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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

{From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest}

Vol. 1



BY

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Etc., Etc.

WITH A FORKWORD BY
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TO
Dr. RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

With Profound Respect and
Admiration.

বাংলার মাটি, বাংলার জল

বাংলার বায়ু, বাংলার ফল

পুণ্য হউক, পুণ্য হউক

পুণ্য হউক, হে ডগবান্ ।

—রবীন্দ্রনাথ ।

Foreword

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

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

Author's Preface

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

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

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

A Note

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

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

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

1st Vaisakha 1346 B. S.)
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Errata

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

INTRODUCTION

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

Gaṇḍa included both Rāḍha and Yaṇendra. In the Haraha inscription of Iṣānavarīnan,² dated in 554 A. I.), Gaṇḍas have been described as '[Samudrasrayan.](#)' It is stated in the drama 'PTabodhacalldraodaya'³ that Radha was included in Gauda. It is known from an inscription of the Madras Presidency that Dakṣiṇa (southern) Rāḍha was within Gaiujadeṣa.⁴ All these

1. IHQ, 1932 pp. 521 ff. 2. KI, XIV, pp. 117ff.

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

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

go to show that Gauda comprised Ratjha. Radha is roughly represented by the modern Burdwan Presidency, and it is quite probable that some portion of the Manbhum and Hazaribagh districts were also included within it. Radha was divided into Daksina Radha and Uttara Radha by the river Ajaya,¹ and these two divisions were also known as Suhma and Brahma respectively². From the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Cola and from the Irda grant of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva³ it seems that Danfjabhukt⁴ comprised the south-western part of the Midnapore district and some portion of the Balasore district and it was a separate geographical unit from Radha. TSmraliptikas are mentioned as a tribe or people in ancient literature, and in Yuan Chwang's time TSmralipti was one of the principalities of Bengal visited by him.

The ancient name of northern Bengal was Puṇḍravardhana and the identification of its capital Puṇḍranagara with Mahasthan in the Bogra district is certain after the publication of the Mahasthan inscription in Old Brahmi script.⁴ It was one of the famous cities of ancient India. In the inscriptions of the Gupta period Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti seems to have comprised northern Bengal, whereas it is definite that this 'bhukti' in the Pala and Sena periods included some portion of eastern Bengal also.⁷ Later northern Bengal was known as Varendra. From the Silimpur inscription Varendra seems to be mentioned as a tract within the Puṇḍra country. The earliest mention of Varendra is found in a

1. JRAS, 1935, pp. 73ff.

2. IHQ, 1932, pp. 521ff.

3. EI, XII, pp. 153ff.

4. IHQ, 1934, pp 57ff.

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

6. EI, XIII, pp. 283ff,

outh Indian inscription' of 967 A. D., in which a Brahman migrant has been described as 'Gauda-cthjainani' and 'Varendra-lyoti-kariṇa.' It is therefore likely that the name Varendra was veil-known by the tenth century. Varendra is roughly represented by the Rajshahi Division excluding perhaps Jalpaiguri and Jarjeeling districts. Some portions of the Puruea district might have been included within it.

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

1. KI, XXI, p. 260ff, Prof. Bhandarkar in his 'Aśoka' (second edition, pp. 16-37) conjectures that Pārimdas of the Girnar inscription of Aśoka may be identical with Varendras. But it is far from being certain.

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

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

4. I am thankful to Mr. S. C. Banerjee, keeper of the Dacca University Mss., for drawing my attention to these two Mss. They are (1) No. '214IB, named 'Rudraksa-mahatya,' folio I, and (2) No. 1451, named 'Rupa-cintamoni-kosa' by Yadavananda Dasa, composed in 1515 S. E., folio 15A.

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

The word Samatata implies that it was a coastal country. Cunningham¹ is of opinion that Samatata is to be identified with the delta of the Ganges including the Sunderbans between the Huranghata river and Bakerganj. In the Barraekpore plate of Vijayasena it is stated that in the Khadi-mandala of Puntiravardhana-bhukti land was measured according to the 'Nala' standard prevalent in Samatata. Khāḍi is at present the name of a 'pargana' in the Diamond Harbour Sub-division and it can be suggested that this part of thea 24-Parganas was included in Samatata². The Baghaura image inscription of the 3rd year of Mahtpala I shows that some portion of modern Tippera was included in Samatata⁴.

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

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

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

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

3. IB, p. 61.

4. KI, XVII, pp. 353ff.

6. S. Mitra, 'History of Jessore and Kkulna' (in Bengali), p. 140

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

7. 'Mānasl-O-Marmavāni,' 1335-6 B, S., pp, 566ff,

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

In course of further study of the subject we find Bangala (= Vaṅgāla) has been mentioned in many south Indian inscriptions⁴ In two records, as in the Ablur inscription, Vanga and Vaṅgāla have been mentioned, thereby showing that they were probably two separate countries.⁵ Again, in the HSmmlra Mahākāvya of Nayacandra Sari (composed before 1496 A. D.) Banga and Bangala have been mentioned side by side⁶. It must be noted that exploits in Vanga and Vaṅgāla in these four records seem to be vague generalisations and poetic exaggerations. But the fact that in four separate records Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are to be found side by side goes to strengthen Dr. Roychowdhury's opinion. It is also to be noted that we do not find any mention of Vaṅgāla in any record before the 10th century.

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

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

2. Ibid., XI, p. 769.

3. 'Modern Review,' September, 1936,

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

5. 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' V, Cn, 179, Eng. p. 202. IA, IX! pp. 338ff.

6. IA. 1879, p. 58.

7. IC, II, pp. 756 ff.

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

ADMIXTURE OF DIFFERENT RACIAL BLOOD—Opinions of scholars are divided on the question of different racial elements in Bengal, but the fact that the present Bengali population is the admixture of different racial bloods seems to be conceded by many. Sylvian Levi⁵ believes that Anga-Vanga, Kalinga-Trilinga, Oder-Pundra, Pulinda-Kulinda, Kosala-Tosala belong to 'Munda, Kol' and 'Mon-khemar' group of languages whose traces are found in the

1 The account of Marco Polo translated by Yule. Yule takes Bangala to refer to the entire province of Bengal Vol. I I, p. 98., note 99, 100 ; for the account of the Bangala country, see pp. 114 ff. 2 Ibid., p. 128.

3 Phare, 'History of Burma,' p.37. 4. IHQ 1933, p.285. 5 P. C. Bagchi, 'Pre-Dravidian and Pre-Aryan in India', Part III 'Vicitrā', 1340 B. S., pp. 413 ff.

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

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

1. 'Prabasi', 1340 B. S., pp. 257

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

3. Vide infra-

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

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

1. JASB, 1932, pp. 151. 173. 185,

2. Published by Hare Krishna Mukherjee,

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

CHAPTER I

From earliest times to the Gupta period

There is no mention of any part of Bengal in the Rg-Veda. In the 'Aitareya Krahmaṛia" it is said that the Puṣṭras, Andhras and Sabaras live on the border of the Ārya country and the bulk of them are Das>us. In the 'Aitareya Āranyaka'² Vaagas, Vagadhas (= Magadhas) and Ceras have been compared with birds.. Baudhāyana³ quotes older authorities (Bhallavins) to show that any one visiting Pundra, Vanga and Kalinga had to perform some purificatory sacrifices. It seems that in the later Vedic period, Bengal was inhabited by tribes or peoples who belonged to a different stock of population from these Brahmanical writers and, contact with these tribes was avoided by them as far as possible.

Manu refers to the Pauṇṭrakas as one of the Kṣatrīya tribes, or peoples who had degraded themselves to the status of the Sūdras for their neglect of the sacred rites and for not consulting the Brahmanas. The 'Anugita'⁵ mentions the Paunras as one of the Ksatriya tribes who fled into the mountains and other inaccessible places in fear of Jāmadagni and neglected their prescribed duties. The legendary story of the five sons of Bali, Anga, Vāṅga, Kālīṅga, Pundra and Suhmā, may be construed to mean that the Tilling princes and high dignitaries were coming into contact with the Aryans. All these references perhaps point to the fact that in a subsequent period when the Aryan settlements were

1. VIII, 18.

2. II, 1, I.

3. 1, 2, 14.

4. SBE, XXV, p. 412.

5. SBE. VIII, p.295.

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

We learn from the 'Mahabhārata' that Vaṅga and Puṇḍra were subject to Jarāśanda of Magadha. In course of Bhima's expedition¹ he is said to have defeated Vāsudeva of Puṇḍra, Samudrasena of Vaṅga and an unnamed king of Suhma. In addition to the above mentioned tribes or peoples we know the existence of many others from the description of his victories. Prasuhmas are mentioned along with Suhmas and seem to have occupied adjacent territories. TSmraliptakas and Karvatas² also seem to have been peoples of western Bengal. The seacoast and islands of the Bay were inhabited by the Kiratas and M leech as.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1, We follow McCrindle's translations in quotations*

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

It is clear from the accounts of these writers that the country of the Gangaridai was to the east of the Prasii with their capital Palibothra or Pātaliputra. The Ganges most probably flew into the sea, as it does at present, into many channels, the two important branches being the Hooghly and the Padma. The suggestion² that the Indian name of the country of the Gangarides is Gaṅgārāṣṭra (i. e. the country of the Ganges) seems to be near the mark. Their country seems to have comprised Kurdwān, Presidency and Dacca Divisions. The power and prestige of this kingdom reached the ears of Alexander and its rise may be placed sometime earlier. It is a significant fact that no writer definitely calls Gangaridai subordinate to Prasii. Such a conclusion held by many scholars has been therefore questioned.³ Late Mr. Monahan rightly observed, "it is not certain whether the two peoples at that time (of Alexander's invasion) formed one state or a confederation, but the evidence seems on the whole to point to two states with separate kings and forces, but united in a close confederation—so close that the population of both was sometimes included under one name, as Parsii or as Gaugarides." It is noteworthy that Diodorus definitely calls Xandrames king of Gangaridai. This king has

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The history of Bengal from the fall of the Maurya as to the rise of the Guptas is almost dark. Ptolemy places a people called Maroundai "on the left bank of the Ganges, south of the Gogra, down to the top of the delta;"¹ But it would not be very safe to trace their extension of power so far east and south as the delta of the Ganges on the authority of Ptolemy whose geographical knowledge was often defective.² The 'Puranas' state that the Murundas will rule over large tracts of the Ganges valley.³ Jaina books call Maruṇḍarāja ruler of Kānyakubja and residing in Pataliputra.⁴ The Chinese records also confirm the existence of a tribe called Meouloun (= Murundas) in the Gangetic valley.⁵ It is not easy to determine who these Murundas were. Sten Konow says that the word Muruṇḍa has been used in Kushana inscriptions in the sense of overlord.⁶ If the words Śaka-Muruṇḍas of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta should be taken to mean as two separate peoples and not as Śaka chiefs, the Muruṇḍas seem to be a foreign horde like the Sakas who invaded India in the early centuries of the Christian era,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *IHQ*, I, pp. 250ff. 3. *PHAI*, p. 864 fn. vide in *fra*,

4, *CIL*. III. pp. 189-142.

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

(a). Mm. H, P. Shastri¹ expressed the opinion that Candra of the Meharauli pillar did not belong to the Gupta dynasty but was a king of Puṣkarāṇa in Rajaputana, who tried to found an all-India empire before Samudragupta. The Mandasor inscription of 404 A.D. describes Naravarman as a powerful king of Puskararia and son of Simhrvarman and grandson of Jayavarman. The Susunia Rock inscription in the Bankura district of Bengal records that a wheel of Viṣṇu was set up by Candravarman, son of Simhavarman and king of Puskarana. Mm. H. P. Sastri on the strength of the identity of the name Simhavarman of the Mandasor and Susunia inscriptions took Candravarman and Naravarman to be brothers and identified Candravarman with Candra of the Meharauli pillar. But Pokharana is the name of a place not far off from the findspot of the Susunia inscription. It may be regarded almost certain after what Mr. K. N. Dikshit has written about the ancient ruins of this place that Candravarman was the king of Pokharana (whose sanskritised form is Puskarapa) and as such he has been regarded is a local king.³ It is not known whether Simhavarman, father of Jjaravarman of the Mandasor inscription, had any son of the name of Candravarman. The identification of Candravarman of the Susunia inscription with a man of unknown existence is hardly tenable and there is no definite clue whatsoever to the identification of Candravarman with Candra of the Meharauli pillar.⁴

1, EI. XIII. p. 130 ; XII. pp. 315ff. He is supported by R. D. Banerjee [Et, XIV. pp. 868-71.)

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

8, PHAI, p. 364 fn,

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *Ibid*, pp. 17-18,

3. *Ibid*, pp. 27-28.

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

5. Bālhikas are known as ruling in the Panjab with Sakala (present Sialkot) as their capital (Mahabharata, Karnaparva, Ch. 37-38). Varaha-Mihira mentions Eshlikas as a northern people.

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

(c) The identification with Candragupta II was proposed by Hoernle³ and V. A. Smith,⁴ but the latter gave up his own proposition and accepted Mm. H. P. Shastri's identification.⁵ The existence of a hitherto unknown king, named Ramagupta,⁶ elder brother of Candragupta I I, seems now to be accepted, and the drama 'Devi Candragupta' acquaints us with a hard and keen struggle between Candragupta II and the Śakas. Allan's remark⁷ that "the enemies who had united against him (i. e. Candra of the Meharauli pillar) in the Vaṅga country were probably peoples who had taken the opportunity of his absence in the west to cast off the yoke under which his father had laid them" is applicable to Candragupta I I. It seems that the paramourty established by the arms of Samudragupta was going to be lost during the rule of Rāmagupta but was re-established by the prowess of Candragupta I I. It is quite clear from the epigraphic, literary and numismatic evidence of his reign that Candragupta II came into conflict with the Śaka Satraps,

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

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

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

3. IA, XXI, p. 48. 4. JASB, 1897, pp. 1-18.

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

6. JBORS. XIV, pp. 228-258; Malaviya Commemoration Volume, 1982, pp. 189 ff; IC, IV, p. 216.

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

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

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

" We need not enter into the controversial question regarding the successor or successors of Kumāragupta I. Something may be said for or against the three theories viz. [i] after the death of Kumāragupta I his sons set up independent kingdoms in different parts of the empire,⁷ [ii] he was succeeded by his son Skandagupta who was followed by his brother Puragupta and his descendant s² and [iii] there were two rival lines—one represented by Skandagupta, Kumāragupta II [?] of the Saranath inscription of 154. G. E. and Budhagupta, and the other represented by Puragupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III [?] of the Bhitafi seal inscription. Each of these theories should be regarded as

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. *IHQ*. 1980, pp, 40ff,

pancadhikaranoparikapratyuparika¹ and 'puraloparika'² imply that he was a man of considerable importance in the kingdom. In this record Vainyagupta himself is styled only 'Maharaja' and 'Paramasaiva' and this has led MT. D. C. Bhattacharyya to infer that he was a Gupta prince who declared independence during the troubled times of Huṇa invasions. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,⁵ who contends that after the death of Kumaragupta I Gupta princes set up independent kingdoms in different parts of the empire, finds additional support from this record in favour of his view. Dr. D. C. Ganguli⁴ has correctly attributed the coins with the legend 'Dvadasaditya' on the reverse to Vainyagupta (hitherto attributed to Candragupta III), and his heavy gold coins, similar in type to those of the imperial Guptas, lead him to infer that he belonged to the same dynasty and was not a local ruler of Samatata. Mention may be made of the fact that a seal of Vainyagupta with the title 'MaharajSdhiraja' has been found at Nalanda along with the seals of Budhagupta, Kumargupta (II?) and Bhaskaravarman.⁵ The inclusion of Vainyagupta in the imperial Gupta line means that in the first decade of the sixth century Gupta empire included Samatata or a part of it, which was an outlying kingdom at the time of Samudragupta. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee⁶ was of opinion that even in the Gupta period Pundbravardhana-bhukti comprised some part of eastern Bengal as in the Pala and Sena periods.

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

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

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

3. IHQ, IX, pp. 989ff. 4. Ibid, pp. 784ff; x, pp, 154ff

5. ASIR, 1930-84, p, 280. 6. BI, p, 68.

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

to identify him with Visnugupta, a large number of whose coins have been found in the Kalighat hoard with the legend on the reverse reading 'CandradityaV'. If this is to be accepted, Visnugupta seems to be the last known Gupta king of Bengal. The title of "the governor of the Purṇjṛavardhana-bhukti in this plate is 'Maharajaputra-rajaputradeva-bhāttaraka' and his name seems to be lost, though it is not unlikely that his name was Rajaputra-deva. The epithets 'Maharajaputra' and 'Bhatt-araka' perhaps imply that he was a prince of the royal blood. Yuan Chwang and the 'Manjusri-Mulakalpa'² state that the Huna chief Toramana was captured in the marshy land in the east and Gaucja. It seems that when western provinces were passing into the hands of the Hunas and Yasodharman was rising in Malwa, the last stronghold of the Guptas was Benga¹. The proud boast of the court-poet that Yasodharman's songs of victories resound on the bank of the Lauhitya³ perhaps refers to his fight with a Gupta king in Bengal.

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

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

3. Fleet, CII, III, Nos. 88-35,

CHAPTER II

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

The Gupta empire finally broke up about the middle of the sixth century and there arose independent dynasties like the Maitrakas of Valiabhī, the Maṅkharis and the Later Guptas in different parts of the empire. The four Faridpur plates acquaint us with the names of three Mahārājadhiraṇas, viz., Gopacaiidrā', Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva, who seem to have been, as Dr. N. K. Bhattasali' points out, "related to one another and formed a dynasty." After the publication of the Mallasarula plate of Maharaja Vijayasena² it cannot perhaps be maintained that the kings of the Faridpur plates (at least Gopacaiidra) were rulers of eastern Bengal only. Palaeographically these five plates belong to the same period, i. e., the sixth century A. D. Though two letters just after the name 'Gopa' are lost in the new plate, Mahārājadhiraṇa Gopa is perhaps to be identified with Gopacandra of the Faridpur plate C of Pargiter. The existence of two Mahārājadhiraṇas with the same name in the same period is hardly a tenable proposition in the absence of some positive proof. By this plate land transaction was made in the Vardhamāna-bhukti which, roughly speaking, comprised modern Burdwan Division. Further, if the identification of Maharaja Vijayasena of this record with the Maharaja of the same name of the Gunaighar grant is to be accepted, the chronological order of the kings of the Faridpur plates, as worked out by Pargiter⁵ after careful palaeographical examinations, needs be changed. In that case Gopacandra seems to have preceded Dharmāditya, unless the vassal king Vijayasena lived an unusually long life to serve three kings, Vainyagupta

1. El, VIII, p. 84

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

3. IA, 1910, pp. 193 ff.

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

The invasions of Bengal by the Maukhari king Isanavarman and the Calukya king Klr̥tivarman I most probably took place during the reigns of the three kings of the Faridpur plates. The Haraha inscription¹ of 554 A. D. records that the Gaudas were Compelled by Isanavarman to take shelter on the sea shore. The Mahakuta inscription,² dated in 602 A. D., states that Klr̥tivarman 1, son of Fulakesin 1, defeated the kings of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga. No other event of the reigns of Gopacandra, Dharmaditya and Samacaradeva is known. Their rise as well as fall remains shrouded in mystery. Two coins in the Indian Museum with the legend 'Narendrāditya' on the reverse may be attributed to Samacaradeva, as the reading of the legend 'Samaca' on the obverse appears to be almost certain.⁵

The chronological position of Maharajadhiraja Jayanaga of the Vappaghoavata grant is not very easy to determine. The alphabets seem to be earlier than those used in the Ganjam plate of Madhavaraja of 619 A. D. and in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskarvarman. It is for the upright character of the letters used in Vappagosavata grant that Dr. R. G. Basak⁴ is inclined to place Layanaga before Sasanka. But it must be noted that the 'Manjusri-Muḥakalpa' places Jayanaga immediately after Sasanka. It is difficult to say anything definitely on the chronological position of these two kings from palaeographical consideration, as the interval between them appears to be very short. The Vappaghosavata grant was issued from Karnasuvarna and records grant of land to Bhatta Brahnavirasvamin by Samenta Narayanabhadrā who was in charge, of the Audumbarika-visaya which has been identified with

1, *EI*, xiv, pp. 110 ff, 2. *IA*, xix, p. 16,

8. *EI*, xvIII, pp. 79-80 ; Allan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 149-50.

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

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

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

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

The Rotasgarh seal matrix⁶ found in the Shahabad district of Bihar bears an inscription reading "Śrl-mahas5manta-sasankat devasya" [of the illustrious Mahasamanta Śasarikadeva]. For palaeographical reasons this Mahasamanta is to be identified with Śaśanka, the rival of Harsavardhana. The testimony of the Rōtasgarh seal-matrix is so great a commentary on his early life that its significance cannot be ignored. To all intents and purposes, it appears that Śaśanka began his career as a subordinate chief. The question of finding out the overlord whom he served in his early life is not very easy. The Haraha inscription of Isana-

1. EI, xix, p. 286,

8. EI. I, p. 70,

5. EI, p, 105,

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

4. Op, cit, p, 138,

6. CII, III, p, 284,

verman of 554 A. D. find the Bebbaranark inscription¹ of fMttagupta II indicate the suzerainty of the Maukharī kings Isanavarman, Sarvavarman and Avantlvarman over Bihar. The litter record clearly shows that the authority of Sarvavarman and A vantlvarman was acknowledged in the Shahabad district. This would indicate that Śasanka was a feudatory of the Maukharis. But it is known from the Apshadinscription of Adityasena² that his grandfather Mahasenagupta described by Bana as king of Malava defeated Susthitavamian on the bank of the Xauhitya, Who is to be identified With the king of Rsmarupa of that name. Mahasena-gupta's son Madhavagupta, Susthitavarman's son Bhaskaravarman and •Haravardhana were contemporaries. Therefore Mahasena-gupta fought with the Kamarupa king during the close of the sixth or during the opening years of the seventh century A. D.. Śasanka might have been a feudatory of Mahasenagupta in the train of Whose invasion he came. This may in a way also explain the Rotsgrah seal-matrix of Śasanka.

But the chief sphere of his activities was Gauda, as it is clear from Banabhatta and Yuan Chwang. It is not known how he made himself master of Gauda. If Jayanaga preceded him, most probably Śasanka established himself at Karnasuvarna by ousting him or his descendants. At the time of his siege of Kanouj after the death of the Maukhari king Grahavarman and before the accession of Haravardhana, Śasanka must have made himself independent and held Ganda and Magadha tinder him. His supremacy over 'Orissa, which is proved by the Gan jam plates³ of Madhava-Tlja TI, dated in 619 A.D., might have been established before his ruptcure "with the Pusyabhutis of Thanesvara, by defeating Śambhaya of Patiakella grant, dated in 602 A.D. The prophetic statement in the Manjusri-Mulakalpa that king Soma (Śasanka) will rule

1. *ibid*, p, 218

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

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

4. *Imperial History of India*, p.. 49-50, 51. 715-16

over, the Gangetic valley up to Benares may be taken as implying the north-western boundary of his kingdom in the normal circumstances. According to Yuan Chwang', his influence,, was felt in Kusinagara. Sasanka seems to have brought under, him the, whole of eastern India excepting perhaps, Kamarupa. and Vanga, Sasanka's rising importance in the political, arena of northern India is also clear from Bana" who refers to Sasankamandala, in describing the, meeting of Rajya and Harsa after former's, return from the battle with the Hunas during the life-time of, Prabhakaravardhana.

The use of the word 'Mandala' in this Connection, is very significant, and if it is to be interpreted in the. light; of, the 'Artha-Sastra',⁵ it would mean the circle of states, headed by, Sasanka, In any case, it means the rising importance of this king in the, political horizon even before the death of Prabhakaravardhana, This, would strengthen the view that there was an alliance between Sasanka and the Malava king⁴ against the Maukharis and the Pusyabhutis. If there was any connection between the Malava king, Mahasena, Gupta and him in his early career, the almost simultaneous marches, of a Malava king and of Sasanka indicate something like a joint operation, which was not perhaps accidental. But the important point against this view is that in the 'Harsacarita' Rajyavardhana received the news of the death of the Kanouj king Crahavarman his brother-in-law, caused by the Malava king who was advancing, towards Thaneshvara, and he at once started with 10,000 horsemen: to meet the enemy. The only enemy that he knew of at that time

1. Watters, IT, p. 43.

2. Harsacarita, Ch. VI.

3. Kautilya, Bk. VII, Ch. II.

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

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

The Sasanka-Rajyavardhana episode has been discussed by many scholars and two sets of opinions have come out of previous discussions. Mr. C. V. Vaidya¹, Dr. R. G. Basak² and Dr. D. C. Ganguli⁵ accept the statement of Bāṇa (mentioned above), who further says^A that the death of Rajyavardhana was due to carelessness on his part. In this connection he cites the examples of some careless kings of ancient times and their dealings with women. These scholars find corroboration of Bāṇa, when Saṅkara, one of the commentators of the 'Harṣacarita' in the fourteenth century, explains those passages by introducing Sasanka's marriage proposal of his daughter to Rajyavardhana and says that he was murdered, while enjoying a feast in the former's camp. Further corroboration is to be found, in their opinion, in Yuan Chwang's account

1. Meditval India, I, p. 4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2, EI, VI p, 210,

3, Gaudarajamala. pp, 8-10 ; Early Hist, of Beng, pp, 17-18 ; BI, p, 1074 .

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

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

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

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

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

1. History of Orissa, i, p. 129, 2. IHQ, xii, pp. 465-67.

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

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

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

1. Ibid, p. 183.

2. Waters, II, p. 115.

3. Op. Cit.

finds Buddhism in flourishing condition. If there would have been a wholesale persecution, there is no reason why the Buddhists of Bodh-Gaya and Kusinagara were singled out. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda and R. D. Banerjee¹ expressed the opinion that most probably the Buddhists of those places conspired against Śasanka and had sympathy with Harsavardhana who was after all a pro-Buddhist king. These two scholars therefore hold that the motive behind the persecution was rather political necessity than religious conviction. Similar cases are not wanting in Indian history. When describing Hiranaparvata² (near Mongyr), Yuan Chwang says that in recent times the king of a neighbouring country had deposed the ruler and given the capital to the Buddhist brethren. It is not known why the ruling king was deposed and who was the deposer. But the very fact that the capital was given to the Buddhist brethren rouses a suspicion of conspiracy by the Buddhists with the neighbouring king against the ruler of the locality. In 1581 A.D. during the reign of Akbar⁵ mosques of Bengal and Guzrat became centres of political meetings and Akbar was even declared deposed. There was no other way but to close the mosques and even in some cases they were demolished. These extreme measures were regarded by the orthodox Mussalmans of his time as anti-Islamic and nothing more than that. In reality, political necessity compelled Akbar to take these measures. The real motive behind the anti-Buddhistic activities of Śasanka cannot be judged, until we know of them from other sources. To Yuan Chwang all these were sacrilegious and the 'Manjusri-Mulakalpa' is an out-and-out Buddhist book in which everything has been put in the mouth of Lord Buddha in the form of prophecy.

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

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

2. Watters, II, p. 178

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

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

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

1. JASB, 1935, pp. 419 ff.

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

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

The Tippera grant of Lokanātha is to be palaeographically assigned to the seventh century¹. This record introduces us to a Natha family who ruled as feudatories² for three generations before Lokanātha. The first member of the family is called 'Adi Maharaja but his name is lost. His son was Śrīnātha whose son Bhavanātha was of religious temperament and took to ascetic life. IyOkānatha was placed in charge of administration but it is not clear whether he was the son or brother's son of Bhavanātha. Verses 7-9 describe the exploits and achievements of Lokanātha. The army of the 'Paramesvara' (his suzerain) met with discomfiture repeatedly at his hands. He fought a successful fight against one Jayatungavarsa who seems to be a local chief like Lokanātha himself but cannot be identified. Another chief named Jīva-dharana is said to have given up hostilities against Lokanātha in consideration of his success against Jayatungavarsa, his confirmation by a royal charter (most probably by the suzerain) and the love and affection of his subjects towards him. Jīva-dharana followed the principle that prudence is the better part of valour, as there was perhaps very little chance of success against Lokanātha, but the composer of the *praśasti* in a clever way eulogised his patron by putting everything through the mouth of the adversary of Lokanātha. The land granted by the Tippera plate was situated in the Suwanga-visaya which cannot be located and it may be provisionally held that this family ruled in Tippera or in a neighbouring locality.

1. The plate bears a date. Dr. Basak read it as 44 at first. But just before the letters signifying 44 the word 'adhika' occurs. Prof. Bhandarkar suggested that the date is 144 and Dr. Basak now reads 344 and refers it to the Gupta era. We are inclined to accept this and this would place it in 660-4 A.D.

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

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

1; DUS, 1. No, p 54,

2. Dr. Basak rightly says that the first symbol of the two letters signifying the year of the second Asrafpur plate remains a puzzle and cannot be satisfactorily explained unless we agree with Dr. Majumdar to read it as 73 or 79 by following Bendall's chart of numerical symbols. 'History of North-Eastern India,' p. 203 ; JASB1928, pp. 375ff.

3. BI, XVII, . pp. 357ff.

4'. Early History of Bengal, p, 124

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

In the Tippera plate there is a reference to Lokanātha's defiance of the authority of the suzerain whose army was many times defeated by this feudatory chief. In the second Asrafpur plate there is a reference to the 'Brhatparamesvara' and the highest officials whom the Khadgas could command were the Visayapatis'. From these it appears that Samatata in the latter half of the seventh century was divided into many principalities under a suzerain power. The dynasty which exercised overlordship over Samatata is not known. It has been asserted that Bengal was under Kāmarūpa kings from Bhaskaravarman's occupation of Karnasuyarna to the time of Harsa of the Bhagadatta dynasty, who has been described as the lord of Gaucja, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala in the Pasupati temple inscription of 759 A. D.¹ It may be argued that the Later Guptas from the reign of Adityasena exercised overlordship over some portion of Bengal, as it is clear from the Apsadh (Gaya district) Shahpui (Patna district) and Mandar (Bhagalpur district) inscriptions that there was a great revival of his power north-eastern India.³

While eastern Bengal was parcelled into many small principalities fighting among themselves and setting at naught the shadowy authority of the overlord, the condition of Gauda was perhaps not better in any way. The 'Manjusri-Mulakalpa'⁵ correctly records that after the reign of Śaśanka the 'Gaudatantra' (system) was paralysed. It refers to many kings of Gauda most of whom are mentioned by initials only and therefore they cannot be identified, as they are otherwise unknown. What deserves particular notice is that the reigns of most of them lasted for months and days and not even a year. During the reign of one king named Sisu it

1. IC. II. pp 37-45.

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

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

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

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

Vakpati in his 'Gauda-vaho' narrates, the defeat and slaughter of the king of Ganda by his patron Yasovarman of Kanouj. The "important point to notice in that book is that the king of Gauda has been called 'Magadhanatha'¹ also. This shows that in the second quarter of the eighth century Gauda and Magadha were politically united. Vakpati further informs that Yasovarman defeated the king of Vanga. Most probably Magadha was annexed to the dominion of the Kanouj king. The Nalanda inscription of Malada, a son of the minister of Yasovarman, records some gifts to the temple of Baladitya at that famous monastery there. Even during the time of Devapala there was a town called Yasovarmapur in Bihar.

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

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

2. E.I. XX, p. 87.

8. Rajatarangini, IV, 144,

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

Gauda. The Gauda king visited Kasmira on his request and on the promise of safety of his own person in Kasmira, the image of Visnu Parihasakesava being made surety of Lalitaditya's faith. But the Gauda king was treacherously murdered by Lalitaditya. Thirty loyal and brave followers of the Gauda king went to Kasmira on the pretext of pilgrimage and had their revenge fulfilled by breaking the idol of Visnu Ramasvamin which they mistook for that of Parihasakesava. They fought bravely when the army came from the capital and died a glorious and heroic death. Kalhana¹ exclaims, "Even the creator cannot achieve what the Gaudas did on that occasion. Even to this day the temple of Ramasvamin is empty, whereas the whole world is filled with the fame of Gauda heroes." The fact that Kalhana pays so eloquent a tribute to the Gauda heroes because of the great impression it produced in the eighth century indicates that there was some truth in this episode. The story of Jayapida's stay in disguise at the house of a courtesan in the city of Pundravardhana, the revelation of his identity on his killing a fierce lion, his marriage with Kalyanadevi, daughter of the Gauda king Jayanta, and his conquest of Panca-Gaudas for his father-in-law, reads like a romance, and it is to be doubted if there is any historical truth in this romantic tale.

Another invasion of Gauda was by Harsadeva. The Pasupati temple inscription of Jayadeva,* dated in 759 A. D., describes his father-in-law Harsadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty as lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala. As the kings of Kamarupa claim descent from the epic hero Bhagadatta, Harsadeva may be regarded as a king of Kamarupa.

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

1. Ibid, IV. Vs. 382, 335.

2. IA, IX, p. 178 ; IHO, 1981, p. 664.

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

CHAPTER III

The Pāla Dynasty

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

1. The śloka runs thus :—

Rajye Rajabhatadi-vamsa-patita Śrī Dharmapalasya vai
Tattva-loka-vidhāyini viractia sat-panjikeyam mayā

See MASB. III, p. 6

2. VJI. Rajanya Kanda. p. 147

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

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

Recently there have been some discussions about the caste of the Palas. Their inscriptions are silent on this point. The Manjusri-Mulakalpa¹ calls Gopala I a 'sudra'. According to Abul Fazl, the Palas were Kayasthas.² Mr N. N. Vasu accepts the statement of Akbar's court historian, but, for the history of the Hindu period his statements are not much valued. The 'Ramacarita' of Sandhyakaranandi describes Dharmapala as 'Samudra-kula-dipa',³ and in the commentary of the same verse he is compared with Ikshvaku. It is stated in the Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva that the Palas belonged to the solar dynasty (Mihirasya-yamsa).⁴ Sandhyakaranandi and Vaidyadeva flourished in the 12th century and were intimately connected with the Pala court. In a passage of the Udayasundari-katha of the Guzrat poet Sodhdhala of the 11th century it seems that Dharmapala has been described as belonging to the Mandhata-vamsa.⁵ Mr J. C. Ghose⁶ says that mythologically the sea-god and Mandhata belonged to the family of the sun and therefore concludes that the Palas belonged to the solar dynasty, as there is agreement in the above accounts. Ghanarama in his 'Dharmamangala', written in 1713 A. D., narrates that Devapala was the illegitimate son of Dharmapala through the union of his wife with the sea-god. R. D. Banerjee⁷ was of opinion that most probably the Palas came from the sea and in the absence of any plausible account of their ancestry, they became known in popular tradition as the children of the sea-god. It must be said that the Palas were

1. Vs. 683-90.

2. Jarret. 'Ain-i-Akbari,' II, pp. 145 ; N. N. Vasu, 'Rajanya-Kanda,' p. 151
3....14.

4. Kamauli plate, verse 2.

5. Kathāncana vallyasa saptanga-samagren-Ottarapathasvamina Mandhata-vamsa-prabhavena bhubhrta Dharmapalena saha vighraho dirghatam-avapa, published in G. O. S., p. 4.

6. IHQ, IX, pp. 479 ff. 7. BI, I, p. 163.

Buddhists and it is not to be expected that they should mention their caste like the Brahmanical ruling dynasties. But though their inscriptions are silent, Sandhyākaraṇandi and Vaidyadeva tried to prove the Kṣatriyahood of their masters. For about four centuries the Palas performed the functions of the Kṣatriyas and contracted matrimonial relationship with the Rastrkutas and Kalacuris. If they were not 'de jure' Kṣatriyas, 'de facto' Kṣatriyahood can be claimed for them, although it is to be noted¹ that their religious system did not recognise the caste divisions of the Brahmanical religion.

Taranatha says that Gopala was elected to the vacant throne of Vaṅga some years after the rule of the Candra dynasty. His evidence is not reliable unless it is corroborated by some other sources. Sandhyakarauandi's 'Rgmacarita'¹ and the Kamauli grant refer to Verendra as the 'janakabhū' (fatherland) of the Palas, and from this it would seem that northern Bengal was their original home. The Tibetan historian further records that Gopala extended his power over Magadha. The extension of power from Varendra to Magadha was natural rather than from Vaṅga to Magadha.

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

1. 1/88 ; 1/50.

2. 4th verse.

3. See Ch. on Administration.

4. IHQ, VII, pp. 533 ff.

Jitva yah kainakari-prabhavetii abhiliavatu sasvatim prapa Santim
Sa Śrīman Lokauatha jayati Dasavalonyasa Gopaldevah.

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

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

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

1. Schiefner, Tārānātha, pp. 195 ff. 2. Vs. 683-90.

Gawalior prasasti¹ informs that Pratihara Vatsaraja wrested the sovereignty of Kanauj from Bhandikula. Dharmapala must have regarded him as a rival, but in the encounter the Pala king was defeated. We know from the Wani and Radhanpur plates² that Rastrakuta Dhruva defeated Vatsaraja who had inflicted a defeat on the Gauda king. But though defeated in his first attempt, Dharmapala did not give up his imperial ambition and made further attempts to occupy Kanauj, because not long after this we find him in the possession of the Ganges-Yamuna Doab. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa record that the Gauda king was defeated by Dhruva in the Ganges-Yamuna valley³ and this is confirmed by the Baroda and Surat plates of Karkaraja.⁴ Chronologically it stands thus that in the westward expansion of his kingdom Dharmapala received two checks—first from Vatsaraja and next from Dhruva. Dhruva attacked Vatsaraja in C. 789 A. D., and therefore Dharmapala was defeated by Vatsaraja before that. Dhruva died before May, 794 A. D.,⁵ and he must have defeated the Pala king before that date.

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

1. EI, XVIII, p. 101

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

3. EI., XVIII, p. 250

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

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

6. Ibid., p. 61.

m Nepal, Gokarna in the Bombay Presidency and in Orissa.¹ The 12th verse of the Khalimpur plate enumerates the countries that actually acknowledged his overlordship. It is told that "with a sign of his gracefully moved eyebrows he installed the illustrious king of Kanya-kubja, who readily was accepted by the kings of Bhoja (Vidarbha), Matsya (Jaipur), Madra (E. Panjab), KUTU (Delhi region), Yadu (Mathura), Yavana (W. Panjab), Avantī (Malwa) Gfindhara (Taxila) and Kira (Kangra valley),² bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted by the delighted elders of Pancala".³ Further light on the whole situation is thrown by the 3rd verse of the Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala. It is known therefrom that Dharmapala took possession of Kanauj from Indraraja⁴ and installed, his own 'protege' Chakrayudha on its throne by calling an imperial assembly. His overlordship was acknowledged, and the war of 'digvijaya' he had to undertake for this purpose speaks of the stupendousness of the task. The supreme political achievement was sanctified by holding the imperial assembly at Kanauj.

The undisputed sovereignty of Dharmapala over northern

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

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

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

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

India and his handling of the situation according to his pleasure did not go unchallenged. The invasion of Dhruva did not crush the Pratihara power but only gave a temporary blow to its vigorous rise. Nagabhata II, son and successor of Vatsarāja, once more tried to consolidate the Pratihara power in order to make another trial of strength with the Palas. Before actually taking the field, he came to a close understanding with the kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga¹ thus making a strong confederacy of states which, as Dr. Majumdar points out, "formed a central belt right across the country bounded in the east by the empire of the Palas and on the south by that of the Rastrakutas." Thus strengthening his position, Nagabhata II most probably first directed his attention to his eastern rival and defeated Cakrayudha, Dharmapala's nominee on the throne of Kanauj. This was nothing but a challenge to the suzerainty of Dharmapala and necessarily brought him on the field. This fight between Nagabhata II and Dharmapala for the overlordship of northern India was one of the most fiercely contested battles of the period and in all probability both the parties were equally matched. The epigraphic records of the vassals of the Pratiharas claim victories over the Gauda emperor, implying that they followed Nagabhata in his campaign. In an inscription of Avantivarman II, great grandson of Vahukadhavala and a feudatory of Mahendrapala, it has been claimed that Vahukadhavala defeated in battle³ king Dharma who may be identified with Dharmapala. Again, from the Catus inscription of Baladitya it is known that Sankaragana, the Guhilot prince, conquered Bhata, king of the Gauda country, and made a present of his kingdom to his overlord.³ It is known from the Jodhpur inscription, of Bauka

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

2. EI, IX, pp. 2 ff.

3. Dr. Majumdar has adduced good reasons to prove that **Bhata** refers Dharmapala and the overlord to Nagabhata II. Op. Cit. Also see IHQ: IX pp.

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

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

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

invoked the assistance of Govinda III against Nagabhata II. Though it cannot be definitely ascertained, it seems quite probable that Dharmapala after his defeat by Nagabhata II did not risk another encounter with the Raṣṭrakūṭas and thought it wise to submit to Govinda III.⁷ From a comparison of the Wani and Radhanpur grants the northern invasion of Govinda III can be assigned to the period between 807 and 808 A. D. It is therefore clear that the reverses of Dharmapala must have taken place before that date.

Dharmapala is one of the greatest kings of the Pāla dynasty and takes an honourable place among the great kings known to Indian history. He assumed the highest imperial titles of those days, viz. Paramabhattacharaka, Paramesvara and Maharajadhiraja, while his father was styled only Maharajadhiraja.* His name and fame was not confined within his kingdom. The Gujrat poet Sodhdhā of the eleventh century calls him Uttarapathasvamin. He assumed the title Vikramasila either to signalise his might or

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

2. Khalimpur plate.

to commemorate the foundation of the Vikramasila monastery. The Somapuri-mahavihara¹ also owed its origin to the great Pala king. The second verse of the Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala records certain facts which throw light on his administration and the liberality of the man himself, and these seem to be corroborated by other sources too. Though himself a devout Buddhist, he was very particular in following the policy that his subjects should be governed in accordance with their respective śāstric rules. This is alluded to in the 5th verse of the Mongyr plate of his son. That this tolerance was not a thing to be boasted of in the prasastis is attested by the Mahabodhi inscription or Kesava prasasti of the 26th year of Dharmapala's reign, which records the setting up of a Caturmukha-linga of Mahadeva in the great Buddhist holy place. It is further recorded in the Bhagalpur plate that incidence of his taxation was equitable and just. Many kings sought his protecting shelter which he gladly accorded to them.² The defeated kings were not uprooted but reinstated on their thrones and a friendly policy was adopted towards them. It is no wonder that a monarch with such brilliant achievements to his credit, whose government was based on so just and benign principles, should win the love and respect of all classes of his subjects. His court-poet³ records that his praises were sung by the cowherd boys, hermits, village folk, traders and the rich alike. He ruled at least for 32 years.

It is known from the Khalimpur plate that the crown prince Tribhuvanapala was the dutaka of that grant. Most probably he died during the life-time of his father. Dharmapala was succeeded by Devapala, his son by the Rastrakuta princess Rannadevi. During the reign of Devapala the Pala arms were crowned with success everywhere. It is stated in the Mongyr plate that in course of his 'digvijaya' he advanced as far as the Vindhyas and the Kamboja country. This is confirmed by the 13th

1. Vide Ante

2. Mongyr plate, Vs. 8,

8. Khalimpur plate, Vs. 18.

verse of the Badal Pillar inscription where Devapala's victories in the Vindhyas and Kamboja country have been alluded to. It seems that he fought with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the interregnum and the period of minority of Amoghavarṣa I. It is not precisely known where the Kambojas lived at this time.³ Thus the statement in the Badal Pillar inscription that by the wise counsel and policy of his minister the whole tract bounded by the Vindhyas and the Himalayas and by the eastern and western seas paid tribute to Devapala was not a mere political exaggeration but an actual fact.

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

1. At the time of Asoka the Kambojas were a Himalayan tribe in N. W. India. -It is known from the Irda plate of king Nayapada that there was a Kamboja ruling family in south western Bengal in the 10th century. Did Devapala fight with this family or a Himalayan tribe? (EL, XXII, pp, 160 ff.)

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

Amoghavarsha I was the Rastrakuta contemporary of Devapala. During the period of his minority and anarchy Devapala victoriously advanced as far as the Vindhyas in course of his first expedition. It is stated in the Sirur² and Nilgund grants that the kings of Āṅga, Vāṅga and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarsha, but there are reasons to hold that the Raṣṭrakuṭas advanced through Orissa after the conquest of Vengi.³ Amoghavarsha finally crushed the power of the Vengi ruler Vijayaditya II sometime before 866 A. D., the date of the issuing of the Sirur grants. It seems, therefore, that the Rastrakuta invasion of Bengal should be placed after 860 A. D., and that Devapala defeated the Raṣṭrakuṭas sometime before that date in course of his second expedition, when Amoghavarsha was perhaps engaged in wars with his Gujrat cousins and in putting down risings of the rebellious chiefs.

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

1. Dr. Majumdar, Op. Cit.

2. E I, VII, pp. 104-5

3. The Rastrakutas and their times, pp. 76, 84. A march through Bāgelkhand and Bihar without coming into serious conflicts with the rising power of the Pratiharas under Bhoja does not seem likely. The Rastrakuta grants do not indicate that Amoghavarsha I marched against Bhoja.

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

5. E I, XIII, p. 102

Pragyotisa (Kamarupa). The Kamarupa king defeated by Jayapala was most probably Harjaravarman whose Tezpur rock inscription is dated in 829 A. D., or his successor Vanamala.¹

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

The history of the Pālas at the height of their power remains incomplete without some reference to the part played by Vakpala and Jayapala, and Garga and Darbhapaṇi. We learn from the Bhagalpur plate that Vakpala was to Dhamtpala what Lakṣmana was to Ramacandra, and this able and trusted brother was mainly responsible for his conquests. Again, Devapala owed many of his victories to the consummate generalship of Jayapāla. The Badal or Garuda pillar inscription informs that the Brahmana minister Garga was to Dharmapala what Bṛhaspati was to Indra, and it was through his counsel that Dharmapāla, lord of the east, became the master of the west also. No less helpful were the services of Darbhapani and Kadaramisra. Darbhapani's policy brought the tract between the Himalayas and the Vindhyās under Devapala, and Kadaramisra's advice was responsible for his victories over the Utkalas, Huṇas, Draviḍas and Gurjaras. The successes of Dharma-

1. DH. pp. 244-5

2. Mongyr plate Vs, 14

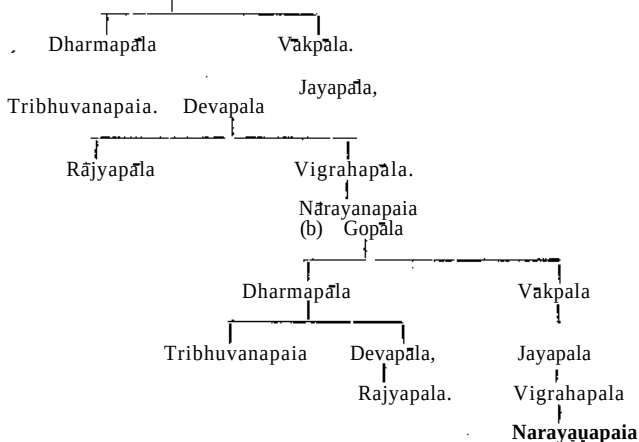
pala and Devapala were no doubt to a certain extent due to their own abilities and personality. But the way in which bold claims have been made in the Bhagalpur grant and in the Badal prasasti reflects no mean credit on the successful generalship of Vakpala and Jayapala, veterans of many battle-fields, and the competent ministers like Garga, Darbhapani and Kedarasamisra,¹ shrewd in diplomacy and wise in counsel.

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

1. The question as to whether Kedaramisra was the minister of Devapala or Śūrapāla is not so difficult to answer as it appears to be. The 15th verse makes him a minister of Śūrapāla. But in the 13th verse the conquest of a Gaudeśvara over Orissa, Kaniarapa, the Hunas, Dravidaś and Gurjaras has been attributed to his counsel. It does not seem that Śūrapāla had such military success. Devapāla enjoyed a long reign (at least of 39 years). Nothing specifically has been said of Darbhapani's son Somesvara who most probably died at a comparatively young age. It is therefore quite possible that both Darbhapani and his grandson **Kedaramisra served Devapala,**

is said that from him was born Vighrahapala. If strict grammar is to be followed in this case, 'from him' refers to Devapala, but it must be said that in the sixth verse Devapāla has been incidentally mentioned and the main theme of the verse was the exploits of Jayapala. Dr. Horenle wrote in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹, "It seems clear from this (Amgachi) grant that Vighrahapāla was not a nephew but a son of Devapāla, for the pronoun 'his son' (tat-sanuh) must refer to the nearest preceding noun which is Devapāla. In the Bhagalptir grant this reference is obscured through the interpolation of an immediate verse in praise of Jayapāla, which makes it appear as if Vighrahapala were a son of Jayapala". Mr. A. K. Maitra³ accepted this view and went so far as to identify Rajyapala, the 'dntaka' of the Mongyr grant, with Vighrahapala or śarapala. Kielhorn³ was of opinion that Vighrahapala was the son of Jayapala and grandson of Vakpala, and R. D. Banerjee⁴ accepted this view. In all fairness, the question should be kept open and two genealogies are possible.⁵ The

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| 1. Appendix II, p. 206 | 2. Gauḍalekhamāḍa, p. 87, fn. |
| 3. E I., VIII, Appendix, p. 17. | 4. BI, p. 218 |
| 6. (a) Gopāla | |



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

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

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

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

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

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

1. EI VII p. 86.

2. Ibid. II pp. 297-802.

8. Ibid. XIX, pp 7ff. The Bilahari inscription states that Kokkala conquered the whole earth by planting Bhojadeva and Krsnaraja as his column of fame in the north and south respectively, who were to be identified with the Pratihara king Bhoja I (c.836-90 A.D.) and the Rastrakuta king Krsna.....II (c.78-915 A.D.). Kokkala was the father-in-law of the latter and may be assigned to the first part of the latter half of the ninth century. The Benares plates inform that Kokkala granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Ballabharaja Sri-Harsa king of Citrakuta and the king Sankaragana. It is known from the Amoda plates that he raided the treasuries of Karnata, Vanga, Gurjara, Konkana and Sakatnabhari king and also those born of the Turaska and Raghu families. The king of Karnata and the king, born of the Raghu family, have been identified with Krsna 11 and Bhoja I respectively (See IHQ, XII, p. 132 ff.) This goes against the view that Kokkaladeva helped Bhoja.

years of the reign of Narayanapala the Pala sway was acknowledged in Gaya, and his Bhagalpur grant was issued in his 17th regnal year from Mongyr, and it seems that Magadha was included in the Pala empire in c. 880 A.D. Bhoja died in c.890 A.D.. The evidence of the Ram-Gaya, Guneria and Itkhauri inscriptions¹ goes unmistakably to show that some portion of Magadha was included in the Pratihara empire in the last decade of the 9th century. The discovery of the Paharpur pillar inscription of the 5th year of the reign of Mahendrapala² shows further expansion of the Pratihara power. It is quite likely that the Pratiharas advanced along the northern bank of the Ganges and occupied the very citadel of the Palas. Thus in the long struggle with the Pratiharas the Palas were ousted for the time being from their 'janakabhu' Varendri. There is nothing to be wondered at how the name of Mahendrapala has been included by the Tibetan historian Taranatha in the list of the kings of Magadha and Gauda. It is known from the Catsu inscription³ that the Guhilot king Guhila II, son of Harsaraja, defeated the Gauda king and levied tributes from princes in the east. Harsaraja was a contemporary of Bhoja, and his son therefore may be regarded as a contemporary of Mahendrapala. This Guhilot family was a loyal feudatory one and rendered valuable services to the Pratiharas. Another invasion that took place about this time was by the Rastrakuta king Krsna II who, after defeating a Gurjara king, raided Gauda, Anga, Kalinga and Magadha⁴. Krsna II ascended the throne in c.880 A.D., and as he was engaged in the first part of his reign with the Vengi ruler and with the Pratihara emperor Bhoja, his expedition in the east was probably undertaken towards the close of the 9th or beginning of 10th century.

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

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

2. ASIR, 1927-8, pp. 101

ff.

3. EI, XII, p. 11.

4. EI, V, p. 191. Ibid., IV, p. 287.

yaṇapala (i.e., about the second decade of the 10th century) an image was set up at Nālanda which goes to show that south-eastern Magadha was under the Palas. Inscriptions of Rajyapala¹ and Gopala II have been found at Nalanda, Bodh-Gaya, and in northern Bengal.² After the death of Mahendrapala the Pratihara empire began to break up. The Rastrakutas under Indra III dealt a crushing blow to the Pratiharas in c.916 A.D., and it is not unlikely that the Palas might have attempted during this troubled time of the Pratiharas to recover some of their lost possessions. It must be noted that no record of the Palas from the time of Narayanapala to Mahipala I (both exclusive) has yet been found in northern Behar. The Pāla kingdom was considerably reduced during the weak rules of Vighrahapala I, Narayanapala, Rajyapala, Gopala II and Vighrahapala II, and during their reigns many foreign invaders took the opportunity of carrying on their depredations in Bengal. It is known from two Kalacuri³ inscriptions that the Cedi king Yuvaraja I and his son Iyaksmanaraja invaded Gauda and Vangala respectively. Yuvaraja I was the father-in-law of Amoghavarsha III, the Rastrakuta king, whose reign commenced in c. 935 A.D. Therefore Yuvaraja I and his son seem to have reigned in the first half of the 10th century, whose Pāla contemporaries were probably Rajyapala and Gopala II. Yuvaraja I carried on raids on many countries far and near, viz., Gauda, Karnata, Lata, Kaśmīra and Kalinga. Laksmanaraja defeated the Vangalas, Pandyas, Gurjaras and Kasmira. Nor was the other central Indian power sitting inactive. The Khajuraho inscription⁴ of Candella Yasovarman, dated in 954 A. D., informs us that he defeated the king of Gauda. Another Khajuraho inscription,⁵ dated in 1001 A. D., records that the wives of the kings of Kanchi, Andhra, Radha and Anga lingered in the prison of his son Dhangadeva.

1 IA.. 1918, p. 111.

2. Recently a plate of Gopala II has been found in the Malda district. (Bharatavarsha), 1344, B.S., Sravana isaua, p. 274.

3. EI, I I. p. 297, Bilhari and Goharwa plates; 'Ibid., XI, XI, p. 142.

4. EI, I. p. 128.

5. Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

The Pāla Dynasty (Continued)

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

With the accession of Mahipala I there seems to have been a revival of the Pala power. The Baghaura image inscription shows that Samatata was included within his kingdom in his third regnal year.⁵ The Imadpur image inscription goes to show that northern Bihar was under his possession.⁴ If the date Samvat 1076 of the colophon of the Rāmāyaṇa is to be referred to the Vikrama era, it seems that Mahipala I came into conflict with Kalacuri Gangeyadeva, though it has been doubted by

1. See *Infra.*, Chapter V.

2. We agree with Br. R. C. Majumdar that the expression "kunjara-ghatavargena" of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of Gaudapati and not as a chronogram to mean 888, which is to be referred to the Śaka era. See "Vangavani," 1380 B. S., p. 250 ; *Bl.*, p.243,

8. *EI.* XVII, p.853.

4. *IA*, XIIIV, p. 166,

some scholars.¹ It is stated in the Goharwa plates that Gsflgeya-dēva conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Aṅga which was included within MahlpSla's kingdom. The most formidable invasaion during his reign was from the south. It is known from the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rajendracola that in c. 1325 A. D. his general defeated Mahīpala/

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

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

"2. KI, IX., pp. 232-33' also see Chapter V.

3, Gaudarajamala, p. 41.

4. Bl, p. 256.

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

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

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

Nalands, which was burnt down by a conflagration.¹ Sthirapala and Vasantapala, two brothers of Mahipala, restored Dharmarajika and Sāgadharmacakra and built the temple of Gandhakuti at Sarnatha² in 1026 A.D. Many important tanks in northern Bengal are associated with his name.³ All these must have made him very popular and his name is perhaps still remembered in the popular saying that Mahipala's praise is to be sung when husking the paddy. He was succeeded by his son Nayapala.

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

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

2. ASIR, 1933-4, p. 222; A.I., XIV, p. 139; Gaudolekhamala, p. 104.

3. Gaudarajatnalla, p. 104; Mahlsantosa in Dinajpur, Mahipalera Dighi (tank) in Bogra and in Murshidabad.

4. JBTS., I, p. 9.

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

6. Ramacarita 1/9.

column there perhaps as a mark of his victorious march, where an image was carved by a certain sculptor by the order of the Cedi king. Karna's invasion of Bengal has also been alluded to in the Bheraghat inscription of Ahlanadevi¹ and in the Karanabel inscription of Jayashmīa² It is stated in the 'Rāmacarita' that Vighrahapala III, son and successor of Nayapala, though he defeated Karna, did not uproot him and that Karna's daughter Yauvanasri was married to him. It is difficult to believe that the Cedi king who carried extensive conquests far and wide was compelled to give his daughter in marriage with Vighrahapala. In the⁴ height of his power he overran the whole of northern India, but in the latter part of his reign he suffered many defeats. From various sources comes the story of his defeats by Candella Kirtivarman,³ Paramara Udayaditya⁴ and Calukya Somesvara.⁵ It is known from the 'Prabodha-candrodaya' that Karṇa first almost annexed the Candella kingdom during the weak rule of Devendravarman, but the same drama records how his brother Kirtivarman with the help of his Brahmana minister Gopala restored the Candella kingdom after vanquishing Karṇa's power. Faced in the south and west by the Chlukyas and the Paramaras, the rising power of the Candellas was still a greater danger to the power of Karṇa. It is therefore quite possible that the motive behind this matrimonial alliance with Vighrahapala III was a lasting peace with the Palas.

The 'Vikramādikacarita' which narrates the exploits and military expeditions of Vikramaditya VI, son of Calukyaking Somesvara I, records that when a Yuvarāja, Vikramaditya made a raid on Gauda and Kamarupa.⁶ It is stated in the inscriptions of the reigns of Somesvara I,⁷ Somesvara II⁵ and Vikramaditya VI⁹ that the

1. E.I. ii. p. 11. 2. I.A., XVII, p. 217.

3. K.I., p. 222; Prabodha-candrodaya, pp. 11, 12, 14.

4. E.I., II, p. 185.

5. 'Über das Lebender Jaina monchs Hemacandra' by George Buhler, p. 69; I.A., V, p. 317, Vikramādikadevacarita.

6. Ibid. 7. E.I. XV, p. 86.

8. Ibid., p. 97.

9. Ibid., p. 104.

Çālukyas shattered the pride of many countries among whom the names of Ganda and Vanga occur. The invasion of Somesvara I must have taken place before 1053 A. D., because his Mahasamanta Bhogadevarasa of the Kelwadi inscription¹ raided Vanga and seems to have followed him. As the invasion of Bengal is mentioned in the records of three successive Çālukya kings and in the 'Vikramañkacarita,' it is quite possible that there might have been more than one Calukya invasion in the eleventh century.

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

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

1. E.I., 'IV, p. 259.

2. Com. 1/31 Prathamam purvam pitari Vighrahapaia uparate sati Mahipale bhratari ksamabharam bhubharam vibhrati sati anitikarambharate anitike nitivirudhe Srambhe udyame rate sati Mahlpaiha sadgunasalyasya mantrino gunitamagunayan upastambhara bhatimatradisatgrahagena.

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

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

1. Com. 1/37 Mayinam khaianam dvanina ayam Ramapalah ksamodhikari sarvasammata tatasea devasya rajyamgrahisyaiti sucanya sankitavipada mamasau hanisyatlti sanikitavipadyena tasya bhuvobhartur-Mahipaiasya prabrutaya vahutaraya nirakrti prayuktita sathya prayogat upayavadha-cestaya tatha tvanakakarenapaune duigate kanisthe bratari Ramapale raksitari-

2. 1/33.

3. Bl., p. 280.

4. EI., 11, p.193, Vs. 188.

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

Ramapala succeeded Suarpala. Mr. A. K. Maitra² suggested that he passed these days in Aṅga with his maternal uncle Mathanadeva. It may be pointed out that an image inscription of the second year of Ramapāla³ has been found in Bihar. During these critical days he was always closeted in discussion with his ministers and his son Rajyapala in order to arrive at a decision as to the course of action to be taken. It was perhaps settled that by any hasty action they might fare like Mahipala, -and before any action to be taken, it would be wiser to win the confidence and active support of the Samautas. To this effect Ramapala now turned his whole attention and he met the important chiefs, implored their help and promised them reward of money and further extension of territory in case of victory. This produced the desired effect. The Samantas were satisfied with his behaviour and assurance. The right-hand man of Ramapala in the suppression of the Kaivarta revolt was Rastrakuta Mathanadvea, who with his two sons, Kaṇpuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, and his nephew Sivaraja played an effective part in the battle. The commentary⁴ informs us that Mathanadeva defeated the king of Pithi and Magadha. In the Sarnatha inscription of Kumaradevi, queen of Gahadavala Govindacandra, it is said, "In the Gauda country there was a priceless warrior with quiver (kandapatika), this incomparable diadem of the Ksatriyas, the Aṅga king Mahana,⁵ the vener-

1. EI., XXI, pp.97-131. The Nalanda inscription of Vipilasrimitra has been assigned to the middle of the 12th century. Karunasrimitra was removed by two generations of teachers from Vipulasrimitra.

2. A course of lecture delivered by Mr. A. K. Maitra in the Calcutta University on the fall of the Pala empire published in a summary form by Dr. R. C Majumdar, Marmavani, 1328 B.S.

8, JASB, 1908, pp; 108-9

4,

,5.

The Prakṛta form of Mathana is Mahana.

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

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

(1), Bhimayasa, ruler Pithi and Magadha, and described as 'Kanyakuvja-vajinlganthana-bhujatiga'. Pithi was the name of Bodh-Gaya and the neighbouring region.³ If the above expression means any hostility to a Kanyakuvja king, he is to be identified with a Gahaḍavala king and not with Kalacuri Yasahkarna as suggested by R. D. Banerjee.⁴ Devaraksita preceded Bhimaya on the throne of Pithi and his daughter was married to Govindacandra. Gahaḍavala Madanapāla's inscriptions are dated from 1104 to 1109 A. D., and in his *Rahan grant*⁵ the victories over the Gauda elephants are said to have been achieved by his son Govindacandra. It may be that Ramapala after the Kaivarta war made an attempt to extend his sway in the west but was checked by the rising power of the Gahaḍavalas. The eastward advance of the Gahaḍavala power during the period 1124-1146 A. D. is indicated by the Maner and Lar plates. Govindacandra's fight with the kings of Vanga and Gauda is alluded to in the Prakrt-paingalam, a work on Prakṛta metrical science.⁶ Govindacandra's contemporaries were Ramapala, Kumarapala, Gopala III. Madanapala and Vijayasena.

(2). Vṛaguna of Kotatavi, described as daksina-simhasana-cakravartī. Mr. N. N. Vasu identifies Kotatavi with Kota-desā in

1. EI, IX, p. 820.

2. BI., d. 226.

3. JBORS., IV, p. 278.

4. BI., p. 784.

5. IA. XV 111, p. 46.

6.

IHQ.;xl,p.;564 ff,

Ṣarkar Kataka of the Āin-Āi-kbari.¹ Vīragupa may be identified with Vīra of the Deopara prasasti, who was defeated by Vijayasena.

(3). Jayasīmha, ruler of Daṇṭjabhukti, who is said to have defeated the Utkala king Karnakesari, who most probably belonged to the Kesari dynasty but whose name has not been found anywhere else.²

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

(5). Lakṣmsurra described as 'aparamandara-madhustīdana and samasta-atiavīka-samantacakra-cudamani'. Aparā-mandara has been identified with the Mandāra hill in the Bhagalpur district⁵. It is to be noted that he is called a Ssmanta of the forest region.

(6). surapala of Kujavati. Its identification is uncertain.

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

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

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

(10). Narasīmharjjūna of Kayariigal-maṇḍala which maybe identified with Kankjol in the Rajmahal.

(11). Candarjjuna of Samkajiagrama. Its location is uncertain.

(12). Vijayaraja of Nidravala. Dr. H. C. Roychowdhury is

1. Rajanyakanda. v. 191.

2. DH., I. p. 412

3. Rajanyakanda, p. 198.

4. JASB., 1912, p. 841

5. IA, 1980, p. 244.

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

Inclined to identify this chief with Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty¹. If this is to be accepted, Nidravala is to be located in Radha where the Senas were originally settled.

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

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

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

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

1. IHQ., XIII, p. 358

2. *BI* p. 277

3. SPP, 1889, B.S. pp. 80-81

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

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

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

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

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

3. Modern Review, 1935, p. 347

4. Ibid., 1936, April issue,

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

1. Com. 1/38. Kanta" kamaniya divyahvayena Divyanamna Divvokena namsabhujā lakṣmya amsam bhūjanena bhṛtyena uccaiḥ-darsakena uccaiḥ-nahati dasa avastha yasya atyucchrītenetyartha dasyuna satruna tad-bhava-annatvat avasya-kartavyataya aravdhama karma vratam chadmani vratī.

2. Bharatvarṣa, 1348 B.S., pp. 82-41

3. Com. 188. quoted above. 4. Bhīratvarṣa. 1842 B. S., Agatha issue.

After the recovery of his fatherland, Rāmapala bent himself to lay the foundation of the Pala kingdom more deeply by winning the love and affection of all people. He built a new capital which has since been associated with his name,—Ramavati¹ or Ramauti of the Muslim writers. He adorned this city with numerous Buddhist and Hindu images, the chief of which were Saura, Śaiva and Skānda. This must have produced profound impression on the people at large. True to the Pala tradition, he established the famous Buddhist monastery of Jagaddala whose fame travelled far beyond the borders of Bengal. Besides, he built many temples and excavated canals and tanks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Ramacarita 4/8-18

8. S. K. Sen. SekhSubhodaya p. 46.

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

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

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

of Gopaladeva.¹ Its characters are almost similar to those of the Deopara prasasti of Vijayasena, and the king Gopaladeva is to be identified with Gopāla III. This identification goes to disprove the old view² that he had a very short reign and died in his childhood. He seems to have ruled at least for 14 years. The 'Rāmacarita' dismisses his reign in one verse³ from which it appears that his enemies had a hand in his death which was not perhaps natural. The Manda inscription, which is to be assigned for palæographical reasons to Gopāla III, is full of so many scribal mistakes that no meaning can be made out of it confidently.³ It seems that this record also refers to his enemies and one person named Mijum (?) fought for or stood by him. It is to be noted that it is a posthumous record,

Gopala III was succeeded by Madanpsla, the last known king of the Pala dynasty. He was the son of Ramapsla by his queen Madanadevl. In his accession he was assisted by Mahamandalika Candra of Anga, son of Suvarnacandra.⁴ Sandhyskaranandl describes Madanapāla as king with a religious bent of mind and as a liberal-minded man. He is said to have uprooted one Govardhana, The leader of the Naga army was his ally and with his help he seems to have crippled the fortune of Hari.⁵ A victory is also claimed in his favour over Kaliṅga. But whatever success he had, it seems that northern Bengal passed in the hands of Vijayasena

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

2. EL, p. 811

8. 4/12. 'Api Satrughṇa-upSyad Gopfilah svaḥ jagama tatsunuḥ Hantu kumbhlnasya-astanavaisya tasya sStnayikam-etat.

8. An attempt has been made to interpret this inscription by V. Vidyavinode. See SPP, 1319 B. S., pp. 153 ff. The reading and translation are highly conjectural. He reads 'sechyam' in the 8rd line and is of opinion that he gave up his life voluntarily. The word looks like 'sacya' and gives no meaning.

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

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

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

The Palas were entangled in severe struggle with the Pratihars and Rastrakutas from the very foundation of the empire. It seems that the struggle was keener and more long-drawn with the Pratiharas than with the latter. A close study of the Rastrakuta and Pala records tends to show that the Palas were politically or matrimonially allied with the Rastrakutas. It was held by some scholars that Dhruva Dharavarsa undertook his campaign against Vatsaraja as an ally of Dharmapala, but this is to be given up in view of the direct mention of his encounter with the Gauda king in the 14th verse of the Sanjan plates. The Rastrakuta help was perhaps sought by Dharmapala when he was defeated by Nagabhata II. The 23rd verse of the same record, which describes the northern campaign of Govinda III and his victory over Nagabhata II, informs us that Dharmapala and Cakrayudha submitted to him of their own accord. The conclusion becomes more probable because Dharmapala married Rannadevi, daughter of a Rastrakuta prince named Parabala².

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

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

The sixth Pala king Rajyapala married Bhagyadevi, daughter of a Rastrakuta prince named Tunga. The identification of this Rastrakuta prince is also far from being certain. Rajyapala ruled during C 810-985 A.D., and the Pala power was passing through the most critical days at this period, as the Pratihara under Mahendrapala occupied northern Bihar and Bengal. The strengthening of the Pala power by a matrimonial alliance can be presumed. What is more important to notice is that in every official record of the Palas after Rajyapala this matrimonial alliance has been very prominently referred to, while Dharmapala's marriage with Rannadevi is known from the Mongyr and Nalanda grants of Devapala. Vigrahapala's marriage with the Kalacuri princess Lajjadevi is known only from the Bhagalpur grant of Narayanapala. But Rajyapala's marriage with Bhagyadevi has been repeated in the genealogical account of the Palas in every grant. It is quite probable that this marriage was of great political importance to the Palas. Kielhorn suggested that Rajyapala's father-in-law was Jagattunga, son of Krsna II.¹ Jagattunga predeceased his son III and did not reign. It cannot be ascertained whether the northern campaign of Indra III and his signal victory over the Pratihara emperor Mahipala had something to do in connection with this matrimonial alliance. But it seems certain that this death-blow to the Pratiharas offered a good opportunity to the Palas for the recovery of the lost possessions. Every Rastrakuta campaign against the Pratiharas, whether undertaken for their own sake or otherwise, was indirectly of great political advantage to the Palas.

If the northern campaigns of Govinda III and Indra III are somewhat doubtful as of direct help to the Palas, the evidence of the Ramacarita of Sandhyakarananda is conclusive of the fact that the

1. IA., XLVIII, p. III. Mr. N. N. Vasu identified him with Krsna II himself who had also the title Tunga (VJI, Rajanya Kanda, p. 128). Mr. R. D. Banerji remarks that he is perhaps to be identified with Tungadharmavaloka whose inscription has been found at Bodhi-Gaya (R. L. Mitra, Buddha Gaya, p. 195, pl. XL.)

² g. pr. Altekar. Op. Cit., p. 99,

Rastrakn̄ta branch of Magadha rendered incalculable service to the cause of the Palas at one of the most critical junctures of their fortunes. Vigrahapāla III married a sister of Mathanadeva who was the right-hand man of RSm̄apala in his suppression of the Kaivarta revolt. The vanguard of Ramapala's army was led by Mathanadeva's nephew Mahapratihāra Śivarāja and his own sons Mahāmaṇḍalika Kaṇṇuradeva and Suvarṇadeva also took an important part in that war. Madanapāla, the last known Pala king of northern Bengal, was assisted in his succession by the Rastrakuta prince Candradeva.¹

It seems therefore that the Rastrakuta alliance was the corner-stone of the Pala foreign policy and the Rastrakutas directly or indirectly rendered great service to the Pala empire from almost its foundation to the last day of its existence. But this intimate matrimonial and political relations did not prevent them from undertaking campaigns against Bengal or claiming suzerainty over the Palas. The statement of the Muslim traveller Sulaiman⁵ that the Rastrakutas compelled "every prince, though master in his own house, to pay homage to themselves" seem to be quite appropriate. Nor did the Palas, if they found a favourable opportunity, felt any scruples to invade the Rastrakuta kingdom. The defeat of a Drāviḍa king by Devapāla, who from his mother's side had Rastrakuta blood in him, most probably refers to a Rastrakuta king.

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

1. IHQ., V, p. 85

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

The constant and repeated foreign invasions were not the only scourge of the Pala kingdom. It appears that the feudatories also took utmost advantage of the weakness of the central power to assume a defiant, if not almost independent, attitude. We know of two such cases in Magadha. Two records from Gaya¹ of the 15th year of Nayapala introduce us to one Visvaditya or Visvarilpa,² son of Śudraka and grandson of Paritosa. The family seems to have been devoted to religion and constructed temples and installed gods at Gaya. Nothing is known of its political status. Another Gaya inscription³ of the 5th regnal year of Vighrahaspa III describes Śudraka in vague terms and records that Visvarupa destroyed his enemies. It is clear that he was a contemporary of Nayapala and Vighrahaspa III. In another Gaya record of Yaksapala (Visvarupa's son) Śudraka is described as, "Śri Śudrakah svayam-apujad-indra-kalpa Gaugesvara nrpati-laksana-pujayayam." Dr. H. C. Ray⁴ takes it to mean that the lord of Gaṇḍa paid homage to śudraka, while Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁵ is inclined to take the expression to mean that the lord of Gaṇḍa formally honoured Śudraka by investing him as king with proper ceremony. Whatever may be the meaning, it is clear that during the time of Nayapala and Vighrahaspa III, these pretensions were becoming higher and higher. To crown all, it is said at the end of the Gaya record of Yaksapala,⁶ "Surya-candra masau yavat ksauni sasagara tavat sri Yaksapalasya rajantam bhuvi kirttayah" and there is no reference to any suzerain. It seems therefore that this family was assuming an attitude of independence in the Gaya region during or after the reign of Vighrahaspa III.

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

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1. Gauḍalekhamala, pp. 111 ff ; Palas of Bengal, p. 78
 2. They seem to be identical and it may be also possible that they were two brothers. Two records give two different names.
 3. Palas of Bengal, pp. 81-82
 4. DH., I. p, 348

¹ 6. Palas of Bengal, p. 97

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

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

APPENDIX A

Pāla Chronology

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

1. For Pāla and Sena chronologies, see. JBORS., 1928, pp.489-538; 1929, pp.642-50; IA., 1930, XLIX, pp. 942-50; JASB, 1921, pp. 112; IHQ, 1927, pp. 571-91; 1929, pp. 133B7.

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

Kings.	Probable dates	Known reign-period
1. Gopāla	5, 750 A.D.	
2. Dharmapāla	„ 776-810 A. D.	32 years.
3. Devapāla	„ 810-850 „	39 „
4. Vigrahapāla I or Śurapāla I	„ 850-855 „	3 „
5. Nārāyaṇapāla	„ 855-910 „	54 „
6. Rājyapāla	„ 910-935 „	24 „
7. Gopāla II	„ 935-970 „	35 (?) ¹ „
8. Vigrahapala 11	„ 970	
9. Mahtpāla I	„ 980-1030 „	48 „

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

But 796 cannot be taken as the date of accession of Dharmapala because of the following uncertain factors. The date 1026 A. D, might not have been the last date of Mahipala I, and the unknown reign-periods of all monarchs (of Vigrahapala IIV

1. As regards Gopala II's reign-period, he is said to have reigned 'cirataram', most probably in comparison with his father Rajyapala's reign-period, which is 24 years. I agree with R. D. Banerjee in reading the date in the Maitteya Vyakarana as 17 and not 57 or 11 as suggested by Mm. H P, Shastri and Prof. Bhatidarkar; see photograph and discussion, JBORS, 1928. pp, 489ff.

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

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

10. Nayapāla	c. 1030-1045 A.D.	15 years
11. Vigrahapala I I I	„1045-1072 „	26 „
12. Mahipāla II...	„	„
13. Śūrapala II...	„	„
14. Ramapāla	c. 1080-1123 „	42 years.
15. Kumārapāla...	„	„
16. Gopāla I I I	„1125-1139 „	14 years.
17. Madanapala	„ 1139-1158 „	19 years.
? Govindapala	„ 1162 „	„
? Palapāla	„	35 years.

Atisa Dipankara went to Tibet during the reign of Nayapala in c. 1038 A.D. Nayapala and Vigrahapala I I I were contemporaries of Kalacuri Karṇa (c.1040-70 A.D.). A Gaya inscription is dated in 1232 V.E., which is referred to as " Śrī Govindapaladeva-gata-rajya-caturdasVsamvatsare", i-e., the 14th year having passed since the end of his reign. This places the end of his reign in 1162 A.D., It is possible that Govindapāla and Madanapala ruled contemporaneously in two parts of Magadha. It appears from the 'Ramacarita' that Mahipala II, Śūrapala II and Kutnarapala had very short reigns. It is quite possible that śūrapala II and Ramapala ruled contemporaneously with Kaivarta Divvoka and Bhima in different parts of Bengal and Magadha. Of course it is true that after a certain period of his reign Ramapala ousted Bhima from Varendra, Again, it is also possible that Vijayasena ruled contemporaneously with Ramapala, Gopala I I I and Madanapala.

CHAPTER V

Independent Dynasties in Vaṅga and Rāḍha

The history of south-eastern Bengal in the eighth century is almost dark. The unfinished Chittagong plate of Kāntideva does not throw much light on the political condition. From palaeographical considerations Kāntideva may be placed in the period 750-85^A A. D.. Like the Kedarpur plate of Śrīcandra, it is a peculiar record in which the object of its issue has not been mentioned and goes to strengthen the view that the common (metrical) portion of copper plate grants made by the same king used to be inscribed previously, the formal grant being inscribed on the actual occasion. It was issued from Vardhamanapura which cannot be satisfactorily identified.¹ Kāntideva's father Dhanadatta and grandfather Bhadrādatta became powerful by victories in battles. His title is Parameśvara and Mahārājadhirāja and the inscription comes to an abrupt close by an address to the future kings of Harikela-maṇḍala.³ It seems therefore that his power was confined to a small principality.

In one of his latest papers² R. D. Banerjee expressed the opinion that eastern Bengal did not possibly form a part of the Pāla kingdom before the reign of Mahipala I. This remark seems to be correct inasmuch as there is no definite evidence of Pāla

1. Modern Review, 1922, p. 612,

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

3. For location, see Ante,

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

authority over eastern Bengal in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. But some indirect references tend to show that Vaṅga was probably included within the kingdom of Dharmapāla and Devapala. In the 'Gwalior praSasti' of Bhoja it is stated that Nāgabhaṭa defeated CakrSyudha and the lord of Vāṅga who is to be identified with Dharmapala. Alluding to the same incident in the Baroda plates² of Kakka it is said that the Pratihara king (Nāgabhaṭa II) humbled Gauḍendra and Vāṅgapati by which perhaps the same person (Dharmapala) was meant. But it must be admitted that the terms Gauḍa and Vāṅga have been somewhat loosely used in the contemporary Pratihara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. The land granted by the Khalimpur grant was in Vyagrataṭi-maṇḍala within the Pundravardhana-brukti, and Balavarmā, the governor of that maṇḍala, 'was the dutaka of the Nalauda grant of Devapala. Vyagrataṭi has been identified with Vagḍi (the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra) or phonetic grounds.³ There is nothing definite to show the extension of the Pala power over Vāṅgala.

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

, 1. EL, XVIII. pp. 101 ff. 2. IV, XIII, p. 160.

S. Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, pt. 1, pp. 428-24.

4. EL, XVII, p. 850.

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

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

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

Another independent power was established in eastern Bengal

1. Mr. N. G. Majumdar takes Trailokyacandra as the king of Harikela which included Candradvpa (IB, p. 8). This conclusion is based on the following passage,—"Adharo Harikela-rajakakuda smitanam-sriyam yascandropade babhuva nrpatir dvipe dilipopamaḥ." But to take Trailokyacandra originally to be king of Harikela from which position he became king of Candradvpa seems to us a better conclusion.

2. BI, p. 283

3. IB, p. 3

4. IHQ, III, p. 418

5. IHQ, II, pp. 818, 665

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

7. Chittagong Gazetteer, p. 20

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

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

1. IE., p. 16. Dr. D. C. Ganguli is also inclined to identify Simhapura with Sīhapura in Radha, see IHQ, XI-1, pp. 605ff. also XIII, pp. 158ff.

2. This begins the description of Jitavarman's political conquests:—
 parinayan-Karmāśya-Virasriyam-yongasu-prathayani-varibhausni-stan-Karriya-
 rupa-sriyam."

letters in question are very indistinct, but it seems that the name is to be read as J[?]itavarman¹. In the Nagpur prasasti² of the Paramāra kings it is stated that Lakṣmadeva (1086-1094 A. D.) first proceeded to Hari's quarters and entered the town of the lord of Gaucja. Hari's quarters have been generally taken to mean east, but it may refer to the kingdom of Harivarman. The 'AṣṭasahasrikS-PrajBaparamitā' was copied in his 19th year, and a commentary on 'Kala-cakra-yāna' was written in the 23rd year of Harivarmadeva⁵. He had a long reign and probably ruled contemporaneously with RSmāpala. From the Bhuvanēsvara praśasti of his minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and from the Yajrayogini plate it appears that he had a son who distinguished himself in battles, but it is not clear whether this son actually ruled. It is important to notice that there is no mention of Harivarman and his son in the Belava plate in which Jatavarman seems to have been succeeded by his son Samalavarman. The foundation of the Varman power did not go unchallenged by the Palas. The presentation of an elephant and the chariot by a Yarman king of the east and the victorious naval battle of Yaidyadeva in southern Bengal indicate that the Varmans were occasionally compelled to acknowledge the Pala suzerainty⁴ though they assumed imperial titles in their own records and were ready to cast off the yoke at every opportune moment. The last known Varman king is Samalavarman's son Bhojavarman by Trailokyasundarl, the daughter of the Paramara king Jagaddeva. The Varmans were most probably ousted from Vikramapura by Vijayasena.

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

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

2. ...EI, lb p. 198, v. 38.

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

4. See Antq.

introduces us to Kamboja-vamsa-tilaka Rajyapala and to his two sons NarSyaṇapala and Nsyapala by queen Bhagyadevl. The grant was issued from the capital (rajadhanī) Priyangu, and the land donated was situated in *Danabhukti-mandala* within the Vardhamana-bhukti. The Tirumalai inscription mentions Daṇṭjabhukti after Odda-visaya and Kos'ala-nadu and before Daksina-Radha. As it was within Vardhamana-bhukti, late Mr. R. D. BanerjeeV opinion that Daṇḍabhukti is roughly represented by Midnapore and Balasore districts seems to be to the mark.

Palseographically Nayapaladeva is to be assigned to the tenth century. The names of the princes of the Irda plate end in Pala, and moreover, RajyapSla (of the Pala dynasty), father of Gopala II, married Bhagyadevl which is the name of the mother of Kamboja Nayapaladeva. It is therefore tempting to hold that this family was a branch family of the Palas. Mr. N. G. Majumdar,² who first held this proposition 'quite unlikely', writes in a recent note⁵ that it is 'Very likely'. Again, it may be pointed out that DevapSla, the 3rd Pala king, had a son of the name of Rajyapala who was the crown prince and dataka at the time of his issuing of the Mongyr plate, and we have already referred to the theory of a palace revolution after the death of Devapala⁴. The acceptance of the view that the princes of the Irda plate belong to a branch family of the Pāla dynasty would support the theory of late Dr. Hoernle,⁵ who long ago held that after Narayaṇapala (of the Pala dynasty) two rival lines of Pala kings were ruling in two parts of Bengal owing to internal dissensions.

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

1. Palas of Bengal pp. 71, 89 ; B1, p. 248,
2. EI, XXII, p. 152.
3. Modern Review, 1987, September issue, pp. 328-24
4. See Ante. Devapala's reign
5. IA, XIV; pp. 165 ff.

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

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

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

1. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, p. 32.

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

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

Radha, Govindacandra of Vangaladesa and Mahlpala of Uttara-Rājha. The controversy¹ that has been raised whether this Tāmil record or the Trivalangadu plates give the correct route of the Cola army is to be closed after the definite location of Daṇḍabhtikti from the evidence of the Irda plate. The Trivalangadu plates state that the defeat of Raṇaśūra took place before the discomfiture of Dharmapala, and this cannot be accepted in view of the geographical position of Daṇḍabhtikti and Dakṣiṇa-Radha. Prof. Nilkanta Siiastri² correctly observes that the Tamil 'prasā.iti' (Tirumalai) which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign must be accepted as more authentic, and he continues, "The language of the Tamil inscriptions appears to suggest, *what seems otherwise*, that Mahlpala had a sort of supremacy over the other chiefs named in this context and that the overthrow of Dharmapala, Ranasura and Govindacandra led to the final struggle in which Mahlpala was captured." We have got no knowledge of Tāmil and what he says from the point of the language of this record we are not in a position to judge; but by 'what seems otherwise' he refers to R. D. Banerjee's opinion that Bengal was divided into many independent principalities at the time of the Cola invasion. We think that this view still holds good and should not be changed until some other stronger proof can be adduced to replace it. The other view would mean that Mahlpala I was the king of almost the whole of Bengal and Bihar in their present geographical denomination, as the Baghaura and Imadpur image inscriptions go to show.

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

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

2. The Colas, pp. 251-52.

3. See Chapter IX, Brahmana Immigrations in Bengal,

may be identified with Magadhadhiraja Ādisirhha of the Dudhpani Tock inscription of the 8th century A. D. The genealogical books preserve a tradition that the Brahmanical Śūras were forced to take shelter in Radha after the establishment of the Buddhist Pala power/ The names of Bhusura, Madhavasura, Adityasura, Yamini. sura, Varendrasura, Pradyumnasura, Anusura and Bhanusura are known from the Kulagranthas. The genealogy of the Varmans and Senas as given in them have proved to be false and unreliable. It is not therefore safe to construct the dynastic history of the Śūras and not even their genealogy, relying on their accounts. Occasionally the names of Śāra princes are found in inscriptions and contemporary literature. A pillar from Rajaona bears an inscription in the 7th-8th century characters with the word 'Rāṇa-śūrasya'. Laksmisura of the Ramacarita was the ruler of Aparamandara. Vijayasena married Vilasadevi who has been described as śūrakulSmbodhi. All these would point to the existence of a Śāra family, though nothing is known definitely of the extent of their territory or political status. The evidence of the Tirumulai inscription and the Ramacarita would indicate that they raised their heads during the rule of weak Pala kings but were forced to accept the position of samantas when there was a strong Pala king.

We have seen that the kingdoms of some of the samantas who fought for Ramapala may be located in Radha and there cannot be any doubt about the location of Jayasithha of Daṇḍabhukti. The samantacakra (the whole body of feudatories) who fought on his side may be regarded as hereditary feudatories of the Palas in normal circumstances. At the time of the out-break of the Kaivarta revolt, the samanta-cakra was against Mahlpala II,³ and it was due to the resourcefulness of Ramapala that they were persuaded to make common cause with him.

1. .-VII, Rajanya Kanda, p. 121.

2. Cunningham, ASR III, pl. xi,v,

3, Ramacartia, 1/31 ; 1/29,

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

CHAPTER VI

The Sena Dynasty

The Senas originally belonged to the Karṇāṭa country. It is stated in the Deopara prasasti and Madhainagar grant that the remote ancestor of the Senas was the Deccan king Vlraseua. Mr. R. Chakravarti² is inclined to identify him with Vīrasena of the south, mentioned in the Sahyadri Khanda of the Skandapurana. Mr. A.K. Maitra was of opinion that he is to be identified with Vīrasena, father of king Nala of the Mahabhārata.² Dr. R C. Majumdar³ draws attention to a line of Jaina teachers (whose names end with Sena) of the Dharwar district which was the heart of the Karṇāṭa country—

Kumarasena.	
Vīrasena	C.850-903 A. D.
Ānakasena.	
Ajitaseua	C. 950-975 A. D.
Brahmasena.	
Āryasena	C. 1000-1045 A. D.
Mahasena.	

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

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

1. Gauḍera Itihasa, p. 156.

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

3. Transactions and Proceedings of the Oriental Conference, 1922, p. 348,
4 BL, p. 251; Prabasi, 1913 B. S., pp. 896 flf.

Bengal in the train of the Cola invasion. In the Deopara prasasti it is said that Samantasena, grandfather of Vijayasena, "singly slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa, overnin by hostile tribes" (v. 8). The relation between the Karṇāṭas and the Colas was far from being friendly. In order to solve the difficulties involved in this suggestion he presumed that after the defeat of the Calukya king Jayasirbha II by Rsjendra Cola some Karṇāṭa soldiers took service in the Cola army and accompanied it in the Cola expedition in Bengal. The enemy against whom Samantasena fought was Mahipāla I of the Pāla dynasty whom R. D., Banerjee identified with Mahipala of the drama 'Candakausikam' by Ksemisvara. Mr. J. M. Roy' supported this view by pointing out that in the 5th verses, of the Sunderban, Anulia and Tarpaudighi grants of Lakṣṭhanasena the city of Kanci has been referred to as the ornament of southern India. Dhoyi in his 'Pavana-dṛtām' gives a glowing picture of Kārichl. Recent discussions" on 'Mahipāla of Caṇḍakauśikam' have shown that his identification with the Pala king cannot be maintained, and in all reasonableness he is to be identified with the Pratihara king Mahipala. The Cola army was not defeated by Mahiprtla I, as the evidence of the Tirumalai inscription is definite ou that point. There is nothing to show that Mahipala I of the Pāla dynasty came into conflict with the Karṇāṭas.

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

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1. Dhakara Itihasa, p. 309.
 2. journal of Oriental Research, Madras, VI, pp. 191 ff; IC, II p. 354, 797; IHQ. XIII, p. 149.
 8. Gaudarajamala, p. 46-7.

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

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

1. Deopara prasasti. vs., 1-9

2. 1HQ.1931. pp. 681 ff.

3. The term Brahmaksatra has been used in this sense in the Ramayana (Balakanda, 13, 7; Kiskindhyakanda, 39, 17). But this has been used in the genealogical accounts of the Bhagavata (9 skandha, 22 adhyaya, 44 st.) and in the Vishnupurana (4th Ames) to mean a person born of a Brahman and Ksatriya parentage.

4. JASB, 1808. p. 186

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

Hemantasena was the son of Samantasena, and in the Deopara prasasti the title Maharajni has been applied to his wife Yaśodevī. In the Barrackpore plate the title of Hemantasena is Maharajadhiraja. It is very likely that Hemantasena had some pretension to royal dignity.

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

1. IC, IV, p 227

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

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

1. We follow Mr. N. G. Majumdar's translation of the verse. Attention was first drawn to this by Mr N. N. Vasu, VJI. Rajatiya Kanda, pp. 302-3.

2. Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, 1926, Oct. pp, 55-68.; IHQ, 1931, pp. C81 ff.

king claimed victory. The other chiefs defeated by Vijayasena were Vīra, Vardhana and Raghava. It has been suggested that Vīra and Vardhana are to be identified with Vīraguṇa and Govardhana of the Rūnaracita/ Raghava is to be identified with the Kalinga king of that name, son of Coḍaganga. Coḍaganga's rule lasted from c. 1076 to 1147 A. I.), and his son Raghava's from c. 1156-60 A. I.). In the Kendulapata' plates of Narasimha it is said that Coḍaganga levied tributes from the lands bordering on the Ganges and forced the ruler of the Mandara to flee. It may be that Vijayasena ward off the Kalinga invasion under Raghava's leadership. In the Deopara 'prasasti' it is further said that the Sena king attacked the lord of Gaṇḍa and drove away the Kṣmaripa king. The king of Gaṇḍa has been generally identified with Madanapala. Some scholars are inclined to think that the Kṣmaripa king refers to Rayarideva, and this has perhaps been alluded to in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva. The 22nd verse records that Vijayasena sent a navy against the combination of the western powers (pāścātya-cakra) against him. This might have been meant against the Palas who seem to have sought refuge in Magadha after the occupation of Varendra by the Sena king and rallied once more their strength to fight. Most probably when all the chiefs were fighting among themselves, the Kalacuri king Prthivideva II of Ratanpur made a raid on Lādaha (Rādha ?) and Gaucja, as it is stated in the Akatara stone inscription that his feudatory Vallabharaja overran these two countries. Both of them were living in 1141 A. D.' The eastward advance of the Gahadavala power during the period 1124-1146 A. D., which is proved by the Maner and Lar plates, probably took place, when all the rival chiefs were fighting among themselves.

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

1. IA, 1920, pp. 175 ff,

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

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

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

Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1178 A. D. His military exploits, when a crown prince, as described in the Madhainagafa grant, have been discussed. It is said in the same record that he crippled Kalinga and Kamaripa. It is known from the Madanapara grant of his son Visvarupasena that he erected pillars of victory in Puri, Benares and Prayaga. It appears therefore that Lakṣmaṇasena made another expedition against Kalinga and GahaḍavŚla power. His contemporaries on the Kalinga throne were RajŚraja II and Anangabhimā II, both sons of Cōḷajāṅga. The name of the contemporary Ksmarūpa king is not known. The Gahaḍavala king was Jayacandra whose inscriptions² have been found at Benares and Kanauj ranging from 1170 to 1188 A. D., and who was defeated and killed by Śahabuddin in 1194 A. D. Pavanadūtāma narrates his march of universal conquest as far south as the Malaya hills, "roughly the southern part of the Western Ghats." It has been pertinently pointed out that it may refer to his invasion of Kalinga.³ From the evidence of the Madanapara grant and Dhovl's book it may be inferred that Lakṣmaṇasena undertook a war of digvijaya, though it must be admitted that the poet's love of exaggeration "served the double purpose of eulogising his patron and finding a most suitable abode for the heroine of his poem,"¹ It seems that the Sena power reached its high water-mark during his reign and the kingdom was expanding in the west, which probably necessitated the formation of a new bhukti, namely, Kankagrama-bhukti, comprising the Santai paraganas.⁴

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

1. B. Sengupta, Vaidya Jatra, Itihasa, pt 1, pp, 166-180.

2. D.H.T., p. 541

3. C. Chakravarti, Pavanadutam, Introduction.

4. E. XXI, pp. 211ff.

uddin¹ says that he was a 'great Rai' and 'most respected in Hindustan.' He further records that trustworthy persons have related to this effect, "from his hand never did any tyranny proceed ; and whosoever preferred a request to him for anything, other than one lak he did not bestow, after the manner of Kutub-ud-din.....the least gift he used to bestow was a lak of Kauris. The Almighty mitigate his punishment (in hell) !" But the king, to whose power, charity and just government Minhaj pays such glowing tributes, suffered a severe reverse during the closing years of his reign. There are differences of opinion* as to the actual date of the raid of Nadia by Mahammad ibn Bakht-yar, and we shall not be very wrong if we place it in c. 1200 A. D.. As regards the story of the raid, the very nature of Minhaj's sources of information makes us very cautious, and every statement in that connection requires critical scrutiny. It is also clear that when Minhaj wrote his account of the expedition in 641 A. D., there were many rumours and gossips about Laksmanasena which the historian heard from his informants in Laksmanavati. His reporters seem to have been two brothers, Nizatn-ud-din and Samsum-ud-din by name, who served under Bakht-yar. It is natural that they should exaggerate the part played by them and their master. How far reliable are their reports can be better judged by narrating some of their stories. It is said that Laksmanasena was born after the death of Vallasena. As the time of his birth approached, the sooth-sayers said that there was an ominous time and if the child would see the light of the sun two hours later, he would be a famous king. So the queen's feet were tied up and the child was born

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

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

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2. DH. I, p. 541

a. C. Chakravarti, Pavanadutam, Introduction.

4. El. XXI, pp. 21ff.

uddin¹ says that he was a 'great Rai' and 'most respected in Hindustan.' He further records that trustworthy persons have related to this effect, "from his hand never did any tyranny proceed ; and whosoever preferred a request to him for anything, pther than one lak he did not bestow, after the manner of Kutub-ud-din.....the least gift he used to bestow was a lak of Kauris. The Almighty mitigate his punishment (in hell) !" But the king, to whose power, charity and just government Minhaj pays such glowing tributes, suffered a severe reverse during the closing years of his reign. There are differences of opinion² as to the actual date of the raid of Nadia by Mahammad ibn Bakht-yar, and we shall not be very wrong if we place it in c. 1200 A. D.. As regards the story of the raid, the very nature of Minhaj's sources of information makes us very cautious, and every statement in that connection requires critical scrutiny. It is also clear that when Minhaj wrote his account of the expedition in^f 641 A. D., there were many rumours and gossips about Iaksmagaseua which the historian heard from his informants in Lakṣmaṇavati. His reporters seem to have been two brothers, Nizam-ud-din and Samsud-din by name, who served under Bakht-yar. It is natural that they should exaggerate the part played by them and their master. How far reliable are their reports can be better judged by narrating some of their stories. It is said that Lakṣmanasena was born after the death of Vallṣaseua. As the time of his birth approached, the sooth-sayers said that the was an ominous time and if the child would see the light of the sun two hours later, he would be a famous king. So the queen's feet were tied up and the child was bom

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

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

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

2. See Appendix C.

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

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

According to the Ain-i-Akbari,² Lakhau Sen was succeeded by his son Madhu Sen who ruled for 10 years. Saduktikarṇamṛta refers to a verse of Madhavasena. Madhu Sen's rule is known only from Abul Fazal whose account of the Hindu kings cannot be always relied upon, if it is not corroborated from other evidence.³ Two sons of Lakṣmanasena, Visvarupasena and Kesavasena, who ruled after him, are known from their own records* and the known periods of their reigns are 17 years.

1. C. Chakravarti, Pavanadatam, Intro, p. 8

2. Vol. II, p. 146

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

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

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

The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* did not directly record any invasion of east Bengal by the Muslim governors and rulers of Laknauti, but that there were several such attempts is clear from some incidental references by Minhaj. It is therefore quite possible that there had been some other attempts to conquer Bang, which were not recorded at all. Giyasuddin was the independent ruler of Lakṣmṇavatl (1211-1226 A. D.). The rulers of Jainagar, Tirhut, Kamarnpa and Bang¹ paid tribute to him. Just before the end of his reign, he is said to have invaded Kamarupa and Vanga. Natural conclusion seems to be that there was previously an invasion against these two countries, and because they refused to pay tribute to the Muslim ruler, another expedition was undertaken against them. It is clear from the account of Minhaj that before Giyasuddin could achieve anything substantial, he had to return on account of the usurpation of Lakṣmṇavati by Nasiruddin. Next reference to the invasion of east Bengal is made in connection with the rule of Malik Safuddin who sent some elephants to the court of Delhi which were captured in Bang³ (3231-33 A. D.). It is not known who was the ruling Sena king at this time. Abul Fazal mentions a king of the name of Sdrasena or Sadasena. Two princes of the Sena dynasty, Saryasena and Purusottamasena, are known from the Sahitya Parisat plate of Visvarupasena, and it is quite probable that Sdrasena of Abul Fazal is Suryasena of this plate. Another invasion of east Bengal

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

2. *ibid.*, p. 782

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

Another Hindu king is known from the Adavadi plate⁵ of Dasarathadeva and DanujamSdhava was his viruda. He may be identified with Raja Danujah of Zia-ud-din Barni,⁴ who describes him as king of Sonargaon. According to the genealogical book of Harimisra, he flourished after the Sena rule/ When Delhi Sultan Giasuddin Balban came to suppress the rebellion of the Bengal governor Tughril Khan, an agreement was reached between the Delhi Sultan and this Hindu king of Sonargaon to the effect that the latter would prevent the escape of Tughril Khan by water. The Muslim occupation of eastern Bengal must have been completed by the close of the 13th century.⁶

It cannot be properly ascertained whether the extreme eastern districts like Noakhali and Chittagong were included in the Pala and Sena kingdoms. No evidence has yet been discovered to prove the extension of the Sena power in the Chittagong division. The Mainamati plate⁷ speaks of the existence of an independent kingdom in Pattikera which is a pargana in modern Tippera. The name of the king is Harikaladeva whose viruda is Raṇavan-kamalla and he came to the throne in 1203-4 A. D. If he was the first king of this family and this principality was included in the Sena kingdom, it seems that with the fall of the Senas in Gauda an independent kingdom arose in eastern Bengal Even within the lifetime of Lakgniagasena a Pala family from Ayodhya settled in Khadi (in the Sunderbans), and it seems from the SundeTbaa

1. Ibid., pp. 769-70

2. Ibid., pp. 558. 715

8.' IB., p. 181

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

5. Bharatvarsa, 1882, B, S. pp. 78-81

6. BI vol. II pp. 93 14

7. IHQ. IX. p. 282

plate¹ of Dommonapāla that this king set at naught the Sena authority in that locality and assumed an attitude of independence by 1196 A. D. Another Hindu kingdom was founded about this time. It is known from the Chittagong plate of Damodara² who was ruling in 1243 A. D.. His earliest known ancestor is Puruso-ttoma whose son was Madhusadana. The title nrpa occurs before his name and it may be that the rise of the family to political power began from him. His son was Vasudeva whose son Damodara assumed the proud title "sakala-bhtipati-cakravartl." Nothing more is known of these kingdoms.

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

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

2

IB., NO XVII

Appendix B

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

	Probable	Known reign-period
SSraantaseiia		
Hemantasena		
Vijayasena	c. 1097-1159 A. D.	62 years.
Vallalalsena	1159-1178 A. D.	19 years.
Eakṣmaṣena	c. 1178-1205 A. D.	27 years.
KeSavasena		3 years.
Visvarapasena		14 years.

This chronology satisfies (1) the statement in *DanasSgara* that it was finished by *Vallālasena* in 1091 S. E., (2) the date 1082 S. E. referred to in some Mss. of *Adbhiitasāgara* as the initial date of *ValMasena's* reign, and (3) the date 1127 S. E. as the 27th year (*Ras-aikavimsabde*)¹ of *Lakṣmanasena's* reign mentioned in *Saduktikarnamṛta*. This also satisfies the contemporaneity of *Vijayasena* and *Nanyadeva* of *Mithila* (c. 1097-1150 A. D.) and *Rsgghava* of *Kalinga* (c. 1156 A. D.) and also the astronomical data.³ This is also in accord with the evidence of the *Tabaqati-i-Nasiri* that *Lakṣmaṇaseua* was defeated by *Bakht-yar* between 1193 and 1205 A. D..

Appendix C

The Lakṣmaṇaseua Era.

The origin of the *Lakṣmanasena* Era abbreviated as *la Sam* is a matter of controversy among scholars. That it was counted at first from 1119-20 (October to October) is perhaps to be accepted after what Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has written on the subject.⁵ *Kielhorn* verified six dates of *la Sam* and came to the

1. *IHQ*, III, p. 188,

2. *EI.*; Vol. XXI, pp. 211 ff. 3. *JBOHS.*, XX, p. 20/

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

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

I. sṛimal-Lakhvana (Ksmana) Senasya-atlta-rajye, S. 51.

I. IA., 1890, p. 1.

2. JASB., 1926, p. 373.

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

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

5. JBORS., IV, p. 273.

II. Śrimal-Iyaksmanasenadevapadanam-atlta-rajye, S. 74.

III. Lakṣmaṇasena-aṭṭa-rāja, S. 83.

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

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

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

1. *IA.i* 1875, p.

366.

2. *JBQRS*, 1918, p. 273.

tion of Kumaradevi¹ that Pithi was ruled by Vallabharaja and his son Devarakṣita of the Chikkore family about the middle of the 11th century. Devarakṣita was defeated by Mathanadeva, maternal uncle of Ramapala. The chief of Pithi who helped Ramapala in his Kaivarta war was Bhimayasa. The Gaya stone inscription of Govindapāla² is dated in the 12th V. E. = 1175 A.D., that year being the "galarajya caturddasa sanivatsara" of Govindapala. The affix Pala, the Buddhist title Paramasaugata and the title Gaudeśvara raise a strong presumption that he belonged to the Pala dynasty. Whether Govindapāla was a king of the Pala dynasty or not, the Gaya stone inscription clearly proves that he ruled in Gaya and in its vicinities about the middle of the twelfth century. R. D. Banerjee assumes³ with a tolerable degree of certainty that Govindapala ruled a portion, probably the eastern one, of Magadha. The Jayanagar Image inscription of Palapala⁴ also goes to show that some portion of Magadha was under the rule of this king. The known period of his reign is 35 years and he should be placed before Govindapala or more probably after him. The evidence of the Ramacarita, Gaya stone inscription and the Jayanagar inscription tends to show that Magadha was in the 11th and 12th centuries under the possession of the Palas or under the kings whose names end in Palas. The Senas of Pithi could not possibly rule contemporaneously in the same locality with the PSas. In all reasonableness, therefore, the Senas of Pithi should be placed towards the very close of the 12th century or after that. This is in complete agreement with what we know from Taranatha, according to whom Lavasena, the predecessor of Budhasena, Hāritasena, and Pratītasena, is contemporaneous with the Muslim invasion of Bihar and the Tibetan historian placed him after the Senas of Bengal. Or, even if it be granted that the Senas of Pithi ruled in the 12th century from 1119 A. D., it must be admitted that

1, E I., IX, pp. 824-27.

2. The Palas of Bengal, pl. XXVIII.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

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

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

Four inscriptions of Asokavalla have come to light, and R. D. Banerjee has shown that A4okavallas of the four epigraphs are identical.¹ The inscription in the walls of the Sarya temple near Visnupada at Gaya is dated in the year 1813 of the Nirvana Eta. Fleet has shown that this date agrees well with Wednesday, first October, A.D. 1270.² It has been pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar that there are reasons to believe that Asokavalla flourished about 1270 A. D., and naturally the dates in the Bodh-Gaya inscriptions (and also in Janibigha inscription) would be taken as counted from the cessation of the reign of Lakstrianasena, that event itself being placed towards the end of the twelfth century, and 'atla rajya' 51 may easily be taken to mean that 50 or 51 years had elapsed since 'atitarajya' or the cessation of the reign.⁵ It is quite natural that the Hindus or Buddhists were unwilling to refer to the 'pravardhamana-vijaya-rajya' of the Muslims who were alien in culture and newcomers and who of late destroyed their temples or monasteries. Therefore the records of this time were dated by referring to the expired years of an Indian king.

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

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

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

2. JRAS., 1909, pp. 323

ff.

3. JASB., 1221, p. 13;

4. JASB., 1985, p. 48.

5.

IA., 1890, p. I.

that his fame spread far and wide are evident from his own records and from the testimony of Minhaj who says that Rai Laksmania was a great Rai. An MS. of the Visnu Purana written by Paksadhara Migra is dated in the past year 345 of the king Laksmansena of Gaujja¹. So far as we know, the Senas of Pithi were never called kings of Gauḍa and perhaps they cannot be called so.

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

1. JASB., 1926, p. 878, Referred to by Mr. P. N. Misra.

2. R. D. Banerjee (JASE. 1910, pp. 271 ff.) contended that the Dacca Gandhi Image inscription was dated in La Sam. Mr. N. G. Majumdar who also maintained that Laksmasena started this era (IA., 1919, p. 171) admitted that 'it is by no means the only conclusion deducible from the expression Śrīmaī-Laksmasenasadevasya Samvat 8. It can also mean simply in the 3rd regnal Year of the king without necessarily having any reference to the era started by him.'

3. IA., 1928, pp. 314ff.

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

Appendix D

Some Doubtful Invasions of Bengal

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

firmed by the fact that the statement of the conquest of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga was sometimes used as a poetic ornamentation. Thus it is claimed in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇaraya that the rulers of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga waited upon Vijayanagara kings.¹ It needs hardly be said that it was practically impossible for a Vijayanagara king to hold any sway over Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Again, it is stated in the Chitrogadhr² Stone inscription dated in V.S. 1485 that the king Mokala of Mewar subdued the Aṅgas, Kṣemārūpas and Vangas. These should be regarded as vague and general statements.

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

The Eastern Calukya king Kulottunga (c. 1070-86 A. D.) is said to have invaded about 45 countries⁴ among which the names of Vaṅga and Vaṅgālas also appear. The Kalacuri king Vijjana of Kalyana pretended to conquer Pandya, Cola and Vanga.⁵ Again, his son Saṅkamadeva's exploits are said to have extended over Gauḍa, Turuskas, Simhala, Cola, Magadha and Malaya. One of his known date is 1186 A. D., that year being the fifth year of his reign.⁶ It is said that Udayaraja, son of Soccharaja, conquered

1. EI., xii, p. 132; xiv, p. 170

2. Ibid, 11, p. 439

3. Ibid iv, p. 32

4. IA., ix, pp. 38ff.

5. IA., iv, p. 275

6. Ibid, v, p. 45

Cola, Gaucja and Karnata.¹ He belonged to the Bhinmal Paramffira branch and is to be placed before 1161² A.D.. Kalacurya Bhillama (one of whose inscriptions is dated in 1189 A. D.) is said to have been "a severe pain in the head of the Malavas, a thunderbolt to that mountain Varalas, a lion to the tall elephants of Kaliigas, the roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans of Gurjaras, Colas, Gaudas and Pancalas, Kala to the brilliant kings of Angas, Vangas and Nepalas."³ It is not known from any other source that in the last half of the 12th century any king of Kuntala was so powerful as to defeat all these kings. Curiously enough, in the inscription of his son Jaitugi no victory is ascribed to the father, but Jaitugi himself is said to have conquered the Gurjaras, Paṇḍyas, Colas, Latas, Gaucjas, and some of his officers are said to have invaded Malavas, Kalingas, Turuskas and Nepalas.⁴ All these exaggerated statements of both the father and the son cannot be taken as historical facts. Two more kings of Kuntala, Bijjala and his son Soma (the former is described as the founder of the Kalacurya kingdom), are said to have raided the Colas, Nepalas, Kaliftgas, Pancalas and Gurjaras and to have received the homage of the Gaudas, Pandyas, Malayalas and Varalas.⁵ It is asserted in the Godag inscription⁶ of Vira-Vallava I I, dated in 1114 S. E., that this Hoy-sala king frightened the Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas. Magadhas, Colas, Malayas, Pandyas, Keralas and Gurjaras. In the Ekamantha inscription,⁷ dated in 1172 S. E., Gaṇapatideva claims to have defeated Simhana (a Yadava king), kings of Kalinga, Lata and Gauda. It is stated in the Mamadpur inscription⁵ of Kanhara,

1. Bhandarkar's List No. 312

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

3. ICL., xv, p. 83

4. Ibid. v. p. 31

5. Bl., v. p. 257 ; XV, p. 317

6. Ibid, VI, p. 92

7. IA., xxi, p. 197

8. *El.*, XIX, p. 21

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

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

CHAPTER VII

Administrative System

Central Government

The form of government was monarchical. The king was the apex of the whole system and had the usual imperial titles, 'Paramesvara,' 'Paramabhatt-araka' and 'Maharajadhiraja'. In the Edilpur grant of Kesavasena Asvapati, Gajapati, Narapati¹ are also the titles of the king in addition to the usual ones. "Royalty is limited to the descendants of one family", observes merchant Sulaiman, "and never goes to another." This remark appears to be quite correct in view of the almost continuous rule of the Palas for about four centuries and of the Senas for about one century. Force was the only factor by which a dynasty was ousted, as the Palas were. Election was not unknown but very uncommon. A king was elected only in extraordinary circumstances. Gopala I, the founder of the Pala dynasty, was elected king to escape from anarchy (matsyanyayam-apahitum). The Rajataraṅgiṇī refers to the election of Yasakara by the Brahmanas after 939 A. D.. Kalhaṇa's remark on this election that to take such a course (to elect a king) is tantamount to lunacy is instructive.² The inscription of Ratanpala records the election of Brahmapala in the neighbouring kingdom of Kamarupa,⁵ Gopala's election by the 'prakrtcis'

1. In the Gahadavlla records the kings are given the appellations of Asvapati, Narapati, Gajapati Giripati and Trisankapati. These terms, according to Dr. R. S. Tripathi, signify lords of various classes of feudatories, but the first three may denote three branches of army (IHQ 1988. p. 121). According to Si-yu-ki, however, when there is no paramount monarch, the southern, northern and eastern parts of Jambudvīpa (India) are respectively supposed to be ruled over by four sovereigns called Gajapati, Chatrapati, Aivapati and Narapati (Beal's Translation Vol. I, p. 18, note)

2. BK. V.456ff 3. JASB, 1698, p. 99

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

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

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

Yuvaraja—The heir-apparent was perhaps selected during the lifetime of the ruling king. Tribhuvanapala and Rajyapala were heir apparents of Dharmapala and Devapala. Most probably these

1. Gaudalekhamala p. 19 fn. 2 ; Banglā Itihasa, p. 151

2. Śukra. Book 11, 196-70

Samastam purodha laksanam yam taducyate purodaka pratiidhih
prādhanaḥ sacivastatha mantri pradvivakaśca pandita sumantrakah amatya
duta ityeta rajna prakṛtayo dasaḥ

3. Rajataranginī, Bk. 1, 118.20.

5. Naihati plate.

two princes predeceased their fathers. It is certain that the crown - princes had important functions in the government. The above-mentioned princes are referred to as the diltakas of the Khalimpur and Monghyr grants. It is known from the Ramacarita that Ramapala was closeted in discussions with his son Rsjyapala¹ who was entrusted with the task of government in the old age of the king.⁵ Laksmanasena, when a crown prince, invaded Gauda and Kalinga, and defeated the king of Kasi.³ It has been suggested that Rajaputras of the land grants were most probably not the princes of the blood royal but the ordinary Rajput soldiers, holding fiefs from the kings in return for their military service/ Rajaputra figures after Rajni and Ranaka and before Rajamatya, Mahapurohita and Mahasena-pati. It is, therefore, reasonable to take Rajaputra to be princes, if not the crown princes. Princes sometimes enjoyed land. Kumara Saryasena and Puruṣottamasena enjoyed land which was granted by them on ceremonial occasions (on birth-day and on the occasion of Uttarayanāsamkrāmaṇa) but these grants were confirmed by a royal charter.⁵

The status of another officer may be discussed here. KumftTa-mStya and Mahakumaramatyā figure in the list of officers but their position is not very high. Literally the word means the minister of princes. In the Gupta period Kumaramatyās were the governors of Kotiṽarsaviṣaya. The Basarh seals refer to various classes of KumarSmStyas. Mr. R. D. Banerjee divides them into four classes according to their ranks⁶: (1) ordinary, (2) equal in rank to princes of the royal blood (Yuvarajapadiya), (3) equal in rank to the crown prince (Sri-Yuvarajabhattacharaka-padiya), (4) equal in rank to his Majesty (Paramabhattitaraka-padiya). The position and

1. BK. 1.421

2. BK. 4, 1

3. Madhainagar plate.

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

5. Sahitya Parisat plate of Visvarupasea.

6. The Age of Imperial Guptas, Ch-au Administration.

status of Kumaramatya and Mahskumaramatya cannot be determined in the Pala period, as nothing particular is known of them from the records. The term Mahakumaramatya suggests that there might have been different classes of Kumaramatyas.

Rajamatya—Most probably he was 'Mantri' (the prime minister) of the Arthasastra or Sarvadarsin of the Sukraniti. Among the officials proper he figures first, and it goes to signify that next to the king he was the most important personage in the government. The ancient writers on political science recognised the supreme importance of ministers and enjoin that they should be very carefully selected. Two great ministerial families who served the Palas are known from their own records. They were learned men as well as men of great ability and capacity. It is claimed in the Badal Pillar inscription that Garga made Dharmapala, lord of the east, master of all quarters. His son Darbhapani by his wisdom and diplomacy made Devapala lord of the earth from the Vindhya to the Himalayas. This talented minister was held in high respect by the king. Darbhapani's son, Somesvara, was dear to the king. By the wise counsel of Kedarnisra, Somesvara's son, Devapala uprooted the Utkalas, shattered the pride of the Hunas and crushed the power of the Dravidas and the Gurjaras. Guravamisra, builder of the Badal Pillar, was the minister of Narayanapala and 'dantaka' of the Bhagalpur grant. He was eloquent in speech, proficient in Agamas, Tantras, astrology and in the Vedas and a fighter in the assembly as well as in the field. The Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva introduce us to another line of hereditary ministers whose services to the Palas were of great value, Yogadeva was the minister of Vignapala III and his son Bodhideva was the counsellor of **Ramapala**. But the most successful and ablest minister of the family was Bodhideva's son Vaidyadeva. He was dear to Kumarapala as his own life. He put down a rebellion in southern Bengal by winning a naval victory and by rapid marches surprised Timpyadeva who raised the standard of revolt in Kamarupa. This record clearly shows **that** ministers were sometimes capable generals too. Perhaps, as a

reward for his service he was appointed ruler of Kamarnpa. Or, it may be that Vaidyadeva asserted his independence after the death of Kumarapala. In any case his titles, Paramesvara Paramabhattacharaka and Maharajadhiraja in his own record indicate his pretension to royal dignity.

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

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

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

1. IB. p. 181

2. JASB. XXXI. p. 116 ; Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha I,

was very high as his rank in the list of officers is next to Rajamatya. In the Arthasastra the sacrificial priest, the spiritual preceptor and the Purohita were to get 48,000 panas. Rajapandita,¹ Rajaguru² and 'Śantivarika'³ were granted lands on many occasions in the Sena period. The Mahapurohita might have superintended royal religious establishments. Whether he had some pre-eminence over other religious officers of the king cannot be ascertained,

Mahadharmadhyaksa—He was the chief justice. This post was held by very learned men. The famous scholar Halayudha was Dharmadhyaksa of Laksmanasena. Pandita Gonandana was the Dharmadhikara of Vaidyadeva at whose request the Kamauli grant was made.

Mahasandhivigrahika—Minister in charge of war and peace, corresponding to the Foreign Secretary of modern times. The dutaka of the Sena grants was generally this officer. A verse in the Mitaksara on Yajñavalkya states that Sandhivigrahika should be the drafter of the copper plate charters, and this rule was followed by the Senas, as the grants were first issued from his office. This responsible office was sometimes held by learned and capable men. Famous Bhatta Bhavadeva of the Bhuvaneshvara pras'asti was the Sandhivigrahika of Harivarṇadeva of Eastern Bengal and his grandfather Ādideva held this post of another un-named king of Vanga. Narayanadatta held this post under Laksmanasena and was dfltaka of four grants of his reign.

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

1. In the Sahitya Parisat Plate of Visvarilpasena there is a reference to a Rajapandita naraēd Mahēvara, Most probably he was a court Paadita. In the Śukraniti Palita is the minister of morality and religion.

2. Mnrrari was the Rajaguru of Vaidyadeva and his son Manoratha composed the Kamauli grant.

3. Sinti-varika is known from the Rampal and Dhuila plate of Śricandra and the Sunderban plate of Laksmanasena. Mr. N. G. Majumdar suggests that he may be the priest in charge of propitiatory rites. Śantyagarika was perhaps the priest in charge of the room where propitiatory rites are performed,

very great. According to Kamandaka¹, the following should be the qualifications for this office. He is to be healthy, enduring, self-confident, amiable, generous, respected, energetic, heroic, valorous, of noble family, native of the land and of commanding personality. He is to be an expert in the use of four-fold forces. "He should be familiar with the movement of informants and reconnoiterers, skilful and competent to manage the whole force, read the minds of others including those of animals, know the routes to march through, not be dismayed by the lack of food, or drink, or by inclement weather, who can sow dissensions among the enemy's army, who is capable of protecting his camp and is equal to the occasion and who takes to work regardless of consequences but with full hopes of fruition of his labours."

MahSmudradhikṛta, Antarāṅga-Vṛhaduparika and Mahakṣpatalika. These three officers are mentioned always jointly, and it seems that they are connected with finances and revenue administration. Kautilya's Mudradhyakṣa is the superintendent of passports and a minor officer. Dr. R. G. Basak takes him to be the keeper of Royal Seal². But the reasonable view seems to be to take Mahamudradhikṛta as the officer in charge of Treasury and Currency. His functions might have been like those of the Sannidhats of the Arthasastra⁵.

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

1. Ch. XVIII. 26-42,

2. El. XII, p. 37.

8. Arthasastra Book II.

4. El. XII, p. 37.

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

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

Cakrapanidatta the word *antaranga* has been used in a technical sense to signify the royal physician. But this explanation does not seem to be appropriate in view of the fact that this officer figures between Mahamndradhikrta and Mahaksapatalika, who are undoubtedly two officers of the finance department. In the Gugrahati plate of Samacaradeva¹ *Antaranga-uparika* and *Suvarnavlthyadhikrta* Jlvadatta was the governor of Varakamandala. It is highly improbable that a physician should hold the office of a governor. Dr. Bhattasali translates '*suvarnavlthyadhikrta*' as the master of the bullion market but suggests that the real title may have been master of the Mint or Treasury. This unmistakably shows his connection with the revenue administration. Equally unacceptable is the suggestion of Mr. G. P. Sarkar that by the term *antaranga-vṛhadupatika* two officers are meant because it is the epithet of Jlvadatta in the Gugrahati plate. But it is most likely, as it has been suggested by the same writer, that *Vṛhaduparika* must be some higher official who perhaps used to superintend the subordinate *uparikas* who are, according to Buhler's explanation on *uparikara*, fiscal officers.² Now what does the word '*antaraAga*' signify? *Antaranga* literally means 'intimate,' 'dear,' 'of one's own.' It may be suggested that this officer was also in charge of crown land and property. Thus this officer seems to have double functions, viz., to superintend the work of the subordinate *uparikas* and to look after crown property. His work may be equated to that of *Samaharta* of the *Arthasastra*.

Mahaksapatalika was the head of the Record office. Mr. Monahan⁵ interprets the word *aksapatala* both as an accountant's office and a general record room and this seems to be correct in view of the fact that in the description of his duties in the

1. El. xviii, p. 76

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

3. BK. II. Sec. 6. Early History of Bengal—Monaliftq,

Arthasastra he was also an accountant general of the state.¹ The Belava plate of Bhojavarman was finally approved by Mahakṣapa^{alika}.

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

Two other high officers seem to have been associated with the central administration - Mahasarvadhikṛta and Mahakartakṛtika, though their functions are not known. That Mahasarvadhikṛta was an important officer is evident from the fact that he is mentioned⁴ in the Ram pal plate of Śricandra between Mahakṣapatalika and Mahapratihara and in the Ramganj plate of Isvaraghosa between Mahakṣapatalika and Mahasenapati. According to Dr. Bonier-Williams, this word has been used in the Rajatarangini in the sense of general superintendent. He may be the superintendent of public works or superintendent of the state mines and other state industries. Mahakartakṛtika figures in the Mongyr plate of Devapala after Amatya and in the Bhagalpur grant of Narayanapala after Mahapratihara. The meaning of the term cannot be made out, fette

1. Bk.11,7.

2. IHQ. 1930. p. 40.

3. Ramacarita. Bk. I. 47.

4. Gupta Ins. Vakataka plates, p. 287. Et., XIV, p. 36 21.30. This officer is mentioned in these two grants also.

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

The most important question as to who constituted the council of ministers is not easy to answer. The fact *Ṣiāt* in the Sunderban plate of Dommanapala the expression 'saptasaciva' has been used perhaps indicates that the ministers were seven in number in the Sena period in normal circumstances. The Sena inscriptions are uniform in describing the list of officers and therefore it may be inferred that seven high officers proper who figure first in the list formed the ministry. In normal circumstances the ministry then seems to have consisted of Rajamatya, Mahapurohita, Mahadharmadhyaksa, Mahasandhivigrahika, Mahasenaapati, Mahamudradhikṛta and Antaraṅgavṛhaduparika. The evidence of the Ramacarita is conclusive of the fact that on important and urgent matters the ministers were consulted. It is said that Rāmāpala was always closeted with the ministers in deciding the course of action to be taken against the revolting Kaivarta chief.

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

1, Dhakara Itihāsa by J. M. Roy. p. 489.

2, Ramacarita t/42.

and endorsed by the clerks of Mahasandhivigrahika, of Mahamahattaka and of the Majesty. The Belava plate was issued from the office of Mahaksapatalika. Narayauadatta, who was the ditaka of the four grants of Laksmanasena, had the designation of Sftndhivigrahika, while those grants were issued from the office of Mahasandhivigrahika. It may be then reasonably inferred that Mahasandhivigrahika had at least one Sāndhivigrahika under him. The same may hold good of other high officers who have 'maha' affixed to their official designation.

Ambassadors and Messengers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Territorial divisions and their administration

The largest territorial division of the Bāla and Sena kingdoms was Bhukti. In the glorious days of the Bālas, their empire extended as far as Kanauj in the west and it seems that Tlraabhukti (Bhagalpur grant) and Śrīnagarabhukti (Mongyr and Nāianda grants) were under the direct administration of the Bālas. Other known Bhuktis of the Bāla and Sena kingdoms are Bauḍhavarḍhanabhukti, Vardhamanabhukti and Kankagramabhukti. The

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

Bhuktis were divided into Mandalas and Visayas. The relation between Mandala and Visaya is not known. In majority of the grants Mandala is a sub-division of a Visaya. But in the Khalimpttr inscription Mahantaprakāṣavisaya is a subdivision of the Vyaghra-tatimandala. This discrepancy may be explained by the assumption that the term Mandala was given to well-known divisions of the country. Uttara-Radha is a well-known division of Radha and in the Naihati plate of Vallālasena it is called a Mandala. Our assumption is further strengthened by the fact that we have a class of feudatories with the title Mahāmāṇḍalika. In the land grant of Mahāmāṇḍalika Śvaraghosa there is no mention of any Bhukti in the description of the land granted and Piyokamandala is the highest division of which Gallitipyakvisaya is a subdivision. In the Sena grants Varendra, Uttara-Radha, Vyagrataṭṭi, Vaṅga have been mentioned as a part of the Bhukti; Visaya is conspicuous by its absence but in the list of officers Visayapati is invariably present. It would seem therefore that bigger Mañjals like Vyāgrataṭṭi, Uttara-Rādha denote well-known parts of the kingdom and these bigger Mandalas were perhaps the highest administrative section, next to Bhukti. But ordinarily (as is the case in most of the Pala grants) Maṇḍals were subdivisions of the Visayas.

Smaller Mandalas were divided into Khanjals and Viṭhls whose relation is not known. ViṭhI was divided into Khatika which was again subdivided into Vṛtta. Caturaka formed the next subdivision which was composed of Gramas. In the Nalanda grant of DevapSla Gramas were included into Naya. The lowest subdivision was Pataka. It is not to be supposed that all these territorial divisions were uniform in every locality. The minute divisions like Khatika, Vṛtta, Caturaka are found in some of the Sena grants and Naya as a subdivision is mentioned only in the Nalanda grant of Devapala.

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

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

1. Et. XV, pp. 130 ff.

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

3. EI., XXI, p. 78

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

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

2. Dr. R. G. Basak translates Kulika as artisan (following Bhanuji Dikṣita)

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

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

In the Dhanaidaha plate and the Damodarpur plate No. 3 the application from the intending purchaser is received by Grāmika, Astakuladhikarana¹, Kutumbin² and named and unnamed Brahmanas. In other grants of the Gupta period in northern Bengal the district officer and the office of the district headquarters receive the application. In the Damodarpur plates, Nos. 3 and 5 the Prakṛtis (subjects) and Kutumbins are informed of the transaction. In the Vaigram plate the Kutumbins along with the Brahmanas and Samavyavahārins are informed. In the Faridpur grants the application for purchase was received and land was disposed of by the district office and the Prakṛtis headed by eighteen leading men of the district (in Grant A) and in other three grants by the district office headed by the named chief scribe³ and leading men of the district, as well as Vyaparins or Vyavaharins.⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. We accept Mr. Pargiter's interpretation of Mahattara as men of position ; leading men ; 111 A. 1900, p. 123, ff. Dr. Bhattasali suggests that Visaya-inahattara is to be taken in the sense of Mahattaras in charge of affairs. But "leading men of the district" seems to be a better interpretation. See E.I. XVIII, p. 76.

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

3. E.I- XX, p. 69.

4. IHQ. 1930, p. 40.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lekhaka—He is mentioned only in the Ramganj plate. According to Śukra,² his duty was to keep accounts of income and expenditure, to receive and dispose of goods after making entries in the registers and to carry on correspondence. In the Cola records it was he who wrote the orders of the village assembly.¹

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

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

Town administration and guild organisation

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

1. Dr. Altekar : Rastrakatas and their times, p. 205.

2. Śukra. II, 348.

3. SII. II. Ukkai. No. 10

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

anything definitely about the communal organisations like guilds of merchants, of artisans, etc., though they had important corporate functions in the Rastrakoia empire¹ and the Gurjra Pratihara and Gahadavala kingdoms of Kanouj.² In the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena the scribe śūlapīpi has been described as 'Vareudra-silpi-gosthi-cudamani' and it has been suggested that 'silpi-gosthi' may be taken to refer to the guild of Vareiidra artists. But it is hazardous to draw any inference from this expression of whose interpretation we cannot be sure."

Revenue and Expenditure

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

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

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

REGULAR TAXES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(d) Hiraṇya has been explained generally to mean gold. It is always mentioned with Bhiḡabhogakara. We are inclined to accept the meaning proposed by Dr. Ghoshal that it refers to king's share of certain crops paid in cash⁷.

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

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

2. In the Sunderban plate of Lakṣmanasena it is said that according to the standard of 32 cubits-1 unmatia, and 1 cubit-12 angulas.

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

The Gupta plates and the Faridpur plates refer to standard measurement of land, aṣṭaka-navaka-naḥSblyam i.e. 8x9 reeds. In the Pāla grants no reference is made to any standard of measurement. It must be noted that the seven Pāla plates that have hitherto come to light record the grant of at least a full village with well-defined boundaries. It cannot, therefore, be concluded that there was no fixed standard of measurement as the occasion perhaps did not arise. The grants of the Candras and the Varmans who flourished in the 10th and 11th centuries respectively in East Bengal "specify the areas of lands granted in terms of the current land measure." The Sena grants clearly show that the standard units of length were not uniform in every locality but different systems of measurement in different parts. Four kinds of measurement are known from the Sena grants—(1) Samatatiyanala² (2) Vrsabhasan-karanala³ (3) the Nala current in Varendrī⁴ and (4) the Nala of 56 cubits.⁵

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

1. Prof. D. R. Bliandarkar suggests that Kapardakapiirana is "Puraṇa which is shaped like a Kapardaka or cowrie.....It is a Rupa class of coinage". "A Puraṇa must contain 52 ratas of silver". Carmichael lyeclures, p.89-4 10.

2. The Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena.

3. The Naihati plate of Vallālasena and the Anulia plate of kakgmañjasena. The standard was perehaps named after the name of Vijayasena who had got Vṛṣabaṣiṅkara as his virūda.

4. Tue Tarpauḍighi plate of Laksmanasena.

5. The Govindapur plate of the same king.

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

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

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

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

3. JBORS. 1917. p. 608ff.

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

5. Śuna means slaughter-house. 'Mamsa vikretari,' Hetnacandra.

6. Arthasastra, Bk. II, I,

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

8, JBORS. 1917. p. 608ff.

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6. Arthasastra, Bk. II, 1,

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

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

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

(3) Fines.

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

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

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

It cannot be stated with certainty whether the state had its own lands at this period because no instance of crown land is known. But the possibility is strongly there that the state might have owned some land which had lapsed as heirless property, confiscated properties, lands purchased for state purpose or waste lands brought under cultivation by the government. As regards the general question whether the state claimed to be the proprietor of cultivable land, Dr. Altekar's remarks on this point are applicable in the case of Psla and Sena grants. "The numerous copper plate grants, giving villages to temples and Brahmanas, assign to the donees the government right to the taxes derived from the land and other sources ; there is not a single case where the proprietary right in the entire laud under cultivation in any village has been transferred to the donee. The plate uses a long series of expressions specifying the right accruing to the donees, but not a single expression is used in any of our grants, suggesting that the donees acquired the proprietary rights in the cultivable lands in the village. Even the right of ejection is nowhere mentioned. It is therefore clear that in our period the state did not claim the ownership of the entire soil of the realm."¹ The fact that Visvarupasena should find it necessary to give only detached pieces of cultivable land situated in the different corners of different villages shows that the state was not, and did not claim to be, proprietor of the entire realm. In this grant (the Sahitya Parisat plate of Vi3varupasena) there are actual cases of previous purchase when land, and not the revenue rights, was assigned to the donees.

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

1. Dr, Altekar, Op. Cit.

anasa, Saguvskanarikela, Salavana, Sajalasthala, Sagarttosara. They are more or less same in all grants. Salavana is only met with in this grant. The Mongyr grant has in addition to them Satrina, and Samatsya, the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena has Sabana and the Naihati grant has Sabhāṭcaviṭapa. Messers R. D. Banerjee, R. G. Basak² and N. G. Majumdar have taken Satala and Sodded to mean land with bottom and surface, i.e., the with the under ground right and the surface right. Messrs G. P. Sarkar³ and K. M. Gupta⁴ take them to mean low and high land. Samrapanasa saguvaka-narikela means with mango, jackfruit, betelnut and coco nut trees. Sajalasthala means with land and water. According to Mr. G. P. Sarkar,⁵ Jala included tanks, wells, lakes, etc., while Sthala probably included various gardens. Sagarttosara means with pits and barren land. Salavana means with salt. Satrina and Samatsya mean with grass and fishes, Sabana with forests and Sabhāṭcaviṭapa with forests and branches.

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

1. EI. XV, p. 259.

2. Ibid, XII. p. 35.

3. JDL. XVI. p. 43.

4. IA. XLI, p. 74.

5. See above,

6. EI. XV. p. 139 ; Dr. Ghoshal. Op. cit, p. 206.

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

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

(5) TRIBUTES FROM FEUDATORIES

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

1. Artha, 11 34,

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

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

Expenditure

No information is available from the land grants regarding the expenditure of the state. The author of the Arthaśāstra supplies a list of 18 specified items of expenditure. Besides, gifts to Brahmanas, relief to the poor, the sick and the destitute and pensions to the dependents of dead public servants are also recommended. Śukra's list of expenditure on specified items is interesting for our purpose, as he was a medieval writer.¹ The state expenditure should be in the following scale :— $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the revenue for the army, $\frac{1}{12}$ th for gifts, for principal officers, $\frac{1}{12}$ th for heads of departments, $\frac{1}{12}$ th for king's personal expenditure and $\frac{1}{6}$ th to be deposited in the treasury. The Palas and Senas had to maintain huge armies and the constant wars must have been a great strain on their finances. Educational and religious establishments and other public works associated with the names of the Pala and Sena kings also cost the treasury. Both the Palas and Senas granted many plots of lands to the Brahmanas and for other meritorious purposes.

The Military

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

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

Mahapādāmulika—He is mentioned in the Ramganj plate of Isvaraghosa after Mahasenapati. The technical meaning is not known. In the Arthasastra Padika is a military officer and Mula

1., Śukra. i. p. 315-6,

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

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

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

Mahavyuhapati—Officer in charge of arrays.

Mahadandanayaka—In the Arthasastra Nayaka is a military officer. "Caturanga valadhyaksa senanl dandanayaka"—Hemacandra. Some scholars have taken him to be a judicial officer. According to Mr. R. D. Banerjee, he is the chief criminal judge.

Navadhyaksa—Mentioned in the P5la grants. He was probably the head of the nav

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

Mahspilupati—Officer in charge of the elephants.

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

Kottatapati.—Officer in charge of forts.

Prantapala—Mentioned in the Pala grants. He is the officer

1. For every ten members of each of the constituents of the army, there must be one commadder called Padika ; ten Padikas under a Senapati ; ten Senāpatīs under a Nilyaka. Artha. X. 6.

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

in charge of frontier fortresses. Vṛhadhantiṣka—the chief archer (Ramganj plate).

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

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

the period under review it seems that the army also consisted of four classes of soldiers. The office of Mahapadaniulika suggests the existence of Maulabala. It is interesting to note that in the list of soldiers from many countries Gauḍas also figure in the Pala grants and it is quite possible that Cauḍa forces were Maulabala. It is clear from the Pala inscriptions that the Palas recruited soldiers from many countries. In all grants soldiers of Malava, Khasa, Huna, Kulika, Kaṇṇata, Lata are referred to. The Nālanda grant of Devapaia adds the name of Odra and the Manahali plate Coda. It seems, therefore, that the Palas had to depend mainly on mercenary soldiers who were recruited from every possible quarter. In this period the feudatories supplied soldiers to the suzerain. Rāmapāla was assisted a great deal by the forces and resources of the Śaṃantas in his suppression of the Kaivarta revolt. The same monarch in order to secure the help of the feudatories allied himself with the Śaṃantas of the forest regions.¹

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

1. Rāmacarita/43.

2. Ibid 1/45.

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

cannot endure thirst and can only go in cold season. The mighty elephants of Bengal were a dread to foreign powers. It is stated in the Bargaon grant of the Kamariṇpa king Ratnapala that the walls of the impregnable fort built by him are so strong that they would give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the Gauḍa king.² This is an eloquent testimony to the strength of the elephant forces of Bengal.

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

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

Navy

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

1. JASB, LXV11, p. 115-18,

2. Artha. II. 30,

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

The navy was not only necessary for commerce and trade but it was also extremely useful both for defence and offence in Bengal. The Bengal kings always maintained a fleet. The camp of victory at Krīpura in the Gunaighar inscription of Vainyagupta, dated in 508 A. D., is described as full of ships, elephants and horses. The Haraha inscription of the Maukhari king Isanavarman¹ refers to the Gaiuja people as 'Samudrāśrayān'. Attention may be invited to the story of colonisation of Ceylon by prince Vijaya of Vanga which must have taken place² before the time of Asoka and to Kslidasa's remarks³ on the nautical resources of Bengal. The importance of Navadhyakṣa and nau-vala-vyāpṛtaka needs hardly to be emphasised. In every Pala grant the royal fleet is first mentioned in the description of the camp of victory. The royal camp at Pāṭaliputra is thus described in the Khalimpirr plate : "Sa-khaḷu Bhagirathi-patha-pravattamana nanavidha-nauvat'aka-sampadita-setubandha-nihita-saila-sikhara-sreṇi-vibhramata". The Kamauli plate records a naval victory won by Kumārapāla's minister and general Vaidyadeva. It is known from the Deopara plate of Vijayasena that he sent a fleet to meet the pascatyacakra. A sudden cavalry raid proved disastrous for the Senas who were ousted from western and northern Bengal within a very short time but perhaps for their navy the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena could maintain themselves in east Bengal for a long time. Nothing illustrates more forcibly the supreme necessity of a fleet in Eastern

1. EI. vol. XIV. 117.

2. Early Seamen of India, Asutosh Jubilee Volume, Orientalia, Pt. 2. p. 108

3. Raghuvamśa IV. 36

Bengal than the fact that the Delhi Sultan Balban in his expedition in 1183 A. D. against the rebellious governor, Tughril Khan, had to seek the assistance of Danuja Raja of Sonargaon in order to prevent his escape by boat.²

Defences

The Jayaskandhavaṇa or the camp of victory from which the royal grants were issued seems to have been well-protected and strongly fortified. Mudgagiri (modern Mongyr) was perhaps the strategic point, where the Pālas concentrated their forces to check the Pratihara advance, because it is the JasyaskandhāvSra in three Pala grants.² PStaliputra is the camp of victory in the Khalimpur plate and Vilasapura was at the time of Mahlpala. Madanapala issued his grant from Rāmavatī, the city built by his father Ramapala. The Sena grants upto the time of Lakṣmaṇasena were issued from Vfkramapura and during the the time of Keśavasena the camp of victory was at Phalgugrama, probably somewhere in Eastern Bengal.

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

1. Elliot, vol. in p. 196.

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

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

Military Secretariat

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

Police Department

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

The functions of Gramika, Dasagramika, Ksetrapa have been discussed elsewhere. In addition to their duties already observed, It may be noted here that they might have policing duties also. In the Arthashastra the Vivitabharta, guardian of pasture land, is to;

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

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

1. Artha. II. 84.

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

3. El. XI. p. 40.

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

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

Antaḥpratīhara—probably guard of the inner palace.

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

Vasagarika—probably in charge of the royal palaces.

Sīroraksika—probably a class of body-guards.

Khandagraha—It is probably the same as Khandaraka of the Chamba inscriptions, which, according to Dr. Vogel, means a class of body-guards bearing swords.

Angarakṣas - body-guard s.

Ārohakas - royal guards on horse.

Judicial Department

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

Mahādandanayaka—He may be taken either to be an army officer **or** a judicial officer,

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

Pramati—The dictionary meaning is proving, evidence,

1. Dr. Beui Prasad takes Prainatrs to be surveyors and measurers but does not cite any authority. State in Ancient India, p. 299. In the Madhuban **plate of** Harṣavardhana the Pramātṛs are mentioned after Dausadhanikas and the dutaka mahasamanta, maharaja Skandagupta has also the title pramatr El, Vol. I, No. II.

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

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

Dandika, Dandasakti, Dandanika, Dandapasika—we have suggested that they were probably police officers. **Daṇḍa** means punishment and therefore can equally be taken to be judicial officers.

Miscellaneous officers

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

Feudatories

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

Rsjan—Vassal kings.

Rajanyaka—One having the status of a Raja.

Raṇaka—He figures after the royal consort. According to Dr. Basak, **Raṇakas** were a class of subordinate chiefs.

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

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

The Gunaighar grant of Vaiuyagupta shows that the vassal princes sometimes accepted office under the central authority. The frontier king Maharāja Vijayasena, dntaka of the grant, was officer in charge of the elephants and had three high-sounding titles. In the commentary of the Ramacarita the vassal rulers are called SSmantas. In the Vappaghosavata grant of Jayanagaa Samanta was in charge of a Vijaya. It cannot be definitely stated whether Ranasura of Daksina-Radha, Dharmapala of Dandabhukti. Govindacandra of Vangaladesa were feudatories under Mahlpala I. They might have fought against the Cola² emperor either on their own account or for Mahipala I. It is clear from the Baghaura image inscription of

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

2, Trimulai Rock inscription of Rajendracola EI, IX, p. 229.

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

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

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

1. KI. XVII, p. 353.

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

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

But when the imperial power was weak, the feudatories tried to assume semi-independent attitude. Nothing illustrates more clearly the changed attitude of the Saniantas of the Pala empire than that Rāmapāla had to secure their service after a great deal of persuasion. In ordinary circumstances it is to be expected that they would stand by the dispossessed prince in the critical period of the Kaivarta rebellion. Rāmapāla had to meet personally the principal Saniantas³ and implore their assistance which he secured with the promise of further increase of territory and reward of money.⁴ If the arms and resources of the vassals were a strength to the imperial power, they were also a source of weakness. Rebellions and risings due to general discontent or weakness of the central government would be generally under the banner of a feudatory chief. Most probably the ambitious Kaivarta chief Diwoka was a subordinate chief of the Paī as, who, taking advantage of the misgovernment of Mahipāla II and consequent general discontent, raised the standard of revolt and ousted the Pālas from Varendra for a considerable time. The powers and prestige of powerful chiefs were sometimes a challenge to the imperial power.

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

2. EI, XII.p, 11.

3. Ramacarita, 1/43.

4. Ibid, 1/46.

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

Designation	Annual Revenues of Karsas.
1. Samanta	1 to 3 lacs.
2. M5p4alika	3 to 10 lacs.
3. Raja	10 to 20 lacs.
4. Maharaja	20 to 50 lacs.
5. Svarat	50 to 100 lacs.
6. Samrat	1 crore to 10 crores.
7. Virat	10 to 50 crores.
8. Sarvabhauma	Universal monarchy.

Some general observations

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

"The Hindu state recognised no restrictions on its activities.

From time to time it elected to propagate Dharma, to inculcate and enforce morality, to maintain or improve the social order, to encourage learning, education and art, to subsidise various academies, to regulate industry and commerce, to foster agriculture, to relieve the distress from famine and calamities, to establish hospitals, rest-houses, charity halls, etc. All this it essayed to do in addition to its primary functions of defence, order and justice." These are not mere generalizations without having any foundation on real state of things. The various religious missions to Tibet in the Pala period, the donations to *nitipathakas*¹ and to learned and pious men, the assurances² in the Pala grants that the kings followed the spirit of the Śasstras, controlled those that swerved from the path of righteousness and kept the castes confined to their respective spheres of activity, the control exercised on the great universities like Nalanda, Vikramasila and Jagaddala by appointing their heads and conferring degrees on great scholars, construction and maintenance of these monasteries as the recent excavations at Nalanda³ and Paharpur have revealed and the various public works still associated with the name of the Pala and Sena monarchs—all these clearly prove that the government exerted their utmost for the welfare of the people in almost every sphere of activity.

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

1. Edilpur and Madanpara grants.

2. Mongyr and Nalanda grants of Devapala, the Bhagalpur grant of Narayanapala and the Amgachi plate of Vigrahapala III,

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

It may be argued that the land grants which are the main sources of our information for the administrative system described above are more or less formal in character in the description of the list of the officers. The largest number of officials are mentioned in the Ramganj plate of Mahamandalika Isvaraghosa. Most probably he was a feudatory chief and assumed semi-independent attitude in abnormal political circumstances when the imperial power was extremely weak. This grant corresponds in this respect to the Panchobh plate of MaharajSdhirsja Mahamandalika Samgrlma-guptadeva² of about the 12th century A.D. which also supplies a number of officials otherwise unknown. Whatever might have been their political power in actual reality, their political pretension perhaps led them to enumerate as many officers as they could. If their command over so many officers is to be doubted, it would be the natural presumption that their suzerain must have at least these officers under them. It must be observed here that in all grants it has been explicitly said that there were other unspecified officers in addition to the specified ones. Perhaps only **the** high officials and those that were connected with the execution of land grants and more or less with revenue administration have been mentioned by name.

1 Ramacarita,

1/31.

2. JBORS, V, p 588.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The recently discovered Irda plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva⁵ is important for our purpose, as it supplies the

1. IHQ, XII, p. 613. 2. Tabaqati Nasiri, Trans, by Raverty, p. 587, 132, 714 15, 558. IHQ, XII, pp. 81 ff, 3. I am thankful to Mr. N. G. Majumdar of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for sending me an advanced copy of his paper on the Irda Copper plate (EI, XXII, p. 150.

names of many new officials. We have suggested that most of the important officers at the centre had separate departments of their own and this is perhaps confirmed by the mention of *adhyaksa-varggam-akhilam karana-sametam*¹ of this plate. *Senapatin-ca saha Sainik-saṅghamukhyaiḥ* shows that there were army guilds which supplied recruits to the army.² *Ṛtviks* were perhaps learned in, and reciters of, *Rgvedas*. *Dharmajñas* perhaps advised the king in religious matters and morals. *Pradestrs* are referred to in the *Arthasastra* and may correspond to the *pradesikas* of Anoka's inscriptions.³ *Gudha-punisas* were officers of the secret service and *Mantrapffiks* perhaps advised the king in political matters.

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

1. 1. 84. 2. Tiris many correspond to the *Srenvala* of the *Arthasstra*.
 3. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 1906, p. 69. "It is, however, safer, to take *Pradeaika* in the sense of an officer in charge of a Division."

