseded the other more vividly illustrated than in some of the ancient remains of Bengal, as for instance in the ruined Adina Masjid, built by Sekander Shah (1358-89) at his new capital of Pandua, as this great congregational mosque was constructed almost entirely of materials taken from the demolished city of Lukhnauti, the capital of the Hindu dynasty of the Senas."[1] Another notable instance is the tomb of Jāfar Khān Ghāzi at Triveni in the Hooghly District, built of materials of many Hindu and Buddhist stone temples, including a series of plaques illustrating the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the inside figures of which were embedded in the structure and thus concealed for a long period from public gaze, till the tomb was dilapidated and, in the course of its repair and conservation, the nature of these and other materials came to light. These instances are merely illustrative, and by no means exhaustive. No wonder that ruins of many other temples were used as materials for building mosques in Bengal when we learn from an inscription on the portals of the famous mosque near Qutb Minār still *in situ*, that it was built on the ruins of a score of Hindu temples ; the pillars which once adorned them still stand as a mute testimony to this vandalism which has left no trace of ancient temples with the exception of only about half a dozen. There is absolutely no trace of any secular building in ancient Bengal. The images of gods and other sculptures have escaped the same tragic fate because, being portable, they could be carried away from temples which were in imminent danger from the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslims and kept concealed elsewhere—not unoften thrown into tanks from which some of them have been recovered in our days. Still there is no doubt that those which have been preserved represent only a very small proportion of the total number.

The paintings, that adorned the walls of buildings or were kept therein, were destroyed with them. Those that served as illustrations in Manuscripts were also destroyed along with these, for, apart from natural decay, whole libraries were deliberately destroyed, as was done after the sack of a monastery in Bihar.[2]

These facts should be kept in view in making a proper assessment of the art of ancient Bengal—for the extreme paucity of materials, specially in respect of architecture and painting, makes it almost impossible to convey even a general idea, far less an outline, of the growth and development of their style. Subject to these limitations

we shall first make an attempt to describe the very scanty remains of architecture under the following three heads : *Stūpa*, Monastery and Temples.

II. STŪPA

The *stūpa* was a familiar structure to the Buddhists and Jains all over India. In its original and simplest form it consisted of a solid domical structure on a circular base. The upper part of the dome supported a square box-like capital (*harmikā*), surmounted by a circular disc (*chhatra*). Gradually it was transformed, sometimes almost beyond recognition, by the addition of following elements, among others.

1. The low circular base becomes a high solid cylinder or drum (*medhi*), with corresponding increase in the height of the dome (*aṇḍa*) and its change from a hemispherical to an elongated shape, leaving a vacant passage round it on the base, wide enough to serve as a circumambulatory walk (*paradakshiṇa-patha*).

2. The number of the single crowning member (*chhatra*) on the top of the dome is gradually increased, each smaller than the one beneath it, so that the whole thing looks like a tapering row of small discs, the topmost one being almost a point.

3. A square plinth (basement) is added beneath the low circular base.

4. A projection is added to the middle of each side of the plinth, and sometimes a second one projecting from the first.

In its final stage the elongated *stūpa* appears like a tall spire, and the spherical dome (now lengthened), once the principal element, becomes an insignificant element between the drum, supported by a lofty basement below it, and the imposing series of high and conical discs (*chhatra*) above it.

The *stūpas* were originally erected by the Buddhists in order to enshrine the relics of Buddha (either parts of his body or articles used by him), and also, perhaps later, to mark a spot sanctified by the visit of Buddha or some events associated with his life. Ultimately the *stūpa* itself became an object of veneration, and it was regarded as a pious object to erect a *stūpa*. This led to the introduction of small votive *stūpas*, i.e., miniature *stūpas* offered as religious gifts to places of pilgrimage by persons who were not rich enough to erect a structural *stūpa*.

Though the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims leave no doubt that the whole of Bengal was studded with structural *stūpas*, big and small, in ancient days, they have all disappeared and only the remains of a few votive *stūpas* have survived the ravages of man and nature.

Of the large number of small votive *stūpas* made in brick, only the basements have been preserved. Most of them are cruciform in plan, formed by one, two, or three offset projections on each side of the square, and only a few are either square or circular. Many such basements have been found at Pāhārpur (Rajshahi Dt.) and Bahulārā (Bankura Dt.). They are very high, consisting of successive tiers of elaborate mouldings. Probably they were sometimes decorated with Buddha figures, as moulded terracotta plaques, containing friezes of Buddha figures in various attitudes, were found lying about many of them round the Satyapir-*bhiṭā* at Pāhārpur during the process of excavation. These votive *stūpas* are usually found standing alone, but sometimes they form a row, and occasionally a group of them stands on a big common platform. As *stūpas* with such basements have been found in Bihar it may be surmised that the structures on the basements were also similar. There is, however, basement of a very novel design in Pāhārpur which has been described as follows :

"It consists of a circular base over which rises a high plinth with sixteen projected angles (and sixteen corresponding recessed angles), each projection just touching the outline of the circular base. It is well-decorated with elaborate mouldings, in which the bold 'torus' is prominent. The provision of so many projecting and re-entrant angles may be regarded as a logical culmination of the desire for elaboration of the original ground-plan, which was first manifest in the addition of a number of projections on each face of a square structure. Seen from the top, the whole structure looks like a sixteen-sided star evenly arranged inside a circle. This novel plan and arrangement of the basement suggest a novel shape and appearances of the super-structure ; but unfortunately the upper members are irretrievably lost."[3]

The only specimen of a votive *stūpa* in stone has been found at Jogi-guphā. The basement is lost, and the portion that remains hardly looks like a *stūpa* structure as has been described above or is normally met with in any part of India. "A close examination however, reveals that it was probably an ultimate transformation

of a hemispherical structure due to an excessive tendency towards elevation and elongation. Along with the multiplication of the different elements there was also a corresponding elevation of each component part, and here, even without the basement that is lost, we find that the drum and the dome each represents a high cylinder, their total height being more than three times the diameter at the bottom. The drum, as usual, is ornamented with four figures in niches, while the plain dome is surmounted by the *harmikā*, not square but circular and ribbed on edge, just like the *āmalaka-śilā* of a temple. This is a peculiarity which is noticed here for the first time in case of a *stūpa* monument. Next we have the range of *chhatra* discs, gradually diminishing in size as they go up. The sense of accentuated height is strongly manifest in the whole composition, which gives to this particular specimen almost the appearance of a miniature obelisk, though with a round contour."[4]

Three bronze votive *stūpas* have been found in Bengal, one each at Āshrafpur, Pāhārpur, and Jhewāri (Chittagong Dt.). The first was found along with two copper-plates of the Khaḍga Dynasty, mentioned above (p. 78), and probably belongs to the same period (7th-8th century A.D.). "It is a fairly preserved specimen and consists of a cylindrical drum and hemispherical dome supported on a lotus over a high and slightly sloping basement, which is square with one offset projection on each face. The dome bulges a little towards the top—a peculiarity that endows the form with a contour not unlike that of the 'bell-shaped' *stūpas* of Burma. Above the square *harmikā* rises the shaft of *chhatrāvalī*, of which only one disc now remains. Like the stone prototypes in Bihar the basement and the drum are adorned with figures. What is, however, unique in this specimen is that the square turret of the *harmikā* has each of its sides adorned with a figure of the Buddha, a peculiarity which, so far as our knowledge goes, is not met with elsewhere."[5]

Each of the other two "consists of a bulging dome on a cruciform basement, as in the mediaeval stone examples from Bihar. The Pāhārpur specimen exhibits four concentric rings just below the dome in the section usually occupied by the drum (cf. three similar rings in the *stūpas* of Ceylon). Streamers in ornamental design are also attached to the shaft of the *chhatras*. Relief representations of *stūpas* of exactly similar design may also be found in the stelae of Buddhist images found in Bengal."[6]

In addition to these actual examples some idea of the *stūpa*-structure in ancient Bengal may be formed from the representation of *stūpa* either in relief as a decoration of divine image or in the illustrations in Manuscripts.

As regards the former reference may be made to the image of Tārā from Dhondai.[7]

As regards the illustrations in Manuscripts reference may be made to three of them. The earliest, the Mṛigasthāpana-*stūpa* in Varendra is illustrated in Ms. Add. 1643, Cambridge, to which reference has been made above (p. 37). It is noticed by I-tsing and must, therefore, have existed in the 7th century A.D.

This and two others were first noticed by Foucher,[8] and have been thus described by S. K. Sarasvati :

The first "shows a low circular drum over a basement consisting of six terraces, each of which is in the form of a lotus. The semi-circular dome, with four niches on four sides containing Buddha figures, is decorated with garlands at the top and surmounted by a square *harmikā*. Above it rises a tapering row of *chhatras*, the topmost one of which is adorned by flying streamers.

"The second *stūpa* is labelled as '*Tulākshetre Vardhamāna-stūpa*'. Vardhamāna, which, as a place name, occurs rather early in Indian literature, has been identified with modern Burdwan. Tulākshetra, with its locative case-ending, appears also to be a topographical name, and is placed, in the same manuscript, in Varendra. The monument exhibits two *stūpas* of exactly similar design and elevation, placed side by side. The basement, square in plan with one projection on each side, consists of four elaborately carved stages separated by recessed mouldings. The drum is designed in the shape of a double-petalled lotus, and over it is placed the dome, similar to the preceding example but without the niches, along with its upper component members.

"The basement of the third *stūpa* consists of a double row of petals separated by two plain mouldings, and supports a square terrace with two rectangular niches on each side. The drum has the shape of a lotus with drooping petals and over it rises an almost cylindrical dome with a cinque-foil niche on each side. The harmikā has a concave outline and streamers are attached to the shaft of the conical *chhatrāvalī*."[9]

The following review by S. K. Saraswati sums up the principal characteristics and different stages in the evolution of the *stūpa* architecture in ancient Bengal.

"From an examination of the extant specimens the characteristic feature of the *stūpa* architecture in Bengal may be summed up as follows : Votive *stūpas*, plainly square or circular in shape, have been known to exist at Pāhārpur and Bahulārā. But such simple structures are rather rare and the prevailing style shows a high basement, square with one, two or three projections on each face, variegated still more with numerous lines of horizontal mouldings. The number and depth of the projections as well as of the mouldings offer a rough standard in stylistic evolution. The Āshrafpur specimen shows niches with sculptured figures on the basement, and such a decorative scheme may also be found to actuate at least some of the brick examples at Satyapir-*bhiṭā* (Pāhārpur). Next comes the drum, plain or ornamented, and sometimes with four figures in the niches round its body. The dome—originally the principal element in the *stūpa*, now a mere finish or capping to a series of elaborate mouldings forming a lofty base—is either hemispherical or cylindrical, and though generally plain, is sometimes decorated with garlands at the top and niches containing figures at the bottom. It supports the square or cruciform *harmikā*, and the rows of diminishing *chhatras* ending in a pointed finial, sometimes with streamers flying from it. The stone example of Jogi-gophā exhibits an extremely elongated type and may be said to represent the final transformation of a hemispherical shape into a spirelike one through successive stages of heightening, achieved by adding to, and elevating the different parts."[10]

III. MONASTERY

As in the case of *stūpas*, so in the case of monasteries, there is no doubt that the whole of Bengal was studded with them in ancient times, but not one of them has survived the ravages of man and nature. Fortunately, the ruins of Somapura-*vihāra*, mentioned above (pp. 110-111), have been discovered by archaeological excavations at Pāhārpur (Rajshahi District). They have been described by Percy Brown as "the remains of a monumental edifice of such stupendous proportions, that although now a mound of ruins it appears to have been the largest and most important of its kind."[11]

The monasteries in Bengal followed the usual plan of building four rows of cells round the four sides of a courtyard, a running verandah along the cells giving access to each cell through a door. The great *vihāra* at Pāhārpur had the same plan, but it was of a

large dimension with a huge lofty temple in the centre of the courtyard. The temple will be described later. The quadrangle measured more than 900 ft. externally on each side with high enclosing walls all around it. The main entrance was on the northern side where a flight of steps gave access to a large pillared hall enclosed by massive walls on the other three sides. A single door on the southern side of the hall led to a smaller pillared hall, with an opening on the south through which, across a verandah, was a flight of steps descending to the inner courtyard facing the temple in the centre which was open to the north. From the top of this flight of steps branched off rows of cells on the inner sides of the enclosing walls on four sides, connected by a spacious corridor (about 8′ to 9′ wide). This corridor ran continuously on all the four sides giving access to each of a single (sometimes double) row of cells (about 13′-6″ in length) through a doorway with an inward splay. There were four flights of steps one in the middle of each side of the inner courtyard. There were altogether 177 cells along the corridor, in addition to the three cells in each of the three central blocks made by a projection at the middle of the extension wall on the east, south and west behind the landing stage of the flight of steps leading down to the inner courtyard. The thickness of the walls, which now remain only up to a small height, have led to the conjecture that it was a storeyed structure. Besides the main gateway on the north, there was a small passage of entrance in the north wall near its eastern end. There was possibly also another small passage in the middle of the eastern enclosure. The roof of the corridors rested on pillars and it had railings running along its whole length except at the centre where the means of ascent from below were provided by a staircase. A row of terracotta plaques adorned the plinth of the corridor. Some think that this was a later addition.

Besides the rows of cells on the four sides and the lofty temple at the centre there were within the enclosed quadrangle of the courtyard a number of small shrines and votive *stūpas* and other structures probably serving as refectory kitchen, bathing platforms, etc.[12]

There was a Jaina monastery on the site in the sixth century A.D. as mentioned above (p. 520). This was overshadowed, if not replaced by the great *vihāra* described above in the eighth (or early ninth) century A.D. A set of clay sealings found amid its ruins call it the great monastery of Dharmapāla at Somapura (*Śrī-Dharmapāladeva-mahāvihāra*) (above, p. 110-11). That the designation '*Mahā-*

vihāra' or Great Monastery was fully justified would be evident from the description given above. As Dikshit has rightly pointed out, "no single monastery of such dimensions has come to light in India".[13] No wonder that its reputation spread all over North India and even outside its boundaries in the Buddhist world of Asia.[14]

There is perhaps a tragic reference to this great monastery in an inscription[15] of the 12th century A.D., found in the ruins of a monastery at Nālandā. It refers to an ascetic (*yati*) named Karuṇāśrīmitra who lived in Somapura, and we are told that "when his house was burning, (*being*) set on fire by the approaching armies of Vāṅgāla, (he) attached (himself) to the pair of the lotus feet of the Buddha (and) went to heaven." It hints at a military raid on the locality where the great *vihāra* was situated, in the course of which a pious Buddhist laid down his life by suicide (a well-known religious custom). Whether this raid and conflagration had damaged the great monastery cannot be determined, but it is not unlikely. As this event occurred four generations before the record was engraved it may be dated in the 11th century A.D. But it is certain that the Great Monastery was not finally destroyed at the time. For the great-grand-disciple of Karuṇāśrīmitra built a temple of Tārā at the illustrious Somapura, and "effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells,—(a work) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose." It has been suggested that the expression *chaturshu layaneshu*, which has been translated as four cells, probably refers to the four groups of cells of the Great Monastery which had been damaged (by the fire referred to above). Such an interpretation alone can justify the expression that after the renovation work on a magnificent scale the great edifice became a "singular feast to the eyes of the world" (*jagatāṁ netr-aika-viśrāma-bhūḥ*).

Ruins of several monasteries have been discovered in the Mainamati hills near Comilla (E. Pakistan). According to preliminary reports these are relics of monasteries and temples even bigger than those of Pāhārpur. But no details are available in this country.

That there were magnificent monasteries in ancient Bengal before the Somapura *vihāra* was built is also proved by the description of some of them by the Chinese pilgrims, quoted above (p. 523). But all of them, as well as the less splendid ones whose number must have been very large, have disappeared, and the ruins of some of them probably lie buried under the big mounds, like those of the Somapura *vihāra* before the excavation at Pāhārpur. Such remains have been

exposed at Bhārāil (Rajshahi District) and the Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā (the site of the famous old Raktamṛittikā *vihāra* (p.7)

IV. TEMPLES

1. Ruins of Temples

In support of what has been said above (p. 603) about the existence of numerous temples in Ancient Bengal of which no trace exists today, reference may be made to the ruins of a big temple at Chandraketugarh (Barachampa in the 24 Parganas Dt.) of the Gupta period, and the Pañchāyatana temple-complex at Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā (Murshidabad Dt) of the same or slightly later period, exposed by the recent excavations at these two places.[16] But beyond the idea of their massive character, and a few details of the general plan nothing more can be said of them. "The massive temple at Chandraketugarh had a large square sanctum cella with projections on three sides and a covered ambulatory passage. The bigger square was preceded by a rectangular covered vestibule with a rectangular open porch in front, complete with a flight of steps. Around the larger square, the vestibule and the porch, was a rectangular structure with projections on three sides, corresponding to those of the inner square. Rising from the same level as that of the main temple, its facade and the two sides up to the vestibule were decorated with shallow niches, possibly plastered with stucco, and embellished with rounded offsets and string course of dentils made of moulded bricks."[17]

Each side of the square of the cells was 63 ft. long and the vestibule attached to the middle of the northern side was 45 ft. square. There were also massive brick buttresses and open ambulatory passages. Near by are the remains of miniature replica of the temple and the basement of a votive *stūpa* flanking the stairway.[18]

The Pañchāyatana temple-complex at Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā "consisted of : (i) a rectangular enclosure-wall ; (ii) four square shrines at the four corners ; (iii) main temple of *triratha* plan ; (iv) the rectangular *maṇḍapa* on the north, *surkhi*-rammed platform, etc. The compound-wall, measuring 20.87 m. in length on its western side and having several offsets at the plinth level on its southern face, contained beautiful niches and decorated and moulded cornices on its exposed southern and northern faces.. The rectangular main temple,

measuring 7.84 × 7 m., had projections on three sides, leaving northern side open for the entrance, thereby giving a *triratha* shape. The inner area of the main shrine, measuring 4.41 × 3.4 m. was *surkhi*-rammed and over it were laid bricks to form the platform. The rectangular *maṇḍapa*, measuring 6.09 × 4.57 m., was built subsequently on the northern side of the main shrine." 'To the south of this temple there was another oblong temple-complex consisting of walls, platforms and *ardhachandra* entrance platform on a rectangular basement 2.66 m. × 1.37 m.'[19]

2. *Pāhārpur Temple*

But by far the greatest and the most magnificent of all the temples whose ruins have been excavated in modern times is the one at Pāhārpur to which reference has been made above in describing the Great Monastery. The ruined state of the structure makes it impossible to give a detailed account of this mighty edifice, worthy of the Grand Monastery which surrounded it on all sides of the open courtyard whose centre it occupies. Only a general view must therefore suffice.

The temple was square in plan with projections so that it assumed the shape of a gigantic cross with angles of projection between the arms. It rose in several terraces of which two alone still remain. It covered an area about 356 ft. long from north to south and 314 ft. wide from east to west. About 250 ft. to the south of the main gateway of the monastery at the centre of the north side stood the main entrance to the great temple facing the north. Its basement wall had a plain surface of ashlar brick work (with a number of offsets in foundation), the monotony of the plain surface being broken by the insertion of 63 stone bas-reliefs at most of the angles of the projection and at intervals in specially built recesses in the middle of the wall. Above the reliefs there is a projecting cornice with three courses of mouldings, above which, in a recess, terracotta plaques, about 13″–14″ in height, were fixed in rows running almost uninterruptedly throughout the length of the wall. Further upwards, after a stretch of 3′ 6″, there is another deep cornice moulding decorated by various designs. Above this stood another recess for the insertion of terracotta plaques. The portion above this is broken. The length of the wall on each side is about 300 ft.

A grand flight of brick-built stairs, flanked by sloping parapet walls on either side, gave access to a verandah or circumambulatory

passage running continually on all sides. There were two rows of plaques decorating the inner wall of the passage, one below and the other higher up, separated from each other by cornice mouldings. In the north-western part of this verandah the circumambulatory passage was at a later period partially blocked by the construction of a shrine.

In the second terrace was the central shrine with an antechamber at each cardinal point and a verandah with projections similar to the one in the terrace below. Maṇḍapas or Pillared halls were later added to these ante-chambers.

There are not enough materials for the reconstruction of the temple above the second terrace. There are clear traces of a verandah 11′ broad at the height of 28′ from the level of the antechambers, and access to it was provided by a stairway in the southern ante-chamber. According to K. N. Dikshit the main shrine must have been at the top, but no remains of it exist except the four walls 18′10½″ in thickness enclosing a chamber of 13′ 6″×13′ 3″. At a depth of 38′ ft. in the interior of the chamber there were four square platforms from 2′ to 3′ ft. square at the four corners and at 41′ ft. depth the side walls came to an end with a regular offsets descending towards a finely laid brick floor in the centre measuring 6′6″×6′2″. No relics or foundation deposits were discovered on the floor. The platforms and floor apparently only mark a stage in the construction of the high plinth on which the main shrine stood. Even below the floor up to 30′ ft. further down was found masonry work of 18 carefully laid layers of burnt bricks of full size followed by several feet of regularly laid layers of brickbats.

These features and the discovery of ornamental bricks and terracotta plaques of the regular Pāhārpur type at depths of 56′ ft. to 70′ ft. from the top of the mound show that the foundation of the main shrine was laid simultaneously with the construction of the other parts of the main temple. But the superstructure, method of roofing and other details regarding the main shrine at Pāhārpur are matters of conjecture. The extraordinary thickness (about 19′) of the foundation walls and the small span to be covered over what would roughly be the dimensions of the shrine may point to a high tower gradually tapering to a point with corbelled arches.

The drainage of the entire area of the main temple and the immediate surroundings was carefully provided in the original construction.

The above account is based on the report of Mr. K. N. Dikshit

who carried out the excavations at Pāhārpur.[20] It may be concluded with the following general observation made by him.

"The type of plan on which the main temple at Pāhārpur was erected is so far unknown to Indian archaeology nor is its further development on Indian soil traceable. Its cruciform shape with angles of projection between the arms, its three raised terraces, and complicated scheme of decoration of walls with carved brick cornices, friezes of terracotta plaques and stone reliefs are not found in any of the developed styles of temple architecture in India."

The description of the temple given above on the basis of the report of K. N. Dikshit has given rise to several intriguing problems In the first place, his view that the main shrine must have been on the top of the building on the third terrace and consisted of a square cella with a circumambulatory passage has been challenged by several scholars. Both Sir John Marshall and R. D. Banerji regarded the structure as a *garbha-chaitya* or hollow pagoda. Mr. S. K. Saraswati says that "the evidence, now before us, is against the inference" of Dikshit and "the sanctuary could have neither been situated at the top nor inside the central square pile." "Naturally and logically, the sanctuary and what are described its ante-chambers and *maṇḍapas* should have been placed at the same level."[21]

Saraswati, however, draws attention to one suggestion casually made by Dikshit on the basis of Ins. No. A. 12, which refers to a Jaina *vihāra* at Pāhārpur in the fifth century A D. (p. 520) and worship of the Jinas or Arhats. He thinks that a four-faced (*chaturmukha*) Jaina temple probably existed on the site or near it, and this furnished the barest outline of the present structure. Saraswati refers in this connection to "a particular type of temples at Pagan in Burma,[22] which may be described as an adaptation of *Chaumukha* shrines of the Jainas. The type represents a square temple with four figures of the Buddha, set in recessed niches, on the four faces of a solid masonry pile standing in the centre of a surrounding corridor which is approached through entrance vestibules on one or more of its faces." He also emphasizes "other points of resemblance and affinity between the Pāhārpur and Pagan temples."[23]

This would mean that the Pāhārpur temple furnished the model to the temple-builders in Burma. This possibility was emphasized, on other grounds, by Dikshit also. "There can be no doubt", said

he, "that this style of architecture has profoundly influenced that of Burma, Java, and Cambodia.'[24] He has supported this view by pointing out that the plan and superstructure of three well-known temples in Central Java afford the nearest approximation to those of Pāhārpur. Saraswati has also discussed at length the profound influence exercised by the Pāhārpur temple on the architectural efforts of Further India, specially of Burma and Java.[25]

Referring to the generally accepted view that the temple-type at Pāhārpur is entirely unknown to Indian archaeology, Saraswati has drawn attention to the type of temple known as *Sarvatobhadra* described in Indian texts on architecture.[26] He has rightly pointed out that the following distinctive characteristics of this type laid down in literature closely approximate to the actual remains of the Pāhārpur temple: "The *Sarvatobhadra* type should be a square shrine with four entrances at the cardinal points, and with an ante-chamber on each side (*chatuḥśālā-gṛiha*). It should have uninterrupted galleries all around, should have five storeys and sixteen corners and many beautiful turrets and spires."[27] Saraswati thinks that the disappearance of other examples of this type of temples in Bengal is alone responsible for the view 'that the Pāhārpur type is a novel one in Indian architecture. In support of this view he mentions that "the ruins of a temple, exactly similar to the Pāhārpur plan, but of much smaller dimensions have accidentally been laid bare at Birāt (Rangpur Dt.)." He further observes: "From such remains and from representations of almost similar temples in the sculpture and paintings, this type may be taken to have been characteristic of Eastern India."[28]

3. *Other Temples*

The number of temples in Bengal in a fair condition that may be referred to the period of Hindu rule with any reasonable probability is very few, and with the exception of the temple at the centre of the courtyard of the Great Monastery of Somapura described above and the temple No. IV at Barakar, none of them is perhaps earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Many of these are also in ruins or changed beyond recognition by modern methods of conservation. As the upper part of the Somapura temple is lost, it is difficult to form an idea of its style. The remaining temples belong to the *rekha*-type whose distinguished characteristic is the high cur-

vilinear *śikhara* towering over the cella, resembling that of the temples found in Orissa, and probably also derived from it. Perhaps the oldest example of it is furnished by a miniature Jaina temple, found at Charra (Purulia Dt.), which shows the curvilinear form of the roof with vertical rows of decorative features, consisting of replicas of the temple with the figures of Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* in between them.[29] This is a distinctive feature, not found so far in any actual temple of this type in Bengal.

But although we have no actual example of any temple in Bengal constructed before the 8th century A.D. we may form some idea of its general style from the replicas of temples within which the divine images are seated in many sculptures. This furnishes evidence of a new type of temples, in addition to the curvilinear *śikhara* type, which is almost certainly earlier in date going back probably to the Gupta period. Its distinctive charcteristic is a roof consisting of a series of gradually diminishing horizontal tiers, one upon another, with a recess between two successive courses. Gradually, with the tiered stages compressed, the roof looks like a stepped pyramid rising from the end of the four perpendicular walls of the *garbhagṛiha* or inner chamber of the shrine. On the whole it resembles like the pyramidal roof of Dravidian style such as we see, for example, in the great Tanjore temple. The last course is capped by an *āmalaka-śilā* on a narrow cylindrical neck, and above it the usual finials as on a curvilinear *śikhara* roof. This type of temple is technically known as *bhadra* or *pīḍa*. The simplest and perhaps the earliest form of this type of roof is what we find in relief on each of the four sides of the bronze *stūpa* of Āshrafpur. It consists of two receding courses of sloping tiers with a recessed rectangular stage between them, with a finial of some peculiar shape. The usual finials of this type are of three varieties, namely, the *āmalaka*, a miniature *stūpa*, and a miniature *śikhara*, giving rise to three distinct varieties of *bhadra* or *pīḍa* type according as the tiered stages of the roof are surmounted by one or other of these three. All these types are represented only in the sculptures of images or in pictures in illustrated manuscripts. For the first type reference may be made to the image of Kalyāṇasundara from Hili, and of Umā Maheśvara from Birol[30] (which shows trefoil arches and rampant lions below the *āmalaka*).

The second and third types are represented in

(1) a series of miniature paintings of temples in Bengal,[31] noticed in Foucher, Icon, pls. III 4 ; V.I ; VI. 5 ; VII.

(2) Buddha Image of Madhyapāḍā.[32]

(3) Ratnasambhava from Vikramapura.[33]

Structural examples of the *pīḍa*-type are practically unknown, though a rough resemblance to the type may be found in the Nandī pavilion within the premises of the temple at Ekteśvar (Bankura Dt.) —a simple structure (open on all sides) of four pillars on a high base supporting a roof of three receding stages. Its date is uncertain. Similar tiered roofs are found in Burma and Indonesia and it is not unlikely that they were borrowed from India.

All the structural examples of temples in ancient Bengal so far known belong to what is generally known as Indo-Aryan or Northern, as opposed to Dravidian or Southern, style prevalent in India. It has been styled by Brown as the provincial phase of the Orissa School, for such temples of an early period are found in large number in Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. Its most distinctive characteristic is the curvilinear *śikhara*—a tower-like construction formed by the four walls gradually curving inwards from the very beginning and almost meeting at the top, the narrow intervening space being capped by a ribbed round piece of stone known as *āmalaka-śilā*.

This type of temples is known as *rekha*, and the stone temple No. IV at Barākar (Burdwan Dt.) furnishes the earliest example of it in Bengal. "It consists of a high *garbhagṛiha* (cella, sanctum) on a low basement and is surmounted by a short and stunted *śikhara* (tower), gradually curving inwards from its very beginning, and ultimately capped by a huge and archaic *āmalaka-śilā*. Both the *garbhagṛiha* and the *śikhara* are square in cross-section all through and the sharp edges of the corners and of the *ratha-paga* projections are rigidly maintained. In these respects and in the arrangement of the *rathas* and niches of the *garbhagṛiha* and *pagas* of the *śikhara*, the temple closely corresponds to the earliest group in Orissa, represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara, which has been assigned to the 8th century A.D. The Barākar temple may, therefore, be dated about the same period or only a little later."[34] Eight other temples of this type—all more or less damaged—and one in a fair state of preservation are known.

1. The brick temple at Deuliya (Burdwan Dt.).[35]

Its peculiar feature is that the *śikhara* does not rise directly from the walls of the cella but is placed on something like a pro-

jected cornice formed by several inverted offsets towards the top of the cella. The *śikhara*, divided into sharp ridges, is decorated with scroll work and *chaitya*-window pattern.

2. The Siddheśvara temple in brick at Bahulārā (Bankura Dt.).[36]

The plain walls of the sanctum are broken, outside, by niches, "capped by miniature *śikharas* in the central *rathas* and by three horizontal bands (*bandhana*) passing all around just in the centre." The elaborate ornamentations cover the exterior face from top to bottom. It is a fine temple of graceful proportions and may be assigned to the eleventh century A.D.

3-4. Sareśvara and Salleśvara stone temples at Dehar (Bankura Dt.).[37]

Only the sanctum of each of these is preserved, which closely resembles that of the Siddheśvara temple (No. 2), and they all probably belong to the same period.

5-6. Jaṭār Deul in the Sundarbans.[38], and the Gaurangapur temple.

The original shape and features of Jaṭār Deul have been obliterated by modern conservation. An earlier photograph shows its close resemblance to the Siddheśvara temple. It is assigned to the tenth century A.D. on the strength of an inscription of Raja Jayantachandra dated 975 A.D. But there is no trace of the inscription and no king of Bengal of this name is otherwise known. It probably belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. There is a similar temple at Gaurangapur (Burdwan Dt.).

7. The stone temple at Bāndā in the District of Purulia,[39] is a fairly preserved specimen.

One great peculiarity of this temple, which at first seems to be a puzzle, is the existence of two superimposed cells above the *garbhagṛiha*. Beglar, who first noticed it, perhaps rightly suggested that it was due to the "constructive necessity to tie the walls together at regular intervals to give the necessary rigidity and stability to the tower." This temple may be dated in the twelfth century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

8-9. There are two other temples of this type in Purulia District. One is at Telkupi, which represents the Tailakampa of the *Rāmacharita* (p. 148), and the other is at Para.

Two stone and one bronze votive miniatures of this type have been found, respectively, at Bāngarh, Nimdighi (both in Rajshahi Dt.), and Jhewari (Chittagong Dt.). It appears from stylistic

considerations that they were later than Barākar temple but earlier than the six temples mentioned above.

A study of the *rekha* type of temples in Bengal undoubtedly shows its close resemblance to the earlier group of temples at Bhuvaneśvara. But there are some striking differences, too. There is no trace of the Jagamohan—a smaller chamber with tiered roofs in front of the cella and giving access to it, which is a typical feature in Orissan temples. Its place is taken in the temples of Bengal by an approach vestibule in the thickness of the front wall. As regards the excellence of workmanship, opinions are bound to differ. The following estimate of a Bengali writer may be quoted for whatever may be its worth. After mentioning the difference, noted above, he observes : "Further, the temples of Bengal do not show such extreme variation of the ground plan and section as is to be found in the later temples of Orissa. In these respects Bengali architects displayed a better sense of reserve and restraint than their Orissan contemporaries. The ornamentations in the Bengali temples are also chaste and elegant, the chief decorative motifs consisting of the "*chaitya*-window", the running scroll-work and the miniature replica of the tower arranged in rows. The *rekha* temples in Bengal may not have the grandeur of the stupendous stone monuments of the sister province of Orissa, but they exhibit better taste, and the brick examples in particular, though in ruins, represent a fine and mature skill in the science and art of architecture."[40]

The *rekha* type of temples continued to be built after the end of the Hindu rule and a group of three temples at Barākar (Nos. I, II, III) and the temple of Ichhai Ghosh at Gaurangapur (Burdwan Dt.) may be cited as examples. The Barākar group may be assigned to the 15th, and the last, to the same or even a later age.

Before concluding the account of temples mention may be made of fragments of ruined temples discovered in several localities, but apart from the fact of their existence we hardly know anything more, and it is not possible to form any idea about their plan and elevation. Some of these have been recently excavated and referred to above (pp. 604, 612). But many other examples are also known. Ruins of a temple, for example, have been found at Baigram, which may represent all that now remains of the temple mentioned in an inscription found at that place (No. A 5). Similar ruins of several temples have been found near about Mahāsthān (Bogra Dt.),

which represents the site of the ancient city of Puṇḍravardhana, at Bairāgīr Bhiṭā, Govinda Bhiṭā and Gokul, where a large mound, 43 ft. high, when excavated, revealed the plinth of a shrine—a polygon of twenty-four sides in plan with a circular structure in the centre. The numerous buttress quadrangles which alone remain and look like a cobweb of blind cells, really served as the plinth of a shrine which was placed more that 30 ft. above the ground level on a solid foundation.[41]

V. MISCELLANEOUS

The account of architecture will remain incomplete without any reference to some architectural members which lie scattered all over Bengal—the only mementos of numerous temples that once adorned it but have vanished from the face of the earth due to the ravages of man and nature. The most important among these are pillars, door-frames, brackets, etc.

1. Pillars with characteristic decorations of the Gupta period, or, more properly, fragments of them—are very rare, but there are quite a number of them belonging to the Pāla period. They have, generally speaking, an octagonal shaft on a square base and are surmounted by a square capital. The decorations are very few and consist of either geometrical patterns, or *Chaitya* window on each face carved in low relief. A very fine and novel specimen is furnished by a free-standing stone pillar at Dinajpur[42] on which the Inscription No. B. 93 is engraved. The base and the top are square and richly decorated with lotus and *kīrtimukha* designs, but the central part of the shaft is dodecagonal, and is plain except for the decoration of garlands at the upper part. The capital is made up of a vase with rich arabesque work on each side. The pillar shows the characteristic decorative patterns of the 10th century of which there are a few more examples.

A fine specimen of a richly decorated wooden pillar about 10 ft. high was recovered from a tank at Arial (Dacca Dt.). It is even more richly decorated than the Dinajpur stone pillar.[43]

Four stone pillars found at Handial (Pabna Dt.), though not as richly decorated as the two mentioned above, present some novel features and probably belong to the very end of the Hindu period. The square base is quite plain except for a decorated

niche on each face containing the figure of a deity. The shaft is dodecagonal up to about the three-fourths of its height, the rest being circular. The bottom is decorated with a raised band bearing in relief twelve dancing female figures. From a mass of arabesque at the top of the dodecagonal portion hangs a chain with a bell on each of its four facets. The circular portion bears three encircling hands set up one above the other.'[44] A few free-standing pillars, some of which are sadly mutilated, present more or less the decorative pattern described above. Mention may be made of the two, bearing inscriptions of great historical interest, namely the Bādāl Pillar (Ins. No. B. 20) of which the upper part is missing, and the mutilated pillar at Paikor (see above, p. 139). There are also a fragmentary monolithic pillar bearing an image of Manasā found at Paikor and the so-called Kaivartta Pillar, standing in the middle of a tank, associated by some with the Kaivartta ruler Divya (pp. 142 ff).[45]

2. Door-frames. A large number of door-frames in stone, consisting of a pair of upright jambs joined above by a lintel—or parts thereof—have been found in different parts of Bengal. One complete frame—rather very rare—is now in the Dinajpur Raj Palace. It was brought from the ruins at Bangarh.[46]

The general type has been described as follows: "The Jambs exhibit several vertical bands, usually decorated with different patterns, and this scheme of decoration is continued horizontally on the lintel, which moreover contains a niche in the centre occupied by the figure of the deity, installed in the sanctum, or of Gaṇeśa, the bestower of success. The bottom of the jamb sometimes shows the figure of an attendant deity or of the river-goddesses, each in a sculptured niche, over which the usual decorations begin. The simple and common type of the door-frames exhibits a division of the surface into several vertical bands, in the form of running offsets, such bands being carried over to the lintel."[47]

Some of these door jambs were so profusely decorated that their whole surface was practically ornamented by mouldings, and figures of men, gods or variegated vegetal or geometrical patterns carved in low relief.[48]

3. Wooden brackets were fixed on tops of pillars in order to support the architraves or lintels even in stone or brick buildings. One recovered from Sonarang (Dacca Dt.) has been thus described: "It is divided into three sections, the central one of which consists

of a square panel depicting a figure of Vishṇu, seated in *yogāsana*. The two sections at either end have been cut away at an angle of 45° and the ends have been rolled up."[49]

4. Niches sometimes of trefoil form or sunken panels flanked by decorative stone pilasters often formed an ornamental feature of temples. Many of these are found at Pāhārpur. Several pilasters found at Sundarban "exhibit the decorative motifs usually seen on the stelae of contemporary images—*Gajasiṁha*, *haṁsa*, etc. The bold draughtsmanship and elegant execution speak eloquently for the skill of the artist and for the richness of the buildings to which they belonged."[50]

B. Sculpture.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The sculpture of ancient Bengal may be studied under the following heads :

1. Image of stone or metal.
2. Terracotta.

Although the oldest specimens of the first category, so far discovered, belong to a period much later than those of the second, still they deserve our attention first as the most important examples of the art of sculpture. Though the decorative designs are mostly associated with images, sometimes they are independent of them and hence deserve a separate treatment.

II. IMAGE.

1. Pre-Gupta

Only a very few images of the pre-Gupta period have been discovered in Bengal. These are

1. Head and bust of Bodhisattva in mottled red sandstone discovered in the course of the excavations at Chandraketugarh (24 Parganas Dt.).[51]

2. Red stone torso of a deity (probably Kārtikeya) found in Mahāsthān, the site of the famous ancient city of Puṇḍravardhana.

3-4. Two sandstone images of Sūrya found at Kumārpur and Niyāmatpur (Rajshahi Dt.).

5. Sandstone image of Vishṇu found at Hankrail (Maldah Dt.).

6. A colossal head in basalt found at Dinajpur.[52]

The first two have been definitely assigned to the Kushāṇa period,

i.e., roughly speaking, the first three centuries of the Christian era, as they have all the characteristic traits of the images of the Kushāṇa period at Sāranāth, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī (Sahet-Mahet).

Nos. 3-5 show Kushāṇa affinity in their dress (a long tunic covering the body from neck to knee such as is found in the image of Kushāṇa Kings), low and flat relief, effort to produce linear effect without any attempt to round the contours, broad and heavy features, etc.

In No. 6 "the shaven skull, the short but wide open eyes and the raised eyebrows with descending curves at the extremities present clear affinities with the heads of the Buddha-Bodhisattva type at Mathurā, while the moustache, the beard and the sinuous bow of the mouth are closely akin to such features in the sculptures of the contemporary Gandhāra School."[53]

Of course, the affinities do not furnish positive evidence of the date, and the theory that Nos. 2-6 belong to the Kushāṇa period can only be regarded as tentative. As a matter of fact Nos. 3-5 have been assigned by some to the eighth century A.D.[54]

No. 5 which is the only complete figure cannot be regarded as artistically of a very high order. It has been described by Kramrisch as follows :

"The four-armed figure, of which the two lower arms, now broken, originally were stretched downward, carries the conch in the upper left, a round object (lotus bud ?) in the upper right, wears a low *kirīṭa mukuṭa* (crown), scanty jewellery, peculiar loin cloth (*paridhāna*) clinging to the legs and curled towards the bottom with a folded end hanging between the legs. A squat halo, with design incised, surrounds the head."[55]

It is difficult to decide whether the images were imported from outside.

No. 1, the image of Bodhisattva in mottled red sandstone, the material extensively used in Mathurā and practically otherwise not known to be used in Bengal, and not available in this State or in its neighbourhood, may be reasonably regarded as an importation from Mathurā. As regards the rest, final judgment must be suspended till more positive evidence is available. Generally speaking, however, the images should be regarded as works of local artists, until the contrary is proved by satisfactory evidence. That the artistic traditions of the Kushāṇa period were not unknown to Eastern

India may be assumed on the evidence of the image No. 1 and other evidences.

2. *Gupta style*

The transition from the Kushāṇa to the Gupta style of sculpture is well marked, and the characteristic differences between the two are easy to define on the basis of the images of Buddha and Bodhisattva of the two styles. The heavy stolidity and earthliness of the Kushāṇa images offer a striking contrast to the "delicate, reposeful and intensely spiritual type of Buddha in the Gupta period."[56] It is not necessary for our present purpose to trace the different stages in the process of evolution which gradually led to the shifting of emphasis from the mere physical aspect to the spiritual concept of the divinity. For this is not illustrated by the sculptures in Bengal.

The Gupta sculpture is presented in its best form in the Buddha images of Śārnāth which may be said to be the product of the classical age and show the highest grade of excellence which the Indian art ever reached. It is also regarded as the best exponent of the artistic conception of the highest spiritual ideals in India. Its chief characteristics are not only a delicacy and refinement of form and a relaxed attitude indicated by the calmness of the face, the disposition of the two hands avoiding harsh angles at the elbows noticed in the Kushāṇa images, and, generally speaking, graceful pose of the body in place of the erect posture. In the words of R. P. Chanda "The Median line instead of being perpendicular and dividing the body into two exactly equal halves, bends into a graceful curve by the inclination of the torso to one side and throwing the weight of the body on one leg, so that one hip is slightly higher than the other."[57] This imparts to the form a degree of litheness and movement in refreshing contrast to the columnar rigidity of the images of Mathurā of the Kushāṇa period.

The Bengal sculptures of the Gupta age were inspired by the ideal of Sārnāth artists, but it is evident that they imparted to it something of their own, probably derived from earlier traditions which have left no visible trace. This modification is described by art critics as the "Eastern Trend" of Gupta art "distinguished by a vivacious emotion". Stella Kramrisch describes this as "the eastern version of the classical idiom of Sārnāth.[58] It is characterised by

an emotional feeling which even the sublimity of the Sārnāth inspiration fails to suppress. There is, at the same time, a subtle change in plastic content and the figures acquire thereby a sensuous import, hardly to be expected in the spiritual and impersonal creations of Sārnāth."[59]

So far as Bengal is concerned this "Eastern Trend" is illustrated by several examples :

1. Standing image of Buddha from Bihārail (Rajshahi Dt.). It is executed in Chunar sandstone, the material used in Sārnāth, and so closely resembles the images of Buddha found at that site (cf. close-fitting dress and general style) that it may be mistaken for the latter. It may be assigned to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[60]

2-3. The emotional trait, characteristic of the "Eastern Trend", which is subdued in No. 1, makes its appearance in the two Sūrya images, one from Kāsipur (24 Parganas Dt.) and the other from Deorā (Bogra Dt.).

These two Sūrya images also exhibit, from iconographical point of view, some development as compared with those of the Kushāṇa period noted above, such as the single wheel of the chariot, seated charioteer and two additional attendants, Ushā and Pratyūshā, to which reference has been made before. Both the figures show the chief traits of Gupta style, but 'in physiognomical form each reveals a certain sensuous grace'. They have been assigned 'to the sixth century A.D. in view of their resemblance with those of the panels of Daśāvatāra temple at Jhānsi.[61]

4. The gold-plated bronze image of Mañjuśrī from Mahāsthān (Bogra Dt.), now in the Museum of V.R.S. Rajshahi, also shows definite marks of Gupta style. This graceful, and exquisitely modelled figure is one of the best specimens of the Bengal school of sculpture of this period. Artistically viewed, it presents several features of special importance. Its simple naturalism and the paucity of ornaments offer a refreshing contrast to "the inordinate taste for over-ornamentation and complexity of design which became prominent factors in all artistic attempts of the later period." On these grounds the image has been referred to the sixth century A.D.[62] The image is of great interest for its gold-plating which shows an advanced skill in the casting of metal images. This is the earliest known gilt bronze so far discovered not only within the limits of Bengal but even in Eastern India. It is almost certain that there were earlier specimens, for otherwise it is difficult to explain the state of perfection reached

by this image, as evidenced by the fact that its gold-plating, though "thinner ever than an egg shell" still sticks to the surface (though it has peeled off in many places) after the lapse of nearly 1400 years.[63] With the exception of some sculptures fixed on the basement wall of the great temple at Pāhārpur, the date of which is a matter of dispute, the four figures, mentioned above, practically represent all that we know of the sculptures in Bengal exhibiting the idiom of Gupta art, namely, a combination of the sublime spiritualism and the emotionalism of its eastern version, as Stella Kramrisch puts it.[64]

Mention may also be made of stucco heads belonging to the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods excavated at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā (ancient Karṇasuvarṇa in Murshidabad Dt.).[65]

Reference may be made to some images which belong to the period of transition from the Gupta to the period of fully developed Bengal school of sculpture which took a definite shape during the Pāla-Sena period (8th to 12th century A.D.). First in point of date are two octo-alloy images unearthed together from Deulbāḍī (Tippera Dt.), and probably belong to the same period. The first is an inscribed image of Sarvāṇī (p. 78) of the time of the Khaḍga dynasty ruling in this region in the 7th century A.D. It may thus be definitely dated—a rare thing in the history of sculptures in Bengal. This image has been described above (p. 550). The second is a miniature of Sūrya in the Dacca Museum, shown as seated—a rather rare specimen. Another metal image of the same style is the image of Śiva standing erect, found at Manir Tat described above (p. 544). To the same period also probably belongs the Vishṇu image of Kākadīghi and, somewhat later, the Vishṇu-Vāmana image found in West Dinajpur and now in the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta assigned to the eighth-ninth century A.D. To the same period also belong three beautiful bronze images, two Buddhist and one of Gaṇeśa found at Rājbāḍīdāṅgā.

A small seated image of Tārā of about seventh century has been found amid the ruins of a Gupta temple at Karṇasuvarṇa (Rājbāḍīdāṅgā).[66] These images indicate, in their plastic form and content, an intermediate stage between the domination of the Gupta idiom of art and the growth of a distinct school of sculpture in which the regional trends and tendencies are clearly traceable. The marks of transition are thus described by S. K. Saraswati: "We find in the stiff and erect Sarvāṇī a likely antecedent of the conventional Pāla image. The surrounding rim to which the hands

of the goddess and other ill-fitting decorative devices serve as struts anticipates the stela composition of Pāla sculpture. The Śiva image from Manir Tat as well as the Vishṇu from Kākadīghi foreshadow also the composition of the conventional type of Pāla images. The Sūrya image with its composite elements of attendants, charioteer, horses, etc., represents not a very distant approach to the full-fledged stela composition of Pāla art. Some critics may condemn a Pāla sculpture as being stiff, rigid and conventional. But one should not forget that the more rigid lines of the main figure in the composition seem to be consciously contrasted with the flowing rhythm of the attendant figures, the vigour of the animal mount and of the decorative motifs. This characteristic of Pāla art is even now conspicuous in these seventh century images in which the rhythmic flexions of the female attendants in the image of Sarvāṇī, the vigour and spirited attitudes of Ūshā and Pratyūshā and of the horses in the Sūrya image offer pleasing contrasts to the stiff attitudes of the main deities, one standing perpendicularly erect in rigid *samapadasthānaka* and the other seated in clear *paryaṅka-bandha*. What later on came to be known as the Pāla type of image is clearly reflected in the images under notice, but as the term Pāla would be an anachronism they should be better termed as pre-Pāla."[66a]

III. SCULPTURES AT PĀHĀRPUR

Reference has been made above to the great temple at Pāhārpur. The lower part of the basement wall of this temple is decorated with sixty-three stone sculptures in a fair state of preservation. Before describing the subjects of these sculptures it is necessary to make a few general remarks.

In the first place, there is a great variation among these sculptures in regard to artistic style. Some of them follow the Gupta tradition of 'eastern version' referred to above, but many others, forming a majority of the group, show, according to K. N. Dikshit, S. K. Saraswati and others, "a distinct original tendency in which one may recognise the beginnings of the Bengali school."[67] Midway between the two there is another group which may be regarded as a compromise between the first two. It is noteworthy that the majority of each of these three groups use a distinct material, namely grey sandstone (Group I), bluish basalt (Group II) and black basalt (Group III).

Secondly, although the temple is built in a Buddhist monastery, the subject matter of almost all the sculptures is taken from the Brāhmaṇical religious literature.

Thirdly, and this is the most important of all, the distribution of the sculptures around the basement does not follow any systematic plan.

Thus while all the projecting angles (with one or two doubtful cases) have sculptured niches on both sides, the number of niches containing sculptures in the intermediate spaces between these angles widely vary, there being none in the north-western sector, only four each in the north-eastern and south-western, and quite a large number in the south-eastern.

Various suggestions have been made to explain this irregularity, but the most reasonable one seems to be the one expounded by S. K. Saraswati after discussing the weak points in other views. He observes :

"The foregoing analysis leads to the evident conclusion that the intermediate niches and scultpures, whether on the main walls or between the projecting angles, did not form part of the original plan, which admits of stone sculputures only at the angular projections, one on each face, as *pieces de accent*. Such an inference gains further strength when one finds that the sculptures in these projections are almost always of approximately the same height corresponding to the height of the plinth, executed in the same kind of material, pertain to the popular narrative themes (having hardly any cult significance), and belong to a popular idiom of art, quite distinguished from the classical and hieratic, but intimately related to the vast number of terracottas—undoubtedly part of the original decorative scheme—stylistically as well as iconographically. These sculptures, assignable to a period not earlier than the eighth century A.D., primarily as binding the corners of this stupendous brick monument, come in the logic of a well-planned decorative arrangement, and the construction of the monument in all its essential elements during the period of Dharmapāla may safely be postulated. The intermediate niches, mostly fitted in sculptures pertaining to the Brāhmaṇical faith, appear to have been provided for in later times to accommodate sculptures, as gathered from the earlier monuments at the site or in the neighbourhood. When one takes into consideration the eclectic nature of the Pāhārpur establishment in the later phases of its existence the subsequent fixing up of

Brāhmaṇical sculptures on the walls of the temple, avowedly belonging to a Buddhist establishment, might be attributed to the followers of the Brāhmaṇical faith who had already begun to frequent and even reside within the establishment.[68] During the long life of the Pāhārpur monastery, necessitating successive periods of repairs and renovations, it is only reasonable to apprehend that the existing niches were more than once disturbed and that even new ones were added. This may account for some, but only a few, sculptures of the second group now appearing at the corners, pieces that can be definitely recognised as belonging to the corners now filling up the intermediate niches, or reliefs belonging to the basement decoration being picked up from the upper levels of the monastic cells."[69]

On the basis of this theory we may now discuss the sculptures from the point of view of style and age.

It was at first held by both Dikshit and R. D. Banerji that the central temple at Pāhārpur with all the sculptures on the face of its walls was built in the sixth century A.D. There is, however, now a general consensus of opinion that the temple, along with the monastery surrounding it, was constructed by Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.). It is also agreed, as stated above, that the sculptures stylistically belong to different classes or categories. But some, not all, hold further that an analysis of them would show that the three groups belong to different chronological periods. Here, again, we may accept the views of Saraswati who is the chief exponent of the theory regarding the main characteristics of the style exhibited by each group.

The first group is represented by only a few specimens. The finest among them all is an amatory couple described by Dikshit as representing Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. But this identification is opposed by many on the ground that the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult cannot be traced back to the eighth century A.D. In view of the fact that many scenes from the traditional life of Kṛishṇa are depicted at Pāhārpur, the utmost that can be said is that the male figure represents Kṛishṇa. It has been suggested that in such a case the female figure may be Rukmiṇī or Satyabhāmā. Among other sculptures of this group may be mentioned the images of the river goddess Yamunā, Balarāma and Śiva.

The characteristics of this group from artistic point of view are analysed as follows :

"The bodily forms, though generally heavy, show a soft and

tender modelling and a refinement and delicacy of features. It is only in the so-called Rādhā-Kṛishṇa (?) sculpture that we find slender body types. In case of the male figure we usually find the broad chest smoothly gliding down to a narrow waist, whence in its downward course the line again bulges a little at the hips and gradually flows down to the pedestal in a soft and sensuous modelling of the legs. The bulging breasts and hips and the soft and graceful folds of the belly in case of the female figure add to the beauty of the female form. In linear scheme we have always a smooth and gliding rhythm which gives an impression of soft elasticity and pliability all through. The features are well defined and the forms well proportioned."[70]

The ornaments are simple and in good taste and there is no overcrowding as in the later sculptures. "Plastically, too, this group of sculptures at Pāhārpur exhibit charming features. The naivete, suavity and massiveness are all enlinked and synthetised into pleasing specimens of art which appear to be nearer to those of the best days of Gupta classical idiom. The drawing of the figures is generally spirited and the attitude is not only easy but graceful and the expression dignified. The smooth and gliding linear effect is also remarkable. The full round breasts and the bulging hips of the female figures do not affect at all the soft flowing line. In these sculptures the refined sensuousness of the eastern trend of the Gupta classical idiom is found to be fully valid together with a certain abstraction derived from the Sārnāth trend."[71]

The second group of sculptures, numbering 15, represent several scenes in boy Kṛishṇa's life, such as (1) uprooting the two Arjuna trees, (2) wrestling contest of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma with Chānūra and Mushṭika, the wrestlers of Kaṁsa, and (3) slaying of the demon Keśin. In addition there are images of Indra, Agni, Yama and Kuvera. There are several images of Śiva and at least one of Gaṇapati. The identification of three images is doubtful, as they have been identified, respectively, both as (1) Brahmā and Bṛihaspati, (2) Śiva and Chandra, and (3) Śiva or Manu.

The characteristic features of these sculptures are thus described:

"They are marked by a comparative heaviness all through. The bodily forms are usually flabby and distended. A certain definition of features is evidently there, but there is not the same refinement and delicacy as in the first group of sculptures. In form and proportion, too, these sculptures fail to reach the standard of

the first. Again, one misses in this group the gliding linear rhythm of the first, and at times the line seems to be sharply broken. Though the sculptures are sometimes marked by lively actions and movements (cf. the panel showing Kṛishṇa and Balarāma fighting with Chānūra and Mushṭika), in case of the simple standing figure there may be noticed a straightening and stiffening of the attitude, and the legs, with slight or no modelling, look more like columns supporting a rather heavy torso."[72]

While independent images form the majority of the second group, the narrative reliefs far exceed these in number in the third group. The sculptures are not well preserved due perhaps to the coarse material used, and it is not easy to identify or interpret them as the details are mostly worn away. Subject to this some of the sculptures may be identified as

(1) Devakī handing over new-born Kṛishṇa to Vasudeva.
(2) Vasudeva carrying the baby from Kaṁsa's prison to Gokula.
(3) Child Kṛishṇa tasting stolen butter.
(4) Sports of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma with cowherd boys.
(5) Kṛishṇa's dalliance with the cowherd girls.
(6) Kṛishṇa's slaying of Pralamba.
(7) Fight between Kṛishṇa and Arjuna in the well-known episode of the abduction of Subhadrā by the latter,—or the fight between Indrajit and Lakshmaṇa.
(8) Fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu over the abduction of Sītā by the former.
(9) Austerities of Triśira.
(10) Kṛishṇa's fight with Kaṁsa or meeting of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa with Bharata and Satrughna.
(11) A woman standing with crossed legs and holding branches of a tree with a child in her right, has been doubtfully interpreted as the scene of the birth of Gautama Buddha.

Apart from these doubtful cases there are two sculptures that may be definitely identified. One is the scene of Kṛishṇa's holding up Mount Govardhana, and an image of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, the only definitely Buddhist sculpture in Pāhārpur.

Among the miscellaneous subjects mention may be made of the following :

(1) Graceful female figures dancing in elegant poses, or apparently marking time in tune with dance by beating cymbals. There

are also other dancing scenes showing different poses described in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

(2) Several figures of the Dvārapālas.

(3) Several groups of amatory couples in one of which the male figure puts one hand round the neck of the female and presses her breast with the other. These are differentiated from the so-called Rādhā-Kṛishṇa figures mentioned above by the lack of restraint and elegance and the absence of halos over the heads.

The other sculptures represent a variety of subjects such as scenes of daily life of various types of people, popular stories, two ascetics absorbed in discussion, Kinnaras, Vidyādharas, scenes of fight, frolic, etc.

The following comments are made on the artistic style of the third group of sculptures by Saraswati :

"The figures are exceptionally heavy with neither the proportion nor the definition of form. In case of the single standing figures, which happily are not too many, the legs are perfect columns supporting in each case a rather heavy bust. The hands too look like staffs with arms and palms distorted to an extent. The execution and modelling are coarse and crude in the extreme. The features invariably are too harshly modelled and there is little or no attempt at all at transitional planes. Instead of the graceful and naturalistic folds of the belly, which we notice in the first and sometimes in the second group of sculptures, we have in this group extremely crude and schematic lines. The smooth and gliding linear rhythm is altogether lacking. The eyes are bulging and the mouth is perfectly crescent-shaped. The heavy drapery hangs down completely covering the body underneath or, in a majority of instances, we find on each figure a close-fitting garment, which looks like a pair of shorts, clinging fast to the waist and the thighs. Instead of the elegant girdles and ornaments and pleasing decorative designs that we see in the first group of sculptures, we have in the third crude and heavy imitations of the same. Quite surprisingly, however, these sculptures are almost invariably distinguished by the most lively action and naturalistic and unsophisticated expression." Saraswati further adds, "such a grouping as the above is unmistakable in the Pāhārpur sculptures, and in view of this varied contrast in workmanship and artistic quality, it is difficult to hold that all of them belong to a single period."[73]

In his opinion, the three groups which belonged to different periods of time and represent more or less gradual evolution of the Bengal school of art, may be referred, respectively, to the sixth, seventh, and eighth century, though it is regarded as possible that both the first and the second groups belong to the seventh century A.D.[74] He further suggests that while the first two groups show respectively pure and subdued Gupta plastic traits, the third group "represents a genuine and undiluted indigenous tradtion."[75]

IV. SCULPTURES OF THE PĀLA & SENA PERIODS

1. Introduction

As noted above, the sculpture of Bengal (as of many other regions of the rest of Northern India) up to the seventh century A.D. was profoundly influenced, and to a large extent inspired, by the traditions of the classical Gupta art, but local traditions and ideas gradually began to assert themselves from the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century A.D.

These ultimately led to the evolution of a regional school of sculpture with its own distinctive and characteristic features, which may be truly called the Bengal School of Sculpture. This art flourished from the eighth to the end of the Hindu rule at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. covering the periods of Pāla and Sena rule in Bengal.

There was no doubt transition and evolution during these four centuries, but the process of evolution was a continuous one through broad stages which have been clearly marked by art critics. It would be convenient, therefore, to begin with a brief account of the general features, followed by a short description of important specimens characteristic of each period, and conclude with general observations on the evolution of the artistic style.

2. General Features

Most of the sculptures are carved out of what is known as *Kashṭi-pāthar*, a sort of black stone, both fine and coarse-grained, quarried in the Rajmahal hills, the nearest and the most easily accessible source of stone from the point of view of the plains of Bengal. There are also metal images cast in brass or octo-alloy

(*ashṭadhātu*) of eight metals, namely, copper, tin, lead, antimony, zinc, iron, gold and silver. One or two gold and silver images are also known. The magnificent head from Deopārā is a special preparation of unburned clay, covered and made watertight with the help of *vajralepa*, a decoction of buffalo hide.[76] A figure carved in ivory and some wooden carvings have also come down to us. The large majority of stone-images, particularly those in the earlier period, are stelae carved in relief. But there was a gradually growing tendency to model in the round which reached its culmination only towards the end of the period. "The relief becomes more and more independent from the stelae background, so much so that sometimes single metal figures modelled in the round are connected only by struts with the back slab, and in stone stelae the back slab is cut along the edges of the central figures in order to give them an appearance of images in the round."[77]

'The sculpture of this period centres round the images of gods and goddesses represented as human figures, the delineation being regulated by canonical injunctions which, in effect, means a combined product of realism and abstraction with religious and sensuous suggestiveness. Following in the footsteps of Sanskrit poets the sculptors also made a conscious effort to exaggerate the masculinity of the male and femininity of the female figure. Shoulder of the male figure is broad like that of the bull, and the waist, slender like that of the lion, while the female figures have over-large round breasts and bulging hips. These features were the result of following the old artistic traditions sanctioned by the *sādhanamālā* and handed down from generation to generation. The exaggeration was the result of an attempt on the part of the artists to make the actual appearance conform, as far as possible, to the canonical regulations and abstract idea evolved from inner contemplation. The same idea which leads to exaggeration also accounts for suppression of details. The sinews and veins of most of the figures are made invisible in order to convey the idea of a superman, the placid face showing no signs of any worry or emotion, and the figure stands erect in an abstract posture of meditation or concentration. Sometimes, however, we come across portly figures of deities, while those of destructive nature like Chāmuṇḍā are made to appear as emaciated, almost a skeleton covered by veins. Further, not only the size of the whole figure but also that of each limb is regulated by canonical directions. Although realistic anatomical details are generally suppressed in Indian art, the Pāla and Sena

sculptures not unoften exhibit the supple roundness of the flesh or soft fleshliness. The scanty and almost transparent garments were intended to show as much as possible of the firm skin of the body, with its smooth surface of sensuous satisfaction. For the same purpose, the static body of single figures, standing stiffly on both legs like the trunk of a tree, is sometimes shown in seated or reclining postures (*vajraparyaṅka* motive).[78] This was facilitated by the canonical conception of the different poses of the body and the *mudrā* or attitude of hands. But whatever the attitude—animated or violent —the facial expression always indicates calmness and bliss.

The stela containing the divine image is designed like a throne. It has a plinth, with one or more projections on which are carved, along with other decorations, the figures of the devotees and the *vāhana* of the deity and the lotus flowers on which the god rests. At first, only a simple *prabhāvali* surrounded the deity, but gradually the ornamentation grew richer and richer by the introduction of leogryph, *kinnara* or *haṁsa* motives on the sides of the throne and above its lintel which terminated in *makara*-devices. A halo and *gandharvas* flying in the clouds are placed above the figure of the main deity and on his right and left. He occupies the central position of the stela with the smaller figures of attendant deities seated on lotus pedestals on either side.

"In the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, the accompanying elements, in spite of their seeming exuberance and sensuous luxuriousness, maintain a balance, but in the twelfth, not unoften they simply overwhelm the main figures by their overgrowth."[79]

3. *Stages of Evolution*

a. INTRODUCTION

The number of images which bear a definite date during the period 800 to 1200 A.D. is very few and may be listed as follows with approximate date according to the chronology adopted in this book (pp. 161-2)

1. Rajibpur (Dinajpur Dt.) Image of Sadāśiva (c. 953 or 1150 A.D.) (B. 62).
2. Baghaura (Tippera Dt.) Image of Vishṇu (c. 991 A.D.) (B. 36).
3. Kulkuḍi (Faridpur Dt.) Image of Sūrya (c. 1021 A.D.) (B. 86)

4. Betkā (Dacca Dt.) Image of Vāsudeva (c. 1032 A.D.) (B. 87).
5. Paikor (Birbhum Dt.) Image of Manasā (C. 3) (during the reign of Vijayasena doubtfully identified with the Sena King of that name who ruled from c. 1095 to c. 1158 A.D.)
6. Dacca Image of Chaṇḍī (c. 1181 A.D.) (C. 10)

Thus of the hundreds of images, so far discovered, the dates of only four (2, 3, 4, 6) are definitely known, and those of two others are very doubtful. Of these No. 1 is placed by some scholars about the middle of the tenth century while others refer it to the middle of the twelfth. The dating of No. 5 depends upon the very uncertain question about the identification of king Vijayasena.

It is thus quite clear that all the views about the approximate dates of the sculptures and the gradual evolution of artistic style depend upon a theoretical assessment of the stylistic trend. It is, therefore, difficult to accept the following statement of S. K. Saraswati based on the known dates of Nos. 1-4, and 6. "These furnish us with five milestones from about 990 A.D. to 1180 A.D., and help us to determine the stylistic trend with more or less certainty."[80]

It is true that there are many images found in Bihar which are dated in the regnal years of the Pāla kings, and the writer, quoted above, thinks that the conclusion based upon the five dated images of Bengal "is further reinforced by dated images from Bihar" which also enable us to determine the chronological sequence of sculptures in Bengal during the period 800 to 990 A.D. for which no dated image is available. But the same writer admits, a few lines later, that "the stylistic evolution in Bihar does not exactly correspond to that in Bengal" and rightly points out that "in Bihar the Gupta tide and tradition persist for a longer period than in Bengal proper, where the regional element asserts itself with power and strength earlier than was the case in Bihar. There is also a considerable difference in facial features, emotional characteristics and decorative details."[81]

There seems to be no doubt that other art critics who have discussed the evolution of Pāla and Sena sculptures have relied largely on the images of the Pāla period found in Bihar.[82] The conclusions they have reached should thus more properly be regarded as applicable to the Pāla sculptures in general, and, specifically speaking, to those of Bihar rather than Bengal.

Subject to these general observations, we may proceed to give a short account of the evolution of sculptures in Bengal during

800-1200 A.D. In view of the paucity of materials, the opinions are bound to differ and the following account is based on the views of the latest writer on the subject.

b. NINTH CENTURY A.D.

No dated image of this period is found in Bengal, but a large number of such stone and metal images has been found in Bihar. The following images in Bengal are referred to this period.

1. Vishṇu on Garuḍa, Lakshmankāṭi (Barisal) (Private collection)
2. Clay head, Kalinjar (Bogra Dt.) (Rajshahi Museum)
3. Tārā, Mangalbari (Dinajpur Dt.) (Do)
4. Vārāhi, (Hooghly Dt.). (*Ind. Arch.* 1955-6, p. 62)

"These are modelled so as to suggest the soft texture of the flesh and skin. The general tendency is one of the fulness of modelling. In some, however, this fulness becomes somewhat stiff and coagulated. It is difficult to say whether this denotes the work of a later generation or not. A calm contemplation is on every face, but the modelling of the fleshly body invariably reveals a contented sensuousness. The shape of the stelae is generally half-round at the top, occasionally with slight suggestions of a pointed end. The folds of garments cling to the body like a wet sheet, and their folds are indicated by schematic and parallel scratches or ridges with a diaper pattern of rosettes or of lozenge-shapes."[83]

c. TENTH CENTURY

To this period have been assigned the following images, among others.

1. Lokeśvara Śiva, Barisal (A.M.)
2. Garuḍa, Nagail (Rajshahi Dt.) (R. M.)
3. Jambhala, Sukhbaspur (Dacca Dt.). (In situ)
4. Manasā (N. Bengal) (I. M.)
5. Tārā, Dondai (Rajshahi Dt.) (R. M.)
6. Manasā, Khidrapalli (Rajshahi Dt.) (R. M.)
7. Varāha, Silimpur (Bogra Dt.) (R. M.)
8. Indrāṇī Paogachha (Bogra Dt.) (R .M.)
9. Buddha, Ujani (Faridpur Dt.) (In situ)
10. Ṛishabhanātha, Surohar (Dinajpur Dt.) (R. M.)

11. Mahishamardiṇī (Hooghly Dt.) (*Ind. Arch.* 1955-6, p. 62).
12. Seated Gaja-Lakshmī. (*Ind. Arch.* 1957-8, p. 72)
13. Seated Bronze Buddha, Maynamati, (Tippera Dt.) (Ibid)
14. Vishṇu, Navagram (Murshidabad Dt.) (Ibid)

Generally speaking, "the tenth century retains the quality of the ninth." But the following distinctive features may be noted :

"Out of the soft fleshliness controlled within definite outlines the 10th century evolves a powerfully massive form of the body which is shaped with a disciplined vigour, and shows a conscious strength that seems to swell the outline from within (Nos. 1-9 above). In some instances this is controlled by a strict discipline even to the extent of petrification of the flesh, but in most cases it is a soft and tender discipline and the vigour is spread out into the surface. This vigour transformed the softness of the fleshly form into mighty majestic roundness. Almost all specimens are moulded into high relief and the trunk and limbs are all pregnant with the subdued vigour of a mighty form. Throughout the century Pāla art retains this quality."[84]

d. ELEVENTH CENTURY

The following images, among others, are referred to this period.

1. Sūrya, Jora (Rajshahi Dt.). (R. M.)
2. Surya, Kulkuḍi (Faridpur Dt.). Dated
3. Buddha, Śivabāṭi (Khulna Dt.). (In situ)
4. Vāsudeva, Betka (Dacca Dt.) Dated
5. Vishṇu, Baghaura (Tippera Dt.) Dated
6. Hṛishīkeśa, Sāgardīghi (Murshidabad Dt.) (V.S.P.M.)
7. Gajalakshmī, Belāmlā (Bogra Dt.) (R. M.)
8. Sarasvatī, Chhātingrām (Bogra Dt.) (R. M.)
9. Mañjuśrī, Bhangor (24 Parganas) (A. M.) *Ind. Arch.* 1955-6, pp. 61-2

10.-11. Two Bronze images of Vishṇu (Murshidabad Dt.)

12. Chlorite statue of a bearded royal personage (?) with family and attendants, from Contai (Midnapore Dt.). *Ind. Arch.* 1957-8, p. 72.

According to Saraswati the dated image No. 5 above (c. 991 A.D.) "may be taken as stylistic index of specimens for the next three or four generations. The deep broad outlook of the 10th century becomes somewhat thin and circumscribed, and the elegance of the

slender bodily type gradually becomes more evident. The legs have stiffened to a great extent and given up all elasticity, even in postures that suggest movement; the knees are still modelled but not so perfectly as in the 9th century specimens; they tend to be indicated by an incised curved line. The upper trunk, with its liveliness of graduated modelling and a face with a blissful happy expression, is, however, in striking contrast with the lower part of the body. Accessories, namely, the attendant divinities, the architectonic decorations, the flying *gandharvas*, the motives on the slab, and the ornaments decorating the main and accompanying figures become more independent, and they have all an equal share in the general effect of the stelae. They introduce a sort of liveliness which is still kept in balance, but is already on its way to overwhelm the main figure by their sumptuousness. The emphasis on the decorative aspect is, clear, which, with the progress of time, gradually tends to be almost playful, and later on, voluptuous in its formal treatment and appearance. Curls of hair and fluttering scarves are on their way to increase, and deep perpendicular and oblique cuts introduce a full display of light and shade. Independence of ornaments, the flexions of the accompanying figures and playfulness of the rich decorations keep on increasing round iconographic conventions. The bodily form becomes stereotyped, but the elegance of the modelling is retained throughout the century; the facial type is fully expressive of sensitiveness, and whatever its shape, is enlivened by a downward stroke of the chin, full round lips and heavily-laden eyes. The garments are set as within ridges against the modelling of the body, and in some specimens the hem of the robe is modelled with tenderness and with wavy curves. In some specimens one also notices eye-brows that have double curves, bending once more towards their outer ends; this accentuates the sensitiveness of the eyes which in the images of the next century becomes more and more effective. The stela is either rounded or pointed at the top, but already its division into three or four architectonic parts becomes clear. The pedestal forms a definite unit; the main figure rises up from the pedestal in one plastic mass: but the back slab with its accompanying figures and accessory decorations is treated in separate masses controlled within different architectonic units. The compositional scheme is thus well-determined, and within this scheme there is an ever-growing attempt at introducing liveliness with the help of flexions of the body, decorations of ornaments which gradually

dissolve into single items very delicately chiselled, and elaborate display of light and shade with the help of deep cuts, either oblique or perpendicular or both."[85]

e. Twelfth Century

The following images, among others, may be referred to this period.

1. Chaṇḍī, Dacca. Dated *In situ.*
2. Vishṇu, Rangpur (I. M.).
3. Gaṅgā, Deopara (Rajshahi Dt.) (R. M.).
4. Vajrāsana Buddha, Barrackpur (24 Parganas). *Ind. Arch.* 1957-8. p. 72.
5. Harihara Pitāmaha, Navagrām (Murshidabad Dt.) (Ibid, 89).
6. Multi-armed Vishṇu Lokeśvara from Sanchra (Dt. Burdwan) (Ibid, 72).
7. Śiva-Īśāna, Byabatterhāṭ (Dt. Midnapore) (Ibid).
8. Seated Sadāśiva from West Dinajpore (Ibid).

The characteristics of the style of this period have been thus summed up :

"The slender bodily type and the formal treatment of the preceding century are retained, but the modelling becomes a bit more petrified (Vishṇu, Rangpur). The sensitiveness of the facial expression disappears and is replaced by a serious heaviness ; the modelled eyebrows seem to exist without any significance, merely for decoration ; the legs have become almost column-like without any elasticity, and are decorated by an incised round line to indicate the knee. The relief in three or four architectonic units is covered by dense and heavy multitudes of accompanying figures and decorative details which grow more and more sumptuous and elaborate, and ultimately cover the compositional scheme altogether. Not only the modelling but also the volume becomes petrified and gradually loses its plastic significance. Ornaments are inordinately lavish and sumptuous, and do not seem to be connected organically with the figures. The accessories and ornaments, independent by themselves, are exaggerated to the utmost. They lose their significance and degenerate into decorations. The flexions of the body become extended to their utmost limit ; bends to their last possibilities are

employed ; but the expression of movement is only that of pattern without any suggestiveness.... The facial features, in spite of voluptuous and full curly lips and doubly-curved eye-brows and smiling expression, become pointed, almost to a triangle, and rigid, without any deep spiritual significance. The blissfully happy and glowing expression of meditation that had been attained in the preceding centuries is now laden with a moist expression of heavy enjoyment of deep pleasure of a past moment (cf. No. 1, above, the Chaṇḍī Image of the 3rd year of Lakshmaṇasena). One, however, notices here and there signs of a new artistic inspiration, of new creativeness amid a degenerate system that was already on its way to suffocation by worldly exuberance. A spontaneous power of modelling in a completely round form inspires a tough and vigorous artistic form in some rare specimens, and in spite of sumptuousness of ornaments and a precise outline it reveals a conscious dignity and strength, a freshness of elementary experience that could yet save the art from final stagnation (Gaṅgā, Deopara). But that was not to be. Left to itself, the art could perhaps yet find out new channels or new experiences, but all chances were set at rest by the rapid rush of Islam."[86]

The writer starts with the observation that "the stylistic index of the 12th century is supplied by two images, one of Sadāśiva from Rājibpur inscribed in the reign of Gopāla III and another of Chaṇḍī from Dacca."[87] As mentioned above (pp. 164-5), the former is more probably to be referred to the reign of Gopāla II who ruled about 991 A.D. and not of Gopāla III whose reign falls about the middle of the 12th century. A generalisation of twelfth century images based on the style of an image which was very likely two centuries earlier shows the weakness of the conclusions. Curiously enough, the general description of the style of the twelfth century, quoted above, does not seem at all applicable to the Rājibpur image. But this one instance is sufficient to warn us against placing too much reliance on generalisation of style of a particular period. At the same time we should not ignore the fact that in the absence of a sufficient number of dated images, such theoretical generalisation on the basis of style is the only means left to us to form even a rough idea of the gradual process of evolution. Of course, we should remember, also, that the style is not always evolved in a regular manner, and local and personal factors often play a prominent part in it.

4. Terracottas

In all climes and countries the artistic instinct of primitive man to make images of visible objects must have led him to select clay as the proper material. For it was easily available without incurring any cost, and it was the most tractable one—that is to say, one could give it any desirable shape far more easily than was possible in the case of any other material within reach of man, such as wood, stone or metal. There was only one serious objection against using clay as a plastic material, namely the short tenure of its life. This was partially removed by hardening the soft clay image by exposing it to the sun or burning it by fire.

The latter process also enabled man to prepare the mould so that a large number of the same image could be easily produced,—a very important point from commercial point of view. All this led to the evolution of what is known in art as 'terracotta.'

It may be easily taken for granted that this art must have flourished in hoary antiquity in the riverain plains of Bengal, where all kinds of clay suitable for good type of terracotta are within easy reach of everybody. But the earliest specimens of terracotta with artistic design, so far found in Bengal, that may be dated on grounds of style, cannot be placed long before the Maurya period.

It is also easy to imagine—what is verified by actual discoveries—that terracottas served various purposes, from objects of children's play to decoration of religious and other edifices. Accordingly, they must have been the products of skill varying in degrees from the childish and most primitive form of dolls to the finest specimen of artistic skill vying with the best stone or metal sculptures in point of duration and artistic style.

The terracotta was primarily a folk art and portrayed the familiar things and scenes such as human beings, birds, animals, floral and vegetal motifs, life of the rural people, their activities, religious beliefs, various occupations, and popular tales. These are depicted mostly in primitive or crude form, but occasionally we also find fine figures—objects of beauty for beauty's sake—showing the true instinct of a real artist. The terracottas have accordingly been divided into two broad groups. The first, which forms the great majority, belongs to the primitive type, specimens of which go back to the Indus Valley civilisation and may be seen even today, specially in villages and in the *melās* i.e., gatherings on festive occa-

sions. The other type, though not large in number, reminds us that there were possibly unknown and even undeveloped artistic genius who has left some imperishable memorial of his latent artistic genius in these images of perishable materials.[88]

The oldest specimens of the first type are the two exotic terracotta human heads (one with pointed helmet, and both with exaggerated chin) found in the course of the excavation at Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi (see pp. 27 ff.) at a level which has been referred to the pre-historic period.[89] Another terracotta piece having the shape of the forepart of a bull with a fan-shaped hump and perforated mouth, found at Harinārāyanpur, has been claimed to be proto-historic.[90] Terracottas have been found almost in every ancient site all over Bengal which has been excavated. The following report in the *Indian Archaeology* for discoveries during a single year (1955-6) would give a fair idea of the occurrence of terracottas.

"Continued search at Tamluk yielded further terracotta plaques of Suṅga and Kushān periods, some of them depicting Jātaka-scenes, and an inscribed seal with a seated Devī image of the early Pāla period. A terracotta female head was recovered from Panna in the Silavati Valley (pl. LXXIA), a series of terracotta heads from Raghunathbari in Midnapore District and early terracotta figurines and pottery, including the Rouletted Ware, from Bachri in Howrah District and Harinārāyanpur in 24 Parganas. From Tilda, District Midnapore, came a unique object, viz., a terracotta piece with three lines of Greek inscription, the middle line of which, according to Father P. Turmes, S. J., of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, may mean that the terracotta was an offering to the 'East Wind and the Dawn', i.e., 'the East Wind that comes with the Dawn'."[91]

Prof. S. K. Saraswati has observed :

"The wealth and variety of terracotta objects discovered within recent years from different sites in lower Bengal are considerable. To these may be added the objects that had been previously found from Mahāsthān, Bāngarh and Birol in North Bengal, Sābhār in Dacca (East Bengal), Gītagrām and Rāṅgāmāṭī in Murshidābād and a few other sites in different regions of Bengal."[92]

One of the oldest specimens of a terracotta, showing a high degree of artistic excellence, is a female figure in rich dress and decorated with elaborate jewellery, found at Tamluk (the ancient seaport of Bengal—Tāmralipti) along with some cast coins, and exhibited in a monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in 1888.

But after a few years it disappeared and was recently rediscovered in the Indian Institute at Oxford (England). Even after its rediscovery its original findspot was unknown until E. H. Johnston of Oxford wrote an article on it with a photograph. Its identity with a photograph of the Tamluk image, exhibited in the Asiatic Society (of which a photo was fortunately published in the Society's Journal) left no doubt that the long-lost terracotta figure—a priceless heritage of Bengal's ancient art—was the image at Oxford described by Johnston, which was wrongly believed by him and many others to have been found at Kauśāmbī.[93]

The following extract from Johnston's description would give a general idea of the figure.

"The head-dress is elaborate ; the hair itself seems to be enclosed in a close-fitting bonnet (or fillet), bordered with four rows of beads and terminating in two flower tassels, the frontal hair being just visible..... On each side of the bonnet are two turban-like rolls of cloth, each bound with a belt and highly ornate. The left-hand one, which is the larger in accordance with the usual practice of this class of figure, is made up of five vertical strips with dependent tassels or strings of beads at regular intervals, while the right-hand one appears to be in a single piece, embellished with six rows of a flower ornament between which are strings of beads. Stuck into the latter are five emblems..... Their exact identification would perhaps help us to guess whom the figure represents. The lowest is an *aṅkuśa*....and the middle one an axe. The two on each side of the latter are of the *triśūla* shape."[94] Two similar terracottas are also known, and said to have been found at Kauśāmbī. Fragments of two other terracottas have been found at Tamluk which show close resemblance to the one described above. Closely allied terracottas have been discovered at Harinārāyanpur and Berachampā (Chandraketugarh) in Bengal. It has been reasonably presumed that all these terracottas were the products of Bengali artists and the type is characteristic of Bengal or at least Lower Bengal to which belong all the specimens whose find-places are known with certainty.[95]

The beautiful specimen from Tamluk has been assigned to the second century B.C. on fairly reasonable grounds. But there is a great deal of uncertainty about its identification. Kramrisch describes it as an *apsaras* (celestial damsels of easy virtue famous for their power of enchanting men, particularly hermits and sages),

and identifies this particular one as Pañchachūḍā, who arose out of the churning of the ocean, according to a well-known Purānic legend. Johnston takes the image to be a mother-goddess whose çult was prevalent in Near East and extended over a large area of the ancient world. His view is based on the reference in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 1820 to an Indian Mother Goddess Maiya who is invoked as bringing the flood in the Ganges and was worshipped in the Gangetic basin as a goddess specially associated with rain and fertility. She may be the same as the goddess named Māyā in the *Saundarānanda Kāvya* of Aśvaghosha.[96]

Tamluk has proved to be a rich quarry for ancient terracottas, and has so far yielded a large number in addition to the one described above. A terracotta female figurine found there has been tentatively assigned to the Maurya age. Another male figure, assigned to the Śuṅga period, with two wings on the shoulders, has been found there. He holds two stalks with lotus blossoms and wears ear-studs, a heavy neck collar, and bracelets. Other beautiful and typical terracotta figurines of 3rd—2nd centuries B.C. and terracottas, assigned to the 3rd—4th century A.D., showing Kushāṇa and Gupta influence, and the lower part of "superb terracotta figurine characterized by a graceful modelling and transparent drapery of the early Gupta period" have also been found at Tamluk.[97] A terracotta female figurine like that of the Maurya period at Tamluk, mentioned above, has been found at Pokharna (Bankura Dt.) [98] A few other terracottas of the Śuṅga-Kushāṇa periods including *yakshiṇīs* and a plaque depicting a damsel dancing before a throned personage have also been found at Tamluk.[99] The excavations at Chandraketugarh (Berachampā, 24 Parganas Dt.) and many other sites like Harinārāyanpur have yielded a rich treasure of terracottas some of which have been assigned to the pre-Mauryan period. Though such antiquity has no sure basis to stand upon, there is no doubt that a very large collection of terracottas, of varied character, some of them exhibiting a high degree of artistic merit, have been found, which may be reasonably placed between the second century B.C. and the sixth century A.D. or even later. Among the most notable ones may be mentioned the following :

1. Female figures and *yakshiṇīs* with elaborate head-dress tentatively assigned to the Maurya period.
2. To the Śuṅga period may be assigned a royal couple on a

caparisoned elephant led by a *Mahout* (driver), a scene probably depicting the Dummedha Jātaka, a figure closely resembling the Tamluk female figure (now at Oxford described above), winged male and female figures (generally regarded as images of *yakshas* and *yakshiṇīs* a class of demigods).

3. To the Kushāṇa period may be assigned a royal personage (?) in a chariot driven by a pair of bulls, a headless warrior, exquisitely moulded figurines showing elaborate coiffure and drapery, and an erotic plaque.
4. To the Śuṅga-Kushāṅa periods may be assigned some terracottas characterised by distinctive costumes and jewellery —noteworthy among them the *dampati* plaque, a toy cart with a divine couple under a shrine, unusual female figure holding a pair of fish, a plaque showing two warriors in Graeco-Roman cuirass throwing round and square coins, and a plaque with *Kinnaras* and *dikpālas*. Terracottas depicting ships with masts probably also belong to this period.[100]
5. To the Gupta period may be assigned "a unique terracotta plaque representing a richly adorned dancing male figure." Terracottas of the typically Gupta period include a unique piece in the round with applied eye-balls, pinched-up nose and ears and outspread ornamented short hands shown up to the waist."[101] Some terracotta moulds and an inscribed seal also belong to this period.

Terracottas have been found in many other places in Bengal. In addition to *yakshas* and *yakshiṇīs*, other divine beings and *mithuna* (couple of men and women) are also represented on terrcotta plaques. More interesting are the numerous plaques containing narrative reliefs, some of which have been identified with well-known stories like the hunting scene of Dushyanta, immortalised by Kālidāsa in his drama *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*, and Jātaka stories (of the previous lives of Buddha).

The number of terracotta plaques, even of the early period, before the birth of Christ, is quite large, and these have been discovered in various sites, almost all over Bengal. These were all cast from moulds, of which a few have come to light, and the similarity of several figures in a site indicate that moulds were prepared for many castings, probably on a commercial scale. It is not unlikely, therefore, that a terracotta plaque may belong to a period much later than that indicated by its style, but the

age of the original which bore that style itself remains undisturbed.

The chief characteristics of the terracottas during the early centuries of the Christian era are the introduction of new ethnic types, representing the racial influx of the period, and an improvement in the plastic idiom resulting in a physical form, slender and refined, and with rounded features, melting planes and flowing contours. The drapery is entirely diaphanous, and the figurines usually stand in extremely flexible attitudes unknown in the earlier epoch. A fragmentary terracotta female figurine of the Kushāṇa period found at Birol (Rajshahi Dt.) belonging to this period has been described as follows :

"The face is a perfect oval, the eyes are wide open and the cheeks rounded and full. The lady wears a short necklace which has two taurine ornaments just over the breasts. The spherical breasts, the sensitive modelling of the back lend to the figure an effect of warm and sensuous beauty, the distinguishing characteristic of the Mathura *yakshinīs*."[102]

The terracottas of the Gupta period are comparatively much fewer in number, and some of them fully exhibit "all the refined traits of the Gupta plastic tradition, but the style is more human and less hieratic and the spiritual experience is less intense."[103] A terracotta sealing with the legend *Śrī Bhadrasya* in late Gupta characters and a terracotta Jain figurine have been found at Tilda (Midnapore Dt.). A terracotta with Buddhist creed inscribed in characters of the eleventh century has been found at Rāṅgāmāṭi[104]

A small terracotta figure of Buddha found at Pānnā (Midnapore Dt.) is thus described : The Buddha is "fully draped with the folds of the drapery indicated by shallow curved lines. The head is surrounded by a halo and within the halo are representations of foliage, indicating apparently the foliage of the Bodhi tree. The Bodhi tree is usually associated with the images of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* signifying his enlightenment. The presence of foliage in a representation of the incident of the preaching of the first sermon seems to be inexplicable. The plaque bears several characters in Gupta Brāhmī script of the fourth-fifth century A.D."[105] Some interesting terracotta plaques have been recently discovered in Deulpota and Harinārāyanpur (24 Parganas Dt.). Two particular types are specially noteworthy.

The first depicts both male and female busts and heads with peculiar style of hair-dressing.

The second depicts a woman with a baby in arms—perhaps representing female nurses in charge of babies of royal and aristocratic families, referred to in the *Divyāvadāna*. These have been found in many ancient sites in North India, and referred to the Gupta period.[105a]

New ethnic types are found in several terracottas of the period. One found at Tamluk belongs to a type "unknown in the vast range of Indian terracotta art, the likely parallels of which are to be found in the figures of the temple boys of ancient Greece. A Hellenistic physiognomy, discernible to a certain extent in the treatment of the face and of the body, and Hellenistic dress may indicate a foreign impression."[106] Another terracotta, also from Tamluk, shows two male heads whose treatment probably follows "a simplified version of that of the Roman portrait figures." The head and bust of a figure in a third terracotta at Tamluk also show an un-Indian feature. All these are explained by the fact that Tamluk represents the ancient Tāmralipti, an international port of maritime trade where the Bengali artists probably got new ideas from their intercourse with foreigners.[107]

An innovation is noticed in the preparation of large-sized terracotta plaques which were evidently used for decorating brick temples. Another innovation of the same nature is the perforation at the top of plaques indicating that they were used as pieces of decoration hung on the wall. A human couple, evidently engaged in love-making, on a medallion shaped like a lotus flower is a good illustration of the former.[108]

Another innovation during this period is the use of stucco as a medium of artistic expression and a head of this material found at Rāṅgāmāṭi is a good illustration.[109]

The above account would give a general idea of the terracotta art from the pre-historic to the Gupta period. But this type of art activity continued unabated at least during the next five centuries. This is proved by the terracottas of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. unearthed by the excavations at Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā (ancient Karṇasuvarṇa)[110] and other places.

But by far the most important series of terracottas are those found during the excavations at Pāhārpur, to which reference has been made above (p. 613). About three thousand terracotta plaques once adorned the Great Temple, but of these only a small percentage is now found *in situ*, while a larger percentage was found lying

about, and a still larger percentage has been destroyed, the fragments of which were found scattered about the excavated ruins of the temple. But even the comparatively small number of terracotta plaques that have survived are of very great importance from two points of view. 'Technically, they represent a "local and indigenous trend," whereas hitherto the art showed "the classical and hieratic trends" prevailing in the rest of Northern India.' Secondly, it is mainly an art of the common people depicting visually the life of ancient Bengal in such abundant details, as can be gleaned from no other source, literary or archaeological. Indeed, collectively, they may well be said to form a veritable museum of everyday life in Bengal in the post-Gupta and Pāla periods, depicting in a vivid manner the different types and classes of men and women, their dresses, activities, occupations, social life with all its joys and sorrows, their sports, pastimes, amusements and entertainments, religious faiths and beliefs, divine and semi-divine images, popular tales and other stories current among the common people, etc., as well as the animals, birds, fish etc. familiar to them. For a detailed account reference must be made to the Report of the Excavations at Paharpur,[111] Chapter V, and the corresponding illustrations. A short account under different broad headings is given below :

a. Dress

The usual dress of men consisted of a short *dhoti*, reaching the knee, and an upper scarf, though sometimes the *dhoti* is long enough to reach the ankles in graceful folds, one end of which is tucked up behind as a *kāchhā*—a remarkable similarity with the present dress of the common Bengalis. Women usually wore *Śāḍīs*, but in some instances shorts or long drawers are also noticed. Shoes as well as head-dress were lacking, but we notice elaborate coiffeurs of both men and women. "Men wore their hair long with thick tresses falling on the shoulder, tied a knot on the top and had curls or ringlets on the forehead kept in place by a neat fillet. Women had their hair gathered in a bunch at the back or arranged it fan-wise behind the head. Both men and women put on ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, armlets, girdles, anklets, and ear-rings of different kinds."[112]

b. Different types of men

The most interesting type is furnished by the figures of primitive men and women belonging to the Śabara tribe. The men wear a number of leaves, bound by a string, which hardly cover their nudity, but put on a cuirass for the breast, and sometimes are shown with bows in hands and quivers at their back. The Śabara woman also wears nothing but a string of leaves round her waist, but sometimes cover her breast with leaves or a narrow long strip of cloth with ends tied on the back, also a garland of leaves across her shoulders. She is represented as wielding a bow, or holding a child and dagger in her hands, or carrying a dead deer. Several Śabara couples are depicted in amorous posture, and some of the scenes are very carefully executed.

Ascetics or mendicants are a favourite theme. Sometimes they are represented with long beards, their bodies bent and in some cases reduced to skeletons, carrying staff in hand and their bowls or other earthly possessions hanging from the two ends of a pole which they carry on their shoulders.

Military activities are displayed by figures of male and female warriors clad in coats of mail and carrying *gadā* (stout club), sword, dagger, and shield, as well as archers seated in four-wheeled chariots, singly or facing each other in two adjacent plaques as if they were actually engaged in battle.

c. Amusements and Entertainments

Men and women are depicted as dancing in various poses and singing, beating time on pitchers, handling drums or tabors (*mṛidanga*), playing on *vīṇā* (lute) and flute, blowing trumpets, etc. Hobbies such as fishing, hunting and various acrobatic feats, figures of men and women in various postures and engaged in various occupations such as women drawing water from well or carrying pitchers of water are very common. A manuscript on a tripod and a canoe like a small craft used by fishermen indicate that the highest as well as the lowest professions of men were within the purview of the artists.

Story-telling must have been a favourite entertainment. The Purānic story of the royal sage Triśaṅku as well as popular stories

from the *Pañchatantra* are illustrated in the terracotta plaques. Even stories not found in the *Pañchatantra*, but evidently based on Aesop's Fables, are illustrated.

There are also scenes of love-making but they are not obscene.

d. Religious Ideas

A large number of legends of Kṛishṇa's life are depicted (as is also the case with the sculptures of Pāhārpur), testifying to the popularity of the Kṛishṇa cult. The scenes of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in exile with Sūgriva indicate the popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or Rāma legend. There are many images of Śiva, Śivaliṅga (sometimes four-faced), Brahmā, Vishṇu, Gaṇeśa, and probably also of Sūrya. Images of Buddha are depicted in different *mudrās*, but those of Bodhisattvas far outnumber them. Among other divine and semi-divine figures may be mentioned Tārā (some with high plastic quality), Gandharvas (in one case riding a rhinoceros), Vidyādharas, etc.

e. Animal world

The animal world represented in the terracotta plaques at Pāhārpur may be regarded as "fairly complete so far as the fauna of Bengal is concerned. We find successful life-like representations of elephant, buffalo, antelope, caparisoned horse, galloping mare, camel (including Bactrian variety with double hump), couchant and running bull, cow and a calf, goat, etc. Monkeys are among the most popular themes. Among the wild animals the lion and the bear are easily the most widely figured, and there are scenes of man's combat with lion, or of lions on elephants. The tiger is comparatively rare, but we find rhinoceros. Smaller animals, such as hare, tortoise, mongoose, otter, porcupine, lizard and mice, as well as birds such as duck or goose, parrot, peacock, etc., are also depicted. There are fishes shown with a chain, and also two fishes crossing each other, which is regarded as an auspicious symbol. The tortoise and crocodile also occur.

From about the end of the Pāla period terracottas depicting human figures, animal, bird and vegetal motifs become very rare and walls of temples, unlike those at Pāhārpur, seem to have been decorated with ornamental motifs in painted or plain stucco plaster.

The antiquity of the terracotta art in Bengal poses an intriguing

problem. As stated above, terracottas showing a high degree of artistic skill were produced in Bengal in the 3rd century B.C., or even earlier, yet no stone sculpture assignable to a date before the Christian era, has yet been found, and it has been doubted whether even the few earliest sculptures were produced in Bengal or were imported from outside. The terracottas prove that the plastic art had made great progress in Bengal long before the beginning of the Christian era. This not only furnishes an argument in support of the local origin of the early pre-Gupta sculptures so far found in Bengal, but also makes it highly probable that the stone sculptures were also not unknown ; but owing to the paucity of the material the number of such sculptures was very small and they have disappeared.

V. PAINTING

Literary evidence leaves no doubt that the art of painting was cultivated in India from remote antiquity for decorating walls of houses, and life-like portraits are referred to in the Pāli canonical texts as well as in the Epics and dramas. But even the most ancient paintings In India cannot be dated on any reasonable ground before the first or second century before the Christian era, and most of them are later than the first century A.D. and found in the walls of caves. Paintings were generally used for decorating the walls of houses and temples or other religious structures. As mentioned above (p. 603), most of these have been destroyed by man and nature, and the paintings also have perished with them. So far as Bengal is concerned, no extant specimen of painting may be referred to a period earlier than the 11th century A.D. The only positive reference to the cultivation of the art of painting *in Bengal* before that date occurs in the statement of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., that during his stay at Tāmralipti (Tamluk) for two years he spent his time in writing out the Buddhist *Sūtras* and drawing pictures of images.[113] It may be reasonably inferred from this that in Bengal, as in the rest of India, the art of painting had fairly developed at the time.

So far as actual specimens of paintings in Bengal during the Hindu period are concerned, they are, almost exclusively, the coloured illustrations in the Buddhist manuscripts. These com-

prise (I) five manuscripts of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, dated in the fifth and sixth regnal year of Mahīpāla,[114] 39th year of Rāmapāla,[115] 15th year of Gopāla (II)[116] and 19th year of Harivarman;[117] (II) Two MSS. of the same book dated in the Nepal Era 191 (=1071 A.D.)[118] and 268 (=1148 A.D.);[119] (III) three MSS. dated in the 4th year of Gopāla (II or III),[120] 14th year of Nayapāla[121] and 18th year after Govindapāla;[122] and (IV) one Ms. dated 1015 A.D[123]. and three MSS.—one of *Kāraṇḍavyūha*,[124] one of *Bodhicharyāvatāra*,[125] and a third of *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*[126] which have been referred, on palaeographic grounds, to the 12th century A.D. A few other illumined Mss. have also been noticed without any details.

It is very difficult to say how many of these Mss. were copied or illustrated within the geographical limits of Bengal and, as such, may be taken as evidence of the pictorial art of Bengal. For, excepting Harivarman, the dominion of the other kings whose regnal years are mentioned in the Mss. extended beyond Bengal (in the case of Govindapāla it did not probably include any part of Bengal), and it is not unlikely that the style of painting, like that of sculpture, in Bihar or Nepal might not exactly correspond to that of Bengal (see p. 637). Further, it is to be noted that the paintings, mentioned above, represent almost exclusively the new development of Buddhism, known as Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna (p. 527), followed only by a small section of the total population of Bengal, towards the very end of the period under review. It is, therefore, doubtful how far the pictures in these Mss. may be regarded as fairly representative of the development of the art of painting in Bengal during the Hindu period.

Subject to the above considerations a few general observations may be made in regard to the art of painting in Bengal on the basis of the coloured illustrations in the Mss. mentioned above.

The general features of these paintings have been described as follows :

"It must be pointed out at the very outset that these miniatures do not represent a separate style of book-illustrations; they are in fact mural paintings in reduced dimension, and can in no way be compared with a truly characteristic phase of book-illustration which constitutes a fascinating chapter in the history of art in Persia, China, mediaeval West or in mediaeval India. This is evident from the fact that the miniatures mostly represent gods and goddesses

belonging to different temples and monastic establishments of the period and are not illustrative of the subject-matter of the Mss. in which they find place. In fact, they have hardly any relation whatsoever with the subject of the texts they embellish.

"The colours used in these paintings are orpiment yellow, white, indigo-blue, Indian ink-black, cinnabar red, and green. The last appears to be a mixture of orpiment and indigo, unlike the green of Ajaṇṭā. All these are used in different shades. But on the whole, the general colour arrangement of the divinities is mostly determined by iconographical requirements. Neither Indian red or any ochres, nor ultramarine is used. Tonality of colours is practically unknown. The outline is either drawn in black or in red, and as usual in Indian painting, seems to have been sketched out first, and later on filled in with colour."[127]

As regards details, the following characteristics are more or less noticed in all these illuminations, indicating thereby that the general trends and tendencies of the art of painting remained the same and were practically fixed, during nearly two centuries.

As a general rule, the law of perspective, as in sculptures, is linear and there is a conscious attempt to leave no space vacant and fill it by various types of devices of a decorative character. The main divinity is generally placed in the centre with the lesser divinities on his two sides ; and in a few cases they occupy, respectively, the two sides, leaving the centre for decorative designs.

The artists were certainly no novices, and their works give evidence of a highly developed artistic skill. It has been observed that "the artist depends for his effect as much on the modelling in colour as on the modelling capacity of the line, sinuous and flowing, —lines increasing and decreasing in thickness in accordance with the degree of the surging roundness of the contour that they accompany or outline."[128]

But these qualities are often lacking in delineating subsidiary figures. Even in some of the finest specimens of Bengali painting like the miniatures in the Ms. of the 39th year of Rāmapāla, both the treatments, namely, the plastically modelled treatment and the modelled treatment of the flowing and sinuous line appear side by side in the same manuscript. In fact, both treatments are synchronous and both can be seen side by side in many miniatures in one and the same Ms. On the whole, as an art critic has rightly observed, 'these paintings are, stylistically speaking, painted equi-

valents of contemporary plastic art of the Pālas and Seṇas, both in outer form and inner quality."[129]

It is generally held that these miniature paintings are "basically and fundamentally related to and derived from" the art traditions of Ajanṭā and Ellora—both their classical type of a thoroughly plastic conception and the medieval type of linear conception, which appear simultaneously and side by side, and are sometimes even fused together, as elsewhere.

The linear conception is also illustrated by the engravings on the Sundarban CP. of Ḍommanapāla (No. C. 24, p. 234), dated 1196 A.D., and Mehar CP. of Dāmodaradeva (No. C. 17, p. 275). The principal figure in the first engraving, incised with a sharp instrument, is Lord Vishṇu in his Nṛisiṁha *rūpa* seated in the *lalitāsana* pose on a *ratha* (wheeled chariot). In front of the deity is the supplicating figure of Garuḍa with a staff sticking out from under his armpit.[130] The other engraving shows two human figures engaged in deadly combat with each other. "In both these drawings the modelling quality of the line is fully valid ; still flowing, alert and sweeping. It continues to retain its large sweep and undisturbed flux, though wherever there is the slightest pretext, it loves to indulge in brisk curves. It has, moreover, an exuberance, a vivacity that seems to be out of all proportion to the subject-matter."[131]

An eleventh century CP. with engravings of a bull and tail-piece is mentioned by Coomaraswamy.[132]

Footnotes

[1] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu Periods*), p. 179.
[2] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Eng. Transl. by H. G. Raverty, p. 552.
[3] *HB.*, pp 487-8.
[4] Ibid, pp. 484-5.
[5] Ibid, pp. 483-4.
[6] Ibid, p. 484.
[7] Ibid, Pl. LXVI, fig. 160.
[8] Foucher,-*Icon*, Pl. 1.3-4, p. 54, fig. 4.
[9] *HB*, pp 485-6.
[10] Ibid, p. 488.
[11] Brown, op. cit., p. 181.
[12] This description is based on *Pāhārpur* which gives a detailed account of the monuments at Pāhārpur.
[13] *ASI.* 1927-8, p. 106.
[14] It is mentioned in inscriptions from Bodh-Gayā (Ibid, 1908-9, p. 158) and Nālandā (*EI*, XXI. p. 101) and in Tibetan translation of Buddhist works in Sanskrit. (Cordier—*Cat*, II, pp. 98. 116, 120, 250; III, pp, 5, 299.
[15] *EI.* XXI, p. 97.
[16] The accounts of the annual excavations at these places are reported in the *Indian Archaeology*—an annual publication of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. For the latter, cf. also, *Rājbāḍi-ḍāṅgā*, 1962, by Sudhir Ranjan Das (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1968).
[17] *Indian Archaeology*, 1963-4, p. 64.
[18] Ibid, 1968-9, p. 55.
[19] Ibid, 1964-5, p. 49
[20] *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55.
[21] *HB.* pp. 506-7.
[22] *JGIS.* IX, pp. 5-28.
[23] *HB.* p. 507.
[24] *Pāhārpur*, p. 7.
[25] *HB.* p. 511.
[26] *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, L11. 36. *Matsya Purāna*, Ch 269, vv. 34-5; *JISOA.* II. 137.
[27] *HB*, p. 510.
[28] Ibid, pp. 510-11.
[29] *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, p.67, Pl. 78B.
[30] Now in Asutosh Museum.
[31] Noticed and illustrated in Foucher-*Icon.*, Plates. III. 4; V. 1; VI. 5; VII. 1.
[32] In Dacca Museum.
[33] In Rājshāhi Museum.
[34] *HB.* p. 499.
[35] *ASI*, 1934-5, p. 43, Pl. XIX. a.
[36] *JISOA*, II. 139; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 108, fig. 213 ; *ASI*, 1927-8, p. 41 ; *HB*, p. 501.
[37] *JISOA*, II. 139-40, Pl. XLV. 6.

[38] Ibid, 140, Pl. XLV, 7.
[39] *ASC*, VIII, 168 ff, J.A.S. Vol. VII (1965), pp. 163-6.
[40] *HB*. p. 502.
[41] Ibid, pp. 512-14.
[42] *EISMS*, p. 157, Pl. LXXXIX (e).
[43] *Journal of Arts and Crafts*, III. p.5.
[44] *HB*. pp. 516-17; *EISMS*, pp. 157-8. Pl. XCIV (d).
[45] VRS. M. No. 4, p. 29, figs 2-3; *ASI*, 1921-22, p. 79.
[46] *EISMS*, pp. 160-61.
[47] *HB*. pp. 517-8
[48] Ibid, p. 518.
[49] Ibid, p. 516.
[50] Ibid, p. 519.
[51] *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-8, p. 72, Pl. LXXXVII-A.
[52] For the images 2-6, cf. Saraswati-*Sculpture*, pp. 11 ff.
[53] Ibid, p. 14.
[54] Ibid, pp. 14-5.
[55] Ibid, p. 13 (quoted from *Rūpam*, No. 40).
[56] Ibid, pp. 17-18.
[57] Ibid, p. 21.
[58] *Indian Sculpture*, p. 67.
[59] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, p. 22.
[60] Ibid, p. 23, fig. 5.
[61] Ibid, pp. 24-5, Figs. 8, 9.
[62] Ibid, pp. 26-7, Fig. 7; *Modern Review*, Vol. XL, 1926, p. 426.
[63] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, pp. 27-30.
[64] A miniature stone image of Simhavāhinī from Pokharna (Bankura Dt.), and now in the Asutosh Museum, has been referred to the Gupta period. But it is hopelessly mutilated (Ibid. p.31).
[65] *Indian Archaeology*, 1963-4. p. 63, Pl. XLVII-E.
[66] Ibid, 1958-9, p. 77.
[66a] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, pp. 33-4.
[67] Ibid, pp. 35-6.
[68] "The majority of monastic cells, which originally were meant for residential purposes, exhibit in the uppermost levels, i.e., in the later phases of occupation, ornate pedestals on which there occasionally remain *in situ* Brāhmaṇical sculptures, thereby proving adequately that in the later periods the followers of the Brāhmaṇical faith had already begun to frequent the establishment." Saraswati-*Sculptures*, p.50.
[69] Ibid, pp. 44-45.
[70] Ibid, p. 39.
[71] Ibid, p. 40.
[72] Ibid, p. 41.
[73] Ibid, pp. 41-2,
[74] Ibid p. 47. For other views cf. Ibid, pp. 45-47
[75] Ibid p. 48.
[76] Stella Kramrisch, 'Pāla and Sena Sculptures' in the *Rūpam*, No. 40. p. 115.
[77] *HB*. p. 535

[78] "Two statical attitudes, that of *Samapāda-sthānaka* where two trunk-like stiff, weighty and massive legs carry a strictly erect bust, and another of *vajra-paryaṅka*,—a seated posture with soles turned upwards and resting on thighs, seem to have been directly derived from a high spiritual experience, that of unshakability in the face of extremes of temptation or anger, happiness or misery, peace or storm, and unchangeability in the midst of the everchanging world outside." *HB*, p. 536,

[79] *HB*. p. 536.

[80] *HB*. p. 539

[81] Ibid.

[82] French, J. C., *The Art of the Pāla Empire*. Stella Kramrisch, *Rūpam*, No. 40.

[83] *HB*. pp. 540-41.

[84] Ibid, pp. 541-2.

[85] Ibid, pp. 542-3.

[86] Ibid, pp. 544-5.

[87] Ibid, p. 544.

[88] For the recent discoveries of terracottas in various sites and their present location (mostly in Museums) cf. *Indian Archaeology* (henceforth referred to as *Ind. Arch.*) 1954-5 (p. 20), 1955-6 (pp. 61-2), 1956-7 (p. 73), 1957-8 (p. 70), 1958-9 (pp. 56, 77), 1960-1 (pp. 70-71), 1962-3 (pp.46, 74), 1963-4 (pp. 60, 63, 64), 1964-5 (p. 50). A large number of illustrations are also given.

[89] *Ind, Arch.*, 1963-4, p. 62.

[90] Ibid, 1960-1, p. 70.

[91] Ibid, 1955-6, p. 62.

[92] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, p. 103.

[93] *JISOA*, X (1942), pp. 94-102, Pl. IX ; For a full account, cf. Saraswati-*Sculpture*, pp. 110-11, f.n. 9.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, p. 101.

[96] Ibid, pp. 101-2.

[97] *Ind. Arch.*, 1954-5, p. 20.

[98] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, p. 97.

[99] *Ind. Arch.* 1958-9, p. 77.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid, 1963-4, p. 64.

[102] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, p. 105.

[103] Ibid, p. 107.

[104] *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 70.

[105] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, p. 112.

[105a] For an account of these terracottas, cf. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, January, 1971 (Vol. VI. No 12.) pp. 6-7

[106] Saraswati-*Sculpture*, p. 106.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid, p. 107.

[109] Ibid, p. 108.

[110] *Ind. Arch.*, 1963-4, p. 63.

[111] *Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal*, by K. N. Dikshit (*ASM*, No. 55).

[112] *Paharpur*, p. 67.

[113] Legge, Translation of *Fa-hien's Travels*, p. 100.
[114] Cambridge, Add. 1464; Asiatic Society, Calcutta (A.S.) No. 4713; Foucher, *Icon.* 31, Pl. x., figs. 1,3-5; Bendall, Cambridge Cat. 101; *Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1899, p. 69.
[115] *Rupam*, 1920, No. 1, figs. 1-11, pp. 7-11.
[116] *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 150-51.
[117] Now in the VRS.
[118] A. S., No. A. 15.
[119] Ibid, No. 4203.
[120] Ms. No. 20589 of the Boston Museum. Coomaraswamy, *Portfolio of Indian Art*, Pls. xxxiii-xxxv.
[121] *PB.* Pl. xxxvii, fig. 3; also Sastri-*Cat.* 1.6.
[122] *PB.* Pl. xxxviii, fig. 2.
[123] Bhatt.-*Cat.*, Pl. i, figs. a-d; also Foucher, *Icon*, Vol. I, pp. 16-7.
[124] Now in the VRS.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid. Many of the paintings, referred to above, are illustrated in *JISOA*, III, No. 1, Plates ix,x,xi. cf. also Foucher, *Icon*, pp. 27 ff.
[127] *HB.* pp. 550-51.
[128] Ibid, p. 551.
[129] Ibid, p. 554.
[130] *Ep.Ind.* XXVII, p. 119.
[131] *HB.* pp. 555-56.
[132] *OZ.*, 1926, p.3.

Add on p. 638, line 5, after the words "found in Bengal" :

except an image of Sūrya found at Mahiśantosh set up about A.D. 900, (p. 122, p. 182, f.n. 120*a* [and the addition to p. 555, noted above.)

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INDEX

[Exigencies of space have necessitated omission in the Index of such broad geographical expression recurring frequently in the text as Gauḍa, Magadha, Puṇḍravardhana, Rāḍhā, Vaṅga, and Varendra.—Abbreviations used are *a.* (author), *amb.* (ambassador), *art.* (artist), *br.* (Brāhmin), *cap.* (capital), *cerm.* (ceremony), *ch.* (chief), *co.* (country), *comm.* (commentary, commentator), *dyn.* (dynasty), *emp.* (emperor), *excvs.* (excavations), *f.* (female), *fest.* (festival), *feud.* (feudatory), *gen.* (general), *illustn.* (illustration), *isl.* (island), *k.* (king), *leg.* (lexicon, lexicographer), *loc.* (locality), *m.* (male), *min.* (minister), *myth.* (mythical), *p.* (poet), *peo.* (people), *pers.* (person), *phys.* (physician), *pres.* (princess), *q.* (queen), *sac.* (sacrifice), *sch.* (scholar), *suz.* (suzerain), *t.* (teacher), *to.* (town), *trvlr.* (traveller), *vill.* (village)].

Abbokā (Abhrokā, Achchokā, Ambhokā), *f.* 363
Abdul Sukur Muhammad, *a.* 198
Abhayākaragupta, *t.* 382, 404, 592
Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi of Hemachandra, 15, 345, 559
Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā of Halāyudha, 371
Abhidharma-piṭaka, 591
Abhinanda, *a.* 117, 180, 355, 598
Abhinavagupta, *a.* 265, 355, 386
Abhinava-paṇḍita, *a.* 355
Abhisamayālaṅkāra, comm. of Haribhadra, 525
Abhisamaya-vibhaṅga of Lui-pā, 386
Ablur Ins. 16, 265
Abu-'l Fazl, *a.* 11, 98, 270
Acha, *feud.* 152, 186, 222, 224
Āchārāṅga-sūtra, 25, 26
Āchāra-sāgara of Vallālasena, 370
Acharya, P. 189, 216, 217
Ādāvāḍi CP. of Dasaratha-deva, 481, 494
Adbhuta-sāgara of Vallālasena, 228, 229, 230, 231, 241, 370, 377, 504
Adhaḥpattana-maṇḍala, 320
Ādideva, *m.* 210, 306
Ādi-Grantha, Sikh, 357
Ādinātha, *t.* 407, 559
Ādiśūra, *k.* 428, 471, 477, 507
Ādityasena, *k.* 67, 74, 89, 599
Adunā, *f.* 197
Advaya-siddhi of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, 364
Advayavajra, *a.* 406, *br., comm.* 410, Siddha, *t.* 527, 531
Advayavajra-saṁgraha, 406
Aelian, *a.* 338
Afzal Khan, 62
Āgamānta Śaivism, 546
Āgama-Śāstra (=*Gauḍapāda-kārikā*), 362, 388
Aghora-Śiva image, Ghātnagar, 547
Agnihotra, *sac.* 288, 506
Agni image, Pāhārpur, 557, 631
Agni Purāṇa. 349, 353, 515, 553, 575
Agniveśa Smṛiti, 497
Āīn-ī-Akbarī, 10, 189, 229
Aitaprol, *vill.* 596
Aitareya Āraṇyaka, 8, 25, 27, 33
—*Brāhmaṇa*, 25
Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami, 183
Ajaygarh Rock Ins. of Nāna, 434, 495
Ājīvika, sect, 26, 521
Akaltara Ins. 267
Ākāśa-pradīpa, *cerm.* 453
Akbar, *emp.* 12, 248
Akbar-nāma, 270
Akshaya-tṛitīyā, *cerm.* 453
Al Berunī, *trvlr.* 519
Al' Masūdi, *trvlr.* 116
Alāuddin Husain Shāh, *k.* 196
Alaungsitu, *k.* 279
Alexander, 29, 30
Allahabad Pillar Ins. of Samudragupta, 8, 64
Allan, John, 37, 38, 66

Altekar, A. S., 179, 246
Amara, *lex.* 341
Amara-kośa, 298, 354, 392, 433
Amareśvara temple Ins. of Māndhātā, 598
Ambarīsha, *myth. pers.* 509
Ambashṭha, 417, 436, 493
Amitābha, *comm.* 390
Amoda CP. 182
Amoghavarsha I, *k.* 114, 121, 124, 597
Amṛitāchārya *alias* Dhanvantarī, *phys.* 497
Amṛita-karṇikā, *comm.* of Vibhūtichandra. 405
Amṛitapāla, *k.* 597
Anahilapāṭaka, *co.* 136
Ānandabhaṭṭa, *a.* 224, 251
Ānandachandra, *m.* 199
Ānandapada, *co.* 596
Anaṅgavajra, *a.* 390, 408
Ananta, *m.* 503
Ananta Baḍu (See Chaṇḍīdāsa).
Anantabhaṭṭa, *t.* 251
Anantakīrti, *k.* 587
Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, *k.* 151, 157, 192, 224, 226
Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, Bhuvaneśvara, 217
Anargha-rāghava of Murāri, 354
Andhra, *co.* 106, 222
Andhūka, *a.* 369, 401
Anekamalla, *k.* 588
Aṅga, *co.* 28, 124, 129, 136, 222, 472
Aṅgas, *peo.* 127, 207
Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, *a.* 369, 440, 482, 498
Aniruddha, *k.* 199
Annamalai Ins. of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ, 496
Anna-prāśana, *cerm.* 366, 440, 444
Anoratha, *k.* 279
Anuliā CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, 266, 495
Apara-Mandāra, *loc.* 148, 224
Aparāntaka, *co.*, 197
Āpastamba, *a.* 426
—*Gṛihyasūtra*, 452
Aphsad Ins. of Ādityasena, 47, 67, 599
Appadorai, A. 176
Āramya, *to.* 157
Ardhanārīśvara image, Purapara, 547
Arjuna, *m.*, *min.* 84
Arjunavarman, *k.* 493, 598
Arṇava-vivaraṇa of Śrīharsha, 362
Arpakkam, *vill.* 594
Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, 6, 287, 318, 341
Ārtihara, *m.* 373, 481
Aruṇadatta, *comm.* 375
Ārya-Buddha-bhumi-vyākhyāna of Śīlabhadra, 380, 591
Āryadeva, *a.* 405
Ārya Khasarpana, *t.* 167
Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, 53, 54, 72, 98, 101
Āryā-saptaśatī of Govardhanāchārya, 357, 500
Ārya Svayambhū temple, 587
Āryāvarta, *co.* 29, 437
Āśādhara, *sch.* 598
Asaṅga, *t.* 407
Ashrafpur bronze *chaitya*, 607, 609, 617
Ashrafpur CP. of Devakhaḍga. 8, 78, 349, 607
Aṣhṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, 372
Ashṭamī-snāna, *cerm.* 453
Aṣhṭāṅga-hṛidaya of Vāgbhaṭa, 373
Aṣhṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, 96, 278, 654
Aśoka, *emp.* 521, 522
Aśoka, *t.* 591
Aśokachalla, *k.* 233, 243, 245, 281
Aśoka-kāntā, MS. *illustn.* 563
Aśokāshṭamī, *cerm.* 453
Āśrama-vihāra monastery, 523
Aśvaghosha, *a.* 646
Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra, 451
Aśvamedha, *sac.* 123
Aśvinīkumāra, divine, *pers.* 421
Atharva-veda, 550, 591
Atihara (Ārtihara), *m.* 503
Atīśa, *See* Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, 138, 196, 381, 404
Atkinson, 269, 601
Atri, *myth. pers.* 206
Audambar, *pargana*, 89
Audambarika-*vishaya*, 89, 339
Avadhūta sect, 530

Avadhūti-pāda *alias* Advayavajra, Siddha, 407, 410, 531
Avaivartika Saṅgha, 523
Avantī, city. 103, 104, 136, 408
Avantīvarman, *k.* 46, 47, 50, 55
Avatāra-vāda, 515
Avighnākara, *t.* 597
Ayodhyā, city., 267, 347
Āyu, *myth, pers.* 206
Āyurveda-dīpikā, comm., of Chakrapāṇidatta, 376
Āyurveda-rasāyana, comm., of Hemādri, 377

Bādāl Pillar Ins. of Nārāyaṇapāla, 111, 112, 113, 114, 120, 304, 321, 477, 511, 517, 622
Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra, 10, 399, 499, 515, 517, 528, 532
Bāgḍī-mahal, *co.* 229, 266
Bāghāurā Vishṇu Image Ins. of the time of Mahīpāla, 8, 132, 183
Bāglā (Bāklā) *pargana* and *sarkar*, 10
Baigrām CP., 289, 290, 295, 510, 620
Baigrām temple ruins, 620
Baihaqui, *a.*, 135
Bairāgīr-bhiṭā (Mahāsthān) *excvs.*, 620
Bala, *br.* 503
Bāla-Balabhī, *co.* 189
Balabhadra, *br.* 503
Bālachandra, *k.* 166
Baladeva, *br.* 363
Balādhuri, *a.* 273
Bālagrāma, *vill.* 493
Balāka *a.*, 365
Ballāli San. 246
Bāla-pāda (Jālandharī-pā ?) Siddha *t.* 408
Bālaputradeva *k.* 116 525 582
Balarāma images : Pāhārpur 630 ; R. M. 541
Bālāvatāra-tarka of Jetāri, 403
Balgu province 197
Bāṇabhaṭṭa *a.* 50, 51, 52, 55, 58, 351, 598
Banerjea, Jitendra Nath, 271
Banerji, Nanigopal, 187
—R. D., 137, 147, 156, 161, 163, 194 241, 615, 630
—S. C., 400
Bāṇapura (Koṭīvarsha), city., 320
Bang., *co.*, *Subah.*, 11, 237, 255
Baṅgala, *co.* 11
Bāṅgālabaḍā, *loc.* 10
Bāngarh Stone votive temple, 619
Bāngarh CP. of Mahīpāla I, 131, 132
Bāngarh Pillar, Ins. 126, 172
Barah, CP. of Bhoja I, 114
Barākar temples, 616, 618, 620
Barat, P. C., 271
Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla, 186
Bārind (=Varendra), *co.* 13, 14. 237
Barrackpur CP. of Vijayasena, 223, 242, 264, 265, 322
Barua, B. M., 33
Basak, Radhagovinda, 60, 61, 80, 164, 187, 201, 512
Bati, *isl.*, 12
Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra, 27
Bāuka, *ch.*, 107
Bāuls, *sect.* 530
Bāul songs, 393
Beal, Samuel, 69, 88, 349, 402
Beames, 189
Belāva CP. of Bhojavarman, 13, 146, 157, 158, 206, 207, 209, 211, 506
Benares CP. of Karṇa, 182
Bengala, *co.* 11
Berry, J. W. E., 15
Beveridge, H., 15
Bhadaṇaulikā, *vill.* 597
Bhadra, *dyn.*, 68, 78
Bhadrabāhu, *a.* 26, 314, 521
Bhadra-pā, Siddha, *t.* 411
Bhadreśvara, *phys.*, 376
Bhagadatta, *myth. pers.*, 27, 77, 90,
Bhagala, *co.* 383, 404
Bhagalpur CP. of Nārāyaṇapāla, 103, 112, 120, 170
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 26, 331, 373, 515
Bhagavaṭī-Tārā, MS. *illustn.* 566
Bhāgavatism, 514, 515
Bhāgyadevī, *q.* 124, 126
Bhairava images : I. M. Dinajpur, 548
Bhakti-śataka of Rāmachandra, 599
Bhāmaha, *a.*, 351

Bhandarkar, D. R., 80, 163, 185, 220, 242, 496
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 93
Bhaṇḍi, *gen.*, 52, 53
Bhaṅgala, *co.*, 12, 166, 196
Bhānu, *phys.*, 375
Bhānukara, *a.*, 375
Bhānumatī, *comm.*, of Chakrapāṇidatta, 376
Bharadvāja, Maga, *br.*, 495
Bhāraśiva, *dyn.*, 89
Bharata, *a.*, 225, 463
Bharata Mallika, *comm.*, 14, 497
Bharṭṛihari, *k.*, 167
Bhāshā-vṛitti, *comm.*, of Purushottama, 372
Bhāskara, *k.*, 148
Bhāskaravarman, *k.*, 47, 53, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 84, 206, 516
Bhāṭerā CP. of Iśānadeva, 436, 493
Bhāṭerā CP. of Keśavadeva, 277
Bhāṭi, *loc.*, 11
Bhaṭṭa-Kośala, *vill.*, 598
Bhaṭṭa (*see* Kumārila),
Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, *a.*, *br.*, 354, 503
Bhattacharya, Bĕnoytosh, 379
—Bhavatosh, 600
—Bisvesvar, 197
—Dinesh Chandra, 162, 164, 210, 211, 243, 271, 396
—J. N., 492, 497
—Kalipada, 503
—Nilkamal, 395
Bhaṭṭasali, Nalini Kanta, 164, 193, 198, 200, 209, 216, 271
Bhaṭṭi-ṭīkā of Bharata Mallika, 497
Bhavadeva, *k.*, 130, 131
Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, *a.*, 352, 364, 373, 424, 425, 440, 465, 506, 534
Bhāvaviveka, *a.*, 404
Bhavishya Purāṇa, 7, 552
Bherāghat Ins. of Karṇa, 185, 214
Bhīma, epic hero., 27
Bhīma, Kaivarta, *ch.*, 146, 149, 210
Bhīmapāla, *k.*, 376
Bhīmasena, *a.*, 210, *suz.*, 260
Bhīmayaśas, *ch.* 148, 281
Bhīmer Jāṅgāl, *loc.* 188
Bhogadevarasa, *gen.* 186
Bhogāli, Nāga kingdom, 192
Bhogavatī, *cap.* city, 192
Bhojadeva, *a.* 356
Bhoja, *br.* 589, *có.* 103, 104
Bhoja, Paramāra, *k.* 598
Bhoja, I, Pratīhāra, *k.*, 114, 121, 122, 222
Bhojakaṭa, *k.* 105
Bhojavarman, Chandella *k.* 434, 495
—Varman *k.* 206, 211
Bhoṭṭadeśa, *co.* 576
Bhowal (Bhāwāl) CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, 226, 266, 495
Bhrāṭṛi-dvitiyā, *cerm.* 453
Bhūmigarbha, *t.* 587
Bhūmisaṅgha, *k.* 587
Bhūriśreshṭhi *vill.* 7, 363, 481
Bhusuku, Siddha, *t.* 393, 527
Bhuvaneśa, *co.* 7
Bhuvaneśvara Ins. of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 186, 209, 217, 306
Bijanagar, *parganā*, 190
Bilhaṇa, *a.* 140
Bilhari Ins. of Yuvarāja I, 182, 214
Birāt temple ruins, 616
Bloch, Theodor, 65
Blochmann, H. 189
Bodh-Gayā Ins. of Aśokachalla, 243-4
Bodh-Gayā Ins. of Buddhasena, 285
Bodh-Gayā Ins. of Dharmapāla, 516
Bodh-Gayā Ins. of Jayachandra, 232
Bodhi tree, 648
Bodhibhadra, *a.* 383, 405
Bodhicharyāvatāra of Śāntideva, 380
Bodhi-chitta-vāyu-charaṇa-bhāvanopāya, of Putali, 405
Bodhinagara, city, 411
Bodhipatha-pradīpa of Dīpaṅkara 588
Bodhi-pratideśana-vṛitti of Jetāri, 403
Bon-po, religion, 583
Bose, Phanindra Nath, 403, 601
Brahmā image, Ghāṭnagar, 542
Brahmakshatriya, caste, 219
Brahma Purāṇa, 331, 512
Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa, 416, 420, 437, 486, 490, 574

Brahmā-Vishṇu image I. M., 542
Brahma-yāmala., 518
Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva of Halāyudha, 364, 371, 377, 430, 446, 460, 494, 504
Brahmāṇī image, V. S. P. M., 554
Brāhmaṇī-grāma-*maṇḍala*, 319
Bṛihad-dharma Purāṇa, 416, 420, 430, 486, 574
Bṛihaspati, *a.*, 292, 465
Bṛihaspati relief, Pāhārpur, 631
Bṛihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, 7, 8, 15, 345, 519, 654
Brom-ton, *t.* 587
Brown, Percy., *a.* 603, 609, 618, 654
Bsam-ya monastery, 381, 403, 583
Bstan-ḥgyur, 354, 378, 387, 528
Buchanan, James, 261
Budha, *myth, pers.*, 206
Budhagupta, *k.*, 10, 40
Buddhagupta, *Mahānāvika*, 582
Buddha images : Bhārail, 562, 626 ; Madhyapara, 617 ; Mahakali, 562, Maniyar Math (stucco) 562, 639, Sarnath, 625, Ujani, 562, 638,
Buddha-jñāna, *sch.*, 411
Buddha-kapāla-tantra, 404
Buddharāja, *k.* 51, 67
Buddhardhi Tārā, MS., *illustn*, 567
Buddhasena, Sena, *k.*, 261, 281
Buddhasena, *k.* of Pīṭhī, 243-5, 281
Buddhimanta Khān, *k.* 251
Bühler, Georg., 214, 400
Buston, *a.* 83, 110, 174

Cambridge University Library, 410
Chach-nāma., 69, 273
Chaitanya, 514, 531
Chakladar, H. C., 20, 32
Chakrapāṇidatta, *a.*, 375, 376
Chakrapāṇi-vijaya of Lakshmīdhara, 598
Chakrasvāmin (Vishṇu), 510
Chakravarti, Chintaharan, 269, 408
—Monomohan, 263, 269, 400
—P. C., 9
—Taponath, 500
Chakrāyudha, *feud.*, 103—6, 176
Champā, 195, 344
Champā, *co.*, 197, 520
Champāhaṭṭi (°hiṭṭi), *vill.* 370, 504
Champitā Lokanātha, MS. *illustn.*, 8
Chāmuṇḍā images ; Aṭṭahāsa (Danturā), 553; Betna (Rupavidyā), Dacca, 553, Jemokandi (dancing), 579 ; R. M. Piśitāsanā and Charchikā, 553, 579
Chanaka, *k.*, 382, 593
Chānakya-śataka, 174
Chan Chüb, *k.* 586, 587
Chanda, Ramaprasad, 60, 173, 187, 263, 270, 477, 491, 517, 537
Chaṇḍagrāma, *vill.*, 293, 415
Chaṇḍa-kauśika of Kshemīśvara, 137, 354
Chaṇḍālas, *tribe*, 17, 419
Chandanapāla, *k.* 389
Chaṇḍārjuna, *k.* 148
Chandavāra, *loc.* 427, 493
Chaṇḍavarman, *k.* 215
Chaṇḍī, 349, 473, 533
Chaṇḍīdāsa, *p.* 514, 531
Chaṇḍī images : Dālbāzār (inscribed), 550, Maheśvarpāshā, Mandoil, 550, 637, 641
Chaṇḍimau Image Ins. of Rāmapāla, 155
Chandra, *k.* 39, 139, 140
Chandra, *myth. pers.* 206
Chandra image, Paharpur, 631
Chandrāchārya (=Chandragomin), *lex.* 372
Chandrachūḍa-charita of Umāpati, 358
Chandradeva, *k.* 158, 164
Chandradvīpa, *co.* 9, 10, 131, 153, 200, 201, 203, 386
Chandragarbha (=Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna), *a.* 584
Chandragomin, *lex.* 354, 380, 591
Chandragupta, Maurya, *emp.* 35, 137, 306
Chandragupta I, Gupta *k.* 36, 39
Chandragupta II, Gupta *k.* 39
Chandraketugarh temple, 612, 623, 646
Chandrakīrti, *a.* 585, 592
Chandrāṁśa, *k.* 64
Chandra-prabhā of Bharata Mallika, 14, 478, 497

Chandrasena, prince, 27
Chandrasena, *k.* 269
Chandravalli, *city*, 596
Chandravarman, *k.* 36, 39, 215, 303, 510
Chandravarma-Koṭa, 36
Chāndra-vyākaraṇa of Chandragomin, 354, 592
Chāṇḍu Paṇḍita, *comm.* 361, 396
Chang-Kien, *amb.* 346
Charaka, *a.* 374, 376
Charaka-tātparya-dīpikā, *comm.*, of Chakrapāṇidatta, 376
Charasiṁha, *city.* 592
Charyācharya-viniśchaya, 16, 392, 412, 528
Charyā-dohākośa-gītikā of Kaṅkana, 390
Charyā-gīti of Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna, 389, 404
Charyā-padas, 349, 392, 412, 499
Chātigrāma, *loc.* 408
Chatsu Ins. of Bālāditya, 182
Chatterji, Bijan Raj, 173
—Suniti Kumar, 33. 196, 392, 502, 532
Chaturthakhaṇḍa, *vill.* 481
Chauraṅgīnāth (Chauraṅgin), 408, 530
Churāsi CP. of Śivakara, 90, 178
Chavannes, Eduard, 37, 38, 64, 91, 577
Chedi, *co.* 136
Chera, *co.* 222
Chess, game, 462-3
Chhāgāleya, *a.* 457
Chhāndaḍa, *br.* 503
Chhāndoga-karmānushṭhāna-paddhati of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 366
Chhāndoga-pariśishṭa of Keśava Miśra, 364
Chhāndoga-pariśishṭa-prakāśa, 477
Chhāndogya-mantra-bhāshya of Guṇa-vishṇu, 371
Chhāndogya-pariśishṭa-prakāśa of Nārāyaṇa, 377, 481
Chhāndogya Upanishad, 397
Chhinda-praśasti of Śrīharsha, 361
Chhittarāja, *k.* 180
Chikitsā-saṁgraha of Chakrapāṇidatta, 375
Chikitsā-sāra-saṁgraha of Vaṅgasena, 377
Ching-fa-tsong (=Śilabhadra), *t.* 591
Ching-Kiwan period, 88
Chitragupta, *myth, pers.* 495
Chitramatikā, *q.* 533
Chittagong CP. of Dāmodara, 511
Chittagong CP. of Kāntideva, 183
Choḷa, *co.* 222, 594
Choḷas, *peo.* 114
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 265
Chūḍā-karaṇa, *cerm.* 366, 440, 444
Chūḍāmaṇi, port, 340
Chundā, MS. *illustn.*, 278, 566
Chundā-vara-bhavana, Paṭṭikera, 278, 566
Colandia, sea-going vessel, 344
Colebrooke, H. *a.* 367, 493
Collins, Mark, *a.* 177
Coomaraswamy, A. K. *a.* 656
Cordier, H. *a.* 178, 403, 404, 405, 577
Cowell, E. B. *a.* 33
Cunningham, Sir Alexander, 91, 266, 577
Curtius, Quintus, *a.* 29, 30, 330

Dacca (Dalbazar) Chaṇḍī Image Ins. of Lakshmaṇasena, 550
Ḍāhala, *co.* 121, 181
Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala*. 594
Ḍākārṇava, 9, 320
Dakshiṇa-Kośala, *co.* 429
Dakshiṇa-Rāḍhā, 13, 133, 183, 363, 594
Damayantī, epic. *q.* 459
Dāmodara, *suz.*, 260
Dāmodara-deva, *k.* 8, 275, 511, 656
Dāmodaragupta, Later Gupta, *k.* 46
Dāmodara-Gupta, *k.* of Jayapura, 282
Dāmodarpur CP. 40, 45, 287, 289, 292, 295, 301, 510, 516
Dāna-sāgara of Vallālasena, 229, 230, 241, 370, 430
Dānaśīla, *a.* 383, 405, 526
Daṇḍa-bhukti, *co.*, 42, 49, 133, 148, 294
Daṇḍa-bhukti-*maṇḍala*, 42, 126
Daṇḍa-viveka of Vardhamāna, 366
Daṇḍimahādevī, *q.* 179
Daṇḍin, *a.* 145, 351. 582

Daṅgadāsa, Kāyastha, 435
Danujamādhava, Arirāja, *k.* 261, 277, 476
Danuj Rai, *k.* 277
Darbhapāṇi, *min.* 111, 304
Dārika (Dāri-pāda), Siddha, *t.* 390
Darvābhisāra, *co.* 589
Das, Sarat Chandra, 92, 185, 195, 402, 600
Das Gupta, Charu Chandra, *a.* 242, 270 —Nalini Nath, 10, 177, 266, 356, 399
Daśaharā, *cerm.* 453
Daśa-karma-dīpikā, paddhati, (=*Chhāndoga-karmānushṭhāna-paddhati*) of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 366
Daśakumāra-charita, of Daṇḍin, 14, 301, 345
Daśaratha, Maga, *br.* 495
Daśaratha-deva, *k.* 239, 275, 494
Daśa-ṭīkā, comm. 373
Daśopadeśa of Kshemendra, 455
Daulatpur CP. of Bhoja, 114,
Dāya-bhāga of Jīmūtavāhana, 365, 424
Dāya-tattva of Raghunandana, 365
Dayitavishṇu, *br.* 96, 174
De, S. K., 356, 379, 396
Debal, city. 273
De Barro, *a.* 189
Deddadevi, *q.* 97
Dehār temples, Bankura, 619
Deo-Baranārk Ins. of Jīvitagupta II. 67
Deoli CP. of Kṛishṇa III, 182
Deopārā Ins. of Vijayasena, 158, 219, 223, 224, 227, 264, 340, 430, 502
Deulbāḍi Sarvāṇī Image Ins. 78, 627
Deuliyā brick temple, Burdwan, 618
Deva-dāsis. 465
Devadatta, *t.* 524
Devadhara, *p.* 599
Devagaṇa, *phys.* 376
Devagrāma, *vill.* 148, 189
Deva-Gupta, *k.* of Jayapura, 282
Devagupta, Later Gupta, *k.* 79
Devagupta, *k.* of Mālava, 48, 51, 55
Devākarachandra (Divākara°), *a.* 404
Devakhaḍga, *k.* 78, 79, 97, 303
Devakoṭa (Devi°), *loc.* 320, 522
Devala, *br.* 419, 503
Devaṇabhaṭṭa, *a.* 501
Devanagere Taluq Ins. 186, 265
Devapāla, *k.* 100, 105, 108, 111-119, 122, 136, 161, 170-171, 235, 304
Devapāla, Paramāra, *k.* 493
Devaparvata, *loc.* 81, 202, 203
Devasiṁha, *k.* 248, 271
Devavarmā, *k.* 79, 598
Devendravarman, *k.* 151, 193, 494, 597
Devī image: I.M. 551 ; Kāgajipārā 551 ; Niyāmatpur 551 ; Shekhāti 551 ; Simlā 551.
Devīkoṭa, (Devakoṭa) *loc.* 320, 525
Devīkoṭa monastery, 525
Devī Purāṇa, 574, 576
Dewal *praśasti* (Ins.), 599
Dgra-las-rgyal-wa (=Jetāri), *t.* 593
Dhanadatta, *m.* 130, 533
Dhanañjaya, *a.* 469
Dhanañjaya, *m.* 371
Dhanañjaya, *myth. pers.* 509
Dhaṅga, *k.* 125, 127, 598
Dhārā, city, 391
Dharāśūra, *k.* 476
Dhārichandra, *leg. k.* 197
Dharma (=Dharmapāla), *k.* 107
Dharmadāsa, *a.* 411
Dharmadhara, *p.* 599
Dharmā-dharma-viniśchaya of Jetāri, 403
Dharmāditya, *k.* 42, 43, 82, 501
Dharma-dpal (=Dharmapāla), *k.* 98, 118
Dharmagiri, priest, 261
Dharmakīrti, *t.* 166, 169
Dharma-maṅgala of Ghanarāma, 98
Dharmāṁsu, *br.* 503
Dharmapāda (°=pā, Guṇḍarī-pā, Guṇḍarīpāda), Siddha, *t.* 390, 411
Dharmapāl, city, 197
Dharmapāla, *k.* 7, 11, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101-111, 133, 136, 161; 163, 176, 235, 304, 511, 516, 533
Dharmapāla, *k.* of Kāmarūpa, 150
Dharmapāla, *t.* 169, 590
Dharmapāla-deva-mahāvihāra (=Somapura), 610
Dharmapur (Dharmapur), city, 197
Dharmarakshita, *t.* 281, 585

Dharma-ratna of Jīmūtavāhana, 401
Dharma-śambhu, *t.* 594
Dharma-Thākur, cult. 532
Dhāryagrāma, *vill.* 262
Dhātu-pradīpa of Maitreyarakshita, 372
Dhavala, *a.* 369, 401
Ḍhekkari (Ḍhekkarīya), *loc.* 140, 148, 185, 307
Ḍhekur-gaḍh, *loc.* 190
Dhīsena (Vijayasena), *leg. k.* 260
Dhoḍ Ins. 495
Dhoyī (Dhoī, Dhoyīka, Dhuyī), *p.* 196, 231, 262, 357, 400, 465, 502
Dhruva, *k.* 101, 102, 115, 175
Dhruvānanda Miśra, *a.* 469, 476
Digvijaya-prakāśa, 8, 13, 15
Dikshit, K. N., *a.* 67, 178, 611, 614, 628
Dilli, city, 589
Dināpur Pillar Ins. of Kuñjaraghaṭā-varsha, 193, 621
dīnāra, coins, 288, 296
Diodorus, *a.* 29
Dīpaṁkara-bhadra, *a.* 403
Dīpaṁkara-chandra, *a.* 403
Dīpaṁkara-rakshita, *a.* 404
Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna Atīśa, *t.* 138, 139, 381, 404, 525, 584, 586
Dīpānvitā, *fest.* 453
Dīrghasi Ins. 192
Dīrghatamas, sage, 28, 413
Divākarachandra (Divākara), *a.* 382
Divākara-vajra, *a.* 404
Divya (Divoka, Divvoka), Kaivarta, *ch.* 142—147, 158, 207, 208, 437
Divya-smṛiti-utsava, 187,
Divyāvadāna, 26, 33, 521, 649
Diw-koṭ (Devakoṭa, Devīkoṭa), *loc.* 14, 320
Dixon, R. B. 32
Dohācharyā-gītikā-dṛishṭi of Kila-pāda, 390
Dohā-kośa, Mokshākaragupta's *comm.* 383
Dohā-kośa of Kṛishṇāchārya, 389
Dohā-kośa of Kṛishṇavajra, 389, 528
Dohā-kośa of Saraha-pāda, 389, 528
Dohā-kośa of Tilopā, 388, 528
Dohā-kośa of Virūpa, 388
Dohā-kosha of Saroyavajra (Saroruha), 535
Ḍombi-Heruka, Siddha, *t.* 409
Ḍombi-pā, Siddha, *t.* 407
Ḍommaṇapāla, *ch.* 234, 238, 532, 533, 656
Ḍoṅga (grāma), *vill.* 288, 415, 510
Drahu, *m.* 118
Drahu-dpun, *k.* 118
Drākshārāma Ins. 193
Dramma, coins, 322, 597
Draviḍa, co. 115, 222, 305
Draviḍas, 112, 114
Dravya-guṇa-saṁgraha of Chakrapāṇi-datta, 376
droṇa (*droṇavāpa*), land-measure, 296, 297, 333
Dudyāla, *vill.* 596
Durgā images : Betna, 553 ; Dulmi, 551 ; Sāktā, 552
Durghaṭa-vṛitti of Śaraṇa, 372
Durgotsava, *fest.* 551
Durlabha, *k.* 136, 175
Durlabhadevī, *q.* 136
Durlabha Mallika, *a.* 197
Durlabharāja, *k.* 175, 599
Durvāsas, *t.* 594
Duryodhana, epic, *k.* 27
Dutt, N. K. *a.* 272
Dvārakā, city, 104
Dvīpasiṁha, *k.* 260
Dvirūpa-kośa of Purushottama, 372
Dvorapavardhana, *k.* 148, 215, 224
Dyūta-pratipada, *fest.* 452

Edessa, city, 70
Edilpur CP. of Keśavasena, 266, 268, 501
Eḍirili-Śola-Sambuvarāyan, *feud.* 594
Eḍu Miśra, *a.* 469
Ekteśvar temple, Bankura, 617
Eran Stone Ins. of Samudragupta, 174

Fa-hien, *trvlr.* 344, 351, 522, 653
Faridpur CP., 92, 298, 300
Fasli era, 247
Fergusson, James, 91
Fick R. 497

Find of coins, Tamluk, 644
Fleet, J. F., 36, 37, 192, 318
Foucher, A. 15, 37, 64, 198, 284, 608, 617, 654
Francke, A. H., 92, 180, 402, 600
Futuh-us-salātin, 257

Gadādhara, *feud.* 588
Gadādhara, *min.* 589
Gaekwad Oriental Series, 174, 180
Gahura, *co.* 390
Gaja-chikitsā (*Gaja-vaidya*, *Gaja-vidyā*, *Gajāyurveda*, *Hasty-āyurveda*) of Pālakāpya, 353
Gaja-Lakshmī image, R. M. 542, 550, 639
Gālava, sage, 497
Galaya, Mag. *ch.* 267
Gaṇapati, *k.* 595
Gāṇapatyas, *sect.* 548
Gandaridae (Gandaridai, Gangaridae, Gangaradai), *peo.* 29, 30, 35, 36, 286, 330
Gandhāra, *co.* 103, 104, 113, 560
Gandhāras, *peo.* 330
Gaṇeśa image :
I. M. (dancing), 548, 579 ; Pāhārpur, 652 ; Rāmpāl, 549 ; Nārāyaṇpur, 132 ; Rājbāḍiḍāṅgā, 627
Gaṅga, *co.* 129
Gaṅgā image, Deopārā, 641
Gaṅgadeva, *k.* 158
Gaṅgādhara, *br.* 590
Gaṅgādhara, Maga, *br.* 495
Gaṅgāgati, *br.* 475
Gangaridae (Gangaridai), *peo.* 29, 30, 35, 36, 286, 316, 330, 501
Gaṅgas, *peo.* 114, 157
Gaṅgāsāgara, 28, 118, 176, 488
Gange, city, 36, 340, 344
Gāṅgeyadeva (=Gaṅgadeva), Gauḍadhvaja), *k.* 158
Gāṅgeyedeva, Kalachuri, *k.* 135, 138, 139, 208
Ganguly, D. C., 37, 38, 51, 60, 61, 117, 215
Ganjām CP. of Śaśāṅka, 68
Gāonri CP. of Vākpati Muñja, 13
Garbhādhāna, *cerm.* 366, 440, 441
Garbhapāda, *t.* 381, 593
Garbhari-pā (Garbha-pāda, Gabhur Siddha, Garvari-pāda), Siddha, *t.* 390, 411
Garga, *min.* 110, 111, 304
Garlog, *co.* 586
Garuḍa image, R. M., 542, 638
Garuḍa Pillar, Bādāl., 511
Garuḍa Purāṇa, 545
Gastaldi, *a.* 12
Gauḍa, *cap.*, city, 2, 6-8, 321, 339
Gauḍa, *peo.*, 46, 355, 467
Gauḍa Abhinanda, *a.* 355
Gauḍāchārya (=Gauḍapāda), *a.* 362, 363
Gauḍ-orvīśa-kula-praśasti of Śrī-Harsha, 228, 361
Gauḍapāda, *a.* 362, 363
Gauḍapāda-kārikā of Gauḍapāda, 362
Gauḍapura, city, 6
Gauḍa-*rāshṭra*, 7
Gauḍa-tantra, 72
'Gauḍa trouble', 59
Gauḍa-vaho of Vākpatirāja, 75, 81, 86, 87
Gauḍa-vishaya, 321
Gauḍī-rīti, 352
Gauḷa (=Gauḍa), *co.* 7
Gaur (=Gauḍa) *co.* 1, 6, 129, 196, 205, 465
Gaura (=Gauḍa), *co.* 590
Gauragovinda (*alias* Govinda Siṁha), *k.* 278
Gautama Smṛiti, 497
Gayā Kṛishṇadvārikā Temple Ins. of Nayapāla, 141
Gayā Ins. of Aśokachalla, 243, 245
Gayāḍatuṅga, *k.* 214, 597
Ghāgharakāṭṭī-*pāṭaka*, 10
Ghanarāma, *a.* 98
Ghatotkacha, epic hero, 28, 37
Ghiyāsuddin Balban, 277
Ghiyāsuddin Iwaz, Sultan, 237
Ghosh Jogendra Chandra, 172, 173, 242, 270, 513
—M., 211
Ghoshal U., N., 187, 293, 299, 318, 329

Ghoshrāwa Ins. of Devapāla, 116, 322
Ghugrāhāti CP. of Samāchāradeva, 36, 65
Ghurye, G. S., 492
Girivarta, *co.* 197
Gīta-govinda of Jayadeva, 356, 488, 514
Gobhila, *a.* 369
Gochchhāshaṇḍi, *vill.* 481
Godāsa, *t.* 26
Goharwa CP. 182, 184, 214
Gokalikā-*maṇḍala*, 319,
Gokarṇa, *loc.* 103, 176
Gokul *excvs.* 620
Gokula, *min.* 589
Gokula-deva, *k.* 278
Golakī-maṭha, monastery, 594
Gomatīkoṭṭaka, *loc.* 89
Goṇa, *br.* 364
Gopachandra, *k.* 42, 43, 82, 308
Gopāla I, *k.* 95, 99, 100, 161, 162
Gopāla II, *k.* 119, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131, 134, 156, 161, 163, 172, 173, 193, 204
Gopāla III, *k.* 155, 164, 193
Gopālabhaṭṭa, *a.* 251, 272
Goparāja, *k.* 215
Gopeśvar Ins. of Anekamalla, 588, 601
Gopīchānd (Gopīchandra, Govindachandra), *leg. k.* 198, 387, 408, 526
Gopīchānder Sannyāsa of Abdul Sukur Muhammad, 198
Gopīnātha Achārya, *comm.* 266
Gorakshanātha (Gorakh-nāth), *t.* 387, 407, 530
Goraksha-saṁhitā, 408
Goraksha-siddhānta, 408
Goraksha-vijaya, 274
Goshāta-puñjaka, *loc.* 415
Ghoshṭhī-kathā of Nulo Pañchānan, 469
Govardhana, *br.* 208
Govardhana, *k.* 158, 207
Govardhana, *p.* 196, 231, 357, 400
Govardhanāchārya, *a.* 503
Govichandra, *k.* 12, 81, 166
Govinda III, *k.* 11, 101, 106-8, 115, 161
Govinda IV, *k.* 494
Govinda-bhiṭā (Mahāsthān) *excvs.* 620
Govindachandra, Chandra *k.* 131, 133, 200, 206, 376, 433
Govindachandra, Gāhaḍavāla, *k.* 153, 154, 157, 162, 227
Govindānanda, *a.*, 366, 377, 500
Govindapāla, *k.*, 159-61, 226, 228, 654
Govindapur Ins. of Sāmba, 494, 519
Govindapur CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, 322 349
Govindarāja, *a.* 369
Govindaśarman, *br.* 503
Govindasiṁha (=Gaurgovinda), *k.* 278
Govindasvāmin (Vishṇu), 510
Grahara, *co.* 411
Grahavarman, *k.* 50, 55
Grierson, Sir G. A., 16, 32, 197, 271
Grünwedel, A., 405, 407, 411
Gu-ge (Goggadeśa), *co.* 601
Guha, B. S. 32
Guhanandin, *t.* 520
Guhila II, *k.* 122
Guhyajñāna-vajra (=Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna), *t.* 585
Gunaighar CP. of Vainyagupta, 65, 432 523
Guṇāmbhodhideva, *k.* 121
Guṇavishṇu, *a.* 371
Guṇḍarī-pāda (Guṇḍari-pā, Dharmapāda, Dharma-pā), Siddha, *t.* 390
Guṇi, *f.* 385
Gupta, *k.* 36
Gupta, *pers.*, 58, 59
Gupta, K. M. 284
—Umesh Chandra, 497, 503
Guravamisra, *min.* 120, 305
Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhaśiva, 15, 67, 184
Gurjara, *co.* 222, 305, 472
Gurjaras, *peo.* 112, 113, 114, 127
Gurjaratrā-bhūmi, *co.* 106, 114
Gurmhā CP. 495, 496
Gwalior Ins. of Bhoja I, 99
Gya-tson Sengé, *t.* 586

Hāḍi-pā (= Jālandharī-pāda), Siddha, *t.* 407

Hāḍi Siddhā, *t.* 197
Haihaya, *myth, pers.* 123, 181
Hāiyungthal CP. 182
Hāla, *p.* 399
Halāvarta-*maṇḍala*, 319
Halāyudha, *a.* 196, 231, 371, 498, 534, 598
Haldar, Gopal, 406
Hammīra-mahākāvya of Nayachandra Sūri, 16, 588, 601
Haṁsāvatī, *co.* 197
Handiqui, K. K. 396, 397
Haraha Ins. of Īśānavarman, 45
Hāralatā of Aniruddha, 369, 482
Harappa, *excs*, 537
Hārāvali of Purushottama, 372
Hāravarsha, prince, 117, 356
Hari, *myth. pers.* 206
Hari, *ch.* 149, 191, 210
Haribhadra, *a.* 96, 111, 525
Hari-charita of Chaturbhuja, 352
Harikāladeva, Raṇavaṅkamalla, *k.* 238, 280
Harikela (Harikelī), *co.* 1, 9, 130, 201, 203, 252
Hari Miśra, *a.* 469, 504
Haripāla, *comm.* 86,
Hariśchandra, *leg. k.*, 197
Harisena, *suz.*, 260
Haritasena, *k.* 261
Hārītī images : Paikpārā : Sundarban, 557
Harivaṁśa, *a.* 401
Harivaṁśa of Jinasena, 175, 516, 576
Harivarman, Varman, *k.* 209, 211, 306, 430, 475, 654
Harivarman, *k.* of Utkala, 191
Hariyāṇa, *co.* 597
Harjara, *k.* 112, 123
Harsha, *k.* of Bhagadaṭṭa, *dyn.* 77, 90
Harsha-charita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, 52, 55, 351
Harsha Era, 90
Harsharāja, *k.* 122
Harshavardhana, *emp.* 50, 52, 55, 71, 72, 74, 83, 591
Hasama, *co.* 197
Hasan Śāha, *k.* 196
Hastinībhaṭṭa, *loc.*
Hastipada, *loc.* 427, 493
Hasty-āyurveda of Pālakāpya, see *Gaja-chikitsā*, 353
Haṭakeśvara *linga*, Pañchakhaṇḍa, 435
Hazra, Rajendra Chandra, 439, 486
Hemachandra, *a.* 9, 136, 192, 294, 345, 559
Hemādri, *a.* 377
Hemantasena, *k.* 220, 223
Heruka images : I. M., 406, 565
Hetu-tattva-upadeśa of Jetāri, 403
Hevajra images : Tripura State, 565
Hevajra-pañjikā of Kṛishṇapāda, 410
Hevajra-sādhana, 388
Hevajra-siddhi, 409
Hevajra-tantra, 383, 410
Hijjalavana, *vill.* 481
Hijra Era. 83
Himavana cemetery, 592
Hiralal, 16, 267, 601
Hiuen Tsang, *trvlr.*, 8, 14, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 60, 71, 77, 112, 344, 351, 454, 521, 533, 591
Hmannan, chronicle, 279
Hodgson, B. H. 198
Hodivala, S. H. 180, 184
Hoernle, A. F. R. 32, 191
Holākā, *fest.* 452
Holkar, *feud.* 221
Hornell, James, 170, 171
Hoshang Mahāyāna, missionary, 584
Hultzsch, E. 183
Hūṇas, *peo.*, 111, 112, 113, 304, 316
Hūṇa-*deśā*, *co.* 136
Hūṇa-*maṇḍala*, 179
Hunter, W. W. 5, 15
Hutton, J. H., 32

Ichhāi Ghosh, *ch.* 620
Ichhāi Ghosh temple, Gaurāngapur, 620
Ikkaḍāsī-*vishaya*, 320

Imādpur (bronze) Image Ins. of Mahīpāla, 184
India Office Library, London, 366, 370
Indra image, Pāhārpur, 557, 631
Indra III, *k.* 125, 137, 182, 354
Indrāyudha (=Indrarāja ?), *feud. k.* 175
Indrabhūti, *k.* 386, 390, 405, 408, 600
Indradvīpa, *co.* 10
Indradyumnapāla, *k.* 160
Indrāṇī image, R. M., 554, 638
Indrapāla, *k.* 407, 411
Indu, *a.* 373
Indukara, *br.* 373
Irdā CP. of Nayapāla, 126, 127, 172, 173, 294, 313
Īśāna, *br.* 371
Īśāna-deva, *k.* 278
Īśānaśiva, *br.* 597
Īśānavarman, *k.* 7, 45, 46
Īśvaraghosha, *ch.* 140, 307
Īśvarakṛishṇa, *a.* 363
Īśvarapurī, *loc.* 596
Īśvarābhisandhi by Śrīharsha, 361
I-tsing, *trvlr.* 9, 37, 38, 78, 345, 351, 455, 499, 524, 534, 578

Jaddha, scribe, 599
Jāfar Khān Ghāzi tomb. Triveṇī, 604
Jagaddala monastery, 383, 525
Jagaddhara, *min.* 590
Jagaddeva, *k.* 218
Jagadekamalla II, *k.* 229
Jagadvijayamalla, *k.* 217, 218
Jagatpāla, *k.* 260
Jagattuṅga (=Tuṅga), *k.* 124, 125, 182, 589
Jaitugi, *t. k.* 7
Jajja, *k.* 76
Jājnagar, city, 237
Jālandhara, *co.* 214, 530
Jālandhara-pāda (Jālandhari°), Siddha, *t.*, 388, 408, 410
Jalauka, *k.* 96
Jalhaṇa, *a.* 495
Jambhala images : Dhurail ; Vikrampur, 638
Jambudvīpa, *co.* 84, 109
Jānibighā Ins. of Jayasena, 243, 244, 281
Janmāshṭamī, *fest.* 453
Jarāsandha, *myth. pers.* 27
Jāta-karman, *cerm.* 366, 440, 443
Jātakhaḍga, *k.* 78, 80
Jaṭār Deul, Sundarbans, 619
Jātavarman, *k.* 146, 158, 207, 208
Jaṭhara (=Jaṭār Deul), temple, 619
Jaṭilavarman (=Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ), *k.* 494
Jayachandra, *k.* 233, 358, 361
Jayadeva, *p.* 231, 356, 400, 408
Jayadeva II, *k.* 77
Jayadratha, *gen.* 594
Jayadratha-yāmala, 518
Jayakarmānta-vāsaka, *loc.* 339
Jayamaṅgalā of Yaśodhara, 15
Jayanāga, *k.* 72, 89, 303
Jayanta, *k.* 77
Jayanta, *p.* 355, 598
Jayantabhaṭṭa, *a.* 598
Jayantachandra, *k.* 619
Jayapāla, *gen.* 112, 119, 170
Jayapāla, *k.* of Kāmarūpa, 191
Jayapāni, official, 495
Jayāpīḍa, *k.* 76
Jayapura, *loc.* 282
Jayasena, *leg. k.* 282
Jayasena, *k.* of Pīṭhī, 245, 281
Jayasiṁha, *k.* of Daṇḍabhukti, 148, 151 192
Jayasiṁha, *k.* of Gujarat, 598
Jayasiṁha II, *k.* 215
Jayaswal, K. P. 72, 174, 247, 281
Jayatuṅga Lokanātha, MS. *illustn.* 567
Jayatuṅgavarsha, *suz.* 80
Jayavardhana, *k.* 74
Jayavarman, *k.* 589
Jaynagar Image Ins. of Palapāla, 157, 159, 195
Jejākabhukti, *co.* 122
Jetāri, *a.* 381, 403, 527, 584, 593
Jha, Muralidhar, 266, 269
Jhārikhaṇḍa, *co.* 382
Jhewari bronze votive *stūpa*, 607
Jhewāri miniature (bronze) temple, 619
Jikana, *a.* 369

Jīmūtavāhana, *a.* 365, 424, 440, 456, 468
Jinasena, *a.* 175
Jinendrabuddhi, *lex.* 372
Jitendriya, *a.* 365, 401
Jīvadhāraṇa, *k.* 80, 81, 510
Jīvitagupta II, *k.* 76, 89
Jñāna-kārikā of Gorakshanātha, 408
Jñānasiddhi (=Nāro-pā), Siddha, *t.* 388
Jñānaśivadeva (Umāpatideva), *t.* 594
Jñānaśrī, *a.* 382, 593
Jñānaśrī-mitra (°bhadra), *t.* 382, 593
Jodhpur Ins. of Bāuka, 107
Jogigophā votive *stūpa*, 606, 609
Julien, St. 69
Jyeshṭhabhadra, *ch.* 78
Jyotirvarman, *k.* 216
Jyotisha-tattvam 15

Kāchara, sage, 434
Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, 598
Kādambarī-devakulikā, 578
Kādambarī-kathā-sāra of Abhinanda, 355, 598, 601
Kahla CP. of Guṇāmbhodhideva, 121
Kāhṇaradeva, *ch.* 147
Kāhṇu-pāda, Siddha, *t.* 527
Kailāsa temple, Ellora, 597, 601
Kaivartas, *peo.* 18, 252, 307, 414, 437, 438
Kajaṅgala, *co.* 54, 71, 72, 346, 522
Kakka, *ch.* 107
Kāla-chakrāvatāra of Abhayākaragupta, 404
Kālachakra-yāna, 379, 409
Kalāditya, *m.* 434
Kālānana (Kālamukha) ascetics, 596
Kālañjara, *loc.* 125, 434
Kālañjara-*maṇḍala*, 114, 179
Kāla-viveka of Jīmūtavāhana, 365, 368, 401, 452
Kalhaṇa, *a.*, 75, 76
Kālidāsa, *p.* 8
Kālidāsa Nandī, *a.* 272
Kālikā Purāṇa, 452, 499, 575, 579
Kālindī, river, 158
Kaliṅga, *co.* 7, 28, 125, 150, 222, 227, 231, 391, 472
Kaliṅgas, *peo.* 114, 127
Kaliṅgattupparaṇi, 152, 193
Kāliśvara, city, 596
Kalpa-sūtra, Jaina, 26
Kalyāṇa, city, 391
Kalyanachandra *k.* 200, 202, 205
Kalyāṇaśrī, *br.* 584
Kalyāṇa-sundara images : Hili, 617 ; V.S.P., 547
Kalyāṇasvāmin, *sch.* 598
Kamā, *co.* 281, 285
Kāmachandra, *k.* 166
Kāmadeva image, Deopārā, 543
Kāmākhyā, *loc.* 576
Kamalā, courtesan, 465
Kamalaśīla, *t.* 381, 403, 584
Kāma-mahotsava, *fest.* 453
Kāmarūpa, *co.*, 36, 47, 56, 71, 77, 80, 101, 112, 140, 150, 166, 205, 207, 208, 231, 472, 530, 591
Kāmarūpa-*maṇḍala*, 156, 178
Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, 7, 435, 455, 464, 499, 502
Kamauli CP. of Vaidyadeva, 97, 156, 178, 191, 312
Kambala-gītikā of Kambala, 383
Kambala-pā (Kambalāmbara-pā), Siddha, *t.* 383, 390, 405
Kamboja, *co.* 113, 126, 197
Kambojas, *peo.* 173, 419
Kam-po-tsa, *co.* 173
Kāmrud, *co.* 237
Kanakasena, *a.* 264
Kanaka-stūpa-mahāvihāra, 389
Kaṇā-moṭikā, *loc.* 415
Kaṇḍradvīpa, *loc.*, 10
Kaṇḍrakoṭa, *vill.* 596
Kaṇḍravāṭi, *loc.* 595
Kane, P. V., 270, 348, 491, 493, 497
Kānha-pā, (Kāṇhu-pā, Kaṇha, Kaṇhāya), Siddha, *t.*, 389, 393, 408
Kānheri Cave Ins. of Amoghavarsha I, 601
Kañjika, *loc.*, 377
Kāñjivilli, *vill.* 377, 481
Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti, 14, 294, 320

Kaṅkaṇa, *t.* 390
Kāntaśchandra, *br.* 598
Kāntideva, *k.* 130, 131, 526, 532, 533
Kānupā, *t.* 410
Kānyakubja, city, 50, 103, 153, 176, 362, 507
kapardaka purāṇa, coins, 322
Kapardin, *ch.* 597
Kāpaṭya, *loc.*, 405
Kapilaśakru, *co.* 406
Kapilavastu, *loc.* 176
Karanbel Ins. 185
Karañja, *vill.* 478, 481
Karatoyā-māhātmya, 5
Karbattan (Kar-pattan, Karambutan), city, 346
Kārikā of Eḍu Miśra, 469
Kārikā of Hari Miśra, 469, 504
Karkoṭa, *dyn.* 355
Karmānta, *co.* 8
Karmānta-vāsaka, *loc.* 78, 415
Karmānushṭhāna-paddhati of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 449, 498
Karmari (Karmāra, Karmari, Karmārapā, Kampari), Siddha, *t.* 390, 411
Karṇa, epic, *k.* 27
Karṇa, Kalachuri, *k.* 138, 139, 161, 134, 206, 208, 222
Karṇakeśarī, *k.* 148, 151, 192
Karṇasuvarṇa, *loc.* 49, 56, 71, 72, 321, 339, 524
Karṇāṭa, *co.* 103, 125, 140, 141, 152, 158, 219, 316, 472
Karṇāṭas, *peo.* 127, 137, 152, 223
Karṇāṭakas, *peo.* 354
Karṇya, Tīrthika, *k.* 138
Karpūra-mañjarī of Rājaśekhara, 9, 211
Kārtika, *Suz.* 260
Kārtikeya image, I. M. 549
Kārtikeya temple, Puṇḍravardhana, 501, 518
Kārtikeya-tapovana, *loc.* 588
Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi of Jñānaśrīmitra, 382
Kāśasena, *k.* 261
Kāśī, *co.* 136
Kāśikā, *lex.* 372
Kashmir, *co.* 125
Kāśyapa, Sage, 434
Kāṭāha, *co.*, 345
Kathā-sarit-sāgara, 7, 344
Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya (of Matsyendranātha ?), 386, 406, 577
Kauśāmbī, *loc.* 148, 211, 624
Kauśāmbī - Ashṭagachchha - Khaṇḍala, *loc.* 211
Kauthuma, *śākhā of Sāmaveda*, 352
Kauṭilya, *a.* 287, 306, 341
Kāveri-rāshtra, *co.*
Kavikaṇṭhahāra of Rāmakānta, 478
Kavīndra-vachana-samuchchaya, 355, 362
Kavi-rahasya of Halāyudha, 371
Kavirāja-Vyāsa, *p.* 400
Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛitti of Vāmana, 399
Kayaṅgala-*Maṇḍala*, 148
Kedāra, *loc.* 103, 181
Kedāra-bhūmi, *loc.* 588
Kedāramiśra, *min.* 111, 114, 120, 304
Keith, A. B., 15, 359, 400
Kelawadī Ins. 186
Kendubilva (Kindu°, Tindu°, Sindhu°), *vill.* 356
Kendupatna CP. 193, 194
Kerala, *co.* 472, 594
Keśava, *a.* 364
Keśava, *m.* 421
Keśava-deva, *k.* 260, 278
Keśavasena, *k.* 231, 236, 238, 242, 249, 519, 533
Kesu Sen (=Keśavasena), *k.* 261
Kevattas (=Kaivartas), *peo.* 18, 252, 307, 414, 437, 438
Khāḍa(ta)pāra, *loc.* 415
Khaḍga, *dyn.* 74, 78, 81, 97, 532, 627
Khaḍgodyama, *k.* 78, 80
Khāḍi, *co.* 234, 238, 268
Khadiravanī Tārā image, Sompārā, 563
Khāḍi-*maṇḍala*, 6, 320
Khāḍi-*vishaya*, 6, 320
Khajurāho Ins. of Dhaṅga, 179, 182
Khālimpur CP. of Dharmapāla, 95, 103, 109, 177, 264, 304, 330

Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya (of Śrīharsha?) 361, 396
Kharavāṇa (Navagīrvvāṇa), *k.* 278, 284
Khasas, *peo.* 26, 316, 419
Khāṭikā (°Khāḍi), *co.* 234, 238, 268
Khediravallī-*vishaya*, 319
Khoṭṭiga, *k.*, 494, 588
Khirī-srong-Ide-btsan, *k.* 118, 180, 381, 583
Kia Tan, *trvlr.*, 346
Kīchaka-vadha of Nītivarman, 354, 399
Kielhorn, F., 95, 97, 243, 244, 247
Kīkaṭa, *co.* 252
Kila-pāda (Kila-pā. Kirava), Siddha, *t.* 390, 411
Ki-li-pa-pu, *k.*, 84
Kinsāriyā Ins. of Durlabharāja, 599
Kīra, *co.* 103, 104, 176
Kirātas, *peo.* 26, 127, 413, 498
Kīrtiśambhu, *t.* 594
Kīrtivarman, Chāḷukya, *k.* 44, 48
Kīrtivarman, Chandella, *k.* 589
Kojāgara, *fest.*, 453
Kokāmukha, *loc*, 512
Kokāmukhasvāmin (Vishṇu), 510, 513
Koki, *co.* 197, 383
Kokkalla, I, *k.* 121, 181, 205
Kokkalla, II, *k.* 184
Kolagala, *loc.* 588
Kolāñcha, *co.* 282, 471, 493
Kommu, *vill.* 596
Koṅgoda, *co.* 50, 56, 72
Konow, Sten, 15
Korni CP. of Anantavarman Choḍa-gaṅga, 192
Kosala, *co.* 41, 77
Kośalai-nāḍu, *co.* 133
Kotālipārā CP. of Dharmāditya, 42
Koṭāṭavī, *loc.* 148, 188 225,
Koṭ-deś, Mahal, 188
Kotgarh (Akaltara) Ins. of Vallabharāja, 267
Koṭīvarsha (Koḍīvarisa), *co.* 14, 339, 344
Koṭīvarsha, *vishaya*, 287, 293, 319, 510, 513
Koṭīvarshīya, Jaina ascetic order, 26
Kramrisch, Stella, 624, 625, 645, 656
Krīpura, *loc.* 40, 340
Kṛishṇa, *m.* 27
Kṛishṇa I. *k.* 115
Kṛishṇa II, *k.* 124, 182
Kṛishṇa III, *k.* 588
Kṛishṇāchārya, *a.* 410, 389
Kṛishṇāchārya, *t.* 389
Kṛishṇāchārya-pāda, *a.* 410
Kṛishṇagiri, *loc.* 597
Kṛishṇagiri monastery, 585
Kṛishṇa-gupta, *k.* of Jayapura, 282
Kṛishṇa-karnāmrita of Līlāsuka,
Kṛishṇa-kīrtana of Chaṇḍīdāsa, 531
Kṛishṇamāchārya, *e.*, 400, 408
Kṛishṇa Miśra, *a.* 7
Kṛishṇānanda, *a.* 377
Kṛishṇa-pāda, Siddha, *t.* 383, 389, 410
Kṛishṇa-prema-taraṅginī of Bhāgavatā-chārya, 190
Kṛishṇa-vajra, *a.* 389, 410
Kṛishṇavenī, river, 595
Kṛityа-tattvārṇava of Śrīnāthāchārya, 499
Kroḍanja (Kroḍañchi, Kolāñcha), *co.* 427, 493
Kshemendra, *a.* 455
Kshemīśvara, *a.* 137, 354, 362
Kshīrasvāmin, *a.* 373
Kshīrasvāmin, *comm.*, 433
Kshitiśūra, *k.* 475
Kuddālakhāta-*vishaya*, 319
Kudopali CP. 493
Kukhuri, *br.* 406
Kukurāchārya, *a.* 406
Kukuradāsa (rāja), *a.* 406
Kukkuri-pāda, Siddha, *t.* 383, 385, 406, 527
Kula-chandrikā, 469
Kula-dīpikā of Rāmānanda Śarmā, 469
Kulapañjī of Rāmadeva, 69
Kula-pradīpa of Dhanañjaya, 469
Kularāma of Vāchaspati Miśra, 469
Kulārṇava, 469
Kulaśekhara, *k.* 594
Kula-tattvārṇava of Sarvānanda Miśra, 469
Kulikas, *peo.* 316, 330
Kulottuṅga, *k.* 152, 193

Kylyavāpa, land-measure, 288, 295
Kumar, S., 269
Kumāra, *k.*, 591
Kumārachandra, *a.* 382
Kumāradevī, *q.*, 154
Kumāraghosha, *t.* 525, 582
Kumāragupta I, *k.* 50
Kumāragupta, Later Gupta, *k.* 40, 46
Kumārapāla, *k.* 155, 157, 162, 312
Kumāratālaka-*maṇḍala*, 203, 320
Kumāravajra, *a.* 382
Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, *a.* 352, 364
Kumbha, *comm.* 357, 399
Kuntaka, *a.* 399
Kuṇṭīra, *loc.* 427
Kurkihār Image Ins. of Vigrahapāla II, 163
Kurma-pā, Siddha, *t.* 408
Kurpālā CP. of Samāchāradeva, 65
Kuru, *co.* 103, 104, 136
Kurus, *peo.* 27
Kurukullā-Sādhana of Kṛishṇavajra, 410
Kushāṇa terracotta, Bāngarh, Tamluk ; 644, Birol ; 648
Kuśinagara, city, 69
Kusumāñjali, *comm.*, of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta,
Kusumbi *tappā*, 190
Kuṭila Alphabet, 599
Kuṭkuṭa, *loc.* 415
Kuvalayavatī, *f.*, 357
Kuvera, *br.* 503
Kuvera images, Pāhārpur (bronze and stucco), 557, 631
Kyanzittha, *k.* 279

Laḍahachandra, *k.* 200, 205, 213
Lāḍha (=Rāḍhā), *co.* 25, 31, 520
Lāḍhas, *peo.* 26
Laghu-bhārata, 265, 271
Lajjā, *q.* 120
Lakhan-or, city, 14
Lakhnauti, city, 347, 604
Lakhnawati, *cap.* city, 235, 237, 254
Lakkhāmaṇḍal *praśasti* (Ins.), 177, 214
Lakshmadeva, *k.* 188
Lakshmaṇa II, *suz.* 260
Lakshmaṇarāja, *k.* 125, 205
Lakshmaṇasena, *k.* 14, 225, 229, 231-236, 242, 254, 321, 333, 370, 476
Lakshmaṇāvatī, *cap.* city, 7, 262, 321, 339
Lakshmī image, R. M. 542
Lakshmīdhara, *br.* 589
Lakshmīdhara, *p.* 589, 598
Lakshmīṁkara, *prcs.* 386
Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa images : Bāstā ; 540, Eshnāil, 541
Lakshmīśūra, *k.* 148, 189, 205
Lākulīśa, *t.* 576
Lāla (=Rāḍhā), *co.* 7, 31
Lalitachandra, *k.* 81, 82, 162, 166
Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa, *k.* 75, 76, 82, 85, 118, 589
Lalitavajra, *a.* 405
Laṅkā, *co.* 31, 218
Laṅkāpurī, *gen.* 594
Lanman, Charles, 15
Lar CP. of Govindachandra, 157
La Saṁ (Lakshmaṇa Saṁvat), 241, 246, 265
Lāṭa, *co.* 31, 125, 427, 435
Lāṭas, *peo.* 127, 316
Lāṭeśvara-*maṇḍala*, 175
Lauhitya, river, 28, 45, 46, 205
Lavasena, *k.* 261
Lavasena, *min.* 382
Legs-pahi Śerab, official, 585
Lévi, Sylvain, 89, 112, 176, 403, 600
Lha Lama Ye-śes-ḥod, *k.* 585
Liebich, B. 354
Liṅga, cult. 544
Lodhravali family, 375
Loha-paddhati (?*sarvasva*) of Sureśvara, 377
Lokanātha, *ch.* 9, 79, 80, 92, 495, 510, 532
Lokanātha, MS. *illustr*, 567
Loki, *f.* 385
Lo-to-ma-chi monastery, 524, 577
Lucan, *a.* 338
Lui-pā (Luyi-pā). Siddha *t.* 383, 390, 411, 527, 530
Luipāda-gītikā, 386

Macdonell, A. A., 578
Machchhindra, *a.* 407
Madagihāl Ins. 265
Madana, *p.* 598
Madanapāḍā CP. of Viśvarūpasena, 268
Madanapāla, Pāla, *k.* 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 225, 504
Madanapāla, Gāhaḍavāla, *k.* 153
Madanavarman, Chandella, *k.* 589, 598
Madanāvatī (Mayanāmatī), *q.* 198
Madāran, *sarkār*, 189
Mādhāinagar CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, 13, 220, 226, 264, 266
Mādhava, *k.* 260
Mādhava, logician, 364
Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, medical writer, 373
Mādhavagupta, Later Gupta, *k.* 50
Mādhavasena, *k.* 268
Madhumathana-deva, *k.* 275
Madhu Sen, *k.* 260
Madhusena, *k.* 238, 261, 269
Madhusūdana (=Madhumathana-deva), *k.* 284
Madhyadeśa, *co.* 53, 154, 427
Madhyamakālaṅkāra-kārikā of Kamalaśīla, 381
Madhyamaka-ratna-pradīpa of Bhāvaviveka, 404
Madhyapāḍā CP. of Viśvarūpasena, 10, 268
Mādlā-pañjī, 192
Madra, *co.* 103, 104
Madras Museum CP. of Jaṭilavarman, 494, 496
Maga Brāhmaṇas, 495, 519
Magadha-*bhukti*, 294
Magadhas, *peo.* 114, 152
Magādhī Apabhraṁśa, 527, 528
Magi, *peo.* 519.
Mahābhārata, 12, 345, 433
Mahābhavagupta I, *k.* 598
Mahādeva, scribe, 599
Mahādeva kārikā, 69
Mahākūṭa Pillar Ins. of Kīrtivarman, 44
Mahalanobis, P. C. 17, 32
Mahā-Machchhindra-pāda, 408
Mahāmāyā-sādhanopāyika of Kukkuripāda, 406
Mahaṇa, *ch.* 148, 154, 155, 158, 164
Mahantāprakāśa-*vishaya*, 319
Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, 523
Mahāpratisarā image, Bhavānipur, 565
Mahāsenagupta, *k.* 45-51, 68
Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, *k.* 141, 192
Mahāsthān Brāhmī Ins. 287, 350
Mahāsthān Śiva temple, 261, 620, 623
Mahāvaṁsa, 207, 215, 218
Mahāvaṁśāvalī (*Miśra-grantha*) of Dhruvānanda Miśra), 469
Mahāvīra, *t.* 25, 520
Mahendrapāla, *k.* 122, 124, 134
Māheśa, *a.* 469
Maheśa, *ch.* 252
Maheśvara, *comm.* 465
Mahīpāla I *k.* 8, 124, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 153, 161, 162, 163
Mahīpāla II, *k.* 142-144, 162, 437
Mahīpāla I, Pratīhāra, *k.* 137
Mahīpāla, official, 589
Mahmud, Sultan of Ghazni, 135
Mahodaya, city, 103
Maitreya, Akshaya Kumar, 97, 183, 198
Maitreya-rakshita, *lex.* 372
Maitreya-vyākaraṇa, 163
Maitrī-pā, Siddha, *t.* 382
Majumdar, B. C. 186
—Mahim Chandra, 503
—Nani Gopal, 131, 172, 193, 201, 216, 220, 281, 330
—Ramesh Chandra, 15, 34, 64, 187, 273, 330, 329, 349, 500, 502, 503, 504, 577, 600
—S. C. 15
—S. N. 266
—S. S. 285
Mālava, *co.* 222, 316, 429, 472, 594
Mālavyadevī, *q.* 217
Malaya Mountain, 75, 128
Malayasiṁha, *ch.* 215
Malkapuram Stone Pillar Ins. 601

Mallasārul CP. of Vijayasena, 79, 303, 308
Mallināṭha, *comm.* 397
Malliyā CP. of Jayanāga, 89
Māmalladevī, *f.* 361
Manahali CP. of Madanapāla, 147, 154, 156, 159, 504
Managoli Ins. of Jaitugi I, 7
Manasā images : Bansihāri ; Dacca Mus. ; I. M. (bronze), 556, 638 Khidrāpalli; 638 ; Marāil ; Pāhārpur; Pāikor ; 622, 637,
Mānasa-sarovara, *lake.* 587
Mānasollāsa (*Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi*) of Someśvara III, 392
Mānava Dharmaśāstra, 29
Mandara, *vill.* 595
Mandāra, *co.* 13, 157, 189
Mandarvā, *f.* 600
Mandasor Ins. of Yaśodharman, 41, 64
Māndhāta, *myth, k.* 174
Māndhātā CP. of Devapāla, 493
Mandrakūṭa, city, 596
Manepalli, *vill.* 596
Maner CP. 157
Maṅgalarāja Madhuratara, *ch.* 497
Mānik Chandra, *leg. k.* 197
Maṇitasena, *k.* 261
Mañjuśrī image, Balāidhāp Mound (gold-plated bronze), 563, 626
Manoratha, Maga. *br.* 495
Manu, *a.* 29, 424
Manu Smṛiti, 29, 314, 317, 413, 437
Marawa, *co.* 279
Marco Polo, *trvlr.* 342
Mārīchī image, Ujāni, 564
Marshall, Sir John, 615
Maru, *co.* 222
Mathana (Mahaṇa), *ch.* 147
Māṭhara, *a.* 363
Māthava, Videgha, *m.* 26
Mathurā, city, 104, 136
Mathurā Pillar Ins. of Chandragupta II, 26
Mātṛi-Vishṇu, *m.* 174
Matsya, *co.* 103, 104
Matsya Purāṇa, 574, 654
Matsyāvāsa, *loc.* 427, 481
Matsyendranātha, *t.* 10, 384, 386, 407, 530
Ma-Twan-Lin, 54, 88
Mayagalashiṁha (= Bhāskara), *k.* 148
Maynā, *f.* 197
Maynāmatī (Madanāvatī), *q.* 198
Maynāmatī-Gopīchānd legend, 198
Maynāmātīr-koṭ, *loc.* 197
McCrindle, J. W., 349, 500
Megasthenes, *amb.* 301, 344
Mehār CP. of Dāmodara-deva, 8
Mehārakula (Mṛikula), *loc.* 339, 198
Meherauli Iron Pillar Ins. of Chandra, 39
Mela-paryāya-gaṇanā, 469
Mi-li-kia-ti-kia-po-no, *loc.* 37
Milinda-pañha, 344
Mīmāṁsā-sarvasva of Halāyudha, 364, 371
Mīna-chetana, 198, 274
Mīnanātha, *a.* 384, 393, 407, 530
Mīna-pāda, *a.* 387, 406
Minhāj-ud-dīn Abu-Umar-i-Usmān, *a.* 246, 254, 256, 277
Mirashi, V. V., 194, 215
Misra, P. N., 247
—Vinayak, 179
Miśra-grantha, (*Mahāvaṁśāvalī*) of Dhruvānanda Miśra, 469
Mitākṣharā of Vijñāneśvara, 366, 499
Mithilā, *co.* 7,, 153, 225 229, 391
Mitra, *br.* 589
Mitra, G. 189
—Rājendra Lāla, 182, 278, 379, 502
Mlechchhas, *peo.* 74, 127, 205, 206, 489
Mohenjodaro excavations, 537
Mo-kie-tho, *loc.* 88
Mokshākaragupta, *a.* 383, 526
Monghyr CP. of Devapāla, 100, 101, 103, 105, 108, 115, 117, 170, 176, 330
Monier-Williams, 494
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh, 329, 401
—Radhakamal, 15, 67
Mṛichchhakaṭika of Śūdraka, 301
Mṛigaśikhāvana, *loc.* 37

Mṛigasthāpana-stūpa, Varendra, *illustn.*, 37, 608
Mṛikula (Mehārakula), *loc.* 198
Mudgagiri, *loc.* 107
Mudrā-rākshasa of Viśākhadatta, 354
Mughisuddin Yuzbek, *k.* 235
Muhammad Bakhtyār Khilji, 234, 250, 254, 282
Muhammad Ghuri, Sultan, 250, 588
Muhammad-ibn-Kāsim, 273
Mukhaliṅga images : Asutosh Mus., 544
Mukhaṭi, *vill.* 480
Mukhopadhyaya, H. K. 185
Muktāvastu, *loc.* 427, 493
Muktaveṇi (Triveṇi), *loc.* 488
Mummunnirāja, *ch.* 180
Muñja, Vākpati, *k.* 494
Munjang, *co.* 197
Murāri, *a.* 354, 397
Mūrtigaṇa, *t.* 597
Mu-tig Btsan-po, *k.* 118, 162

Nāḍa-pāda, Siddha, *t.* 388
Nāḍa-paṇḍita-gītikā, 409
Nadiyā, *cap.*. city, 235, 257, 339
Nadiyā Vaṅga Samāja, 475
Naḍol Ins. of Rāyapāla, 599
Nafū-ti (=Tīrabhukti ?), *co.* 84
Nāgas, *peo.* 217
Nāgabhaṭa II, *k.* 106, 107, 113, 177
Nāgabodhi (°buddhi), *sch.* 383, 405, 527
Nāgahava, *t.* 527
Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, 435
Nagarāhāra, *loc.* 116
Nāgārjuna, *sch.* 383, 385, 411, 527
Nāgārjuṇikoṇḍa Ins. 34, 522
Nāgaśesha (=Patañjali), *lex.* 592
Nāgāvaloka, *k.* 177
Nāgiraṭṭa, *loc.* 300, 415
Nagua caste, 63
Nahusha, *myth. k.* 206
Naihāti CP. of Vallālasena, 13, 219, 221, 264, 270, 322, 439
Naimittika-mūrddha-abhighrāṇa, *cerm.* 440, 444
Naishadha-Charita of Śrīharsha, 358, 395, 434
Nāla, land-measure, 297
Nala, *myth*, *k.* 509
Nālandā monastery, 37, 49, 78, 99, 116, 525
Nālandā CP. of Devapāla, 266, 308
Nālandā CP. of Dharmapāla, 330
Nālandā Stone Ins. of Vipulaśrīmitra, 16, 215
Nāma-karaṇa, *cerm.* 440, 443
Nandas, *peo.* 137
Naṅgaṭa Pukhan, province, 197
Nanna-Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), 511
Nānyadeva, *k.* 129, 152, 158, 222, 224
Nānya-*maṇḍala*, 319
Napoleon, *emp.* 62
Nārada, *a.* 292, 348, 425
Naradatta, *t.* 376
Narasiṁha images : Vikrampur, 541
Narasiṁha II, *k.* 192
Narasiṁha IV, *k.* 192
Narasiṁhārjuna, *k.* 148
Narathu, *k.* 279, 284
Nārāyaṇa, *a.* 364, 481
Nārāyaṇa, *br.* 503
Nārāyaṇa, *comm.* 395
Nārāyaṇabhadra, *ch.* 89
Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, *a.* 366
Nārāyaṇa-deva, *k.* 278
Nārāyaṇapāla, Kāmboja *k.* 126, 127
Nārāyaṇapāla, Pāla *k.* 100, 103, 119, 120, 123, 124, 131, 134, 161, 171, 304, 511, 517, 533
Nārāyanapāla II, 172, 173
Nārāyaṇasena, *suz.* 260
Narendragupta (=Śaśāṅka ?), *k.* 49
Nāro-pā (Nāḍo-pā, Nāḍa Nāḍa-pāda, Nāro, Nārota-pā, Nāda), siddha, *t.* 388, 390, 409, 527
Nātha cult. 384, 386, 530
Nātha-yogis, 387
Nāṭya-*śāstra* of Bharata, 353, 633
Nāṭya-*sūtra* of Bharata, 225, 463
Naujah, *k.* 261
Navadurgā image, Porshā, 552
Navavīpa, *cap.* city, 274
Navagīrvāna (Kharavāṇa ?), *k.* 284

Navagrāma, *vill.* 601
Nava-sāhasāṅka-charita of Śrīharsha, 362
Nāvya, *co.* 320
Navyāvakāśikā, *co.* 42, 294, 300, 339, 344, 415
Nayapāla, Kāmboja *k.* 126
Nayapāla, Pāla *k.* 137, 138, 140, 142, 161, 162, 163, 587
Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (=Jaṭilavarman), *k.* 494
Neminātha, Tīrthaṅkara, 559
Nepāla, *co.* 181, 222, 408
Nesāri CP. 177
Nidāna (=*Rug-viniśchaya*) of Mādhava, 373
Nidāna śāstra of Ullaṅga, 524
Nidhanpur CP. of Bhāskaravarman, 88, 495, 506
Nīdrāvalī, *loc.* 148, 224
Nīlakaṇṭha, *comm.* 501, 516
Nīlāmbara, *br.* 503
Nimdīghi miniature stone temple, 619
Nirdosha-kula-pañjikā of Maheśa, 469, 473
Nirgranthas, sect, 33, 520
Nirjarapura, *loc.* 230
Nirvāṇa Era. 245
Niśchalakara, *comm.* 375
Nishādas, tribe, 17, 21, 437
Nishkramaṇa, *cerm.* 366, 440, 443
Niśśaṅkamalla, *k.* 215
Nītivarman, *a.* 345
Niyāl Tigin, Ahmad, *ch.* 135
Nṛipura, *loc.*
Nudīah, *cap.* city. 254
Nulo Pañchānana, *a.* 469
Nyāya-kandalī, *comm.* of Śrīdharadāsa, 363, 496, 504
Nyāya-mañjarī of Jayantabhaṭṭa, 598
Nyāya-mātṛikā (=*Vyavahāra*°) of Jīmūtavāhana, 401
Nyāya-ratna-mālikā (=*Vyavahāra-mātṛikā*) of Jīmūtavāhana, 401
Nyāya-siddhyāloka of Chandragomin, 354, 592

Obermiller, *a.* 174
Odantapurī monastery, 110, 381, 584, 592
Oḍḍa-*vishaya*, 133
Oḍḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍiyāna, Oḍyāna), *co.* 386, 390, 403
Oḍivisa, *co.* 196, 389, 403
Oḍra-deśa, *co.* 126, 127, 151
Oḍra-*vishaya*, 429
O-lo-na-shuen, *min.* 92
O-rgyan (=Uḍḍiyāna), *co.* 403

Padārtha-dharma-saṁgraha of Praśastapāda, 363, 496
Padmaprabha, prince, 587
Padma Purāṇa, 274, 574
Padmasambhava, *t.* 381, 584, 600
Padmavajra, *t.* 390, 406
Padmāvatī, *f.* 356, 400
Padunā, *f.* 197
Paduvanvā, *loc.* 148, 190
Pādyanagara (Vidyā°), city, 389
Pag Sam Jon Zang of Sumpā Mkhan-Po, 173, 259, 402, 435, 496, 600
Pāhārpur CP. (G. E. 159), 297, 498, 520
Pāhārpur, *excve*, 110, 122, 340, 349, 439, 513, 630
Pāhārpur temple, 340, 520
Pāhārpur votive *stūpa*, 607, 609
Pāikor Pillar Ins. of Lakshmīkarṇa, 139, 208, 622
Paiṭhīnasi, *a.* 447
Palaesimundu, *co.* 34
Pālakāpya (=kappa), *a.* 353
Palapāla, *k.* 160, 195
Palāśavṛindaka, *loc.* 292, 415
Palibothra, city. 344
Pallavas, *peo.* 114
Pallināda, *vill.* 596
Paḷoura, *loc.* 346
Palpa (Palpol-thaṅ) *loc.* 587
Pañcha-Gauḍa, *co.* 7, 104
Pañchakhaṇḍa, *co.* 435
Pañcha-mahāyajña *sac.* 291
Pañchama Siṁha, Lichchhavi *k.* 166
Pañchanagarī, *co.* 339 415
Pañcharakshā, 163, 238
Pāñcharātra, 514, 538, 573
Pañcha-stūpa, sect. 520
Pañchatantra, 652
Pañchavāsa-*maṇḍala*. 320

Pañchobh CP. of Saṁgrāma-Gupta 282 285
Pāṇḍava-kulādi-pāl-ābda, 284
Panday, H. 284
Pandey, K. C. 265
Pandit, Sankar Pandurang, 87
Paṇḍita-sarvasva of Halāyudha, 371
Paṇḍita-vihāra, monastery, 525
Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi, 22, 23, 24, 644
Pāṇḍus, *peo.* 27
Pāṇḍyas, *peo.* 127, 429
Pāṇḍubh mi monastery, 383
Pāṇḍudāsa, *m.* 363, 496
Pāṇini, *lex.* 6, 321, 372
Panjara, *sarkār*, 190
Pāodumbā, *vill.* 190
Parabala, *k.* 110, 178
Parākramabāhu II, *k.* 599, 601
Paramardi, *k.* 589, 599
Paraṇāyi-*vishaya*, 320
Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Bhuvaneśvara, 618
Parganāti San, 246, 271
Pargane Bhulua San, 271
Pargiter, F. E., 43, 65
Pāribhadra, family, 367
Pāribhadra (°hāla), *vill.* 505
Pārijāta-mañjarī of Madana, 598
Paritosha, *m.* 141, 186
Parivrājaka kings, 45
Parṇaśavarī image, Vikrampur, 565
Pārśva, *t.* 520
Pārśvanātha images : Deulbhirā, 559 ; Kāntābeniā, 559
Pārvatī image, R. M. 550
Paryāya-ratna-mālā of Mādhava, 374
Pāshāṇa-chaturdaśī, *cerm.* 452
Pāsi, district, 594
Pāśupatas, sect. 517, 573, 576, 596
Paśupati, *br.* 371
Paśupati Ins. of Jayadeva II, 90
pāṭaka (*bhu*°), land-measure, 333
Pāṭaliputra, city, 37, 109, 304, 347
Pathāri Pillar Ins. of Parabala, 178
Pāṭikānagara, *cap.* city, 197, 198
Paṭṭikerā, *co.* 140, 190, 198, 238, 276, 278, 289, 339
Paṭṭikeraka monastery, 389, 525
Paul, Pramode Lal, 215
Pauṇḍras, *peo.* 29
Pauṇḍra-*bhukti*, 7, 74, 211
Pauṇḍraka linen, 341
Pauṇḍraka-Vasudeva, *k.* 27
Pauṇḍrakas, *peo.* 413
Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, 203, 211
Pauṇḍravardhanapura, city, 13
Paushṭika-karman, *cerm.* 366, 440, 444
Pavana-dūta of Dhoyī, 262, 321, 357, 400, 464, 499
Pendrabandh CP. of Pratāpamalla, 599
Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, 35, 339, 342
Petech, Lucciano, 92, 180
Pethaḍa, scribe, 599
Phalgugrāma, *vill.* 262
Phayre, A. P. 213
Phul-byun (=Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna), 600
Phullahari monastery, 409, 525
Pillai, Swamikannu, 270
Pinākanandin, *m.* 356
Pithapuram Ins. of Malla I. 182
Pīṭhī, *co.* 148, 154, 244, 280-282
Pitho, *br.* 503
Pitṛi-dayita of Aniruddha, 369, 482, 501
Pliny, *a.* 35
Plutarch, *a.* 29
Ponna, *vill.* 596
Porter, 32
Prabhākara, *t.* 364
Prabhākaravardhana, *k.* 48, 50
Prabhāvaka-charita, 177
Prabhāvatī, *f.* 584
Prabhāvati, *q.* 78, 533
Prabodha-chandrodaya of Kṛishṇamiśra, 7, 16, 400
Pradyumneśvara (Vishṇu), 510, 511, 513
Pradyumneśvara (Śiva) temple, Deopara, 225
Prāgjyotisha, *co.* 112, 202, 205, 513
Prāgjyotishas, *peo.* 112
Prāgjyotisha-*bhukti*. 156, 178, 294
Prajāpati, *br.* 504
Prajāpatinandin, *m.* 356

Prajñabhadra (=Tilopā), Siddha, *t.* 388, 409
Prajñāpanā, 14, 26, 320
Prājñāpāramitā, 560, 564
Prajñāvarman, *a.* 383
Prakāśa, *comm.* of Nārāyaṇa, 364
Prākṛita-paiṅgala, 194, 392, 459
Prālambha, *k.* 112, 206
Praśastapāda, *a.* 363
Prasioi (Prasii), *peo.* 29, 330, 338, 501
Pratāpamalla, *k.* 599
Pratāpasiṁha, *k.* 148
Pratirāja, scribe, 599
Pratishṭhā-sāgara of Vallālasena, 370
Praṭītasena, *k.* 261
Prayāga, *loc.* 250, 488
Prāyaśchitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 365, 366, 424
Prinsep, James, 268
Pṛishṭhima-pottaka, *loc.* 415
Pṛithu, *myth.*, *k.* 207, 427, 436, 509
Pṛithurāja, *k.* 260
Pṛithuvīra (°javīra, °vīraja), *k.* 43
Pṛithivīdhara, *br.* 503
Pṛithvīpāla (=Hāravarsha ?), 180, 214
Pṛithvīrāja III, *k.* 588
Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya, 175
Priyaṅgu, *cap.* city, 126, 127, 339
Przyluski, Jean, 33
Ptolemy, *a.* 35, 345
Pukkasas, tribe, 419
Pulindas, tribe, 17, 413, 419, 439, 498
Puṁsavana, *cerm.* 366, 440, 441
Puṇḍras, *peo.* ; *co.* 12, 25, 27, 413
Puṇḍranagara, city, 30, 13, 321
Puṇḍravardhana, city, 344, 347, 521, 620
Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, 40, 41, 54, 204, 287, 513
Puṇḍravardhanīya, Jaina ascetic order, 26
Pūnūru, *vill.* 596
Puṇyavardhana (=Puṇḍravardhana), *co.* 196, 522
Purāṇa, coins, 322, 333
Pūrṇachandra, *k.* 200
Pūrṇavarman, *k.* 72
Purūravas, *myth.*, *k.* 206
Purushottama, *lex.* 372
Purushottama, of Deva family, 275
Purushottamadeva, *comm.* 372
Purushottamasena, Kumāra, 238, 311
Purushottamasiṁha, *ch.* 285
Pūrvagrāma, *vill.* 481, 594
Pūrva-khāṭikā, *co.* 267
Pushkaraṇa, *loc.* 36, 39, 64, 339, 510
Pushyabhūtis, *peo.* 41, 68
Pustaka-pāṭhopāya of Dānaśīla, 383
Putali (Putuli, Puttali), *sch.* 383

Qutb Minār, Delhi, 39, 604
Qutb-ud-Dīn, Sultān, 236, 258

Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult. 514, 630
Rādhā-Kṛishṇa (?) relief, Pāhārpur, 514, 630
Radhakrishnan, Sir Sarvapalli, 363
Rāḍha (=Rāḍhā), *co.* 26, 30, 31, 121, 137, 140, 150, 207, 221, 226, 235
Rāe Lakhmaṇiah, *k.* 241, 254
Raghava, *k.* 224, 227
Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya of Kavirāja, 400
Rāghavendra, *a.* 474
Ragholi CP. of Jayavardhana, 90
Raghunandana, *a.* 365, 367, 478
Raghu-vaṁśa of Kālidāsa, *a.* 15, 338, 345, 353
Rāhan CP. of Madanapāla, 153
Rahma (Ruhmi), *co.* 116, 180
Rāhula, *sch.* 410
Rāhula, Siddhāchārya, 411
Rāhulabhadra, Siddha, *t.* 389, 390, 411
Rāhulagupta, *t.* 585
Rāhulamitra, Bhikshu, 578
Rājabhaṭa, *k.* 8, 78, 96, 97, 174, 523
Rājādhirāja II, Chola, *k.* 594
Rājāditya-Gupta, *k.* of Jayapura, 282
Rājagṛiha, city.
Rājarāja (°bhaṭa), *k.* 78, 81
Rājarāja II, Choḷa, *k.* 594
Rājaśekhara, *p.* 93, 180, 361, 396
Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, 7, 96, 340, 433, 465, 518
Rājāvalī, 260, 273

Rāja-vihāra, monastery, 523
Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā, ruins, 577, 612, 627
Rājendra Choḷa, *k.* 132, 135, 137, 161, 222
Rājñī, city, 389, 527
Rājyapāla, Kāmboja, *k.* 126, 127, 172-173
Rājyapāla, Pāla, *k.* 119, 124, 129, 131, 134, 155, 161, 204, 310
Rājyaśrī, *q.* 50, 51
Rājyavardhana, *k.* 50, 51, 52
Rakhang, *co.* 197
Raktamṛittikā vihāra, 612
Ral (=Rāḍhā), *co.* 14, 237
Ral-pa-can, *k.* 118, 181
Rāmabhadra, *k.* 113
Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī, *p.* 599
Rāma-charita of Sandhyākara Nandī, 13, 98, 117, 131, 139, 143, 146, 147, 155, 158, 164, 211, 321, 356, 526, 603
Rāmadevī, *q.* 229
Rāmādevī (Rādhā,° Vāmā°), *f.* 356
Rāmānanda Śarmā, *a.* 469
Rāmapāla, *k.* 98, 142, 143, 146, 147, 149, 154, 162, 164, 210, 224, 376, 404, 433, 592
Rāmasiddhi-*pāṭaka*, 10
Rāmāvatī, *cap.* city, 150, 262, 321, 340, 464, 577, 601
Rāmāyaṇa, 604, 652
Rāmeśvara, *loc.* 115, 340
Rāmgañj CP. of Iśvaraghosha, 185. 307
Rāmpāl CP. of Śrīchandra, 201
Raṇastambha, *k.* 121
Raṇaśūra, *k.* 133, 265
Raṇavaṅkamalla Śrī Harikāladeva, *k.* 280, 532
Rañjāvatī, *prcs.* 110
Raṇṇādevī, *q.* 178
Rārā (°Rāḍhā), *co.* 26, 30, 121, 140, 150, 207, 221, 226, 235
Rasapāla, *k.* 168
Rasika-jīvana of Bhānukara, 375
Rāthikasena, *k.* 261
Ratnākara-śānti, *t.* 404, 593
Ratnapāla, *k.* 142, 191, 389, 527
Ratnasambhava images : R. M., Vikrampur, 563, 618
Ratnavajra, *t.* 593
Raverty, H. G. 272, 654
Ray, Basanta Kumar, 497
—Hem Chandra, 172, 173
—Sir Praphulla Chandra, 376, 402
Rāyārideva, *k.* 266
Raychaudhuri, Hem Chandra, 180, 244, 282, 512, 515
Rennell, Major, J. 230, 266
Revanta images : Baḍkāmtā ; Ghāṭnagar, 519
Rewa Ins. of Malayasiṁha, 215
Rewa Stone Ins. of the time of Karṇa, 185, 208, 215, 434
Rgya-tson-gru Sengé, *amb.* 585
Rigveda, 506, 519
Rinchhen Zaṅ-po, *t.* 585
Ṛishabhanātha images : Barabhum ; Surohor, 558, 638
Risley, Sir Herbert, 19, 491
Rohitāgiri, *loc.* 200, 339, 589
Rohitāśvagiri, *loc.* 214
Rohtasgarh seal-matrix Ins. of Śaśāṅka, 49
Rolla-vāyikā, *loc.* 415
Romapāda, *k.* 353
Roy, Dwijendra Lal, 273
—J. M. 267, 271
Ruchipati Upādhyāya, *comm.* 397
Rudoka, *ch.* 146, 188
Rudramāna, *k.* 495
Rudrambā, *q.* 595
Rudraśikhara, *k.* 148
Rug-viniśchaya (*Nidāna*) of Mādhava, 373, 374
Ruhmi (Rahma), *co.* 116, 342
Ruins of monasteries : Pāhārpur ; 609, 613, Rājbāḍi, 612,
Rūpaka, coins, 296
Russell, 492

Śabara-pā (Sabara-pā), Siddha, *t.* 411, 527
Śabaras (Śavaras), tribe, 17, 345, 413, 651
Śābari (=Saraha), Siddha, *t.* 390
Śabda-chandrikā of Chakrapāṇidatta, 376

Śabda-kalpadruma, 15
Śabda-pradīpa of Sureśvara, 213, 376, 433
Sadāchandra, *k.* 64
Sadāsena, *k.* 260, 268
Sadāsiva image, 267, 517, 545, 636, 641
Sadāśiva Image Ins. of Gopāla III, 642
Sadāśiva-mudrā, 533
Sadbhāva-śambhu, *t.* 594
Sadukti-karṇāmṛita of Śrīdharadāsa, 231, 241, 268, 356, 481
Sagara, *myth*, *k.* 509
Sagarapāla, Nāgarāja, 98
Sāgara-prakāśa, 469
Sāhābadin (=Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī), Sultān, 588
Sahaja-dharma, 530, 531, 534
Sahaja-siddha, 384
Sahajiyā sect. 530, 535, 536
Sāhasamalla, *k.* 215
Sahidulla, *a.*, 393, 407, 410, 499, 528
Śaila *dyn.* 74
Śailendra *dyn.* 116, 525, 582
Sāinyabhīta III, *k.* 123
Śailodbhava *dyn.* 50, 72, 123
Śaiva-sarvasva of Halāyudha, 371
Śakadvīpa, *co.* 419, 475, 495, 519
Śākala-dvīpikā, 475
Śākambharī, *loc.* 599
Sakaṭi, river, 481, 494
Sakot, *pargana*, 190
Śakrotthāna, *cerm.* 453
Śakti, *br.* 589
Śaktipur CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, 14, 503
Śakti-śambhu, *t*, 594
Śaktisangama-tantra, 7
Śaktisvāmī, *min.* 355, 589, 598
Salai, *peo.* 34
Sālaputra, *loc.* 409
Saletore, B. A. 407
Śālikanātha, *a.* 364
Salike, *co.* 34
Śaliputra, *loc.* 407, 411
Sallakshaṇavarman, *k.* 589
Samāchāradeva, *k.* 42, 43, 44, 65, 82, 303
Sāmalavarman, *k.* 209, 211, 429, 474, 499
Sāmahtasāra CP. of Harivarman, 209, 216
Sāmantasena, *k.* 219, 223, 264, 506
Samantaśubha, *k.* 407
Samataṭa, *co.* 1, 36, 38, 40, 42-45, 49, 71, 77, 81, 202, 520
Samataṭa-*maṇḍala*, 213, 320
Samāvartana, *cerm.* 366, 440, 447
Sāmaveda, 506
Śāmba, *k.* 495, 519
Saṁbandha-nirṇaya of Lālmohan Vidyānidhi, 274, 503
Saṁbandha-viveka of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 447, 448, 498
Saṁbhrama, *a.* 368, 401
Saṁdhā-bhāshā, 380
Saṁgraha-ṭīkā of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, 364
Saṁgrāma-Gupta, *k.* 282
Saṁkakoṭa (Saṅkakoṭa), city, 190
Sāṁkhya-kārikā of Īśvarakṛishṇa, 363
Saṁskāra-paddhati (=*Chhāndoga-karmā-nushṭhāna*°) of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 366
Samudragupta, *emp.* 8, 38, 39
Samudrasena, prince, 27
Saṁvādaka, *m.* 59
Sanātana, *k.* 381, 403, 593
Sānchi Stūpa Ins. mentioning Puṇavadhana, 522
Sandhyākara Nandī, *p.* 97, 187, 356, 433
Saṅgu, *gen.* 134, 184
Sañjān CP. of Amoghavarsha I, 177
Sankanāt, city, 255, 273
Śaṅkara, *comm.* 61, 70, 362
Śaṅkaragaṇa, *feud.* 48, 107
Saṅkaṭagrāma, *loc.* 148
Śankhadhara, *a.* 369, 401
Śaṅkha Smṛiti, 424, 497
Sāṅkṛityayana, Rāhula, 185, 404, 405
Sannagara monastery, 525
Śānta-śambhu, *t.* 597
Śānti (°-pā). Siddha, *t.* 407

Śāntideva, *a.* 380
Śāntideva (Bhusuku), *t.* 380
Śāntinātha image, Ujāni, 559
Śāntirakshita (=Śānta°), *a.* 380, 402, 583, 591, 600
Saptagrāma, port city, 3, 189, 339
Śāradātilaka-tantra, 550
Saraha (°-pā), Siddha *t.* 384, 389, 527
Śaraṇa *p.* 231, 233, 357, 372, 400
Saraṇadatta, *a.* 272
Sārasvata, *co.* 7
Sarasvatī image, Chhātingrāma, 542, 639
Saraswati, Sarasi Kumar, 578, 608, 615, 627, 637, 656
Sarayū, river, 56
Śarideśa, *co.* 410
Sarkar, Girindra Mohan, 243, 264
—Himansu Bhusan, 600
—Sir Jadunath, 187
Sarma, Parameswar, 504
Sārnāth Image Ins. of Mahīpāla, 134, 161, 163
Śārṅgadhara, *p.* 355
Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, 355
Saroruha (Sarojavajra, Saroruhavajra), Siddha, *t.* 388, 390, 410
Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha of Mādhava, 364, 382
Sarvānanda, *lex.* 373, 377, 392
Sarvānanda Miśra, *a.* 457, 469, 481, 498
Sarvāṇī (Durgā) images: Deulbāḍi (inscribed), 78, 549, 627
Śarvavarman, *k.* 46, 47
Śaśāṅka, *k.* 7, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49-63, 82, 303, 430, 475, 516, 532
Sastri, H. Krishna, 436
—Haraprasad, 16, 137, 143, 146, 163, 379, 392, 528, 532
—K. A. Nilakanta, 133, 180, 183
—Srinivasa, 284
—T. Ganapati, 15, 68
Satānanda, *m.* 355, 399
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 26, 542
Sataṭa-Padmāvatī-*vishaya*, 203, 320
Sātgāon, *sarkār*, 190
Satrughna, *suz.* 260
Satsaī of Vihārīlāl, 358
Sattasaī (Saptaśatī), 472, 473
Sātvants, sect, 514
Satyapīr-bhiṭā shrine, 606, 609
Śaunaka, *br.* 504
Saurāshṭra, *co.* 472
Śavara caste, 419, 438
Śavari-pāda (Śavara°), Siddha, *t.* 383, 385
Śavarīśvara, (=Śavara-pā), 385
Śāvarotsava, *fest.* 452
Schiefner, Anton, 196
Schoff, W. H. 345
Seka-śubhadayā, 164, 196, 259
Sekaddeśa-tikā of Nāro-pā, 409
Sen Dinesh Chandra, 198
—J. S. 497
—Nabin Chandra, 273
—B. C. 309, 329
—Prabhash Chandra, 174
—Sukumar, 196, 273, 394, 532
Seng-ha-pu-lo, *loc.* 214
Shahabuddin, Sultān, 260
Shah Jellal, *gen.* 278
Shapur, *k.* 70
Shashṭhī images, 557
Sheng-Chi, *trvlr.*, 78, 96, 523
Shergarh, *pargana*. 189
Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī, Sultān, 250, 588
Shivaji, *ch.* 62
Siddhala-grāma, *vill.* 14, 210, 306, 481
Siddhas, 384
Siddhāmṛita (Siddha), *sect.* 386
Siddha-yoga of Vṛinda, 375
Siddheśvara temple, Bahulārā, 619
Sīhabāhu, *k.* 31
Sīhalas, *peo.* 34
Sīhapura, city, 31
Sihvar CP. of Jayachchandra, 232
Śikshā-samuchchaya of Śāntideva, 380
Śīla, *k.* 166
Śīlabhadra, *t.* 49, 78, 380, 402, 495, 525, 590
Śilāditya, *k.* 54, 434
Silakuṇḍa, *loc.* 415
Śīlarakshita, *t.* 585
Silimpur Stone Slab Ins. 13, 191, 493
Silua Image Ins. (Brāḥmī), 30

Sīmantonnayana, *cerm.* 366, 440, 442
Simhachandra, *k.* 166
Simhapallī, *vill.* 597
Simhapura, city, 206, 207, 208, 340
Simhavāhinī (Durgā) image, Pokharṇā, 654
Simhavarman, *k.* 36, 303
Sindhia, *feud.* 221
Sindhu, *co.* 106
Sindhurāja, *k.* 180
Sinnamanur CP. of Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha, 114, 115
Sirāj-ud-daulā, Nawab, 240
Sircar, Dines Chandra, 44, 47, 79, 132, 172, 201, 210, 211, 249, 512
Śiromaṇi, Bharat Chandra, 401
Sirur Ins. of Amoghavarsha I, 121
Śishya-lekha-dharma of Chandragomin, 354
Śiva cult. 544
Śivachandra, official, 66
Śiva-Chandraśekhara image, Pāhārpur, 544
Śivadāsasena Yaśodhara, *comm.* 375
Śiva images : Asutosh Mus. (bronze), 544, 545 ; Ganespur, 544 ; Jaynagar (bronze), 544 ; Kāsīpur, 545 ; Maṇirtat (bronze), 544, 627 ; Pāhārpur, 544, 631
Śivakara, *k.* 113, 90
Siva *liṅga* (terracotta), Paharpur, 652
Śiva Naṭarāja image, Śankarbāndhā, 545
Śivanātha, *ch.* 79
Śivarājadeva, *ch.* 147, 149
Śivaratha, 433
Śiva-Śakti-siddhi of Śrīharsha, 362
Śivasiṁha, *k.* 271
Skanda Purāṇa, 15, 436
Smith, Vincent A. 36, 270
Smṛiti-chandrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa, 501
Soḍḍhala, *p.* 104, 117, 180, 434
Solinus, *a.* 29
Soma, *k.* 148, 222
Soma (=Śaśāṅka), *k.* 53, 72, 68
Somapura (Somapurī) monastery, 111, 122, 340, 383, 389, 525, 609, 616
Soma-śambhu, *t.* 594
Somaśila, *loc.* 596
Someśvara I, Chālukya *k.* 140, 186, 222
Someśvaradeva, Nāgavaṁśī, *k.* 192
Sonārgāon, *cap.* city, 277
Śoṇitapura, city, 320
Sonpur CP. of Mahāśivagupta, 186
Soshyantī-homa, *cerm.* 366, 440, 442
Śrāvastī, *co.* 494, 624
Śravastī, city, 494
Śrīchandra, *k.* 131, 200, 202, 204, 205
Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, *comm.* 363, 496
Śrīdhara, *br.* 589
Śrīdharadāsa, *a.* 231, 241, 356, 362
Śrī Gupta, *k.* 36, 37, 38, 79
Śrīharsha, *p.* 228, 358-362, 395, 459
Śrī-Harsha (=Harshavardhana), *emp.* 166
Śrīhira, *m.* 361
Śrikara, *a.* 369
Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, *comm.* 375
Śrīkṛishṇa, *comm.* 424
Śrīkṛishṇa-kīrtana of Ananta Baḍu Chaṇḍīdāsa, 531
Śrī-Kurmam Ins. of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, 192
Śrīmaḍommaṇapāla (Ḍommaṇapāla), *ch.* 267
Śrī-Māra Śrī-Vallabha, *k.* 114, 115
Śrīnagara-*bhukti*, 294
Śrīnāthāchārya Chūḍāmaṇi, *a.* 241, 457, 488, 499
Śrīnivāsa, *a.* 377, 481
Śrīpati, scribe, 599
Śrīśaila, mountain, 596
Srishṭidhara, *comm.* 372
Śrī-vijaya-praśasti of Śrīharsha, 361
Srong-tsan Gampo, *k.* 48, 73, 83, 84, 583
Sthairya-vichāra-prakaraṇa of Śrīharsha, 361
Sthālīkkaṭa-*vishaya*, 319
Sthāṇvīśvara, city, 41
Sthiramati, *t.* 591
Sthirapāla, *m.* 134
Stone jambs, lintels : Gaur, 622 ;
Stone niche-pilasters : Pāhārpur, 622, Sundarban, 622

Stone Pillar : Bādāl (inscribed), 111-114, 120, 304, 321, 477, 511, 517 ; Bāngarh, 126, 172 ; Dināj pur Palace (inscribed), 621 ; Hāndiāl, 621 ; Pāikor (inscribed), 139, 208
Strabo, *a.* 344
Stūpas : Bahulārā, 606, 609 ; Pāhārpur, 606, 609 ; Satyapīr-*bhiṭā*, 606, 609 ; Ashrafpur, 609 ; Jogigopha, 606, 609
Subbhabhūmi, *co.* 25
Śubhakara, *k.* 112, 383
Śubhākaragupta, *a.* 405, 526
Śubhaśāntivarman, *k.* 388
Subhāshitāvalī of Vallabha, 400
Śubhaśrī, 593
Śuddhi-vajra-pradīpa of Jālandharipāda, 388
Sudi Ins. 186
Śūdraka, *k.* 141, 142, 430, 472
Suhma, *co.* 26, 28, 41, 465
Suhmas, *peo.* 127, 413, 419
Śuka, *t.* 362
Sukalpa, Chove, *t.* 389
Śukasena, *leg. k.* 260
Sukha-rātri-vrata, *fest.* 452
Sukhavatī, city, 592
Sūkshmaśiva, scribe, 599
Sadukti-karṇāmṛita of Śrī dharadāsa, 356, 362
Sulaiman, *trvlr.*, 116, 342
Śūlapāṇi, *a.* 365
Śūlapāṇi, Rāṇaka, *art.* 312, 343
Sumpā Mkhan-po, *a.* 380, 382, 405, 411, 577
Sunandā, *f.* 353
Sundarban CP. of Ḍommaṇapāla, 234
Sundarban CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, 320
Suṅga terracotta : Pokharṇa, 646 ; Tamluk, 644
Śūnya-vāda, 363
Śūra *dyn*, 134, 477
Śūrapāla (=Sureśvara), *a.* 376
Śūrapāla, ruler of Kujavatī, 148
Śūrapāla I, Pāla *k.* 119, 161
Śūrapāla II, Pāla *k.* 142, 143, 147, 162, 304
Śūrasena, *suz.* 260
Sureśvara, *a.* 376
Sūrya images-Bāirhāṭṭā, 519 ; Dacca Mus. (bronze), 627 ; Deorā, 555, 626 ; Kāsīpur, 626; Kotālipāda 555; Kuldiā, 636; Kumārpur, 555, 623 ; Mahendra, 555; Mahisantosh, 182; Manda, 555 ; Niyāmatpur, 519, 555, 623 ;
Sūryasena, Kumāra, 238, 249, 311
Susena, *k.* 261
Suśruta, *a.* 338, 374
Susthitavarman, *k.* 45, 47
Susunia Rock Ins. of Chandravarman, 31, 36, 39, 350, 509
Sūtas, story-tellers, 418
Suvarṇa, *m.* 164
Suvarṇabhūmi, *co.* 344, 582
Suvarṇachandra, *k.* 200, 201
Suvarṇachandra, *leg. k.* 197
Suvarṇadeva, *ch.* 147, 158
Suvarṇadvīpa, *co.* 525, 585
Suvarṇagrāma, *loc.* 273, 300, 339
Suvarṇakuḍya, *loc.* 341
Suvarṇa-vīthī, *loc.* 42, 300
Suviśada-saṁpuṭa, *comm.* of Taṅkadāsa, 383
Suvvuṅga-*vishaya*, 511
Svachchhanda-*pāṭaka*, *loc.* 415
Svāmidevar (Umāpatideva), *t.* 594
Svayambhu Purāṇa, 106, 176
Śveta-Varāhasvāmin (Vishṇu), 510, 513
Śyāmalavarman, *k.* 429, 474

Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, 14, 231, 234, 254, 343, 601, 654
Ta Cheng-teng, *trvlr.* 524
Taḍā, *vill.* 588
Tag-tshal, *loc.*, 585
Tailakampa, *loc.* 148, 619
Takakusu, J. 577
Takkaṇalāḍam (=Dakshiṇa Rāḍhā), *co.* 133
Takshāditya, scribe, 599
Tālavāṭi, *vill.* 481
Talcher CP. of Gayāḍatuṅga, 13, 589
Tamālikā (=Tāmralipti), port city, 3
Tambapani, *loc.* 31
Tampadīpa, *co.* 279

Tāmradvīpa, *isl.* 585
Tāmralipti (Tāmraliṗta), port city, 14, 71, 79, 321, 339, 523, 581, 653
Tāmraliptika, *co.* 7
Tāṁraliptika, Jaina ascetic order, 26
Tandabutti (Daṇḍabhukti), *co.* 133
Tānti-pā, *a.* 407
Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta, 386
Tantrasāra of Kṛishṇānanda, 408
Tantra-vārtika of Tautātita, 366
Tao-lin, *trvlr.* 524
Taprobane, *isl.* 34
Tārāchaṇḍi Rock Ins. 267
Tārā images : Chandradvīpa (Ms. *Illustn.*), 10, 566, Dhondai, 563, 608, 638
Tārā temple, Kalasan (Java), 582
Tāranātha, *a.* 11, 12, 81, 96, 98, 110, 112, 118, 154, 155, 166-169, 199, 261, 281, 404, 410, 593
Tarāorī, battle of, 588
Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhi of Shāms-i-Sirāj, Afif. 284
Tarka-bhāshā of Mokshākaragupta, 383
Tarkāri (Tarkārikā, Tarkāra, Ṭakkāra, Ṭakārī, Ṭakkārikā), *loc.* 427, 493, 598
Tarpaṇadīghī CP. of Lakshmaṇasena, 13
Tattva-prabodha of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, 364
Tattva-saṁgraha of Śāntirakshita, 381
Tattva-saṁvādinī of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, 364
Tattva-svabhāvadohākośa-gītikā-dṛishṭi of Lui-pāda, 407
Tautātita-mata-tilaka of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, 364, 366
Tawney, C. H., 15
Temple, Sir R. C., 92
'Temple of China', 37
Temple illustns. in MS. : Lokanātha (Daṇḍa-bhukti, Nālendra, Rāḍhā, Samataṭa, Varendra), 567
Tārā (Varendra), 526
Terracotta 643-653, 656
Te-tsong, *k.* 113
Tezpur CP. of Vanamāla, 182, 266
Thaṅ-vihāra, monastery, 587
Thaṭa, *co.* 408
Tholing monastery, 587
Thomas, F. W. 92, 118, 180, 403
Ṭīkā-sarvasva of Sarvānanda, 373, 457, 481, 498, 503
Tilokasundarī, *q.* 215, 218
Tilo-pā (Tillo-pāda, Telipā, Tilli°-tilli°, Tailopa, Tillapā, Tilapa, Tillopa, Telli-pā, Telopā, Tailaka-pāda Teli-yogī, Tila-yogī), Siddha, *t.* 388, 407, 409, 527
Timgyadeva, *k.* 156, 191, 312
Tī-na-fu-ti (=Tīrabhukti), *co.* 92, 184
Tippera CP. of Lokanātha, 79, 80, 423
Tipu, Sultan, 62
Tīrabhukti, *co.* 84, 184, 294
Tīrahuti, *co.*, 166, 168, 196
Tiruvālangādu CP. of Rājendra Choḷa, 133, 213
Tiruvalīśvara temple Ins. 601
Todarmall, Rājā, 270
Toṇḍi, district, 594
Traikūṭaka Devālaya, 525
Traikūṭaka-*vihāra*, monastery, 525
Trailokyachandra, *k.* 9, 131, 200, 202, 202
Trailokyasundarī, *prcs.* 218
Trailokyavarman, *k.* 590
Tribhuvanapāla, Yuvarāja, 110, 120, 310
Trighattika, *loc.* 415
Trigrāmi, *loc.* 76
Trikāṇḍaśesha of Purushottama, 372
Triliṅga, *co.* 166
Tripathi, R.S. 88, 177
Tripurī, *co.* 595
Triveṇī, *loc.* 230, 339, 488
Triveṇī-saṅgama, *loc.* 263
Trivritā, *loc.* 415
Tsang, *co.* 585
Tsātigāon, *loc.* 388
Tshul Khrim-gyalwa, *amb.* 586
Tughril Khān, *ch.* 277
Tulākshetra, *co.* 608
Tulāpurusha Mahādāna, *sac.* 226, 262, 278
Tuṅga, *k.* 124, 182
Tuṅga-dharmāvaloka, *k.* 182
Turushkas, *peo.* 261, 281, 593

Uchchāla, *co.* 148
Uchchhushma-jambhala-sādhana of Abhayākaragupta, 404
Udantapura, city, 252
Udayāditya, *k.* 218
Udayamāna, *ch.* 347
Udayarāja, *ch.* 588
Udayasundarī-kathā of Soḍḍhala, 104, 117, 174, 496
Udayin, *k.* 217, 218
Uḍḍiyāna, *co.* 381, 530, 600
Uḍra, *co.* 77, 192
Uḍragrāma-*maṇḍala*, 319
Uḍyāna, *co.* 600
Udyotakeśarī, *k.* 141, 186
Ujjayinī, city, 48, 407
Ujjvalā, *f.* 371
Ullaṅga, *a.* 524
Umā-Maheśvara images : Birol, 617 ; I. M., 546
Umāpati, *m.* 364
Umāpatideva, *t.* 594
Umāpatidhara, *p.* 196, 227, 231, 233, 267, 357, 358, 400
Umā (Ushā ?) vana, city, 320
Umāvarman, *k.* 215
Unmāna (*udāna*), land-measure, 333
Upala monastery, 596
Upanayana, *cerm.* 366, 440, 445
Upavaṅga, *co.* 8, 11
U-rgyana, *co.* 403
Uśanas Smṛiti, 434, 436, 497
Utgikar, N. B. 92
Utkala, *co.* 7, 49, 56, 112, 304, 430
Utkalas, *peo.* 111, 430
Utsāha, *br.* 503
Uttara-kāmikāgama, 545
Uttarāpatha, *co.* 104, 113
Uttara Rāḍhā, *co.* 13, 14, 133, 183, 320, 503
Uttara-Rāḍhā-*maṇḍala*, 14
Uttiralāḍam, *co.* 133, 183
Uṭṭupīlla, *vill.* 596

Vāchaspati Miśra, *a.* 367, 396, 469, 476, 504
Vāda-nyāya-vṛitti-vipañchitārtha, 381
Vāgbhaṭa, *a.* 373, 375
Vāhukadhavala, *ch.* 107
Vaidarbhī Rīti (Mārga), 351
Vaidyadeva, *min.* 97, 156, 311, 533
Vaidyanātha Temple Ins. 89
Vaigrāma, *vill.* 494
Vaijayantī, *lex.* 433
Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya, *k.* 40, 41, 42, 303, 516, 532
Vaiśāli, city, 295
Vaishṇava-sarvasva of Halāyudha, 371
Vājapeya, *sac.* 123
Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā, 352
Vajjabhumi, *co.* 25
Vajraghaṇṭa, *t.* 405
Vajra-pāda-sāra-saṁgraha of Nāro-pā, 389
Vajrāsana, *loc.* 281, 388
Vajrasattva image, Sukhabāspur, 406, 564
Vajra-Tārā images : I. M., 565 ; Mājvāḍi, 563, 564, 565
Vajrāvali-nāma-maṇḍalopāyika of Abhayākaragupta, 404
Vajravarman, *k.* 207, 215
Vajrayogini CP. of Sāmalavaraman, 209, 217
Vakhaṭa-sumālikā, *loc.* 415
Vākpāla, *gen.* 110, 119, 170
Vākpati, *k.* 179
Vākpati Muñja, *k.* 13
Vākpatirāja, *a.* 75
Vakrokti-jīvita of Kuntaka, 399
Valerian, *emp.* 70
Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, 156, 212
Vallabhadevī, *q.* 98
Vallabhānanda, merchant, 252
Vallabharāja, *ch.* 233
Vallahiṭṭhā, *vill.* 14
Vallāla-charita of Ānandabhaṭṭa, 190, 224, 251, 261, 421
Vallālasena, *k.* 160, 226, 228-230, 232, 242, 428, 440, 472, 476, 532, 534
Vallālasena II, *k.* 261
Vallee Poussin, Louis de la, 379, 403
Vallīmuṇḍa-*maṇḍala*, 319
Vāloka (Bālaka), *a.* 365

Vāmana, *br.* 503
Vanamālī Kara, *min.* 436
Vanaratna, *a.* 383, 526
Vandyaghaṭī, *vill.* 480
Vaṅgas, *peo.* 26, 152 413, 467,
Vāṅgaka, linen, 341
Vaṅgālas *peo.* 152
Vaṅga, Vaṅgāla, *co.* 1, 8, 10, 11, 25, 27, 28, 29, 39, 41, 45, 75, 77-82, 127 133, 166, 202, 205, 222, 229, 299, 467, 502, 520
Vaṅgāla-deśa, 10, 133
Vaṅgalaṇḍai, *co.* 497
Vaṅganagara, city, 340
Vaṅgasena, *a.* 377
Vaṅgāvagadha, *peo.* 25
Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta, 547, 554
Vāpaḍāla, *vill.* 481
Vappaghoshavāṭa CP. of Jayanāga, 89, 339
Vapyaṭa, *ch.* 96, 174
Varāhamihira, *a,* 7, 352, 519
Vārāhī images, R. M. 554, 638
Vāraka-*maṇḍala-vishaya*, 300
Vardhamāna, city, 130, 339, 608
Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, 13, 42, 126, 130, 294, 321
Vardhana, *k.* 224, 225
Vārendra-kula-pañjikā, 469
Varendra-*maṇḍala*, 13, 99, 320, 349, 597
Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 187, 626
Varṇa-deśanā of Purushottama, 372
Varṇamāna, *k.* 495
Varsha-kaumudī of Govindānanda, 500
Varuṇa images : Dhuroil, 558 ; Pāhārpur, 557
Vasantapāla of Pāla *dyn.* 134
Vasanta-tilaka of Kṛishṇa, 410
Vasāvana, *br.* 597
Vāstu, *myth. pers*, 433, 495
Vasu, Nagendra Nath, 173, 209, 268, 470, 503
Vāsudeva, of Deva, *dyn.* 275
Vaṭagohālī monastery, 520
Vaṭeśvara, *br.* 504
Vatsa, *br.* 504
Vatsarāja, *k.* 102, 175
Vātsyāyana, *a.* 7, 435, 455, 465
Vaṭuka-Bhairava (Śiva) image, Dacca Mus. 548
Vāyādumba, Mlechchha, *ch.* 261
Vāyu Purāṇa, 320
Vāyu-tattva-bhāvanopadeśa of Goraksha, 408
Vedāchārya, *a.* 366
Vedavyāsa Smṛiti, 434
Velanāṇḍu, *co.* 124
Velaṅgapuṇḍi, *vill.* 595
Velināḍa-*vishaya*, 595
Vellāla, *co.* 596
Velvikudi CP. of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ, 115, 180, 496
Veṇa, *myth. K.* 207, 417, 427, 491
Venbai, battle of, 115
Veṇī-saṁhāra of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, 354
Veṅgi, *co.* 121
Vibhūtichandra, *a.* 383, 405, 526
Vidarbha, *co.* 106, 351
Vidyabhusana, Satish Chandra, 403, 593, 601
Vidyākara, *a.* 362
Vidyānagara (Pādya°), city, 389
Vidyananda, Tejaschandra, 500
Vidyanidhi (Bhattacharya), Lal Mohan, 503
Vidyāpati, *p.* 248, 396
Vidyasagara, Jivananda, 401, 492
Vigamachandra, *leg. k.* 166
Vigrahapāla I, *k.* 119, 120, 123, 161, 170-171, 304, 310
Vigrahapāla II, *k.* 119, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131, 162, 163
Vigrahapāla III, *k.* 97, 139, 140, 142, 158, 162, 163, 533
Vihārapāṭaka, *loc.* 370
Vihārilāl, *p.* 358
Vijaya, Chandella, *k.* 115
Vijaya, *leg.* prince, 31, 179, 582
Vijayabāhu I, *k.* 215, 218
Vijayachandra, *k.* 232, 358, 361, 398
Vijayanagara, city, 263, 274
Vijaya-praśasti of Śrīharsha, 228, 361
Vijayapura, city, 262, 274, 321, 339, 455, 464

Vijayarāja, *ch.* 148, 224
Vijayarakshita, *comm.* 374
Vijayasena, Mahāsāmanta, 43, 153, 158, 161
Vijayasena, Sena, *k.* 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 234, 242, 465, 532
Vijayasiṁha, *leg. k.* 207, 260
Vijayaśrī (=*Pārijāta-mañjarī*) of Madana, 598
Vijjala, *k.* 222
Vijñāneśvara, *a.* 401, 453
Vikrama-Chālukya era. 194
Vikramāditya, *m.* 221
Vikramāditya VI, *k.* 140, 150, 222, 436
Vikramāṅkadeva-charita of Bilhaṇa, 186
Vikramapura, cap. city. 150, 157, 203, 209, 226, 262, 339, 472
Vikramapura-*bhāga*, 320
Vikramapurī monastery, 525
Vikramarāja, *k.* 148, 211
Vikramaśīla (=Dharmapāla), *k.* 117, 178, 356
Vikramaśīla monastery, 110, 178, 381, 525, 585, 592
Vilāsadevī, *q.* 224, 265
Vimalachandra, *k.* 166, 196, 408
Vimala-śambhu, *t.* 594
Vimala-śiva, *t.* 594
Vīṇā-pā, Siddha, *t.* 411
Vīṇāpāda, Siddha *t.* 390
Vinayadhara (=Tshul Khrim-gyalwa), *amb.* 586
Vinaya-piṭaka, 29, 522
Vinayaśrīmitra, Bhikshu, 389
Vindhya, *co.* 113, 116, 136
Vindurati, *q.* 130
Vinītatuṅga II, *k.* 214, 589
Viprakalpa-latikā, 261
Vīra (Vīraguṇa), *ch.* 224
Vīrabhadras, guards, 595
Vīradeva, *t.* 116
Vīraguṇa, *ch.* 148
Vira-mitrodaya of Mitra Miśra, 366
Vīrasena of Sena *dyn.* 219, 221
Vīraśrī, *q.* 207, 209
Vīravarman, *k.* 590
Vīravatī, *vill.* 599
Virūpa, Siddha, *t.* 388, 390
Virūpa-gītikā, 409
Virūpa-pada-chaturaśīti, 388
Virūpa-vajra-gītikā, 409
Viśākhadatta, *a*, 354
Vīśaladeva, *k.* 599
Vishṇu Dharmaśāstra, 416, 424
Vishṇugupta, *k.* 64, 89
Vishṇu images : Bāghāura, 132, 540, 636, 639 ; Chaitanpur, 539 ; Deorā, 540 ; Hānkrāil, 538, 623 ; I. M. ; 641 ; Kākdīghi, 627 ; Lakshmaṇkāṭi, 539, 638 ; Pāhārpur (terracotta), 652 ; Rangpur, 540 ; Sonārang, 622 ; Surohor, 540 ;
Vishṇu *avatāra*, images : Vāmana (Jorādeul), 541 ; (Purāparā), 541 ; Varāha (Silimpur), 541
Vishṇunagara, city, 409
Vishṇu Purāṇa, 414, 433, 438, 447
Viśvāditya (Viśvarūpa), *m.* 141
Viśvarūpasena, *k.* 10, 231, 236, 238, 242, 268, 519, 533
Viśvarūpa, *k.* 141, 142, 249
Viśveśvara, city, 596
Viśveśvara-Golakī, *vill.* 595
Viśvesvara-śambhu, *t.* 594, 596
Vittapāla of Pāla *dyn.* 155
Vizagapatam CP. of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, 192
Vodāmayūtā, *loc.* 597
Votive Stūpa, 609
Vrātyas, sect. 491
Vṛikshachandra, *leg. k.* 166
Vṛikshāyurveda of Sureśvara, 377
Vṛinda, *a.* 375
Vṛindāvana, *loc.* 357, 488
Vṛitti-mālā of Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī, 599
Vṛitta-ratnākara pañchikā of Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī, 599
Vyāghrataṭī, *co.* 266, 308, 319
Vyāsa, *a.* 219, 457, 497
Vyavahāra-māṭṛikā of Jīmūtavāhana, 365, 367
Vyavahāra-mayūkha of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, 501
Vyavahāra-tattva of Raghunandana, 366

Vyavahāra-tilaka of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, 366
Vyūha-vāda, 514

Waddell, L. A., 92, 402, 600
Wang-hiuen-tse, *amb.* 73, 84
Wassilijev, 407
Watters, Thomas, 68, 69, 91, 577
Weber, A. 355
Wilson, C. R. 15
Winternitz, Moritz., 264, 379, 403
Wooden bracket, Sonarang, 622
Wooden pillars, Arial, 621
Woodroffe, Sir John, *a.* 379
Wu-cha, *co.* 112

Xandrames, *k.* 30

Yadu, *myth. pers.* 181, 206
Yadu, *co.* 103
Yadus (Yādavas) *peo.* 104
Yājñavalkya, *a.* 515, 598
Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, 433, 497
Yajñeśa-Gupta, *k.* of Jayapura, 282
Yajur-veda, 506
Yakshapāla, *k.* 141, 142, 186, 382, 404
Yama images : Pāhārpur, 557, 631 ; R. M., 558 ;
Yamunā image, Pāhārpur, 557, 630
Yaśaḥpāla, *min.* 195, 589
Yaśobhadra (=Naro-pā), Siddha, *t.* 388, 409
Yaśodevī, *q.* 223
Yaśodhara-charita of Kanakasena, 264
Yaśodharman, *k.* 41, 45, 74
Yaśovarman, Chandella, *k.* 125
Yaśovarman, *k.* of Kānyakubja, 74, 75 81, 86
Yauvanaśrī, *q.* 139
Yavana, *co.* 103, 104
Yavanas, tribe, 26, 235, 237, 345, 419, 429, 475, 489
Yayāti, *myth. k.* 206, 509
Yeses-dpal-bases-gnen (=Jñānaśrīmitra), 593
Yoga-ratnamālā of Kṛishṇa, 410
Yogavāsishṭha-saṁkshepa of Abhinava-paṇḍita, 355, 364
Yoginī-kaula cult. 384, 408
Yoglauka (Yogloka), *a.* 365, 401
Yolā-*maṇḍala*, 320
Yue-chi, *co.* 346
Yudhishṭhira, epic, *k.* 27
Yuvarāja I, *k.* 117, 125, 205, 594

Zahor, *co.* 380, 402, 600
Ziauddin Barni, *a.* 277
Zi-ba-htsho (=Śāntirakshita), *t.* 600
Zla-wa-dge-bsnen (=Chandragomin), *t.* 592
Zosimus, *a.* 70

Errata

In the abbreviations of the Index printed in small letters at the top of p. 658,

add at the beginning of line 8, (legendary), lex.

In line 9 for *pres* read *prcs*.

Plate I



Fig. 1. Begunia Temple (Barakar)

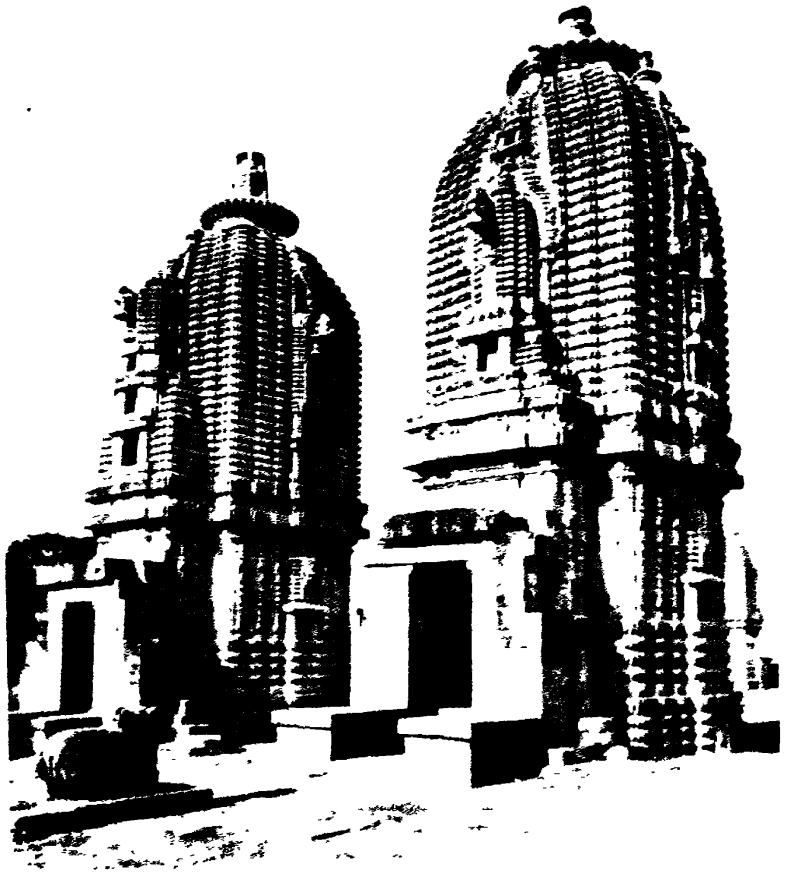


Fig. 2. Begunia Temples. (Barakar)

Plate II

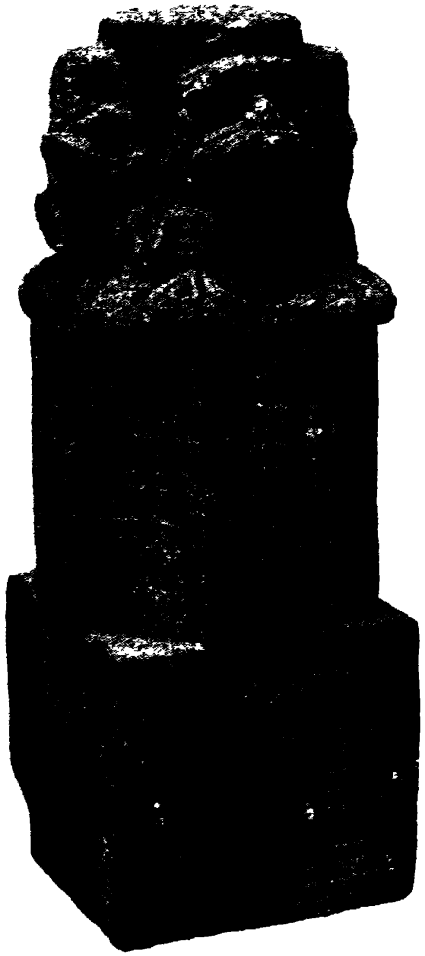


Fig. 3. Chaturmukha Liṅga (Gauḍa)

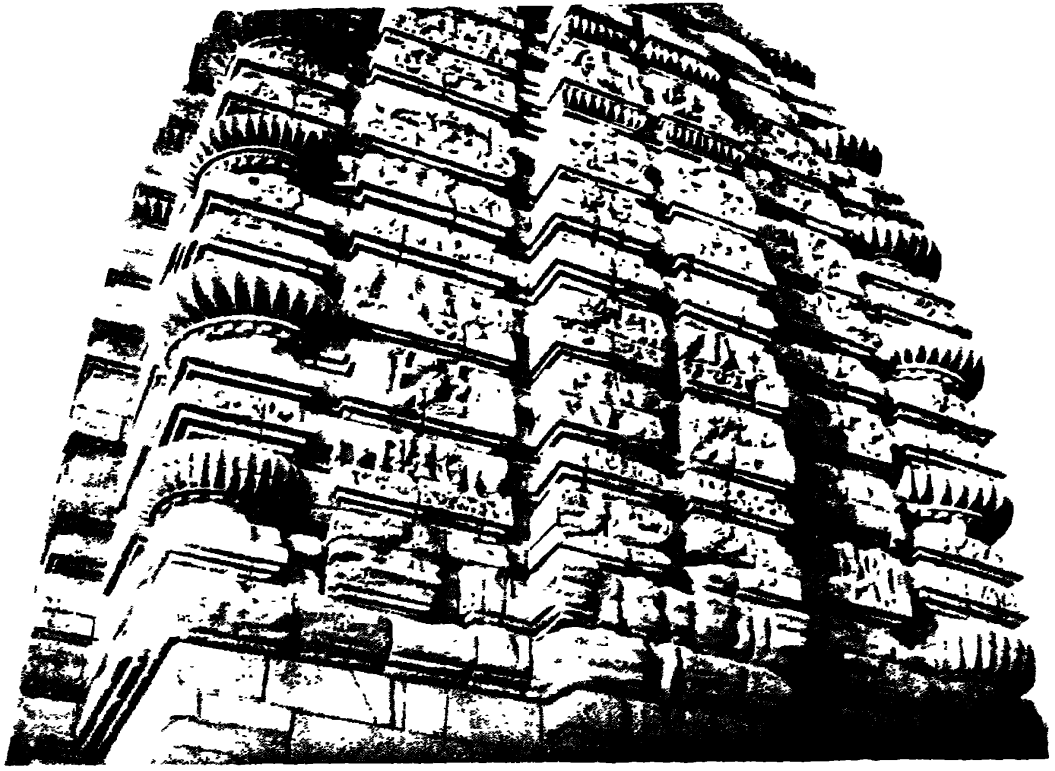


Fig 4. Begunia Temple (Barakar)

Plate III

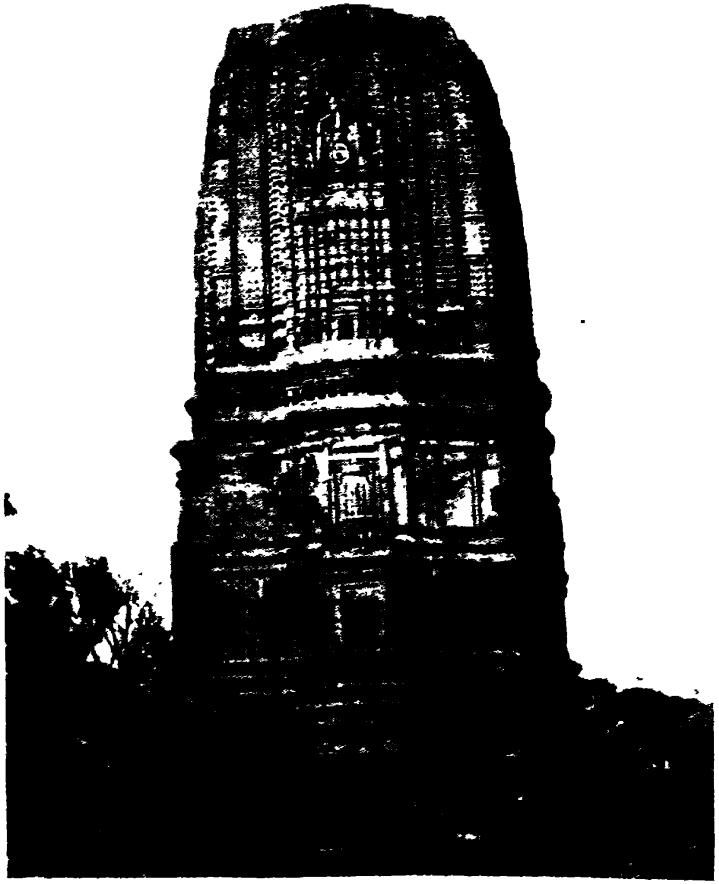


Fig. 5. Siddhesvara Temple (Bankura)

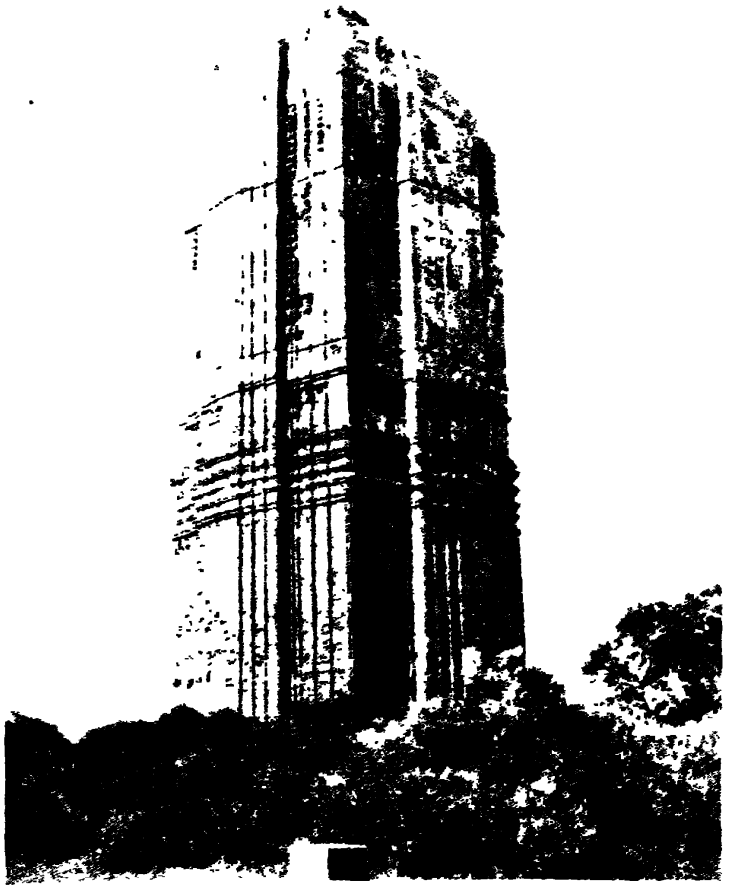


Fig. 6. Jatār Deul (Sundarbans)

Plate IV

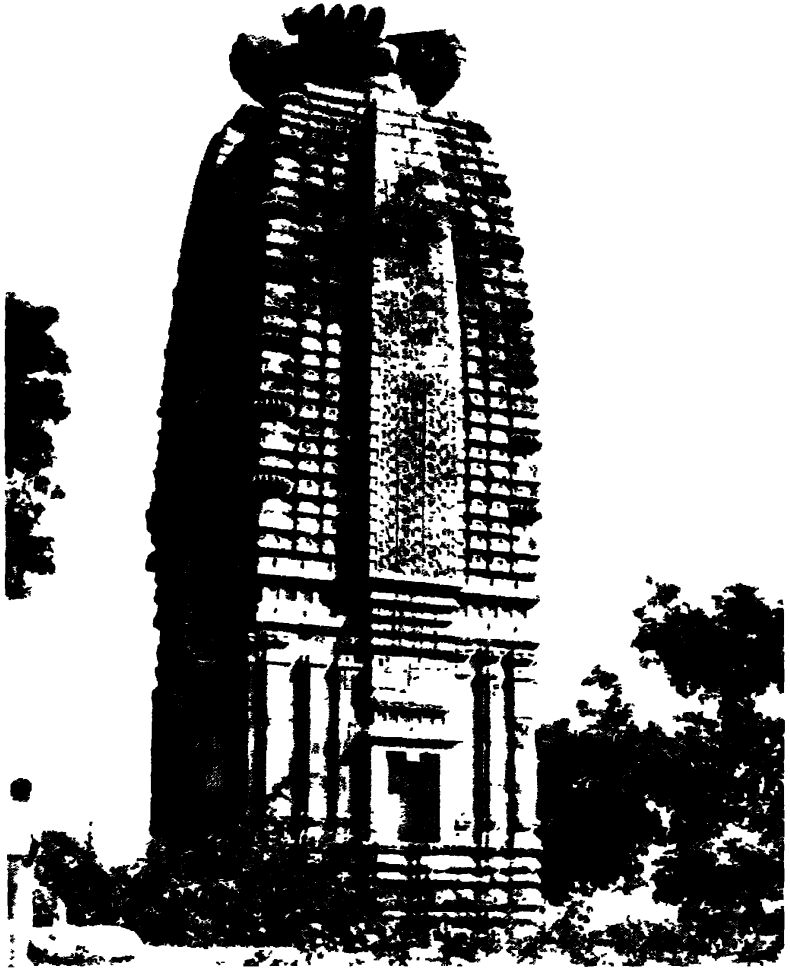


Fig. 7. Banda Temple (Purulia)

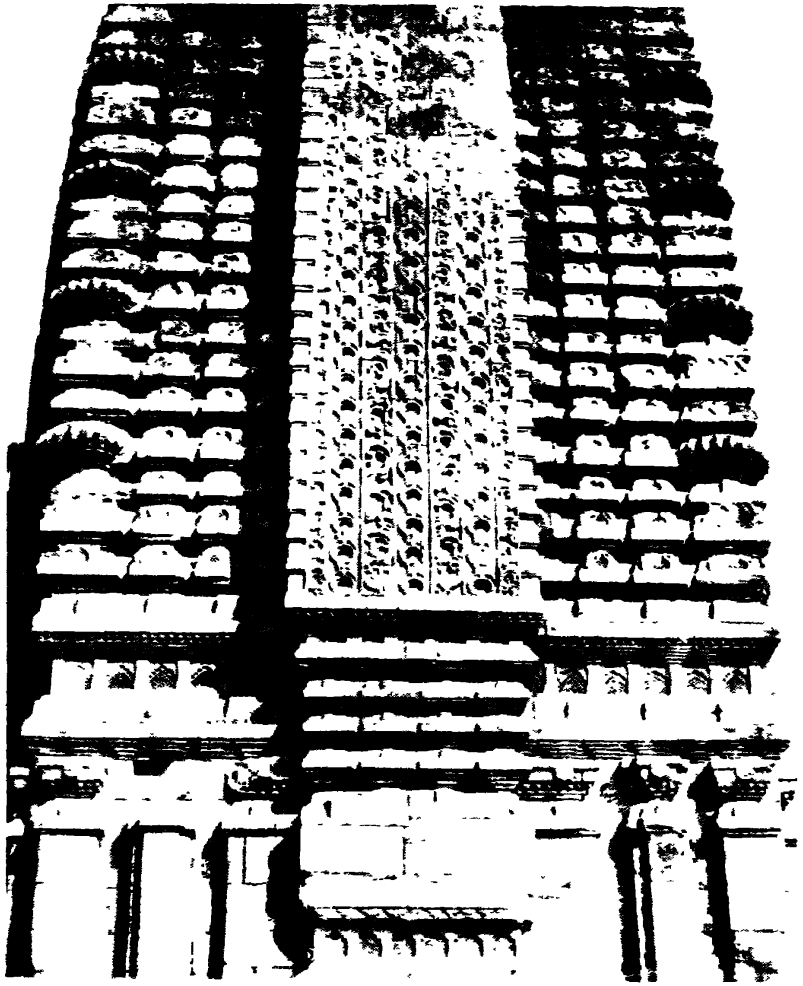


Fig. 8. Banda Temple (Purulia)

Plate V



Fig. 9. Narasimha (in Telkupi Temple, Purulia)

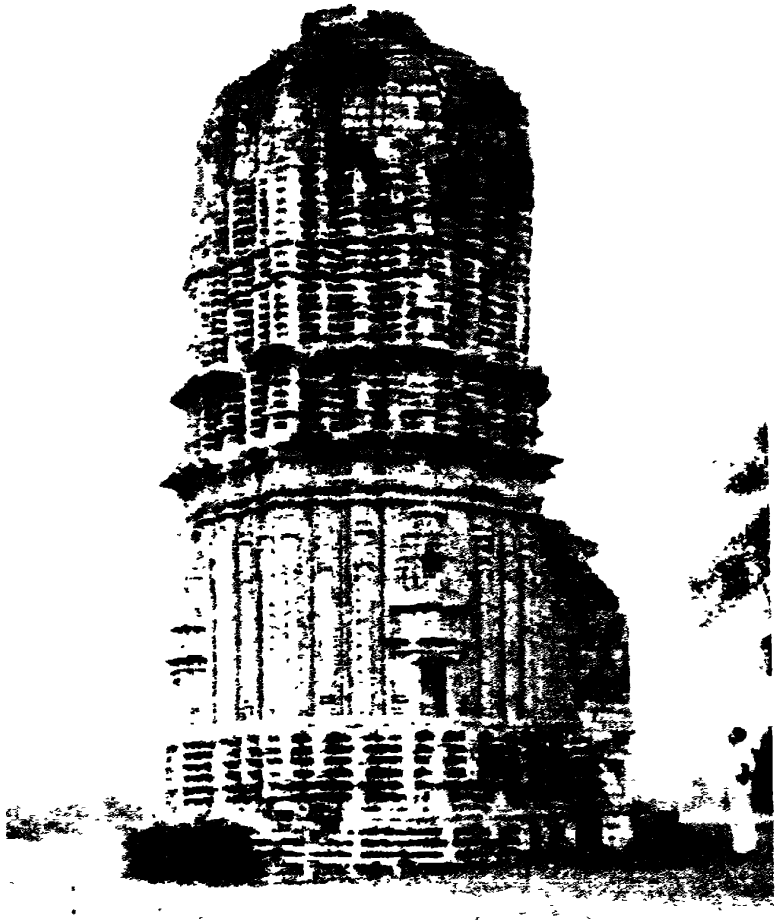


Fig. 10. Para Temple (Purulia)

Plate VI



Fig. 11. Devī (Bogra)

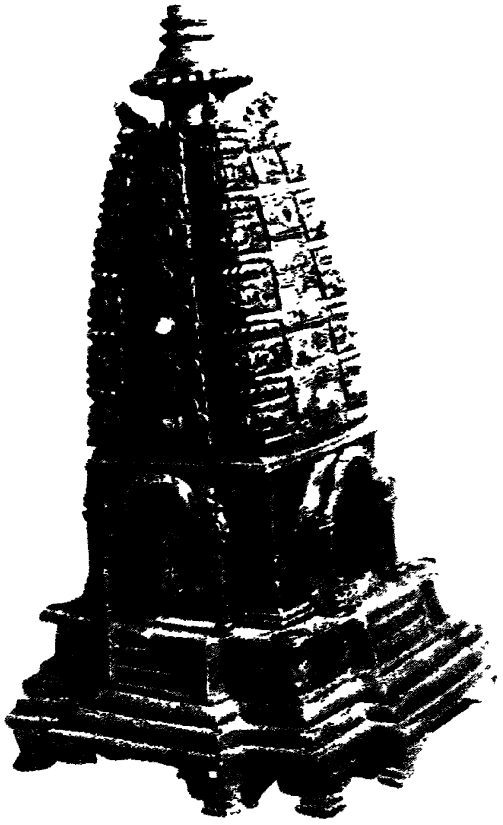


Fig. 12. Bronze Miniature Temple. (Jhewari)

Plate VII



Fig. 13. Dhyānī Buddha (Bereya, Nadia)



Fig. 14. Manasā (Kankursingh, W. Dinajpur)

Plate VIII



Fig. 15. Sūrya (Ekdala)



Fig. 16. Abhichāra Vishṇu (Chaitanpur)

Plate IX



Fig. 17. Pārśvanāth (Bankura)

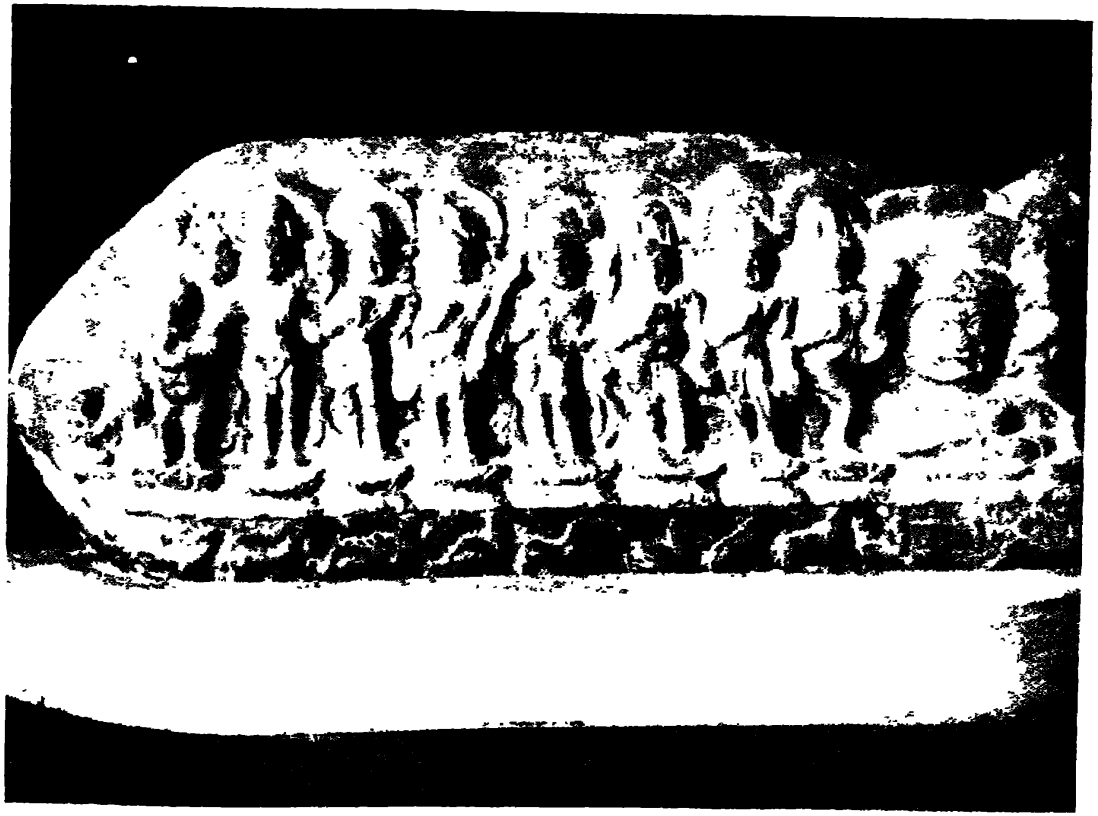


Fig. 18. Inscribed Navaratna Panel (Bāngarh)

Plate X

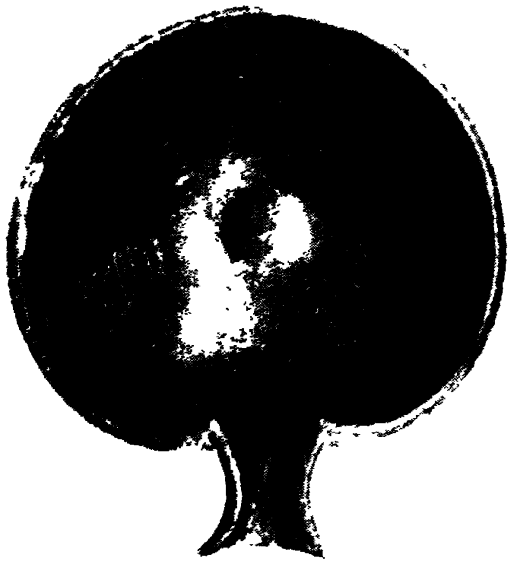


Fig. 19. Channel-spouted bowl
(Black-and-red ware)
(Paṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi)

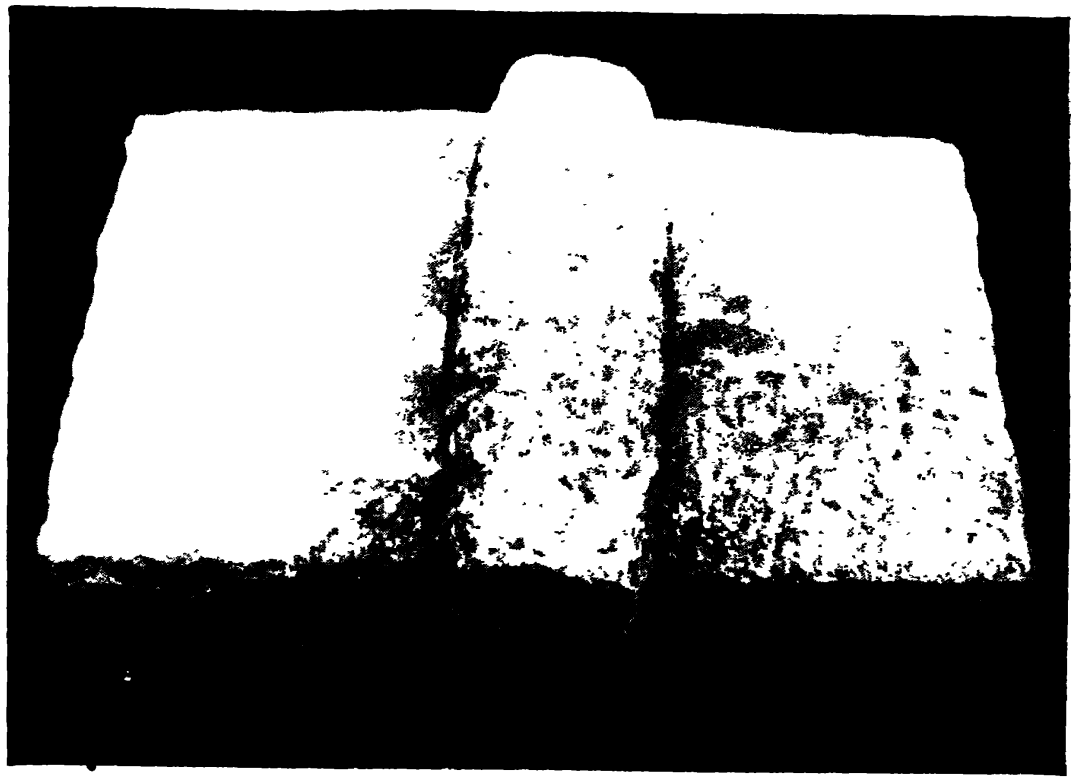


Fig 20. Curry-stone with pestle (Pāhārpur)

Plate XI



Fig. 21. Apsarā (Chandraketugarh)



Fig. 22. Human head, terracotta (Pāṇḍu Rājār Ḍhibi)

Plate XII



Fig. 23. Inscribed Image of Varāha Avatār (Balurghat)



Fig. 24. Sūrya (Sitalkuchi, Cooch Behar)

Plate XIII



Fig. 25. Brahmā-Vishṇu (North Bengal)



Fig. 26. Umā-Maheśvara, (North Bengal)

Plate XIV



Fig. 27. Bronze Vishṇu (Rangpur)



Fig. 28. Two archers fighting (Pāhārpur)

Plate XV



Fig. 29. Head of Bodhisatva (Pāhārpur)



Fig. 30. Bedecked lady (Pāhārpur)

Plate XVI



Fig. 31. Inscribed stone image of Kuvera (Pāhārpur)



Fig. 31a. Inscription on Fig. 31.



Fig. 32. Pillar (Handial)

Plate XVII



Fig 33. Śabara male and female warriors (Pāhārpur)



Fig 34. Dancing Ganeśa (North Bengal)

Plate XVIII



Fig. 35. Sūrya (Gauḍa)

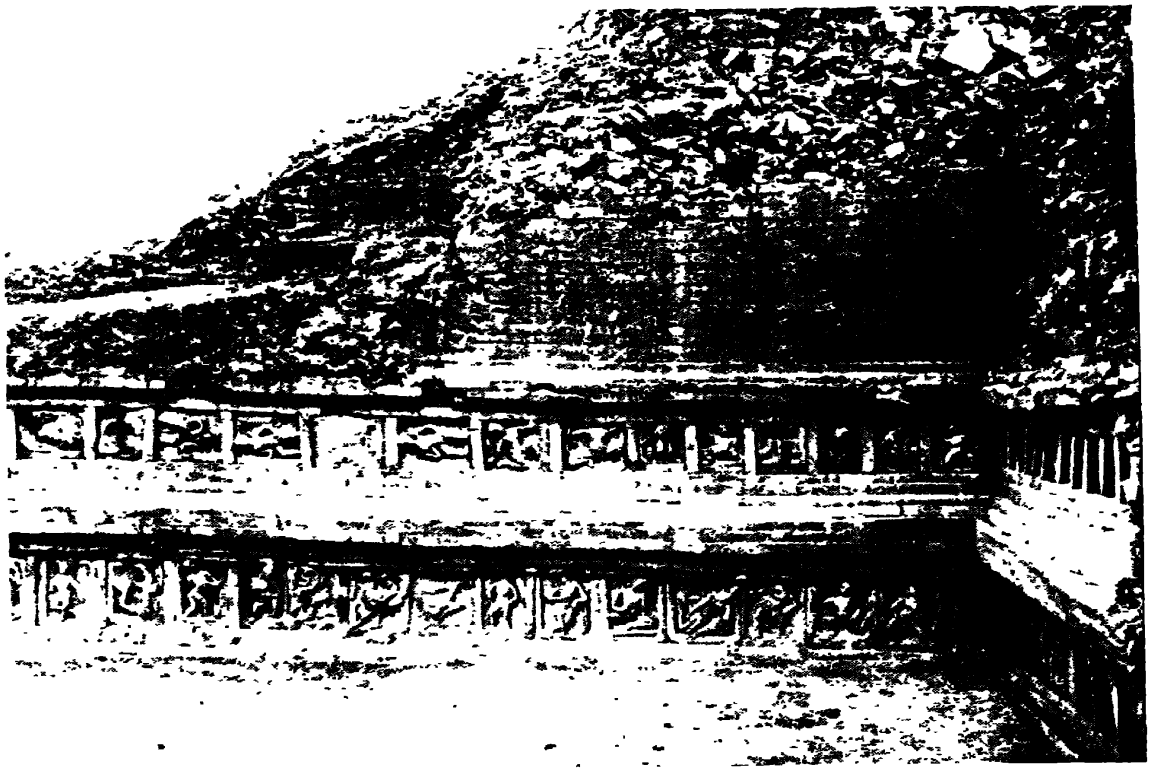


Fig. 36. Main Mound, (Pāhārpur)

Plate XIX



Fig. 37. Manuscript on a tripod (Pāhārpur)



Fig. 38. Door-keeper (Pāhārpur)

Plate XX



Fig. 39. Bronze Manasā



Fig. 40. Agni (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXI



Fig. 41. Yama (Pāhārpur)



Fig. 42. Bṛihaspati (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXII



Fig. 43. Man playing on Mridaṅga, terracotta (Pāhāṛpur)



Fig. 44. Man playing on Vīnā (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXIII



Fig. 45. Indra (Pāhārpur)



Fig. 46. Dancing Girl (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXIV



Fig. 47. Yamunā (Pāhārpur)

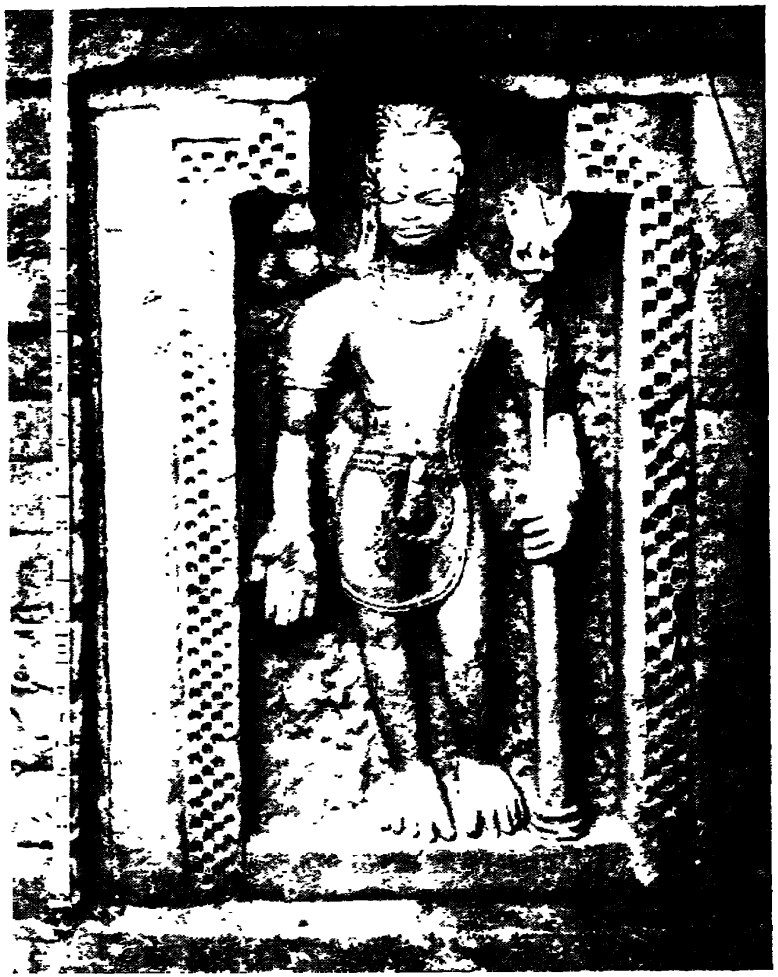


Fig. 48. Śiva (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXV



Fig 49. Kāmadeva



Fig. 50. Man playing on kettledrums (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXVI



Fig. 51. Vishnu (Telkupi)



Fig. 52. Krishna killing Dhenuka (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXVII



Fig. 53. Man playing on cymbals (Pāhārpur)



Fig. 54. Warrior holding sword and shield (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXVIII



Fig. 55. Buddha (Gauḍa)

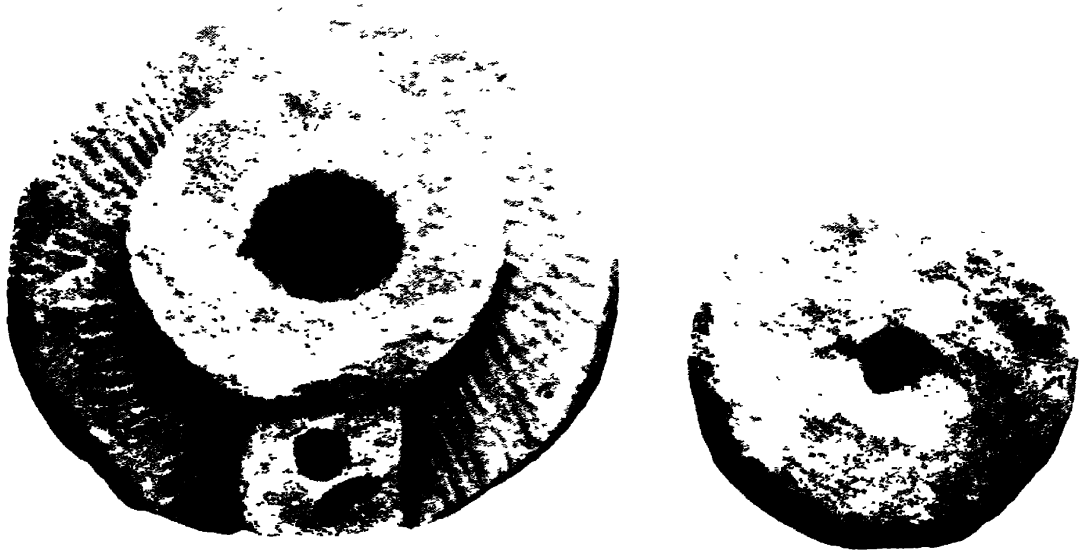


Fig. 56. Men carrying loaded poles on shoulder, Terracotta Plaques (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXIX



Fig. 57. Mahishamardinī (Manbhum)



Figs. 58, 58A. Mill-stones (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXX



Fig. 59. Terracotta female figure (Bāngarh)



Fig. 60. Ganeśa (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXXI



Fig. 61 Mārīchī (Satakhanḍa, W. Dinajpur)



Fig. 62 Sūrya (Kushmandi, W. Dinajpur)

Plate XXXII

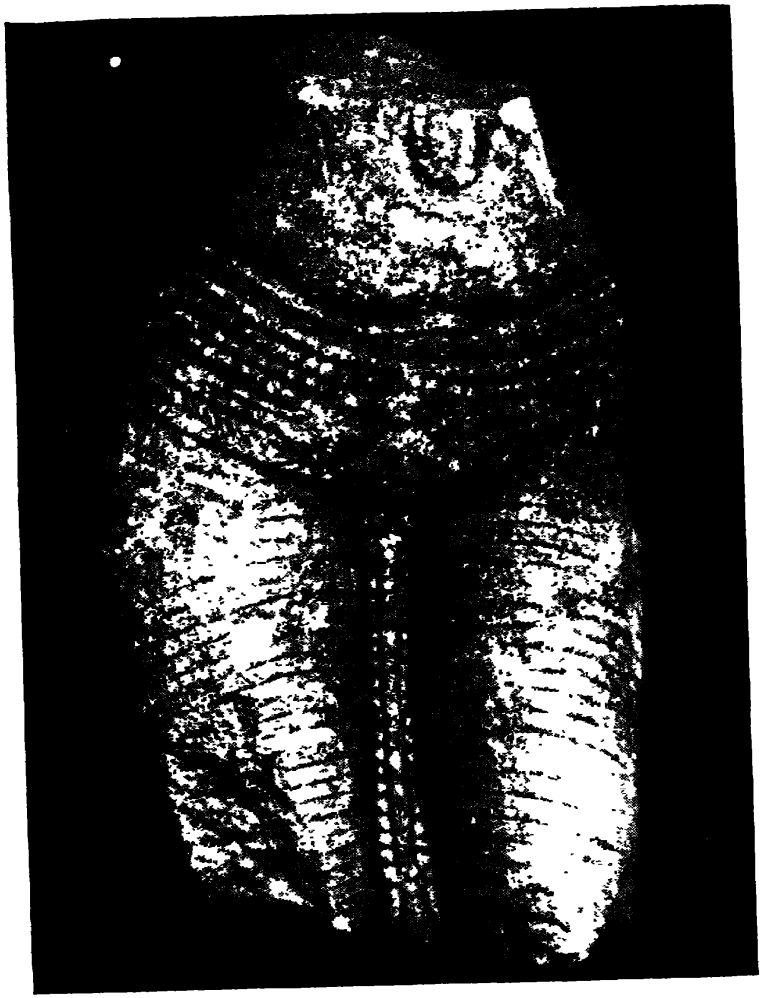


Fig. 63. Torso of a Devī (Pakbirra, Purulia)



Fig. 64. Gaṅgā (Bhadrasila, W. Dinajpur)

Plate XXXIII



Fig. 65. Agni (Patharpunja, W. Dinajpur)



Fig. 66. Kārtikeya (Kushmandi, W Dinajpur)

Plate XXXIV



Fig. 67. Khasarpana (Chowrapara)



Fig. 68. Mother and child (Gaṅgārāmpur)

Plate XXXV



Fig. 69. Amorous couple (Pāhārpur)



Fig. 70. Rādhā and Krishna (Pāhārpur)

Plate XXXVI

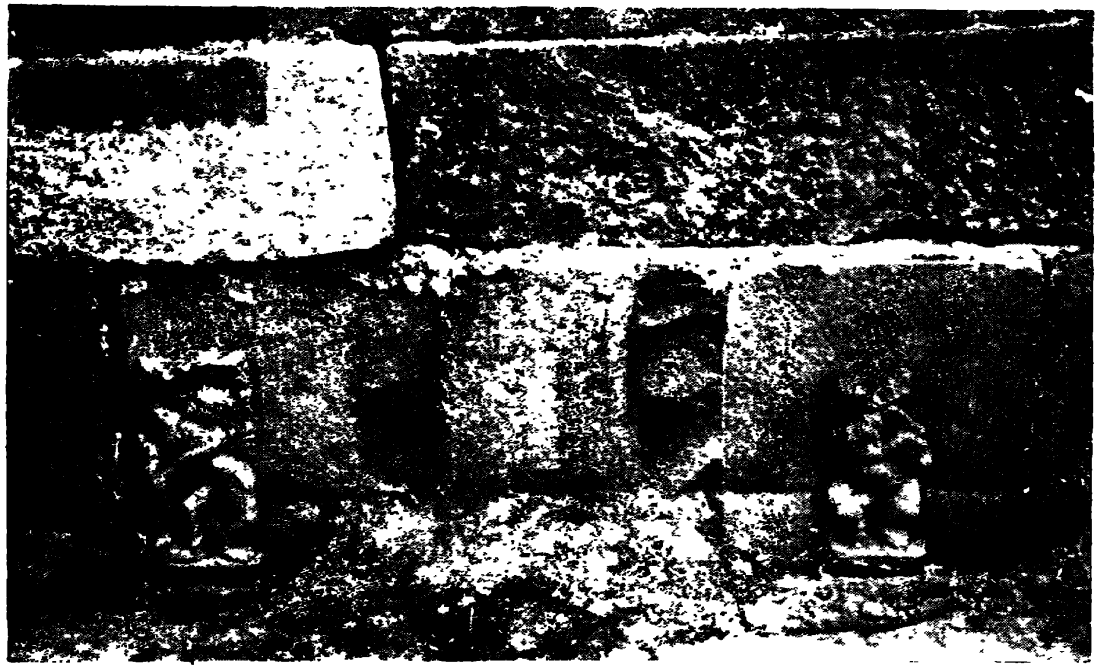


Fig. 71. Dancing Ganeśa and Girl



Fig. 72. Kārtikeya (N. Bengal)