

# **Journal of Ancient Indian History**

Volume XXIII

2005-2006

Dineschandra Sircar Memorial Volume



*Edited by*

**Subid Chattopadhyay**

*Head of the Department*

*Ancient Indian History and Culture*

*Calcutta University*



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**1, Reformatory Street**

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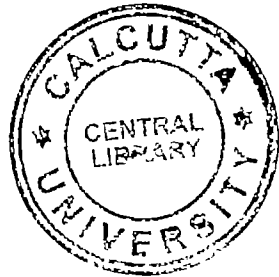
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This Volume is dedicated to the memory of Professor Dineschandra Sircar

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# Aryan Advent in India: A Sāṃkhyāyana Evidence

GOURANGA SUNDAR SUBUDDHI

Endless debate on the issue of Aryan advent in India has been on even in the fag end of the 20th Century. There are two confronting groups one of which claim that Aryans are the aborigines of the Indian soil, while the other group venture to prove that the Aryans had entered into India from outside and established their maiden settlement in India in the land of five rivers without pointing out definite causes as to whence and why the Aryans departed from their ancient motherland. Hence the entire issue has still been remaining encompassed with deep mystery. Consequently, the historians are trying sincerely to unveil the mystery with substantial evidences.

As a matter of fact, the term '*Pratna Okāḥ*' referred to in a particular *mantra* of the *Ṛgveda* has added a new dimension to this issue. The *mantra* runs as follows:

*Anu pratnasyaukasah*

*Huve tuvipratim naram.*

*Yam te pūrvam pitā huve*

(*Ṛgveda*: I. 30.9)

Ācārya Sāyaṇa has explicated the terms '*Pratnasyaukasah*' as '*Purātanasya Okāḥ sthānasya svargarūpasya sakāśāt.*' Therefore, Ācārya Sāyaṇa believes that '*Pratna Okāḥ*' explicitly denotes heaven which is the ancient abode of all human beings and which is also their prime source of origination. This explanation does not satisfy the historians belonging to both eastern and western countries. Such discontent has been revealed in the analysis of the *Ūṣas Sūktas* by Tilak. He tried to establish that the primitive abode of the Aryans had been situated any where around the Arctic region. In this region, the span of duration of the dawn becomes longlasting which is enumerated by him as '*aūra borealis*'. (*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, Page 109).

Without going into details of the problem, one invaluable reference of the *Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* may be referred to and analysed with a view to adding one more argument in favour of the theory of the Aryan advent in India. The information of the *Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* is extremely interesting and significant which basically deals with the classification of trees in terms of their acceptability for the purpose of making '*Yūpa*' or sacrificial post. In a sacrifice-oriented Vedic society, installation of the sacrificial post is of paramount importance. Such customary installation-ceremony of the sacrificial

post has given birth to several popular festivals in later times. In accordance with the *Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa*, there are some trees, the barks of which are exfoliated from upper to the lower direction. These kinds of trees are considered to be absolutely unworthy to fulfil the purpose of utilizing the same as sacrificial posts. There are some other trees, the barks of which are exfoliated from lower to upper direction, and these types of trees have been declared as having a kind of attachment with human beings. The sacrificer may utilize such tree for the purpose of sacrificial post. There are also some kinds of trees, the barks of which exfoliate from left to right direction imitating the movement of the sun. These species of trees are adjudged as the best of all for making sacrificial post, because, installation of post made from such trees is endowed with the capacity to uplift the sacrificer to heaven. The trees which stand alone in a field covered with profuse leaves has been imagined as having attachment with the cattles. The sacrificer who aspires for having cattles may install sacrificial post made from such kinds of trees. This unique statement of the *Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* is as follows: *Eko Yo 'vācīnavakalaḥ sa gartyastasyāsānyeyādatha ya ūrdhvavakalo drabyaḥ sa mānuṣaḥ kāmam tasyāpi kūrūtātha yasya prasavyā ādityasyānvāvṛttavakalā svayūpyasya svargya ekastho bhrātṛvyo yo vānuvṛttaḥ palāsairāmūla syātso nagnaḥ sa paśavyastam paśukāmaḥ kurvīta.* (x. 2)

From this wonderful reference, we come to know two-fold informations. Firstly, the fact becomes conspicuous that the Ṛgvedic seers had carried on intensive survey of trees with regard to their pattern of exfoliation of barks. Such kind of scientific survey has been developed into a new branch of knowledge of Botany. Secondly, such information leads us to believe that the best kind of trees usually utilized for the purpose of making sacrificial post had been widely available in the area where the Aryans, the founders and propagators of Vedic culture lived in remote past. Most probably, they started their migratory journey, for reasons yet unknown, towards India and other countries of the globe from that geographical region. Quite naturally, two specific questions arise from such reference. Firstly, which species of trees are those, the barks of which exfoliate from left to right side.<sup>7</sup> And the Second question becomes related with the geographical region where such kinds of trees grow profusely.

The reference of peeling off of the barks from left to right indicates the pattern of exfoliation as horizontal or lateral. Lateral peeling off of barks take place in wild Cherry, scientifically known as *Prunus avium* L. This particular tree grows in abundance in Europe, temperate regions of North Africa and

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West Asia. Some species of this tree are also available in the temperate belt of Darjeeling and the upland area of the Himalayas. These species are, namely, *Prunus Cornuta*, *Prunus Cerasoids* and *Prunus Persica*. There are some other species, whose exfoliation are horizontal in pattern. These are namely, i. *Araucaria Cumminghamii* which is an exotic species brought to India from Australia. ii. *Betula Utilis* vernacular of which is Bhujapatra. This kind of tree grows in Tehri-Garhwal region between 10,000 feet to 14,000 feet high land. The bark of this tree is highly valuable for making paper.

The analysis of this reference of the *Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* explicitly exposes the fact that the trees having such pattern of rind abundantly grow in Europe and temperate regions of North Africa and West Asia and not in a tropical country like India, of course, barring some un-accessible upland areas of the Himalayas. Hence, selection and utilization of such types of trees positively point out the fact that the Aryans had been the aborigines of any part of Europe or West Asia and migrated from their ancient abode situated in any of those regions for reasons not definitely known even uptill now. It is also obvious that had there been no trees of such kinds in the geographical area of their ancient habitat, they would not have referred to or given prime preference to those trees.

After their advent in a tropical country like India, the Aryans did not find such types of trees. Since the main object of performing vedic sacrifice is to attain heaven, they have been compelled to select one particular species of tree which resemble the exfoliation of bark pattern from left to right for continuation of the sacrificial performances. As a matter of fact, this particular tree has been considered by them as the substitute of all those trees of specific rind-pattern widely available in their ancient abode. It is also worth-mentioning that utilization of substitute in place of original one has also been started to be widely practised after their migration to India. This substitute tree is Khadira botanically known as *Acacia catechu* and such substitution is seemingly unanimous in acceptance among the sacrificers. In this context, the *Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* dictates the sacrificers desiring to attain heaven: '...*Khadiraṃ svargakāmaḥ* (x. 2)'. the same dictation has been uttered in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*: '*Khadiraṃ yūpaṃ kurvīta svargakāmaḥ*' ... (VI. 1) The alternative name of Khadira has been given in the *Ṛgveda* as '*Pitudaru*'. The etymological sense of this nomenclature may indicate nostalgic trend of the Aryans related with the kind of wood which had been profusely available in their older ancestral homeland. Such substitution seems to be inserted in the *Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa* after the advent of Aryans in India.

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# Buddhism in India as seen by the Chinese pilgrims

KSHANIKA SAHA

Sino-Indian relations date back to the early centuries of the first millennium, when innumerable Indian monks, such as Dharmaratna, Kāśyapa Mātāṅga, Kumārajīva, Bodhidharma and Guṇavarman, to name a few, visited China to expound the philosophical doctrines of Buddhism. Their missionary activities inspired Chinese Pilgrims to visit the country, haloed by the Buddha. Of them Fa-Hien, Hiuen T'Sang and I-tsing have left an indelible mark on the Sino-Indian Cultural Scenario.

The memoirs and travel accounts of the Chinese pilgrims are important for the history of Indian Buddhism, insofar as they record dates and facts. Unfortunately, they depend much on hearsay evidence and no attempt to criticise Indian traditions or weave them into a continuous narrative is discernible.

Fa-hien is known to have left China in 399 A.D. and resided in the kingdom of Chandragupta-II for six years (A.D. 405-411). His account attests to his sojourn in Pāṭaliputra for three years and at Tāmralipti for two.<sup>1</sup> Further, he visited Punjab, Hindustan and Bengal. He leaves the impression that all these were in the main Buddhist countries. He concludes, on the basis of hearsay evidence that the inhabitants of the Deccan were barbarous and not Buddhists, though it contained some Buddhist shrines.

Fa - Hien notices the existence of both the Mahayanists and Hinayānists in the various regions of India without indicating any feeling of animosity amongst them. In the countries corresponding to parts of Kashmir and Gilgit as well as in Udyāna and Gandhāra the Hinayanists were in majority. In Punjab both schools were prevalent but the Hīnayana was evidently strong.

Of the Middle kingdom (which according to him began with the kingdom of Muttra) he says that the people are free and happy and neither kill any living creature nor drink intoxicating liquor.<sup>2</sup> In the district of Muttra, the Law was still flourishing. Monasteries and topes were numerous and ample alms were given to the monks. He states that the professors of the Abhidharma and Vinaya made offerings to those works, while the Mahayanists to the book *Prajñā-pāramitā* as well as *Mañjuśrī* and Kawn-Shih-Yin.

Magadha, wherein he studied Sanskrit, was, according to him prosperous and pious. Of its capital Patna, he says, 'by the side of the topes of Aśoka has been made a Mahāyāna monastery, very grand and beautiful, there is also

a Hīnayāna one, the two together containing 600 or 700 monks.' Herein he studied Buddhism and sought and copied manuscripts of the Vinaya. At this time the various schools of the latter were divided by trivial differences and they orally handed down their respective versions. The pilgrim found in the Mahayanist monastery one manuscript of the Mahāsāṅghika rules, which he considered to be the most complete. However, he also noted down the Sarvāstivādin rules.

In Tāmralipti, the pilgrim reports that there were twenty-two monasteries, 'inhabited by monks, who followed the law of Buddha'.<sup>3</sup> In both Magadha and Bengal, both schools seem to have existed but the Mahāyāna was more flourishing.

It must herein be mentioned that Fa-hien found the sacred sites of Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu and Kuśinārā sparsely populated and desolate. However, this may have been due to general causes, not specially to the decay of the religion. No doubt, the Chinese pilgrim occasionally mentions that the Brāhmaṇas were jealous of the Buddhists, there is however no hint of persecution. The existence of numerous sects among the Buddhists is attested to by his observance of, the prevalence amongst the latter, of 96 varieties of erroneous views. However, they do not appear to have been hostile to one another. He further records that there still existed, apparently in Kośala, followers of Devadatta, who recognised three previous Buddhas, but not Śākyamuni. He visited their birth places, which contained topes erected in their honour. Many of the old sites such as Rājagṛha and Gayā were deserted, but there were new towns near them and Bodh Gayā was a place of pilgrimage with three monasteries.

In the fifth century A.D., specially after the death of Vasubandhu, the author of *Abhidharmakośa*, Indian Buddhism witnessed gradual changes of great significance. This was largely due to the assimilative power of Hinduism and the attraction of the people to magical and emotional rites which became more manifest in 700 A.D. In the intervening years, the monks were chiefly occupied with scholastic and exegetical work. There developed a distinct school of logicians among the Buddhists. The most distinguished exponents were Dinnāga, Sthiramati and Guṇamati.<sup>4</sup> Bhāvaviveka<sup>5</sup> too, must have belonged to the same school. His important achievement was the utilization of the terminology of the *Śāṅkhya* for the purposes of the Mahāyāna.

According to Vācaspatimiśra (about 1100 A.D.), Vasubandhu and his disciple Dinnāga, interpreted the aphorisms of the *Nyāya* philosophy in a heterodox or Buddhist sense, thus claiming that the pioneering works belonged to a Brahmanic source. Subsequently, however, it flourished greatly in the hands of the Buddhists, especially Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti, who were



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probably alive in the reign of Kumāragupta (413-455 A.D.). The former, a native of Conjeevaram and a contemporary of Kālidāsa, spent much time in Nālandā and though the Sanskrit originals of his works are lost, the Tibetan translations have been preserved.

The Buddhist schools of logic flourished for many centuries, in Kashmir and in Bengal which was founded by Chandragomin. Both lasted until the Muhammadan conquest. The *Rājatarāṅginī*, attests to the fact that as early as in the 6th Century Buddhism in Kashmir had become corrupt and the monks had begun to marry. King Lalitāditya (733-769 A.D.) is credited with having built monasteries as well as temples to the sun, but his successors were Saivaites.

In Bengal, in 730 A.D., a pious Buddhist named Gopāla founded the Pāla dynasty and extended his power over Magadha. For about 450 years, the Pāla kings provided a long line of devout defenders of the faith. But, Kanauj, lying to the west of their dominions from the eighth century onwards became a stronghold of Brahmanic learning, which definitely, ultimately succeeded in overpowering Buddhistic influences.

In Northern India, in the 5th Century A.D. advancing hordes of Hūṇas, wrought great devastation. A devout Śaiva, their king Mihiragula (470-530 A.D.) is represented as a determined enemy of Buddhism and a systematic destroyer of monasteries. This is corroborated by the *Rājatarāṅginī* and other sources. However, it is probable that his wrath was more inspired by his love of pillage and destruction rather than religious fanaticism.

An important landmark, in the progress of Sino-Indian relations during this time, was the arrival of Bodhidharma in Canton about 520 A.D. Though Indian sources and the accounts of Hsüan-Chuang and I-tsing are silent on this account, Chinese sources represent him as the son of a king of country called Hsiang-Chih in Southern India and the 28th patriarch. His reputation as a prominent figure in the religion and art of the Far East dates to the eighth century A.D. It may be inferred that Bodhidharma, head of some heretical sect in South India, fled to China, like many of his contemporaries, in the wake of violent disputes between the Buddhists, Jains and Hindus in South India. Available documents indicate that Buddhism herein, was almost entirely Hinayanist, closely akin to that of Ceylon and not very compatible with the emotions of the Tamils.<sup>7</sup>

The pilgrims Sung-yun and Hui-Sheng<sup>8</sup> visited India, during the period of the Hūṇa domination (518-521 A.D.) Their itinerary covered Udyāna, then ruled by a pious Buddhist King and Gandhāra under an Ephthalite chieftain,

probably Mihiragula himself, who was a worshipper of demons. Their opinion regarding the Ephthalites is unfavourable. According to them, 'their rules of politeness, are very defective'. However, that no amount of persecution could destroy the faith in North-Western India, is evident from the fact that the population of Gandhāra had a great respect for Buddhism and the pilgrims could carry back to China 170 volumes of standard Mahāyāna works.

Mihiragula was defeated by a coalition of Indian princes under Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya at about 530 A.D. and is known to have died ten years later. However, the onslaught on Buddhism launched by him seems to have gathered momentum in the following centuries. It no doubt still received royal patronage in company with other religions but its days of glory and eminence were definitely over. While sectarian conflicts were on the increase, contemporary records attest to systematic persecution.

Credible affirmation regarding the latter is to be had from the account of Hsuan Tsang. He accuses Śaśāṅka, a king of Central Bengal (C.600 A.D.) and a devout Śaiva, of having expelled the inmates of a Buddhist monastery at Kusīnagara<sup>9</sup>, thrown into the Ganges a relic stone bearing the foot prints of Buddha at Pāṭaliputra<sup>10</sup> and of having crowned his misdeeds by uprooting the Bodhi tree at Gayā and burnt what remained of it. However, that the anti-Buddhist sentiment was not all pervading, is evident from the fact mentioned by the pilgrim that a few months afterwards Pūrṇavarman, the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life and in one night it became above ten feet high.<sup>11</sup> Allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration in the pilgrim's account, owing to the fact that his patron Harshavardhana was Śaśāṅka's arch enemy, the whole episode cannot be dismissed as mere malicious propaganda. An echo of the story of Śaśāṅka's misdeeds is to be found in another Buddhist work, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.<sup>12</sup>

A redeeming feature in the history of Indian Buddhism was provided by the rule of king Harshavardhana of Kanauj. In c.7th A.D. he provided Northern India from Punjab to Bengal with an unifying and peaceful rule. The Chinese refer to him as Śīlāditya, king of the country called Mo-lo-po. He is reported to have been so careful of animal life that he even strained the water drunk by his horses and elephants, lest they should consume minute insects.<sup>13</sup>

The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Chuang was his honoured guest and from him we get a valuable and exhaustive account of the king's administration. A general decline in the law and order situation is discernible from his statement that brigandage prevailed and travelling was dangerous.

Without disowning Brahmanic worship, Harṣa in his later years, displayed a marked inclination towards Buddhism. It may be noted that amongst the

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three dramas ascribed to him, *Nāgānanda* is a Buddhist drama which opens with an invocation to the Buddha and has a Jātaka story for its plot. Emulating the piety of Aśoka, he founded rest houses and hospitals, as well as monasteries and thousands of stūpas. He prohibited the taking of life and the use of animal food and of the three periods into which his day was divided, two were devoted to religion and one to business. He also exercised a surveillance over the whole Buddhist order and advanced meritorious members.<sup>14</sup>

The accounts of Hsüan-Chuang leaves the impression that Harsha was not only a devoted follower of the Buddhist religion, but even deliberately treated the other religious sects including Śaivas, with scant respect. He describes, for example the great ceremony which Harsha performed every fifth year at Prayāga<sup>15</sup> at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, when after the example of his ancestors, he 'distributed in one day the accumulated wealth of five years'. But, we are told that an image of Buddha was first offered the most costly jewels, and the Buddhist priests from far and near, were entertained with gifts, before his charity was extended to 'retired scholars and recluses of other religions and the kinless poor'. Having rid himself of all his treasures and even his robes, he arrayed himself in clothes borrowed from his sister. This lavish distribution exhausted all the public and private wealth of the country but in ten days the empty treasury was again filled by gifts of the rulers of different countries.

Still more vivid is his description of Harsha's religious assembly at Kanauj,<sup>16</sup> which was attended by Bhāskara-varman, with his immense host, and twenty (or eighteen) other kings. A special tower, 100 ft. high and with a golden statue of Buddha of the size of the king inside it, was constructed at Kanauj, and every day in the midst of a huge procession, escorted by the kings, a smaller golden image of Buddha was borne on an elephant. On its left went king Harsha, dressed as Śakra (Indra) holding a canopy and on the right was Bhāskara-varman, dressed as Brahmā, holding a white Chāmara. Before placing the statue on the altar, the king himself washed the statue in scented water and offered it tens, hundreds and thousands of silken garments, decorated with precious gems. The worship was followed by a grand feast. In the evening the king, listened to the arguments of his Chinese guest, amidst royal instructions that no one was to speak against him.

Here an instance of Brahmanical intolerance has been recorded by the Chinese pilgrim.<sup>17</sup> The heretics, we are told, felt great resentment against Harsha and planned to kill him, because while he 'exhausted his treasury in offerings to the Buddhists, he scarcely even spoke to them'. On the last day of the assembly, the pavilion built for the reception of the Chinese pilgrim

suddenly caught fire and in the confusion that ensued, a heretic, knife in hand, rushed on the king. The man was seized and confessed that he had been hired by the heretics. Five hundred Brāhmaṇas, all of singular talent, questioned by the king confessed to their share in the plot, adding that they were 'jealous of the Śramaṇas, whom the king had revered and exceedingly honoured'. The king punished the ring-leaders and banished the Brāhmaṇas to the frontiers of India.

The pilgrim's itinerary, gives a dismal picture of Buddhism in contemporary India. It appears from his record that the progress of the religion had been arrested and in many places it had lost its hold upon the people and was, in fact, on the verge of disappearance. The decay of the religion seems to have been more pronounced in the North West and South.

Thus in Gandhāra<sup>18</sup> there were only a few Buddhists. More than a thousand monasteries stood untenanted and the Buddha's sacred bowl had vanished. He notices that in Takshaśilā<sup>19</sup>, the greatest seat of learning of the ancient times, there flourished in total harmony and complete concordance the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists, Greeks, Jains, Parthians, Śakas and Zoroastrians. It was visited twice by the Chinese savant. Although 'the monasteries were numerous', he writes, 'many of them were desolate and the Brethren, who were very few were all Mahāyānists'. In Uḍḍiyāna,<sup>20</sup> however, the pilgrim notices that Buddhism was held in high esteem and herein he witnessed a more than 20 feet high sandal wood image of Buddha which possessed supernatural powers, emitting light and effecting cures. In Sind, the monks were numerous but indolent.<sup>21</sup>

Undoubtedly, the depredations of Mihiragula, was the main cause of this desolation, but in the Deccan and in the extreme South, Jainism was rapidly gaining ground at the cost of Buddhism. Hsüan-Tsang observes that the Digambara and Śvetāmbara monks were to be found in Taxila in the West and Vipula (Rājagṛha)<sup>22</sup> in the east. The Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous in Bengal<sup>23</sup> and Orissa. In the South at Dhānyakāṭaka<sup>24</sup> (near Amarāvati), Chola<sup>25</sup> and Pāṇḍya states, he met a number of Digambara monks and admired their beautiful temples. Herein, and in Kalinga<sup>26</sup> and Andhra,<sup>27</sup> the pilgrim reports that Jains were very numerous and counts Buddhist monasteries only by tens and twenties. In Draviḍa<sup>28</sup> there were 10,000 monks of the Sthavira school. Regarding Malayakūṭa<sup>29</sup> (Mo-Lo-kiu-Ch'a) he states that among the people 'some follow the true doctrine, others are given to heresy. They do not esteem learning much, but are wholly given to commercial gain. There are the ruins of many old convents, but only the walls are preserved, and there are few religious followers. There are many hundred Deva temples, and a multitude of heretics, mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas.

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Not far to the east of this city is an old Saṅghārāma of which the vestibule and court are covered with wild shrubs; the foundation walls only survive. This was built by Mahendra, the younger brother of Aśoka-rāja...’.

In Central India, too, though Buddhism was represented both by monasteries and monks, the Deva temples and unbelievers were also numerous. From this account it is apparent that the sphere of Buddhism had already contracted in Hiuen Tsang’s time, and that the non-Buddhists, particularly the devotees of Śiva and the followers of the Digambara sect, were growing in number and influence. However, the pilgrim’s records distinctly prove that Buddhism, though declining, was still prevalent in important places all over India from Kashmir and Gandhāra to Draviḍa, and from Ganjam and Samatāṭa to Sind and Valabhī.

The decay of the Buddhist faith finds its echo in the writings of I-tsing (about 650-700 A.D.) ‘The teaching of the Buddha is becoming less prevalent in the world from day to day’ he says, ‘when I compare what I have witnessed in my younger days and what I see today in my old age, the state is altogether different and we are bearing witness to this and it is hoped we shall be more attentive in future.’<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, his travels in India were of relatively small extent and he gives less local information than the previous pilgrims.

I-tsing speaks of the innumerable Buddhist sects as they existed in his time. Besides mentioning the ancient eighteen sects, he divides them into four groups or Nikāyas: The Ārya-Mahāsaṅghika-Nikāya, to which the Lokottaravādins of Bamiyan, mentioned by Hsüan-Chuang belonged; the Ārya-Sthavira-Nikāya, predominant in southern India and Ceylon as well as eastern Bengal; the Ārya-Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Nikāya which flourished in Magadha and the Ārya-Sammitīya Nikāya, popular in Lāṭa and Sindhu. Obviously sectarian differences over rules of discipline and other aspects of the faith had become more volatile and hastened its progressive decay.

It may be mentioned herein, that I-tsing describes in great detail and with high praise the rules followed by Indian monks about food and drink clothing and medicaments, personal hygiene and general conduct.<sup>32</sup> Regarding the University of Nālandā, he says that the establishment owned two hundred villages and contained eight halls with more than 3000 monks. In the neighbourhood of the monastery were a hundred sacred spots, several marked by temples and topes. It was a resort for Buddhists from all countries and an educational as well as a religious centre. Successful merit was rewarded not only by rank but by grants of land.<sup>33</sup> Obviously, Buddhism still received royal patronage and favour from local residents.

Nevertheless, it is probable that there were at times not only individual but even general lapses of the Brethren from the older standards. This is proved not so much by occasional hints in Brahmanical literature, as by pointed and direct reference in a Buddhist work of this period. Thus in Bhāsa's *Chārudatta* (Act. IV, p. 74) the saucy Brāhmaṇa Maitreya uses the simile of a Buddhist monk kept awake at night by thinking of his assignation with a servant girl. Literary evidence again shows that the Buddhist and Jain nuns in particular were often, employed from early times in the unworthy role of go-betweens between lovers.<sup>34</sup>

A medley of causes have been given by scholars for the decadance of a religious faith which once could boast of an enormous following amongst the laity, the royalty along with higher classes of society as well as the foreign invaders like the Greeks and Śakas. The resurgence of Hinduism under Kumāṛila Bhaṭṭa (C. 750) and Śāṅkara (C. 800), the Muhammedan invasion in 1193, under Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad, a general of Kutb-ud-Din and the growing influence of Tantricism on the Buddhists are among the reasons why 'after about two millenniums of chequered existence, the flame that Siddhārtha had lighted under the Bodhi tree at Gayā feebly flickered out in its homeland.'<sup>35</sup>

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5. Watters, Vol. I. 221-224.
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11. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
12. R. C. Mitra, *The Decline of Buddhism in India* (Visva Bharati, 1981), p. 127

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ff; See also N. N. Ghosh 'Did Puyamitra Suṅga persecute the Buddhists', *B. C. Law Commemoration*, Vol. I (1927), p. 210 ff.

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  14. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
  15. Watters, I. p. 364.
  16. S. Beal, *Si-yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Trans. from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang (2 Vols. London 1906), vol. I, p. 218 (henceforth Beal);  
*Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Shaman Hwui-li (London, 1911), p. 177 (Henceforth Life). This programme was followed for 21 days in succession.
  17. *Life.*, p. 171.
  18. Watters, I. pp. 197-200; 240; 258.
  19. *Ibid.*, I. 240-248; II. 151.
  20. *Ibid.*, I. p. 298.
  21. Beal, II, p. 461.
  22. Watters, II, p. 154.
  23. Beal, II, p. 403-410.
  24. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
  25. *Ibid.*, p. 428.
  26. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-14.
  27. *Ibid.*, p. 420 ff.
  28. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
  29. *Ibid.*, p. 431.
  30. Eliot, *Op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.
  31. J. A. Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhistic Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, by I-tsing, (Oxford. 1896) p. xxiii ff. (henceforth Takakusu).
  32. *Ibid.*, p. 63 ff.
  33. *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 154.
  34. Vide, R. C. Majumdar, etc. ed., *The Classical Age* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 4th ed., 1997), Vol III, p. 396 ff. for further details.
  35. R. C. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
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# The System of Marriage in Vedic India

CHIRA KISOR BHADURI

## The Antiquity and Characteristics of a Hindu Marriage

History of the origin of marriage is found in the *Mahābhārata*, Westermarck is of the opinion that marriage existed in every stage of human development<sup>1</sup> and that "Human marriage appears to be an inheritance from some ape-like ancestor."<sup>2</sup> He has also discussed elaborately about its origin and antiquity in his book 'The History of Human Marriage.'<sup>3</sup>

As regards the origin of marriage, we must consider the following facts.

Like animals, human beings also, since eternity had a strong desire to have sexual union. But men being more intelligent and more selfish than the animals desired to have the most beautiful and the most healthy girls as their partners often causing bloodshed and loss of life. As regards the women, they also, as a general rule desired to get the most healthy and handsome youth as their partner, thus causing rivalry and bloodshed amongst them. With the passing of time when society was formed in its primitive stage, the leading members framed rules creating the first stage of marriage. This view is further supported by several stories recorded in the *Mahābhārata*.

*Rgveda* and other Vedas are not descriptive about the pros and cons of this system. We find therefore no other alternative than to depend upon our law books for the purpose.

Manu has instructed a *Brahmacārin* to enter into the life of a *Gr̥hastha* after finishing his Vedic study. The life of a *Gr̥hastha* begins with the performance of his marriage rite and ceremony.

Regarding marriage, Manu<sup>4</sup> is of the opinion that a twice-born man should marry a maiden who is not a *sapinda* on the mother's side and does not belong to the same family of the father.

A twice-born man should marry a maiden of his own caste.<sup>5</sup> He may take a second wife from a lower caste, if he so desires, but this second wife is not entitled to all the rights of his first wife. A Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya was never allowed to have Śūdra wife.<sup>6</sup>

Taking a wife from a higher caste was strictly forbidden and that from a lower caste was also discarded. Manu adds that when a twice-born takes a Śūdra girl as his wife, he from that date should be treated as a Śūdra, and his pregnancies also should have the same fate.<sup>7</sup>

Manu has also discussed about the quality of a marriageable girl and such



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other things. As the name of Manu is found in all the four Vedas and as he is held as the earliest of the Indian Kings, it is possible that the law prescribed by Manu had been in prevalence even in the Vedic days. As the Epics and most of the Purāṇas have accepted the ruling of Manu and as even in the Dharmaśāstras Manu's codes are held as the foremost of all, these appear to have been prevalent at all times.

We, therefore should speak in brief a few words about the prescriptions of Manu regarding the quality of a marriageable girl.

Manu holds that a marriageable girl should be of handsome appearance, should be free from any bodily defects, should possess a moderate quantity of hair on her body and should have small teeth and soft limbs.<sup>8</sup>

Manu forbids to marry a maiden who is brotherless, who has no family introduction and who is sickly.<sup>9</sup>

Manu also prohibits to marry a damsel whose family does not observe the Vedic rites and studies and who is suffering from any infectious type of disease (such as Leprosy, epilepsy etc.)<sup>10</sup>

He further prescribes that the ceremony of joining the hands (*Pāṇigrahaṇa*) is performed in the event of marrying a woman of equal caste.<sup>11</sup> But when a woman marries a man of a higher caste, if she belongs to the Kṣatriya caste, she should hold an arrow in her hand. If she is a Vaiśya, she should hold a stick or cane (*pratoda*) and when belonging to the Śūdra caste she should hold a portion of the bridegroom's garment.<sup>12</sup>

Let us now conclude on the definition of Indo-Aryan marriage as according to the observation of Dr Barnett, "The normal conditions of marriage for the three higher castes were identity of caste and difference of *Gotra*", that is to say a caste was sub-divided into a number of groups or *gotras*, each of which was supposed to be descended from a mythical or semi-mythical person, usually a *Ṛṣi* or legendary saint and a man normally 'took for wife a girl' belonging to a *gotra* other than his own but forming a part of the same caste.<sup>13</sup>

The Sanskrit term for marriage is *Vivāha*, derived from the affix *Vi* and the root *Vah* (to carry, to protect, to feed), thus indicating that, just with the performances of a marriage, the groom took the full responsibility to feed, dress and protect his wife under all circumstances. As the bride was offered as a gift to her husband the latter apparently had some proprietary right on her. Of course, he had no right to give her in marriage to another person again or to kill her, for which severe punishment was prescribed.

### Forms of Marriage

In the *Manusmṛhitā* and other works of later origin, eight different forms of

marriage are mentioned with apt illustrations. It is not very clear whether all these forms had been in practice during the Vedic period or not. The eight forms of marriage found in the *Dharmaśāstras* may be summarised as under:

- |                      |                 |                       |                     |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Brāhma</i>     | 2. <i>Daiva</i> | 3. <i>Ārṣa</i>        | 4. <i>Gāndharva</i> |
| 5. <i>Prājāpatya</i> | 6. <i>Āsura</i> | 7. <i>Rākṣasa</i> and | 8. <i>Paiśāca</i> . |

A brief description of each of these eight forms of marriage:

1. *Brāhma*: In this form, the father of the bride himself used to invite a man of good character and learned in the Vedas, and hand over his daughter to this man as a gift (*dāna*), in the prescribed process after decking her with ornaments.
2. *Daiva*: In this form the father of the bride used to hand over his daughter as a gift after decking her with ornaments, to a priest who used to officiate at a sacrifice in course of its performance.
3. *Ārṣa*: This form used to include the gift of the daughter after receiving a pair or pairs of cattle from the bride-groom, according to the requirement of *Dharma* (Sastric injunction) without any wish to sell the bride at all.
4. *Gāndharva*: This springs from the mutual consent of the bride and the bridegroom and originated from the passion of love. In this form near relations of both the bride and bridegroom need not have a hand, though in most cases, final approval of the guardians were received.
5. *Prājāpatya*: This form of marriage used to include the gift of the bride by her father to the bridegroom after decking her with ornaments duly honouring the bridegroom and blessing the couple with the *mantra* (incantation) i.e. 'may both of you perform together your *Dharma*'. .
6. *Āsura*: In this form the bridegroom used to give money to the father or some near relation of the bride and in a sense used to purchase her, before marriage.
7. *Rākṣasa*: When a maiden had been forcibly taken away from her residence and she was weeping and crying aloud, all her relations were slain or wounded and their houses were burnt or broken, it was called the *Rākṣasa* form of marriage.
8. *Paiśāca*: When a person used to reduce a girl stealthily while she was sleeping, or she was intoxicated or disordered in mind or was unconscious, it was called the *Paiśāca* form of marriage. This form was considered most sinful of all the forms.

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### The System of Marriage during the age of the Vedas

Manu and other *Smṛtikāras* of later origin have defined as we have already pointed out, the marriage with its eight different forms. Vedic texts are not however, informative of the fact as to whether all of these forms had been in vogue even in the days of the Vedas or not. We learn from the *Ṛgveda*<sup>14</sup> that Vimada married after snatching the bride away perhaps forcibly from her parents and hence, this incident may be accounted for as an example of *Rākṣasa* form of wedding, as scholars have already thought of.<sup>15</sup> We may also think it probable that it had not been possible at the dawn of Vedic civilization to codify all of the above eight marital forms unlike the later days when all law books were written down. The chief two aspects of *Ārya* marriage i.e. *Pānigrahaṇa* and *saptapadī* of the present day had also been in existence even in the early Vedic days as we assess from the marriage hymn (X. 85) of the *Ṛgveda*. Westermark is however of the opinion that the grasping of hand had been one of the principal features of wedding among different sections of the Aryans throughout the world since remote past.<sup>16</sup> The dialogue hymn of the *Ṛgveda*<sup>17</sup> reveals that sexual or marital union in between brother and sister was strictly disapproved during the Vedic age. The proposal of Yamī in this hymn to be united in sexual intercourse with her brother Yama points to the fact that the *Gāndharva* form of wedding might have been in vogue in its primitive form during the *Ṛgvedic* age. We learn from the *Manusmṛti* and other later digests that marriage at the first instance should have to be taken place in between the bride and bridegroom of equal caste but that of different gotras. At the same time they should not be related to a certain extent as to their father's and that of mother's side respectively. But whether all these materials, disciplines of law books of Manu and other *Smṛtikāras* had also been in vogue even during the Vedic age or not seems not clear to us. The marriage hymn has beautifully laid down the marital procedure during that archaic age. This hymn<sup>18</sup> also hints at the existence of the system of dowry among the Vedic Indians. One more point to be considered here in this connection is that the existence of the rigid marital discipline of later ages as we have already referred to, encourages us to think that these rules of wedlock might have also been prevailing (to some extent) even in the days of the Vedas.

One peculiar type of wedding is hinted at in the hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 95). This took place in between king Pururavas and a nymph, namely, Urvaśī. She married him after imposing certain terms and conditions and deserted the king after leading the life of a wife for so many years on the plea that her husband had broken certain terms of their marriage. As

we all know that the norms of Indian marriage are not guided by condition or contract of any shape or form, but the above form as such has been deemed contractual form of wedding by the scholars.<sup>19</sup> Echoes of such contract-marriages are found in the stories of Śāntanu and Satyawatī, Duṣayanta and Śakuntalā etc. which find mention in the Great Epic. It is noteworthy that such marriages were mostly confined to the ruling members who practised polygamy almost as a convention rather than a rule. Sri H.C. Sastri however remarks in this context, 'Marriage as a social institution had a sound footing in the period when Ṛgvedic verses were composed.'<sup>20</sup> This episode of Pururavas and Urvaśī is again noticed in the *Brahma* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*. The authenticity of this episode according to some scholars is, however, questionable because of the fact that Pururavas had not been unanimously accepted by them as an Indian king of high antiquity. On the contrary, he has been designated as a person of semi-mythical identity.<sup>21</sup> But the genealogy recorded in the epics and different Purāṇas and the interpretation of the Urvaśī-Pururavas episode recorded by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, testify to the fact that Pururavas was a historical person and his so-called love affairs with Urvaśī is a mere allegory. The historicity of Pururavas, however, matters little in the present context. Of more significance is the marriage practice prevalent among the early Vedic people. That, reminiscences of such practices survived down to the time of the composition and completion of the *Mahābhārata* is supported by the reference to the story of Śāntanu and Gaṅgā in the *Ādi Parva*. Their marriage also was subject to certain unorthodox terms and conditions.

Furthermore, it is argued that Urvaśī, because of her being a nymph, could not be guided by human law as such. But this type of marriage having been regularly referred to by the texts of antiquity must have its bearing even upon an allegory. For instance, the *Mahābhārata* has cited an example of this type of marital union in between King Śāntanu and the goddess Gaṅgā.

The scholars more or less think that the Vedic bride used to have been adult.<sup>22</sup> We can humbly speak on the contrary, that the cases of the rare existence of aged unmarried girls at the houses of their fathers have been explained by Manu and other Smṛtikāras at a later date. Manu rules that it is better to keep a girl unmarried for the whole of her life than to give her to an unworthy husband. All the Smṛtikāras rule that a girl must be given in marriage before completing the tenth year of her age, and in cases of failure, a dame should be allowed to select her own groom from within her father's caste, just after completion of her twelfth year.

Regarding the point as to whether child marriage had been in vogue

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during the Vedic period or not, no clear evidence can be produced. In rare cases a girl is said to be spinster even in her advanced age but such cases are surely the exceptions. Child marriage has been referred to in almost all the Dharmaśāstras and as such it may be presumed that this practice existed even in the Vedic age. We are met with certain verses<sup>23</sup> in the marriage hymn where we see that the newly wedded wife is attending her husband wherefrom the scholars<sup>24</sup> are of the opinion that the Vedic bride was adult and that the consummation followed soon after the marriage ceremony was over. We cannot however accept the opinion of the scholars who hold the aforesaid opinion with regard to the maturity of the Vedic bride in respect of age because the above passages of the wedding hymn of the *Rgveda* do not sufficiently advocate in favour of their argument already referred to above. Furthermore, we are met with the reference of Ghoshā in the *Rgveda*<sup>25</sup> who remained unmarried at her father's house till her mature age. There are also some other passages<sup>26</sup> as Kane has thought of in the *Rgveda* which hint at the fact that the Vedic bride was mature enough to select her own husband herself. But on the contrary, there are also indications in some other verses of this *Veda*<sup>27</sup> to the effect that the tender aged girls were also given in marriage in those days. Let us then agree with Kane's observation<sup>28</sup> that the system of marriage of both the adult as well as tender aged brides was in vogue during the Vedic days and that even some women remained spinster all along their lives.

It has not been possible to fix any particular date or period from which the system of wedlock had been introduced. *Mahābhārata* has however dealt with this issue to some extent in the *Ādiparvan*, Westermarck has discussed about the origin of the system of marriage among mankind in general.<sup>29</sup>

Rgvedic verses have hinted at the existence of polygamy as well as monogamy during the Vedic age. But they are silent about polyandry. Marriage hymn speaks of the existence of monogamy during the Vedic age. Rgvedic verses have beautifully laid down the marital procedure which had been prevailing in those days. Let us reproduce the same here in brief. The bridegroom arrives at the house of the bride with his party. She is ready for him (Dowry of cattle has been received by the bridegroom).<sup>30</sup> The proper ceremony commences when the bridegroom grasp the hand of the bride.<sup>31</sup> They have now become the husband and wife.<sup>32</sup> She is now taken in procession to the house of the bridegroom, i.e. her husband.<sup>33</sup> She is now asked to take charge of the household of her husband as its mistress.<sup>34</sup> She has also been requested to exercise her sweet control over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, younger brothers, sisters of her husband etc.<sup>35</sup> We assess from the foregoing

observation that the basic marital characteristics of the Indians have remained unchanged since the dawn of their civilization. This hymn might have indicated the performance of the *Prājāpatya* from of wedlock. Marriage hymn further points to the fact that the bridegroom came to marry from a distant place and also indicates that he might have got no blood relation with the bride.

References to monogamy have been traced in the Rgvedic hymns beside the marriage hymn.<sup>36</sup> It should not be out of place perhaps to quote the remarks of the learned authors of the *Vedic Index* with regard to the forms of the marriage,<sup>37</sup> ‘‘It is not clear that either the father or the mother controlled the marriage of the son or daughter of mature age though no doubt the parents or parent often arranged a suitable match. The marriage was frequently arranged through an intermediary of the groom (*Vara*) presumably after those concerned had in effect come to an agreement. The sale of daughter was not unknown, but a certain amount of discredit would seem to have attached to it and sons-in-law in such cases were sometimes stingy. On the other hand, dowries were not infrequently given, especially no doubt when damsels suffered from bodily defects. Occasionally marriages by capture may have taken place, but only as knightly acts as when Vimada carried off Purumitra’s daughter against her father’s wish but very possibly with her own consent.’<sup>37</sup>

Kane<sup>38</sup> has however observed with regard to the prevalence of different forms of marriage during the age of the *Rgveda* that in the marriage hymn the *Brāhma* form has been hinted at, while in the verse 1.109.2 of the *Rgveda* the *Āsura* form is traceable, and the verses X 27.12 and 1.119.5 of the Veda point to the fact that Gāndharva form of wedlock had also been existing during the Rgvedic age. In the verse (v. 61), the existence of *Daiva* form is assessed to some context.

In different verses of the *Rgveda*, in addition to the cloths and valuable ornaments to the bride, and cows to the groom loads of other kinds of dowries given by the bride’s father to his daughter and her husband, are found to be described. When the bride happened to be a princess, hundreds of chariots and horses were also offered as dowries by the bride’s father. Existence of this system through all the ages is further proved by the descriptions of dowries given by a bride’s father to his daughter and her husband, recorded in the Epics, Purāṇas, and other ancient books.

### References:

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3. *Ibid.*, Ch. I and III, pp. 8-24 and p. 39-50.

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5. *Ibid.*, III, 12-13.
6. *na brāhmaṇa—kṣatriyayon—spadyapi he tiṣṭhatoḥ*  
*kasmimścid=api vṛttānte śūdrā bhāryopadiśyate* (Manu, III, 14).
7. *hīna jātistriyaṃ mohād=Udvahanto dvijātayaḥ*  
*kulānyeva nayantyāśu sasantānāni śūdratām* (*Ibid.*, III, 15)
8. *Ibid.*, III, 10.
9. *Ibid.*, III, 11.
10. *Ibid.*, III, 7.
11. *Ibid.*, III, 43.
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*Vasanasya daśā grāhyā śūdrayotkrṣṭa vedane* (*Ibid.*, III/44).
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14. *Ṛgveda*, 1. 112. 19, 116. 1, 117.20 etc.
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17. *Ṛgveda*, X. 10.
18. *Leid* X. 85.
19. Sastri, H. C., *The Social Background of the Forms of Marriages in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 2 Vols., Ch. III., pp. 143-144.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.
21. *Vedic Index*, V. 2, p. 3.
22. *Vedic Index*, V. 2, pp. 474-475.
23. *Ṛgveda*, X, 85. 29.
24. Majumdar, R. C. (Ed.) *The Vedic Age*, Bombay, 1969 pp. 392-93.
25. *Ṛgveda*, X, 40.
26. *Ibid* X, 27.12. Also see Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, V. 2, pt. I, Ch. IX, p. 439.
27. *Ṛgveda*, X. 85.21. In this verse, a young man has been instructed to marry a Vyakta girl, which appears to be the rule of time. As regards, the meaning of this term Vyakta, Sāyana tells us that it stands for a girl who has not yet learnt to cover her limbs with clothes. This view has been corroborated by the injunction of different Dharmaśāstras, such as Manu (IX. 94), Parāśara (VII. 6-9), Samvartta (Verse 68), Śaṅkha (Verse. 158) and the like everywhere a girl of eight or nine years being preferred.

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28. Kane, V, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, V. 2, p. 1, 439-40.
  29. Westermerk, E., *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 8-24.
  30. *R̥gveda*, X. 85.13.
  31. *Ibid.*, X. 85. 36.
  32. *Ibid.*, X. 85, 36.
  33. *Ibid.*, X. 85. 7-8, 20, 25-28, 42, 46 etc.
  34. *Ibid.*, X. 85, 43, 46 etc.
  35. X. 85. 26. 46.
  36. *Ibid.*, 1.12.7. IV. 3.2. etc.
  37. *Vedic Index*, V I. pp. 482-83. (We assess from the 1.117.20 of the *R.V.* that Vimada married a tender aged girl).
  38. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, V.2, pt. I, Ch. IX, p. 525.
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# The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Although considered to be one of the latest Purāṇas, it is mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī, who was a friend of Sultan Mahmūd, in his extremely well-known *Kitab-Ul-Hind*<sup>1</sup>, which was composed in 1030 A.D. This Purāṇa was known to the author of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. We should always remember that Al-Bīrūnī was a Sanskrit-knowing Muslim and freely quotes from several Sanskrit texts, including the *Gītā*, the *Brhatsamhitā*, the *Matsya* and other Purāṇas. He also quotes from Brahmagupta's *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* several times. He knows several Hindu philosophers, including Kapila. Al-Bīrūnī gives the vital information that the *Bhagavad-Gītā* is a part of the *Bhārata* or the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Brahmavaivarta* is entirely dominated by the two romantic figures of Rādhā and Vāsudeva. Rādhā is mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, but ignored in the Purāṇas like the *Vishṇu*, *Bhāgavata* etc. The *Yasaśtilakacampū* and the *Venīsamhāra*, etc. refer to this lady. The *Gathāsaptasatī* of Hāla, compiled in the 1st century A.D., mentions Rādhikā, which shows that her name is quite old. However, Vāsudeva, a pre-Buddhist figure as Pāṇini, who by no stretch of imagination, be placed after Buddha, had flourished before that Śākya prophet. The well-known Sūtra of Pāṇini, couples Vāsudeva and Arjuna. There is no doubt and as proved by several Jātakas, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was worshipped as god in the days of Buddha and Lord Mahāvīra.

The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* was published in the Ānanda-Āśrama-Granthāvalī series, in the year 1935 A.D. and the editor was V.A. Apte, who published it from Poona (in two parts). In the First part, we have several minor deities like Maṅgalacaṇḍī, who is extremely popular even in the present days in modern Bengal. At present in South Kolkata this deity is worshipped in a place at Caṇḍitala, which is near the residence of the present Author. In the extremely popular *Caitanyabhāgavata* of Vṛndāvanadāsa, composed in the middle of the 16th century, we are told about the popularity of the deity Maṅgalacaṇḍī and the relevant verse runs thus—

*dharma-karma sava loke ei mātṛajāne*  
*Maṅgalacaṇḍīr gīta karejāgarāṇe*

Therefore, it appears that from early mediaeval period this goddess was popular with masses; however the original mother-goddess, including Haimavatī, from the Upanishadic period (cf. Umā Haimavatī), was identified with the daughter

of the Himalayas. Everywhere in the epico-Purāṇic texts, the original goddess was Pārvatī; and even now, this name is extremely popular. The poor masses, as the *Brahmavaivarta* shows, used to worship Maṅgalacaṇḍī and as we have already shown a *yātrā* associated with this goddess, is still popular in a place near the present author's residence in south Calcutta (Calcutta-700053). In the present edition of the *Brahmavaivarta* (ch. 44) this goddess is described as a 16-year old girl (*devī-shodaśavarshīyā*) and we also learn that she should be worshipped in *maṅgalavāra* of the month of Jyāishṭha, (verse No. 32), which is done in our area. Even Śambhu is her worshipper. This proves the extreme importance of this goddess. Another important reference is the description of the god Candramas, a treacherous god (*Śaṭha*); he is described as *parastrīlampaṭa* p. 283 or the above mentioned edition. Several references are found to important rivers like the Svarṇarekhā (p. 283). The river Padmāvatī referred to in this Purāṇa is, no doubt, identical with the Padmā of the present undivided Bengal, which flows through both West Bengal and Bangladesh.

We have a beautiful description of the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* in this Purāṇa. It is significant to note that several epithets, applied to Rāma, in the original critical edition (Baroda, 1960-1973) is found in this story. Regarding Rāma, in the *Brahmavaivarta* (II, 62); the epithet *rajīvalocana*, which is applied to Rāma in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* is found here also (p. 700); however, Lakshmaṇa is credited as killing 14000 Rākshasas including Khara and Dūshaṇa, instead of Rāma (verse 48 of chapter 62); in this *Rāmacarita*, Kumbhakarna's name is absent; but elsewhere, he is mentioned, along with Rāvaṇa and Vibhīshaṇa.

Rādhā's role in this Purāṇa has been noted and she is mentioned by two names, namely Rādhikā and Rādhā. There is no doubt that Jayadeva's *Gītagovindam* has been directly influenced by this Purāṇa. Some scholars believe that Rādhā is a soft character, being a love-sick girl; but the lover of Kṛṣṇa, who is a mysterious character, is not that soft. At least, in this Purāṇa, she is seen cursing others. In spite of the presence of the great and loving Rādhā, the author of this Purāṇa, has no special love for ladies and women, in general, are blamed (102 in part II) see *Brahmakhaṇḍa* (pp. 68f). Apart from Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the other deities like Sūrya and Gaṇesa-Gaṇapati are specially mentioned, as they are given great attention. The names given to Gaṇeśa in this Purāṇa are also repeated in the *Amarakosha*, composed in the 4th century A.D., where we have eight names of Gaṇeśa including, Vināyaka, Vighnarāja, Dvaimātura,

## The Brahmaivaivarta Purāṇa

Ekadanta, Heramba, Ekadanta, Lambodara and Gajānana (see Chowkhamba, Svargavarga, p. 15). We should also note that one of the Khaṇḍas of this particular Purāṇa, has been given the name Mahāgaṇapatikhaṇḍa. In the other parts of this Purāṇa, Kārttikeya, who is also given the name of Skanda has been prominently mentioned (I. pp. 354f). The treatment of Kārttikeya in this Purāṇa is not that important and compared to Gaṇapati, it is less flattering. The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, gives a very detailed account of Kārttikeya's achievements (c. Vanaparvan and also Śalyaparvan. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also gives some prominence to this minor god. We are inviting the attention of our readers to our monograph on this god, published from Kolkata in 1970. However, this god as Muruga is much more famous in South India, whereas Gopinath Rao shows, he is worshipped practically everywhere, and on every hill. Even now in Kolkata, this god is worshipped by prostitutes.

Let us, once more, come back to Rādhā, who undoubtedly occupies the position of supreme importance in the *Brahmaivaivarta*. This particular text received its final shape before 1030 A.D., the time of Al-Bīrūnī. It appears that Rādhā is more important a deity than Lord Kṛṣṇa. Sometimes we find her lecturing Yaśodā (second part, chapter-111) Vāsudeva's mother, and sometimes Vāsudeva's friend Uddhava (chapter 95). But even this Rādhā is shown as worshipping Lord Gaṇapati (ch. 123 of part II), which proves the great importance given to Gaṇeśa, in this Purāṇa. In Bengal, for a long time Rādhā became all-conquering and the entire Vaishṇava literature, became her fiefdom and this explains the emergences of Lord Caitanya. Several episodes, told in the Puranic texts like the *Harivaṃśa*, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhāgavata*, *Matsya*, *Agni*, *Brahmāṇḍa* etc. are repeated in the *Brahmaivaivarta*, and we have the description of the education received by Balarāma and Vāsudeva, in the residence of Sāndīpani at Avantīpura (probably Ujjayinī), whose dead son was saved by his two disciples. However, this Purāṇa is silent on the name of the place, where Sāndīpani lived with his wife and son. The greater details of this story are given in *Harivaṃśa* (critical edition, 1976, Poona critical edition). This text tells us that Sāndīpani was a resident of Avantīpura, which may be identical with Ujjayinī. In any case, we cannot be dogmatic on this point. Otherwise, this particular city is not mentioned in the two epics.

Among other deities of this Purāṇa we shall mention Yama, Indra, Brahman, Lakshmī, Candra, Nārāyaṇa, Manasā and among the Ṛshis Durvāsas, Nārada, etc. The other characters are Mālāvatī, Kalāvatī, etc. Sūrya should

also not be forgotten. The sexual weakness of god Brahman for Rambhā has been mentioned (Chapter 13, part I). The story of creation, and the four Vedas like other Purāṇas, are also told here. We have also noticed that instead of four Vedas, the three Vedas also are mentioned, and the Atharvan is sometimes excluded.

This particular Purāṇa, as we have noticed, has deeply influenced the early literature of Bengal. There is no need to consider it, as a late Puranic text. The reference to it by Al-Bīrūnī is extremely interesting and therefore we need not suppose it to be a late mediaeval text.

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# Critique of the rise of Kulinism in Early Bengal

BEDASRUTI BHATTACHARYA

The interaction among either the political aspirants of different groups or religious adherents from time to time gave rise to tension in society. These are not infrequent in early Mediaeval Bengal. The rise of Kulinism in early Bengal appears to be the culmination of the continued social tension which erupted since the establishment of Sena power in Bengal.

The Senas were champions of Brahmanical religion and the establishment of the Sena kingdom in eastern India gave great impetus to the development of Brahmanical culture. The power and position of Brāhmaṇas in society accordingly grew considerably and this was initially felt necessary for the consolidation of the power of the Sena kings who came to Bengal from outside. The Deopara inscription of Vijayasena bears eloquent testimony to the great wealth and prosperity of the Brāhmaṇas. It is said that under the patronage of king Vijayasena the learned Brāhmaṇas became the possessors of so much wealth that their wives had to be trained by the wives of the town people (*nāgarībhiḥ śikṣanti*) to recognise pearls, pieces of emerald, silver coins, jewels and gold from their similarity respectively with seeds of cotton, leaves of śāka, bottle-gourd flowers, the developed seed of pomegranates and the blooming flowers of the creepers of pumpkin-gourd (*Beninkasa cerifera*).<sup>1</sup>

The growth of the power and position of the Brāhmaṇas at one stage, however, became a matter of a serious concern for the rulers. Hence, the promulgation of Kulinism may be considered as a fine excuse for dividing the Brāhmaṇas and thereby weakening their power as potential challenge to the authority of the king. In other words, this proved to be very effective method of wooing an influential section of Brahmanical community to the side of the royal power.<sup>2</sup> In some recent works there have been attempts to show that Kulinism never originated under the Senas, rather under Vallālasena. A. M. Chowdhury<sup>3</sup> believes that the system has been in vogue since the days of post-Mohammadan conquest of eastern India. In an unpublished thesis (Ph.D.) under the Rajshahi University (Bangladesh) Rafikul Islam<sup>4</sup> pointed out that the Brāhmaṇas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D. were the champions of Kulinism, and these Brāhmaṇas set the ball rolling by citing the name of Vallālasena as its originator, and thereby putting a seal of antiquity to the system! It is, however, generally believed that the *Kulagranthas* which speak about the promulgation of Kulinism in Bengal, were composed several centuries earlier.

Elsewhere, D. C. Sircar<sup>5</sup> suggests that the only historical Ādisūra of Eastern India seems to have ruled over parts of Mithilā and the contiguous portion of North Bengal, perhaps as a feudatory of the Pālas about the middle of the 9th Century A.D. It is not unlikely that legends grew up round his name for his activities in connection with the settlement of few learned Brāhmaṇa families of Kānyakubja (or Kolāñca) in his dominions. Again, the Bangaon plate of Vigrahapāla III (11th Century A.D.) indicates how the institution of Kulinism and the custom of preserving genealogical traditions or *Kulapañjis* grew up in Mithilā owing to the importance given by the Maithilī Brāhmaṇas to their relationship with the Brāhmaṇas of Kānyakubja. It thus appears that the institution of Kulinism was at least partially borrowed by Bengal from Mithilā.<sup>6</sup>

About the rise of important sections of Brahmanical community different *Kulaji* texts preserve different stories. According to the *Rāḍhīya Kulajis*, the descendants of the five Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādisūra<sup>7</sup> numbered 59 (fifty-nine) during the reign of his grandson Kṣitiśūra. To each of them King gave a village for residence, and hence originated the *gāñi* of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas. In other words, each Brāhmaṇa and his descendants were known by the name of the village in which they lived—which became their *gāñi* (belonging to a village) and later developed into surname, for example, the residents of Mukhaṭi Village and *Mukhaṭi gāñi* had the surname Mukhaṭi or Mukhopādhyāya by the addition of *Upādhyāya* (teacher) to the village name, and so on. King Dharāśūra, the son of Kṣitiśūra, made further innovation by dividing the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of fifty nine (59) into three grades, viz., Mukhya-Kulīna, Gauṇa-Kulīna and Śrotriya.<sup>8</sup>

The Varendra Brāhmaṇas also had one hundred *gāñis*. The *Varendra Kulajis* regard Vallālasena as the founder of Kulinism. According to Vācaspati Miśra,<sup>9</sup> the king laid nine virtues as the criterion and assigned the rank of Kulīna to those Brāhmaṇas who possessed them. Those who possessed eight or seven of these virtues were called respectively *Siddha Śrotriya* and *Sādhyāśrotriya* and remaining Brāhmaṇas were called *Kaṣṭa Śrotriya*.

It may thus be suggested that when Vallālasena came to the throne of Bengal the rudiments of the institution of Kulinism was already there on the soil of Bengal and he gave a concrete shape and played a decisive role in strengthening the institution of Kulinism, and it is needless to say, as we have already noticed, thereby bringing to his side the most influential section of the Brāhmaṇa community. But the question naturally arises whether the social divisions created in the Brāhmaṇa community were passively accepted by the people and the Brāhmaṇas, in particular, or the king met any serious challenge in creating the new social divisions?

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The most of the *Kulaji* texts were busy in narrating the details of promulgation and identifying the families who became Kulīnas and who were placed in lower ranks of the Brāhmaṇa community. It is only in the *Rāḍhīya Kulamañjurī Kathā*<sup>10</sup> that we come across the incidents of protest from the Brāhmaṇas themselves, and this perhaps, makes the whole story of Kulinism in Bengal under Vallālasena interesting, and adds historical significance to the story of Kulinism. We reproduce from the original source details about the introduction of Kulinism and the reference to the protest movement against the Kulinism under the leadership of one Vikarttana and its reaction:

*'Tapasā toṣita Devī sukha-mokṣapradāyini/  
Tadīpsitam varam datvā tadevāntardadhe divi//  
Pratyādiṣṭair=nrpes=tuṣṭhe bhūvir=bhakty=upācārataḥ/  
Kula-Lakṣmīm pūjayitvā kathitam kula-lakṣaṇam//  
Ācāro vinaya vidyā pratiṣṭhā tīrtha-darśanam/  
Niṣṭhā-vṛttis-tapo-dānaḥ navadhā kula-lakṣaṇam//  
Etal=lakṣaṇa lakṣānām bhūsurānām Kulīnatām/  
Kalayāsi kulau kaute bhaviṣyanty=amarā iva//  
Tam=āhūya nrpo bhūyaḥ pūjām kartumanāḥ dvijān/  
Dadarś=ānīyatān sarvān=ādi prāktanālā-lasān//  
Ahaṁ mahān=aham=arhaṇ gaditam tair=aham yubhiḥ/  
Ity=ākarny=eva bhūpālo Vallālaḥ prajagād tān//  
Pūjyā yūyam mayā viprā navadhā guṇa-maṇḍitāḥ/  
Aham=eva mahān=ity=āhaṇkṛtiṁ prarimuñcatā//  
Śrīnut=ātr=ottamām yuktiṁ maduktim=upakāriṇīm/  
Urīkuruta mādādeḥ pratidānam dvayor=dvayoh//  
Tatr=ādāna pradānābhyām kanyāyāḥ parivarttanam/  
Bhavetten=aiva samatāpyubhayoh*

*Kula-dharmmayoh//*

*Lakṣaṇāntar=gatā vṛttir=āvṛtti kathyate mayā/  
Sā caiva parivarttaḥ syāttam kṛivā kulavān bhava//  
Śrutvā tan=nrpater=vākyaṁ Vaikarttana mukhāmukhāḥ/  
Vimukhāḥ pravadant=īdam norī-kāryam=īdam matam//  
Catus=triṁśad=grāmaṇām vā asmākaṁ naiva sammataṁ/  
Laukikā sāttvikā dānaṁ sabhiḥ kāryām kadācana//  
Anyacca/Vṛttir=āvṛtti vinyāsam yadi tvaṁ karttum=icchasi/  
Katham=etad kadā kutra kena vā sā kṛti purā//*



*Apramānavṛtti-kāryām na kāryām=āryajena vai/  
Iti jñātvā Mahārāja yathā-yogyam tathā kuru//  
Niśumya nṛpati ruṣṭo viprānām=apriyam vacaḥ/  
Uvāc=āham yayau yūyam Śrotriyās-tiṣṭha-te adhunā//  
Tanmatu grāhinono ye viprā dvāvimśati-r=matā/  
Grāmiṇa=stān samabhyarcca Kulīnān=akaror nṛpaḥ//  
Tatopi tad guṇa grāmān grāmiṇām suvicārayan/  
Caturdaśeṣu gauṇatvam guṇ=ālpavacca kāya saḥ//  
(Kula-Maṇjarī-dhṛta-Vallāla lakṣita-amśa-lakṣaṇa)*

i.e. with a view to establishing the principles for guiding the kulas, Vallālasena is said to have propitiated the Goddess who was pleased and bestowed boon on the king. Afterwards, the king revealed that the goddess ordained that the Brāhmaṇas who were in possession of nine virtues like *ācāra* (ceremonial purity), *vinaya* (discipline), *vidyā* (learning), *pratiṣṭhā* (reputation for purity) *tīrtha-darśana* (zeal in pilgrimages), *niṣṭhā* (piety), *āvr̥tti* (observance of marriages with men and women of equal rank), *tapah* (ascetic self devotion) and *Dāna* (liberality) are the best.

The king invited the Brāhmaṇas, possessors of the nine-virtues, and declared that they were to be honoured by him. 'Kindly listen to beneficial and reasonable statements by which one can maintain the standards of one's own religion or family tradition (*kula*). These are based on twin respective behaviour (*ādāna-pradāna*) and maintenance of the principles of *paravartta* (i.e. *kuśa-tyāga*, *yoga* and *vara*). They are considered *kulavānas* or *kulīnas*.' On hearing this the Brāhmaṇas led by Vikartana became agitated and said to the king that 'your injunctions relating to the standard of kulinism are not acceptable to all. If the honest people do not make any improper gifts and in spite of that if you divide the Brāhmaṇas on the basis of *Vṛtti*, *Āvr̥tti* and *Vinyāsa*, the system becomes untenable, besides, we believe that this arrangement has neither been attempted on any earlier occasions in any regions, nor been approved by any authority should it be given effect to'.

The king was apparently not happy with these unexpected protests and unpleasant statements left the place in a huff with the remark 'you shall remain satisfied with the rank of the Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas'. The 19 Brāhmaṇas were made Kulīnas on account of their virtues (nine). It was stipulated that the Kulīnas should give their daughters in marriages to Kulina Brāhmaṇas only, otherwise their status as Kulīnas would be broken. Similarly, the Kulīnas could marry the daughters of Śrotriyas, but could not give in marriage their daughters to the Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas. 'Besides these principles those who did not offer



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gifts to others and were not inclined to meditation, rather subject to infatuation, anger, greed and were not well versed in *Śāstras* (Scriptures), were considered to be fallen and their Kulas were destroyed'. Even those who accept molested daughter or remain bachelors, lose their Kulas. (From *Kulaji* of Harimiśra).

The *Rādhīya-kula Mañjurī* states also that some sections of non-kulīna Brāhmaṇas remained neutral, rather accepted the ruling of the king. At a later period, the king elevated some of them to the rank of Kulīnas after performing certain rituals. Again some who possessed less number of *guṇas*, were given the rank of 'Gaṇa Kulīna'.

The *Kulajis* are, however, unanimous, that the rank of Kulīna was personal and the distinction was conferred on only 16 (or 19). Besides, Vallāla placed all these Kulīnas in the same grade and they could marry daughters of non-Kulīnas in the same grade and they could marry daughters of non-Kulīnas. It was Lakṣmaṇasena who deviated from both these practices and made the system a complex one, by introducing among the Rādhīya Brāhmaṇas restrictions of marriage and classification of the Kulīnas into different grades according to their faithful observance of marriage rules. This process of periodical classification is known as *Samikaraṇa*, the first two of which are said to have taken place during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, and the next four in that of Danujamādhava. Dhṛuvānanda refers to 117 Samikaraṇas upto his time.<sup>11</sup>

The institution of Kulinism is said to have grown up and developed in course of time. Whatever might have been the original motive of Kulinism, the purity of the system could not be maintained and it practically reduced itself to the imposition of stricter formulae in respect of matrimonial alliances and at the cost of other nobler qualities of Kulīnas. The result was that Kulinism instead of becoming a boon to the society became a bane upon it. Kulinism became a profession of marriages of the uncultured set of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas with least care for the agony of the hapless young ladies in Bengali Society. Vidyasagar who wrote his famous articles on *Bahuvivāha*<sup>12</sup> depicting the telling accounts about the plight of the young ladies given in marriage to a Kulīna even in the 18th-19th centuries in Bengal, fought vigorously to put an end to this inhuman system of Kulinism.

## References:

1. Cf. v. 23 of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, see *The Inscriptions of Bengal* (Ed.), S. K. Maity and Mukherjee.
2. Cf. Bedasruti Bhattacharya, *Some Aspects of the Socio-economic History of Early Medieval Bengal*, pp. 88 ff. (unpublished thesis (Ph. D.) of Visva Bharati).

3. A. M. Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1967, p. 236.
4. Rafikul Islam S. M., *Senayuge Bānglar Sāmājik Jīvan* (Bengali) (unpublished Thesis [Ph.D.] of Rajshahi University), Rajshahi, Bangladesh, 1994.
5. D. C. Sircar, *Pāla-Sena Yuger Varṇśānucarit*, Calcutta, 1982 pp. 159-60.
6. See J. K. Mishra, *History of Maithilī Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 26ff.
7. The historicity of Ādisūra as mentioned in the *Kulaji* texts is yet to be established, see D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 29-78. Sircar, however, draws our attention to a Cola inscription of king Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 AD) which refers to a number of learned Brāhmaṇas together with the bearers of their slippers and umbrellas moving from Antarvedī (Antarvedī and Kuśasthali i.e. Kānyakubja as synonyms according to the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*) into the Tamil Country by a mythical king Arindama who granted five villages in the Tiruchirpalli District to the new Brāhmaṇas (K. Nilkantha Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed., pp. 350-520). The close resemblance of this tradition with the well known *Kulapañji* account of the bringing of the ancestors of the Kulīnas together with their attendants from Kānyakubja by king Ādisūra seems to suggest that the story in fact, was borrowed from South India and became popular in Eastern India with the rise of the Senas who also originally hailed from South India. (D. C. Sircar, *Op. Cit.* p. 29).
8. *History of Bengal* (ed), R.C. Majumdar, Vol. I. Dacca, 1943, P. 629; also see Atul Sur, *Banger Samajik Itihas* (Bengali), Calcutta, 1976, pp. 37-9.
9. *History of Bengal* (ed.) R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*; for details of the virtues see Rādhīya Kulamañjurī Kathā in Bedasruti Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* pp. 239 ff. and see *infra*, pp. 6-7.
10. Cf. *Kula-Mañjurī-dhṛta-Vallāla Lakṣita-aṁśa-Lakṣaṇa* of the Rādhīya-Kulamañjurī-Kathā quoted in Bedasruti Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, Appendix-II, pp. 239 ff. In the *Kulaji* of Kularāma the story of protest by Vikarttana has been noted. When the king made an announcement about the new social divisions among the Brāhmaṇas the Brāhmaṇas of 22 villages hailed the decision, while a few led by Vikarttana were dissatisfied and left the place:  
cf. *Nṛpābhilāṣam khalu te viditvā kati pratustūḥ kati cātiruṣṭāḥ/*  
*Dvāvimśatis=tanmatameva jagmu Vikarttanādyā vimukhā vabhavuh!*  
See Nagendra Nath Vasu, *The Castes and Sects of Bengal* (in Bengali), Vol. I, part I, Viswakoṣa Karyālay, Kalikata, pp. 146-150.
11. P. L. Paul, *The Early History of Bengal*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 61-2.
12. Cf. *Vidyāsāgar Racanāsaṅgraha*, Vol. II, Social Writings, Saksharata Prakasan, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 167 ff, 245.

# The Sources for Reconstruction of the History of Arunachal Pradesh

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The twenty fifth state of Indian union bears the wonderful nomenclature 'ARUNACHAL PRADESH'. The naming of the place is befitting. The word derives from 'Arun' and 'Anchal'—meaning the land [The word is really 'Achala', i.e. 'mountain'. —Ed.] where the first rays of sun falls. It is the north-easternmost state of our country, situated on the mighty Himalayas covering a formidable mountainous tract of about 84,000 sq. kms. The state is having international boundary with China and Tibet in the north, Burma in the east and Bhutan in the west. Strategically for India the state plays a very important role since time immemorial. The region acted as a cultural cynosure from the ancient past where various ethnic cultures and races from the bordering countries as well as from the main land of India were assimilated. During the World war-II the present day Changlang district in the eastern part of Arunachal Pradesh became an important route for military movement through which the British force intercepted the Japanese aggression at Pangso Pass. Again in 1962 Arunachal Pradesh became a battle ground when the Chinese army penetrated through this terrain and eventually captured half of the land of Arunachal Pradesh. In fact before the Chinese aggression in 1962 in this part the vast piece of land demarcated by the imaginary Macmahon line remained unknown to most of the people of our country. The reason for such isolation of the area was its difficult geo-morphological feature. However, the veil of darkness started lifting by the European explorers who ventured travel in this hitherto unknown country.

Subsequently the developmental activities about the state began in the post independence period. The government agencies were set up in the remote corner of the state and all round information about the area started to come. The Research Department in Arunachal Pradesh set up in the early 50's undertook cultural, historical and philological research activities. Archaeological survey, excavation and exploration started from 1950. Through these archaeological research activities in collaboration by the Archaeological survey of India, Geological survey and the Directorate of Research, various aspects of Arunachal history started to unfold slowly.

To know about the history of Arunachal Pradesh we have to depend on the following sources—they are 1. Study of archaeological remains unearthed

from excavation, exploration and surveys. 2. Study of literary works from the earliest time to later period connected to Arunachal. 3. Study of myths, legends and the oral literature.

The first one the Archaeological remains can be divided into two groups-Pre-historic objects and the objects of the historical period. It is possible to know about the prehistoric period from the fossils and prehistoric artefacts like stone implements, pottery etc. These objects could be collected from archaeological excavation, exploration and surveys conducted by the archaeologists and historians. The European explorers and travellers who came to this part of the country from the middle of the 19th century could collect numerous pre-historic artefacts from different parts of Arunachal. Among the prominent explorers mention may be made of John Lubbock who noticed a light green Jade celt from Tirap in 1870. [The date should be 1867.—Ed.] E. H. Steel collected three more celts collected from the same area. Another piece of stone tool was collected by Lt. W. Barron. Gregory found one curvilinear rounded butt axe from Mishmi Hills in the end of the 19th century. In 1917 Healy collected a curvilinear faceted tool. J. P. Mills found a curvilinear faceted tool and three rounded butt axes from Sadiya Frontier Tract. Most of these artifacts have been preserved in the Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford.

Quite a few discoveries of the prehistoric period had been made in the post independence period which provided information about the traces of Paleolithic culture in this part of the country. Discovery of a vertebrate fossil by the Geological Survey of India in 1974-75 from the upper Tertiary rocks of Ramghat in Lower Subansiri proves to be significant. The Upper Tertiary horizon of Arunachal Pradesh now seems to have been inhabited by the Hominids and Paleolithic man.

Sri B. P. Bopardikar of Archaeological Survey of India recorded stone age tools while exploring the Daphabhum area of the Lohit district in 1969-70. River sections and terraces were detected and artifacts like cleavers, ovates, chisels, cores, flakes, points, proto hand axe, unifacial chopper, and neoliths found. S. N. Rao of Dibrugarh University traced out some objects from Kamlang valley of Lohit district in 1971 which he claimed as paleolithic objects. Y. A Raikar of Research Deptt. Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh found out some chips of semi precious stones like chalcedony, jasper etc. from Vijaynagar in Tirap distict in 1971 which he claimed as microlithic objects. The present writer has also collected a neolithic axe from Rayeng Ralek (cultivation area) on the slope of a hillock near Roing. in 2001. A. A. Ashraf has collected a few paleolithic tools from Lower Subansiri district of A. P.

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that further strengthen the idea that there was definite trace of paleolithic culture is A. P.

The history of the later period i.e. the 'historical period' can be ascertained from the architectural remains, sculpture, pottery, painting, terracotta, inscriptions and coins.

The important secular architectural remains are Bhismaknagar fortress in the Lower Dibang Valley district, Ita fort in Itanagar, ruins of Chidu-Chimiri fort near Roing, Naksaparvat in East Kameng, Bhalukpong ruins in the West Kameng. Excavation and exploration conducted in these sites revealed lots of information which actually help to reconstruct the history of the area to a great deal. It has been ascertained through archaeological research that these ancient structures belonged to 10th-16th century. It has also revealed that local dynasties as well as people from across the border viz, the Kalitas, Chutiyas, Ahoms played important role in different foot hills region in Arunachal Pradesh.

Among the religious structures some of the important ones are Malinithan, in the foot hills of West Siang, Tāmreśvarī temple, Śiva Liṅga temple in the Lohit district and recently found Ganesh temple at Injuna in Lower Dibang Valley. All these temples belong to the Brahmanical faith.

Architectural remains of Buddhist faith can be seen in some parts of Arunachal Pradesh which help to ascertain the rich Buddhist culture practised among the local people. The important areas of Buddhist monastery and stūpa are Tawang, Zemithang, Kalaktang, Dirang, Rupa, Mechuka, Tuting, Namsai, Vijaynagar etc. These Buddhist edifices are dated to 14th-15th centuries.

A number of sculptures of Hindu icons came from Malinithan temple from West Siang. The important ones are Sūrya on horse chariot, Kārtikeya seated on peopock, Gaṇapati with mouse carrier, Indra seated on Airāvata, Daśabhūjā Durgā and the Nandī bull. There are also beautiful carvings of Vidhyādhara, Gandharvas, Sages, door keepers, animal figures and motifs of vegetations. On the basis of stylistic analysis these Malinithan sculptures are datable to the Pāla period.

An interesting sculpture of Gaṇapati has been unearthed from Injuna near Roing. From the appearance its date goes back to 12/13th century. All these sculptures provide informations about the level of art achieved in the past along with the socio-religious background of the area.

Large quantity of pottery were yielded by excavation and exploration from Bhismaknagar, Naksaparvat, Chidu-Chimiri, Bhalukpong, Itafort, Śiva liṅga temple and various other sites. Pottery is considered as one of the most

important sources from which lots of information can be traced for reconstruction of history. The characteristics of the pottery are—they are mostly buff ware of common variety and belonged to 12th to 16th century. However, some pots found from the Bhismaknagar excavation are similar to those of the Ambari pottery which is an important site in Guwahati that dates back to 8th to 9th century.

Paintings of historical importance can be found in the Buddhist monasteries and stupas in form of murals, miniature in manuscripts and painted scroll etc. mostly of 17th to 19th century.

Excavation at important archaeological sites in Arunachal Pradesh yielded terracotta objects like figurines of gods and goddesses, animals, play objects, weapons, plaques, decorative tiles with designs and inscription etc. These objects contain huge information about the socio-political and religious aspects of past which help a great deal in reconstruction of history.

So far the number of inscriptions found in Arunachal is very few. The earliest inscription has been found from the Tāmreśvarī temple near Hazo nallah in the Lohit district. It is purported to record building of a boundary wall around the Tāmreśvarī temple by Muktādharmanārāyaṇa in Śaka 1364 that is 1412 A.D. The inscription is written in Sanskrit language and in Assamese-Bengali script.

A particular sentence is written on bricks time and again that reads' *Śrī śrī Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇ(au) japata'*. This inscription provides information on the religious and cultural history of the region. Mention of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa indicates that in the past these two deities were worshipped and were popular in a region which was believed to be far away from the Brahmanical culture.

Another inscription of Ahom period was discovered in the early part of the 20th century by O. Callaghan, political officer. The inscription was found in two pieces in the bed of Deopani river near Roing. The content of the inscription is -'I, the Dihingia Borgohain, do engrave on the stone pillar and copper this writing on the strength of which the Mishmis are to dwell on the hills near the Dibang river with their females, children, attendants and followers. They will occupy all the hills. They will give four basketfuls of poison and other things as tribute and keep watch over the body of the fat Gohain. If any body happens to be in possession of and wishes to remain on both sides of the hills, he will surely become a slave of the Mishmis'. The inscription is written in Tai script and language, dates back to the first part of the 16th century. It gives a clear idea of the socio-political situation of the region where the extension of the Ahom rule is clearly indicated bordering the Mishmi inhabited area.

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Two more inscriptions could be seen engraved on the muzzle of cannons of Ahom king Gadādhara Simha, from Chowkham in Lohit district. They are written in Sanskrit language and Assamese-Bengali script of the 17th century. These are dated Śāka 1604 i.e. 1682 A.D. The content of the inscriptions was related to an important development in the struggle between the Mughals and the Ahoms for the control over Assam. It also reflected important light on the history of Arunachal. That indicates, the present territory demarcated under Arunachal was under the domain of the Ahom ruler.

Tablets in Buddhist monasteries, forts or dzongs, stupas or chortens and inscribed miniature chortens, stone plaques and pedestals of images are found in plenty in Tawang, West Kameng and Upper Siang. A memorial stone inscription has been found from the ruins of Naksāparvat in East Kameng.

All these inscriptions taken together furnish valuable information which help to verify, corroborate and supplement evidence available from other sources of history.

Numismatic evidence in Arunachal is meagre. However, a coin hoard of three hundred coins made of silver which belonged to Islamic period has been unearthed from Bhalukpong in East Kameng district. The coins contain the inscription mentioning the names Al Aminu Aazam (chief treasurer) Md Jafurrula Shah and Abul Mujaffar Uddain. The date mentioned on the coins is 951. Arabic script has been used on the obverse and reverse of the coins. Detailed study of the coins will definitely reveal important information on the economic and political aspects. A few late Ahom issues of Śivasimha and Rudra Simha had also been discovered earlier.

Literary evidence about Arunachal in Indian ancient literature is formidable. In the earliest Indian literature like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* there are references to the non-Aryan autochthons like the Niṣādas and Kirātas. Description of these people and their location of habitation narrated in the epics could well be associated with the local population of Arunachal. The early Brahmanical literature, viz., the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* of the *Yajurveda* as well as *Atharva Veda* made frequent reference to the hill people and various medicinal plants grow in this region. In the early period very little was known to the Indo-Aryan people as there was hardly any possibility of interaction between them. However, then the Aryan civilization gradually started spreading towards the North-East and the Aryans came in closer contact as well as clashes with the people of this region, subsequently mention of this region was made in the early literature in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Tantras* and especially in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, the *Tantras* and especially in the *Viṣṇu*

*Purāṇa*, the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and the *Yoginī tantra*. Other works of Indian origin as well as foreign writers throw light on this region. They are the *Manusmṛiti* and the *Milindapañha*. Early foreign accounts on Indian subcontinent like those contained in the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea* and Ptolemy's geography often are found to have mentioned the land of the Kirāta producing Malabathrum and offering routes through which trade was carried to China. Chang Kien also mentioned this trade in the second century B.C. These tracts may well be located in Arunachal through which trade was regularly practiced. Hiuen Tsang has narrated the hill people inhabiting in the east of Bhāskarvarman's kingdom, in his account whom he described as barbarian folk living amid forest infested with venomous snakes, herbs etc. and the area extended upto the border of China. Shihabuddin Talish accompanying Mirjumla during the expedition left a detailed narrative on Assam and also incorporated information about the tribal people residing in Arunachal.

Ahom Burañi provides an elaborate history of mediaeval Assam which led to occasional references of expedition of British govt. against the tribal chiefs furnish important information about the modern period of Arunachal.

Finally, the regulations, treaties, acts of the Govt. independent India related to Arunachal and parliamentary papers and decisions changing the status of the territory ultimately leading to its establishment as a full fledged state may be understood with benefit for an up to date account of its political development.

Books and articles of foreign writers as well as their Indian counterparts dealing with various aspects of the life and culture of the people of Arunachal provide valuable information for writing the history. Census and statistical reports, periodicals, journals, govt. magazines, research journal, e.g. *Resarun*, journals of Anthropological Survey of India, journal and magazines published by the Arunachal University etc. deal with various socio-political and economic aspects of Arunachal Pradesh covering from the earlist period to the modern days.

Buddhist manuscripts, thankas, painted miniatures etc. may be considered as a very rich treasure of art as well as important source of history and culture of Arunachal Pradesh and adjoining countries like Tibet and Burma. In most of the cases these manuscripts have been brought from the neighbouring countries like Tibet and Burma, except a few manuscripts which were created by the local inhabitants of this land. Majority of the manuscripts deal with religious aspects which reflect insight in the religious ideas and beliefs of the people as also the world of religious art. The books on secular subjects



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like history books of the gompas or records kept in the monasteries, and the unpublished documents of the treaties and sanads, occasionally met with in the households of the chiefs and dignitaries, provide valuable pointer to the contemporary economic, political and administrative system.

Myths, legends, folk tales, folk lore etc. which can be called as 'oral literature' play a very important part in understanding the history of an area. Most of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh have no written language and as such the local people of this area are unable to record any event of their life in their own dialect or language. But interestingly all the tribal societies in Arunachal Pradesh possess a very elaborate oral literature which includes folk lore, folk tales, myths, legends etc., which transmit from one generation to another since time immemorial. Particularly the priests of each of the tribal societies play very important role in narrating the stories of migration, creation of universe, mythological story etc. All these narrations are mostly done while performing the rites and rituals on various occasions. Thorough study of these narrations provide valuable information about the unknown and forgotten history of the tribe. Thus, it may not be exaggerated to say that without the help of the priests in Arunachal Pradesh the process of reconstruction of history of the local people is not possible, since their culture is entirely based on perishable material like bamboo and cane.

Commendable work has been done by the foreign as well as Indian writers in regard to collection of folk lore, folk tales, myths, legends etc. of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Verrier Elwin's 'Myths of the North-East Frontier of India' and 'A new book of Tribal Fiction' offer a rich collection of various legends prevalent among various tribal groups.

In 2000 a project has been taken by the Research Department, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh to record and document the oral literature very much vibrant among the various tribal groups through audio and visual means. Efforts are being made to record the chanting of the 'Igus' (the Idu-Mishmi priest) on the occasions of various rites and rituals to collect their oral literature. In fact, realising the importance of preservation of the oral literature the educated tribal societies of different groups have also come forward to collect their respective folk lore, folk tales, myths, legends etc. In this context mention may be made of the 'Ādi' Cultural Literary Society' and the 'Idu Cultural Literary Society' who have come forward in a big way in publishing literature reflecting various aspects of their societies.

Sincere study of these folk literature, chanting of the priests on various occasions should come handy in collecting information about the local history of the region.

Thus, a comprehensive history of Arunachal Pradesh can be reconstructed by tapping these resources and studying them methodically. Such endeavour should definitely throw further light on so far known and unknown past of the land called as 'Dawn lit Mountains'. [A further detailed study in the light of *A Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh* by Chatterjee, S. (vide reference No. 5) is really being suggested. - Ed.]

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## Bhakti Movement and its Influence on the Development of Neo-Vaisnavism in Eastern India

[Based on Part of Swami Nirlepananda\* Lectures 2004 delivered at C. U. on 14th-15th November 2006]

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It is possible to divide the thinkers whose views are found embedded in the Upaniṣads into two broad sections. The first of these were the founders of what later on developed into philosophic school of Advaita. They believe that Īśvara is identical with the Universe consisting of the Jīvas (souls) and material products; that Brahman alone exists and none else. From the beginning, this school seems to have held the views that *mokṣa* i.e. salvation means identity of the Jīvas with Brahman, and this can be attained by meditative discipline, by a path of *Jñāna*, and by means of *Jñāna* one can realize the illusive nature of the phenomenal world and sole reality of Brahman (*Ekam nityam vimalamacalaṁ sarvadhi sāksībhūtaṁ*). Along with the development of the school of Advaita, there seems to have been a different school according to which all objects were bodies of Īśvara; that he was their *Ātman*; 'that matter served the Jīvas by undergoing transformation and appearing as objects of enjoyment, as bodies in which the Jīvas dwell, and as senses and organs of action, which they use as instrument of enjoyment; and that Īśvara gives Jīvas the fruits of their *karmas* and makes matter undergo such transformation as are needed for this purpose'<sup>1</sup>. In short, it was the school of Bhakti or devotion.

This cult of Bhakti<sup>1a</sup> was to a certain extent not new. It had already progressed in connection with the worship of the sun in the capacity of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is represented as one of the great gods in early Vedic times. The *R̥gveda*<sup>2</sup> conceives Viṣṇu as one of the manifestations of the Sun and he is called *śipivīṣṭa* i.e. 'clothed with rays of light' and his greatness is inconceivable.<sup>2a</sup> With the three strides of Viṣṇu, which formed the background of the Pauranic legend Vāmana<sup>3</sup> and Bali, Viṣṇu strode three steps over the Universe and these steps are associated with three spaces, the two of which are known as earthly, while the 'highest' of them is known to Himself.<sup>4</sup> This *Parama-pada* of Viṣṇu is beyond the comprehension of ordinary human being, but is a place in which 'gods rejoice',<sup>5</sup> In later times *Viṣṇu-pada* became a synonym of the sky, and abode of Viṣṇu became the goal of the spiritual aspirations of the devotees and several places, mainly on hill-tops, came to be associated with *Viṣṇu-pada* (cf. the *Viṣṇu-pada* hill at Gaya, Bihar)<sup>6</sup>.

According to Aurnāvābha<sup>7</sup>, the three steps of Viṣṇu are the three periods of the Sun's course i.e., his rise, culmination and setting, while Śākapuṇi<sup>8</sup> believed that three *padas* refer to the three-fold manifestations of light: Fire on earth, Lightning in the atmosphere, and the Sun in the Sky. Viṣṇu's three imperishable steps were endowed with a spiritual meaning at a later period. The Besnagar Inscription (C. 2nd century B.C.) describes the three immortal steps (*amuta-padāni*), which stand for *dama-cāga-apramāda* i.e. self-control, renunciation and vigilance', lead one to heaven (*svaga*) the habitat of Viṣṇu, the god among gods. The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*<sup>9</sup> compares the progress of human soul to a journey, the goal of which is said to be Viṣṇu's *paramapada*, the place of eternal bliss. The *Maitri Upaniṣad*<sup>10</sup> suggests that food that sustains the Universe is called Bhagavat Viṣṇu. This shows that supremacy of Viṣṇu was established in later Vedic times.

A passage of the *Ṛgveda*<sup>11</sup> mentions Viṣṇu as the *garbha* (germ) of *ṛta*, which means sacrifice or moral order. In later literature, Viṣṇu is essentially associated with sacrifice and hence he is endowed with such names as *Yajñeśvara*, *Yajñapurusa*, *Yajñavarāha*, *Yajñakṛt*, etc. but this sacrificial religion was fundamentally different from later religion characterised by *bhakti* (devotion of the faithful to god) and *prasāda* (god's grace to the faithful). Some scholars believe that the conception of devotion and religious grace was borrowed from non-Aryan religious thought.<sup>12</sup> According to Śāṇḍilya *bhakti* is *parānuraktirīśvare* i.e. 'supreme attachment to god.'<sup>13</sup> Bhandarkar<sup>14</sup> suggests that the origin of the Bhakti doctrine may be traced to the Upanisadic idea of *Upāsana* or fervent meditation, which magnifies what is meditated upon.

Pāṇini (5th Century B.C.) appears to have referred to the Bhakti doctrine in order to understand the formation of the words, e.g. *Vāsudevaka* (i.e. a person whose object of *bhakti* is Vāsudeva) and *Ārjunaka* (i.e. a person whose object of *bhakti* is Arjuna).<sup>15</sup> Vāsudeva appears to have been held in high esteem by the people of Mathurā in the 4th century B. C. in the days of Megasthenes, and was regarded as the highest god in the *Gītā* (C. 3rd Century B.C.) and the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros (C. 2nd century B.C.). It is not clear if Vāsudeva's deification by his own people at Mathurā was recognized also in Gandhāra where Pāṇini flourished, although the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*<sup>16</sup> composed almost during the same period as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, teaches *parā-bhakti* (supreme devotion), and the doctrine of *prapatti* or self-surrender is also suggested in it.<sup>16a</sup>

The efficacy of elaborate system of Vedic sacrifice came under close scrutiny in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*<sup>17</sup>, which began to question the value and efficacy of sacrifice, and this ultimately gave rise to the philosophical

speculations made by the sects of Varddhamaṇa of the Jñāṭṛkas, Siddhārtha of the Śākyas and Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇis (all of them advocating *ahimsā*). All the three systems became prominent in course of time. The success of Vasudevism, however, accounts for Vāsudeva's identification with the Vedic god Viṣṇu, with an ancient deified sage named Nārāyaṇa, and with *Para-brahman* (the supreme spirit or all soul) conceived by the Upaniṣads.

The *Bhagavad-Gītā* containing the earliest exposition of the religion characterised by *bhakti*, represents Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa, also identified with the god Viṣṇu as well as with the supreme spirit as a scion of Vṛṣṇi (i.e. Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛṣṇi) family. The names of the five Vṛṣṇi heroes referred to in the Morā (near Mathurā) inscription of the first century A.D. are given in *Vāyu-Purāṇa* as Saṅkarṣaṇa (son of Vasudeva by Rohiṇī), Vāsudeva (son of Vasudeva by Devakī), Pradyumna (son of Vāsudeva by Rukmiṇī), Sāmba (son of Vāsudeva by Jāmbavatī of non-Aryan Origin) and Aniruddha (son of Pradyumna) all of whom are deified and worshipped.<sup>18</sup> The Purāṇa usually identified Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the Sātvata (i.e. Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛṣṇi) family with the highest god and represent him as the founder of religion characterised by *bhakti* and called the Bhāgavata, Sātvata or Vaiṣṇava Dharma.

The worship of Vāsudeva in Mathurā is vouched by Mathurā inscription of Śaka Satrap Soḍaṣa (1st century A.D.),<sup>19</sup> and the iconic representation of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva does not go beyond the beginning of the Christian era. The Pañcāla coins of Viṣṇumitra represent a four-armed figure of a deity having a *cakra* in the upper left arm. Again, a four armed Viṣṇu with *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and an indistinct object is found on a Kuṣāṇa seal-matrix.<sup>20</sup> One of the Kuṣāṇa rulers was named Vāsudeva, and this shows the popularity of Bhāgavata religion.<sup>21</sup>

The age of Vāsudeva cannot be determined with certainty. Jaina tradition makes Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, a contemporary of the legendary 22nd Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi who preceded Pārśvanātha, predecessor of Mahāvīra (6th century B.C.) and this appears to be the same as suggested by the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>22</sup> refers to a *Puruṣa* in the sense of the supreme spirit named Nārāyaṇa. Elsewhere<sup>23</sup> *Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa* is mentioned as the performer of *Pañca-rātra-sattra* and as superior to all. The earliest evidence in favour of the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu may be traced in the *Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra* (c.5th century B.C.). The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*<sup>24</sup> contains the passage: *Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe Vāsudevāya dhīmahi, tan no Viṣṇuḥ pracodayāt*, in which Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, and Viṣṇu are regarded as one and the same deity.

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,<sup>25</sup> supposed to be a pre-Buddhist work,

mentions the sage Kṛṣṇa-Devakīputra (i.e. Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī) who was a disciple of the ṛṣi Ghorā of the Āngirasa family. Kṛṣṇa is not called Vāsudeva here, as because the patronymic and metronymic of a person were not generally used together. The Āngirasa family, to which the Upaniṣadic Kṛṣṇa's teacher Ghorā belonged, was again intimately related to the Bhojas, who were, like the Vṛṣṇis, a clan of the Yādavas. Both Upaniṣadic Kṛṣṇa and his teacher were worshippers of the Sun. Similarly the *Gītā*<sup>26</sup> attributed to Kṛṣṇa, emphasises the importance of meditation at the last hours on the word which knower of the Veda call 'Imperishable' and on the 'Sun coloured' being beyond the darkness as the best means of attaining to the Supreme Being.

The Bhāgavata religion, propounded by Vāsudeva, which incorporated the earlier cult of Nārāyaṇa, was the source of later vaiṣṇavism and was therefore the development of an original Sun-Cult. In the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Sātvata-vidhi* is stated to have been declared in old times by the Sun. The *Gītā*<sup>27</sup> also says that the Bhāgavata doctrine was first taught by the Lord to the Sun, then by the Sun to Manu, and ultimately Manu to Ikṣvāku.

The *Vyūha* doctrine is one of the principal tenets of the old Pāñcarātra system, which was absorbed in the Bhāgavata religion, as well as of the later Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy. According to this doctrine, Lord Vāsudeva in his *parā* aspect is the highest object of *bhakti*. Out of the five *prakṛtis* of Vāsudeva as mentioned in *Gītā*, *jīva*, mind and egoism were later on personified into the *Vyūhas* Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.<sup>27a</sup>

According to some scholars, much of Bhagavatism including the idea of *bhakti* was borrowed from Christianity. It has been suggested that Kṛṣṇa himself was an adaptation of Christ.<sup>28</sup> We should, however, remember that the origins of Bhakti in India, the deification and worship of Vāsudeva, and his identification with Kṛṣṇa are all pre-Christian conceptions. Kennedy<sup>29</sup> rightly points out, 'there is no Christian representation of suckling mother before the twelfth century, (but) there is a much earlier Hindu one.'

In the fourth century A.D. the Guptas established an empire comprising the major part of northern and eastern India and extended their influence over the peninsula of the Deccan. They were the devotees of Viṣṇu as is suggested by their adoption of Garuḍa as the distinguishing emblem of the family. The coins of the Gupta emperors bear the representation of their Garuḍa standard. The Allahabad praśasti of Hariṣeṇa<sup>30</sup> mentions the *garutmadāṅka* (Garuḍa Seal) of Samudra Gupta and represents him actually as the god Viṣṇu in human form. From the days of Candragupta II, son and successor of Samudra Gupta, who assumed the title *parama-bhāgavata*, the Gupta Emperors were the staunch supporters of the Bhāgavata form of Vaiṣṇavism. An important aspect of

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Bhāgavata religion of the Gupta age was the popularity of the worship of the *avatāras*, i.e. descents or incarnations of Viṣṇu. The origin of the *avatāra* conception may be traced in later vedic literature. Even in the *Ṛgveda*<sup>31</sup> we have reference to Viṣṇu's three steps taken for 'man in distress'. A passage of the late *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>32</sup> refers to Varāha *avatāra* who is associated with territory of Kāmarūpa. Another interesting feature of Vaisnavism in the Gupta age is the conception of Lakṣmī or Śrī as the consort of Viṣṇu. The representation of Lakṣmī on the coins of the imperial Guptas and some of their successors is conspicuous.<sup>33</sup>

The great influence exercised by the Bhāgavata religion over the Tamil Country is furnished by the devotional songs of the Ālvārs constituting the *Vaiṣṇava-prabandham* of 4,000 (four thousand) verses in classical Tamil. The Ālvārs sang in praise of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa's dalliance with the *gopīs* was also known to them. A female Ālvār is known to have regarded herself as a *gopī* and the god (in the form of Śrī Raṅganātha of the Śrīraṅgam Temple) as her lover. The Ālvārs were acquainted with the principal Purāṇas. They used to recite god's names, meditate on His different forms and their worship in temples like at Śrīraṅgam, Tirupati and Alagarkoil were introduced by them. It is believed that the activities of the Ālvārs representing the emotional side of Tamilian Vaiṣṇavism and their successors, the Ācāryas, representing its intellectual side, must have given rise to the tradition recorded in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*<sup>34</sup>, a work referred to by Alberuni (C.1030 A.D.), that large numbers of the worshippers of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu flourished in the Draviḍa or Tamil Country in the Kali age when they were rare elsewhere in India.

The date of the Ālvārs<sup>35</sup> is a disputed question; but they may roughly be placed between the 6th and 9th Centuries AD. All of them appear to have flourished before the early Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas—Nāthamuni (10th-11th century) and his disciple Puṇḍarīkākṣa (11th Century) and grandson Yamunācārya (11th Century). It is said that Yamunācārya clearly laid down the lines on which Rāmaṇuja later on elaborated the system of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*.<sup>35a</sup> The Vaiṣṇava tradition of the Tamil country speaks of twelve Ālvārs, and they came from different strata of the society and from different parts of South India. Of these twelve Ālvārs, one was the celebrated lady Ālvār, named Godā or Āṇḍāl to whom a magnificent temple was dedicated in the Tinnevely District. The rise of the Ālvārs as the champions of the Bhakti movement in South India has come under thorough scrutiny in recent years.<sup>35b</sup>

We have already noticed that calling themselves Bhāgavatas, the Gupta emperors devoted themselves to the popularisation of the Neo-Brahmanical religion at the expense of Buddhism and Jainism. The example of the Guptas

was followed by the numerous dynasties in the Deccan, and South India. The mystic saint of Tāmil Country, better known as Āḷvārs, Ācāryas, as mentioned above, played significant role in popularising and developing the *bhakti* movement in south India. Later on this movement was systematised by Rāmānuja of Tirupati (12th Century A.D.), who taught that even the Śūdras and the outcastes could attain salvation through the *bhakti*.

But inspite of conscious attempts of the religious personalities of the South for strengthening the spirit of toleration and goodwill among the different sections of the communities and faiths, the atmosphere was gradually vitiated by invidious distinctions in the social and spiritual life during the medieval period. Though in the earlier times foreign tribes like Śakas, Hūṇas and others were easily assimilated into the Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva sects, the vedic and post vedic religions gradually lost their power and influence over the people; and there followed an age of spiritual disintegration, when the religious life of India stagnated and her spiritual forces were dissipated in mere repetition of one or other of the older religious forms. Some concentrated their energies on the conservation of the old social order with the help of the *Smṛtis*; a few on the other hand attempted to conquer the heart of India with the help of the Tāntrika modes of worship. Even the concept of *bhakti*, which had made such great impact in south and western parts of India, met partial eclipse. Here we may refer to an interesting couplet<sup>36</sup> by an anonymous writer lamenting the fate of *bhakti* movement;

*Utpannā Draviḍe bhaktiḥ  
Vṛddhiṃ Karṇāṭake gatā  
Andhradeśe Kvacit Kvacit  
Gurjjare Vilayaṃ nūṭāḥ*

i.e. Bhakti movement that grew up in South India (Draviḍa Country), developed in Karṇāṭaka, and to some extent also in Andhradeśa, but ultimately it came to an end in Gujarat, the land of famous Raṇachorji (cf. Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu temple in Dvāraka, the legendary place where, Kṛṣṇa met the ultimate end of his mortal life).

At this hour there appeared on the horizon a powerful religion from the west Asia, the religion of the Prophet Mohammad. The Mohammedan proselytisation of India did not commence with forcible conversion or bloodshed. The initial conversions were made by the Muslim saints and mystics. 'As the Mohammedan saints and preachers came to India, the presence of the rival faith drove them to a more intense life of religious austerities. This virtual challenge inspired the religious men of India also to seek more



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earnestly for the truths of their own faith.<sup>36a</sup> Thus the advent of the Mohammedans to India 'inaugurated a period of earnest spiritual consciousness among both the Hindus and the Mohammedans'. Hinduism and Islam, strictly bound by the doctrines of their respective scriptures, had no points of contacts with each other, and it has rightly been suggested that the responsibility of maintaining contacts between them was left to 'the free spirits and lovers of humanity from both these groups, the Hindu bhaktas and the Mohammedan Sufis to devote their lives to perform this job.'

The founder of the Bhakti movement in North India was Rāmānanda, a Brāhmaṇa teacher who was fifth in descent from Rāmānuja and strictly speaking he was not a founder of the movement since it had already begun before his birth. But from his time there flowed an uninterrupted stream of the Bhakti movement throughout the Indian medieval period. His great contribution to Indian spiritual life was the 'spirit of synthesis'. He accepted all that was based on truth and of permanent value in 'our spiritual heritage'—the philosophy of meditation (*Yoga*) and knowledge from the North and the absolute surrender (*prapatti*) of the Bhakti cult from the South. There is a popular verse to this effect: 'Bhakti arose first in the Draviḍa land; Rāmānanda brought it to the North; and Kabīr spread it to the Seven continents and nine divisions of the world.'

Rāmānanda was the first Vaiṣṇava teacher who gave his teachings through vernacular language, i.e. the language of the common people, i.e. Hindi. As a result of his efforts theological discourses did not remain confined to the Pandits or the upper stratum of the society. He allowed the Śūdras to become his disciples and to participate in religious functions. Most of his distinguished disciples came from lower castes, like Ravidāsa, the cobbler, Kabir, the Mohammedan weaver, Dhanna, the Jat peasant, Sena, the barber and so on. He had even Muslim disciples. He also endeavoured to raise the status of women and some of his famous women disciples were Padmāvatī and Sursari.

Kabīr (c. 1425–1492/1519), the most prominent disciple of Rāmānanda, lived at Vārānasi, denounced 'worldlines, the life of sense-pleasures, sectarianism, formal religious practices and unrighteous conduct.' He endeavoured for the conciliation between Hinduism and Islam. He appealed to the conscience, the inner voice of man, and not to scriptures, and tried to express the simple thoughts in the common language of the people.

Dādu Dayāl (1544–1603 A.D.) came under the influence of Kabīr's teachings and also condemned the caste system and defied the injunctions of the scriptures. Dādu had a liberal attitude towards religions and had followers both among Hindus and Muslims. Rājib (1567–1683 A.D.), a noted disciple

of Dādu, rose into eminence as a poet and mystic. His prayers were composed in Rājasthānī mixed with Sanskrit. Tagore was greatly moved by his profound and sweet prayers.<sup>37</sup>

Guru Nanak (1469–1538 A.D.), another great exponent of the Bhakti cult, preached *nāma* (the name of god) as a most effective means of realisation of god. Nanak's poems and songs in Hindi is mixed up with Gurmukhi which were published as the *Ādi-Grantha*.

Mīrā Bāi (1498–1546 A.D.), was born in a princely family of Rajputana and daughter-in-law of Mahārājā Saṅga of Mewar, completed her spiritual discipleship under Ravidāsa's (Ruidas) guidance. She composed numerous poems in Brajabhāṣā and also in Rājasthānī, which aroused 'the tremendous human feelings of pangs, love and devotion to god and Kṛṣṇa.' Both Suradāsa (1483–1563 A.D.) and Tulasīdasa (1532–1623 A.D.) guided people to the path of *bhakti* and they made also great and sustained impact on the people of North India.

The *bhakti* movement was in a real sense the movement of the people as the reformers preached their teachings to the masses through their mother tongue. These not only enriched the modern Indian languages; but kept alive the spirit of harmony through the principles of 'love and devotion' for several centuries.

Almost at the same time the Muslim mystics called Sufis attached great importance to the ideals of service to mankind and generated the spirit of love and affection among the people depending on the teaching of Islam. Though they arrived in India long before the establishment of the Muslim rule in this country, it is generally believed that the organized Sufi Silsilahs (or religious order) appeared only after the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. Since then a large group of Sufis migrated from Islamic countries to India and settled in different parts. The Sufi saints propounded the 'conception of a loving god', imbibed the ideals of 'pacifism and non-violence' and adopted certain ascetic practices. During this time the Hindus were acquainted with the activities and teaching of the Sufi saints. Being impressed with their teachings the lower stratum in the Hindus who were victims of caste-ridden society, embraced Islam. In this way ranks of the Muslims in India swelled as a distinct community. 'The Chisti and Shattari sufi saints, Shaikh-Jalaluddin Tabrezi of Suhrawardi Silsilah, Main Mir and Mullah Shah Badakhshi of Qadiri Silsilah were well-known for their liberal attitudes.'<sup>37a</sup> The famous mystic Shaikh Nizamuddin of Delhi had 'friendly conversations with Yogis' and he treated 'their beliefs and principles with much respect'. Under the influence of Chistis, Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal initiated the Satya Pir movement.

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The contact between Hinduism and Islam had its effect on the theological discourses of the time. Al-Beruni (11th century A.D.) enriched this trend by his works. The translations of a number of Sanskrit works into Persian were undertaken by Sultan Zainul Abidin of Kashmir, Sultan Sikandar Lodi and others not only 'to satisfy their own intellectual curiosity' but also 'to increase Muslim Understanding of Hinduism'. It is well known that Akbar gave a new direction to this process. Abul Fazl gave a detailed description of Hinduism in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Prince Dara Shukah was influenced by the Qadiri Sufi religious thought. He very much enriched Sufi theological discourses through his works in Persian viz., *Sufinat-ul-awliya* (or lives of Muslim saints), *Risala-i-Haqnuma* (or, the compass of truth) and others. But his *Majma-ul-Baharin* (or, Mingling of two oceans 1650–56 A.D.) was written 'to illustrate the basic unity of the Muslim and Hindu religious thought'. Dara Shukoh learned Sanskrit and translated the *Upaniṣads* to Persian under the title *Sirr-i-Akbar* (1657 A.D.), which was translated into Latin in 1800 A.D. Arthur Schopenhauer (1778–1860), the noted German Philosopher was greatly influenced by this work and said that the work was a great solace to heart. It has rightly been said, 'Dara Shukoh should rightly be called a propounder of the concept of modernism based on universalism, which was made more explicit by Rammohan Roy since the beginning of the 19th century.'<sup>38</sup>

It will not be out of context here to mention that Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa in his quest for understanding the unity of all religions, also got himself converted into Muslim religion by one Govinda Roy (alias Md. Wajed Ali), a Sufi protagonist. Ramakrishna remained a Muslim, till he obtained enlightenment through his practices as an ardent Muslim.

So long we have been discussing the nature of Bhakti movement and its influences in Southern, Northern and Western parts of India. But the impact of this movement was no less, in some cases it is more pronounced in Eastern parts of India. The authors like Jayadeva and Caṇḍidāsa, who popularised Vaisnavism in their respective periods, had made incursion in the religious movement of Bengal. Caitanya (1486–1533 A.D.) made the ideals of love and devotion popular all over undivided Bengal and Orissa. In practice, his 'message of love for personal god acted as a balm for suffering humanity'. About the development of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology it is mentioned that Sanātana Gosvāmin learnt the basic points from Caitanya himself. It is said that the *Satyasādhana* theory was elaborated both by Caitanya and Rāmānanda Rāya. Later on, Jīva Gosvāmin developed the fundamental concepts in six

*Sandharbhas*. 'The works of Sanātana, Rūpa, Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja contain specific concepts, the combination of which may be described as Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Theology.'<sup>38a</sup>

In further east in the land of Brahmaputra valley the Bhakti cult was spread by Śaṅkaradeva (1449/1477–1569 A.D.), who was a Kāyastha by caste. After coming back from his first pilgrimage in North and South India, Śaṅkaradeva began to preach his famous *Eka-Śaraṇa Dharma* in local language. He drew disciples from Brāhmaṇa, Śūdra, Naga, Mikir and Muslim communities as he was against prevailing caste system and slaughtering of animal in the name of religion (cf. 'nāhi bhakatita jāti ācāra vicāra', 'Savako māniva tumi Viṣṇu buddhi kari'). The Brāhmaṇas complained against Śaṅkaradeva to the King of the soil. Śaṅkaradeva had no alternative but to leave his home and hearth and move about from one place to the another like Gangmau, Belguri, Kapla, Cinpara, Ganakakuchhi, Kumara-Kuchhi). Anuradha Bandyopadhyaya<sup>39</sup> describes the episode in the life of Śaṅkaradeva in inimitable language:

‘সম্পদ গেল, প্রিয়জন নিহত হইল তবুও তাঁহার অশ্রুর  
দীপশিখাটি অনিৰ্বাণ রহিল। সেম্ই দীপালোকে  
দুৰ্ভাগ্যের গাঢ় তমিস্রা ভেদ করিয়া তাঁহার অগ্রগতি।’

Ultimately he succeeded in obtaining shelter under Koca King Naranārāyaṇa of Kāmātā-Kocbihar. Naranārāyaṇa's famous brother Cilārāya was a devotee of Śaṅkaradeva, and married a daughter of Śaṅkaradeva's family.

There are four-fold principles of Neo-Vaisnavism as propagated by Śaṅkaradeva and these are *Deva*, *Nāma*, *Bhakta* and *Guru* (cf. *Guru-Deva-Nāma-Bhakta Cāriṭi Śaraṇa : Śaṅkaradeva punarapi dekhailanta/Guru-Deva-Nama-Bhakta cinai dilantall*

*Deva*=Śaṅkaradeva's Vaisnavism as already noted is 'Ekaśaraṇa-dharma'. (cf. 'eka deu, eka seu, ekavine nāhi keu': again, 'ekacitte tumi moko mātra kara seva! pariharā dūrute yatena āna devā!! Nām nā Śunivā tumi āna devatāra! yena mate nahive bhakati vyabhicāra!! (Bhakti-Pradīpa).

*Nāma*=*nāma-mantra*-'Rāmakrishna Nārāyaṇa Hari.' The identity of *Nāma* and *Nāmī* (Śrīkṛṣṇa) has been stressed. (Cf. *Nāmnāminorbhedah/Bhagavatsvarūpameva nāma* - Jīva Gosvāmī). Śaṅkaradeva accepted four kinds of Sādhana-bhakti which are of nine kinds (*navavidhā*) and these four were: *śravaṇa*, *kīrtana*, *smaraṇa* and *arcanā*, and others are: *pāda-sevana*, *dāśya*, *sakhitva*, *vandanā* and *dehārpaṇa*.

*Bhakata*=It is mentioned in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, third chapter. Bhakti is originated in association with Bhakata (cf. *satsaṅgo nāma nāmaiva saṅga ityabhipretam*). From unalloyed Bhakti grows *vairāgya* (unattachment) and

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*Jñāna* (knowledge), and without the grace of god *jñāna* (knowledge) cannot be obtained. (cf. *Bhagavadanugrahamantareṇa na kasyāpi jñāna sambhava iti*). The *Bhakti-ratnākara* (ch. 16, 17, 18) describes three kinds of *Bhakata*: (a) *uttama* (b) *madhyama* and (c) *prākṛta*, of which *uttama bhakta* is the best, for it got its basis on desirelessness (*niṣkāma*) and undiluted love for Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇaikacitta*). The *madhya-bhakata* looks for Kṛṣṇa as regulator of all worldly affairs and *prākṛta bhakta* worships the idols of the Lord.

*Guru*=The *Guru-māhātmya* is described in the first chapter of the *Bhakti-ratnākara*: *Guru* is Vāsudeva (*Gurureva Hari*). Mādhavadeva asserts '*vine gurubhakti-rakati kavahunā hoī*' (*Guru-Bhātimā*). To Śaṅkaradeva Parameśvara is *Guru* (cf. *hṛdayar parama Iśvara mor Guru! Prabhu Bhagavanta Bhakatar Kalpataru* (Kathā-Guru-Charit). Again he says *Bhakata* is my *Guru* (*Sarvatattva bhakataka mai Guru māna: Kathā -Guru-charit*).

Vaiṣṇava reformers of other parts of India from Rāmānuja down to Vallabhācārya and Caitanyadeva tried to develop systems of philosophy as the basis of their cults by interpreting the *Vedānta-Sūtra* and the *Gītā* and other scriptures of importance in their own lines. Śaṅkaradeva's ideal was not 'to propound a religion supported by discursive reasoning and abstract thinking, but to propagate a simple system based on devotion and faith. He was a reformer and a poet, but not a philosopher.'<sup>40</sup> Śaṅkaradeva's ideas, however, resembled those of the qualified monism (i.e. *Viśiṣṭā=dvaitavāda*) of Rāmānuja in some respects, and according to him *bhakti* is its own reward. He 'took this cult of *Bhakti* from the *Bhāgavata*, which lays down that we must love god for His own sake and not for any reward.'

Śaṅkaradeva preached devotional faith in one universal god, and according to him 'devotion requires no priest, for the offering of love, and does not need the sanction of the scripture.' The caste distinction under this scheme has got nothing to do with the qualities of soul, what alone counts is devotional faith. Thus casteless and priestless society was a logical conclusion of Śaṅkaradeva's teachings and he endeavoured for its realisation throughout his life and against great odds. His disciples were drawn from all sections of the people living in hills and plains.

Earlier Śaṅkaradeva carved a wooden image of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, named it *Madana Gopāla* and installed it in his prayer house with elaborate ceremonies. But later on, instead of installing an image of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, which as a matter of ancient tradition, required the services of the *Brāhmaṇa*, he introduced the system of placing a holy book on a wooden pedestal in the prayer house, or in the place where the prayer or *Kīrtana* was held. For services before this emblem, any devoted man of any caste was eligible. This was a bold

decision for a caste-ridden country and the Brāhmaṇas were hard hit in their profession, and they complained against him (i.e. Śaṅkaradeva) to the Koca King Naranārāyaṇa describing him as an 'iconoclast'.<sup>41</sup> At last a meeting of Śaṅkaradeva with the complainants or, the Brāhmaṇas was arranged in a royal court. In the polemical discussion that ensued Śaṅkaradeva came out eminently successful and Naranārāyaṇa was fully convinced of the great qualities of head and heart of the preacher of the new mission and dismissed the futile charges of the Brāhmaṇas. He made Śaṅkaradeva a *Śobhā Paṇḍita* of his royal assembly and made Kakutakūṭā, near the capital his Satra (monastery).<sup>42</sup>

There are, however, strong indications from a group of biographers of Śaṅkaradeva that he met his young contemporary, the famous Vaiṣṇava apostle Śrī Caitanyadeva at Nīlācala (Orissa) during one of Śaṅkaradeva's pilgrimages, and both of them exchanged opinions and were acquainted with each other's viewpoints. This event has also been illustrated in paintings composed at a later period.<sup>43</sup> The account of this meeting has however been challenged by the modern scholars including Maheswar Neog and others on the ground of the proposed dates of pilgrimages of Śaṅkaradeva, which according to them, was incompatible with such a meeting.<sup>43a</sup> We need not fret about the meeting of these great personalities of medieval times, though it seems to us unlikely that in view of their being contemporary with each other they remained unconcerned about each other's viewpoints and understandings, and thereby, influencing one by the other to their mutual benefit.

The demise of Śaṅkaradeva led to the development of 'schism' in the order, and different schools of Neo-Vaisnavism came into being on the basis of modification in rites and ceremonies.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly the Satras that grew up in different parts of the country, generally owes allegiance to either of the following order (*Samḥati*).<sup>45</sup>

1. The *Puruṣa-Samḥati* claims to have been maintaining the original features of Śaṅkaradeva's faith, and therefore, to be the main *Samḥati*. The Bardowa, Bar-bāra-janīya, Saru-bāra-janīya and Kanaka-bāra-janīya groups of satras belong to this *Samḥati*.
2. The *Nikā-Samḥati* (= *Nikā=Niṣṭhā* i.e. puritan) is also known as *Nitya-Samḥati*. It pays great attention to rules of outward cleanliness and other formalities. The follower of Mādhavadeva started this new school. The Kamalābari *satra* in the Majuli, the Barpeṭā *satra* in Kāmarūpa and the Madhupur *satra* in Cooch Behar belong to this group.
3. The *Brahma-Samḥati* or the Brahmanical school started by Dāmodaradeva who was much dissatisfied as the Master nominated

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Mādhavadeva to the headship of the order. This school, expanded by Vamśī-Gopāladeva, Nirañjana Pāṭhak and Vanamālīdeva, was also known as *Bamunia* School. This school admitted Brahmanical rites very liberally and took rigid view of caste-distinction. The satras like the Auniati, Dakhinpat, Gaḍamur and Kuruwabāhī belonging to this school became richest and most influential institutes, and these enjoyed royal patronages from their inception.<sup>45a</sup> Sarat ch. Goswami gives a different version about the establishment of a new school by Dāmodardeva.<sup>45b</sup>

4. The *Kāla-Saṁhati*: Gopāladeva of Bhownipur, near Barpeṭā, a devout follower of Mādhavadeva, started this new school at Kaljar, near Barpeṭā. This School displayed an indifferent attitude towards all Brahmanical rites, adhered very strictly to the central monothestic doctrine of Śaṅkaradeva and placed absolute faith in the Guru. The mohantas of the *Kāla-Saṁhati* were subjected to frequent cruel royal persecutions for their liberal attitude towards caste rules.

The development and activities of the last mentioned *saṁhati*, however, deserve a much thorough investigation because of magnitude of the problem connected with it. Gopāla Ātā (or Gopāladeva) is said to have appointed twelve apostles from among the chief disciples: Six of them were Brāhmaṇas and Six others non-Brāhmaṇas to assume charges of different satras.<sup>46</sup> The satras originating from Gopāla Ātā came to have 'a distinctiveness on account of their catholicity and democratic outlook and freedom from the tyranny of creeds.'<sup>47</sup> They thrived mainly in the north-eastern Assam with its predominating Tibeto-Burman population, and reclaimed large numbers of people from animistic practices. The Dihing or Silikhātal *satra* established by Sanātana, the eldest son of Yadumaṇi, and Māyāmāriā (=Moāmārā=Moāmāriyā) *satra* of Aniruddhadeva in particular became rich and had very large following. The Dihing *satra* on the other hand used to receive royal patronage, while Māyāmārā retained an independent spirit and declined all help from the King. The refusal of any patronage and assistance from the king might have created a sense of defiant attitude against the ruler, and the king was on lookout for an opportunity to teach the Mohantas a lesson and to have resort to coercive methods against the chiefs of the Māyāmāriā sect. But the coercions ultimately drove the peaceful disciples of the sect to open rebellion against organised and powerful monarchy.

The credit, however, goes to the leadership of the Māyāmāriā sect, which helped to build up a sense of oneness among the heterogeneous communities who embraced *Eka-śaraṇa-nāma-dharma* and cultivating the religion in letter and spirit. The message of human equality and universal brotherhood of the

new faith which opposed caste system coupled with Aniruddhadeva's 'dynamic personality and scholarship' brought closer the depressed classes and the tribes like 'the Kacharis, Koches, Chutiyas, Kaivartta, Haris and other poor artisans like the potters, blacksmiths but also many caste-Hindus like Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas and Kalitās accepted him as their Guru.'<sup>48</sup> The reason behind the rise of the leaders of the sect in the estimation of his innumerable disciples has rightly been assessed by modern scholars, and to put in the language of one 'there was no gap between theory and practice in the work plan of Aniruddhadeva. As such, his principles of human equality and universal brotherhood were not confined to abstract spiritual planes but practiced in reality.'<sup>49</sup> At times Aniruddhadeva could be a stern disciplinarian which enhanced the prestige and cohesion of his newly built orders. Thus while accepting Dheli Darji, a muslim tailor to his religious order, he issued an *ājñā* (command) that if any devotee was found making separate cooking arrangement for Muslim devotees or refusing to dine with them, 'he would be expelled from fraternity'.<sup>50</sup>

Aniruddhadeva shifted his first *satra* from Narayanpur (1601) to Naharati, a few miles away from the original *satra* and lived here till his demise in 1626 A.D. But missionary activities of his successors continued unabated and the fourth Adhikār Nityānandadeva, a contemporary of Pratāpa Siṃha (1603-41), is said to have exclaimed that a half of population of the kingdom were his disciples. The Māyāmārīā devotees regarded their Guru, as god on earth to whom only they would bow their heads and none else. But Pratāpa Siṃha failed to read the writings on the wall, instead of accepting the supremacy of the religious leader of the Māyāmārīā sect in his Kingdom, he wanted to crush and suppress the leader and his disciples cruelly. A number of Gurus including Nityānandadeva were murdered at the behest of the ruling monarchs. At last the Māyāmārīā disciples rose like one man against the Ahom government in 1769 with the name of Guru in their lips: *Māri yāon, māri yāon, Gurur ṛṇ suji yāon* i.e. I will kill or get myself killed, but I will repay my debt to my Guru. The rebellion soon assumed a popular character. The Ahom Government ordered their mass slaughter on two occasions, but this could not put out the fire of rebellion. Rather in the face of all difficulties they continued their struggle till they were successful in snatching an autonomous kingdom called Matak Kingdom (Rājya) recognised by the Ahom Government (1805).<sup>52</sup>

It is believed that both Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva's desire to bring about an egalitarian society could not be achieved much during their life time, and in fact, we are really confronted with a society of the post-Śaṅkaradeva period,



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which was not 'different from that of the pre-Śaṅkaradeva period.'<sup>53</sup> In view of the prevalence of the admixture of different Hindu and Buddhist Tantrik cults, as noted by Neog, 'a mysterious atmosphere was created in the country, which came to be known to the outside world as a land of mysticism and sorcery.'<sup>54</sup>

This necessitated the coming of Aniruddhadeva. Where Śaṅkaradeva's Vaisnavism failed to penetrate, the creed of Aniruddhadeva found its way. Thus the Māyāmāriā creed began to concentrate on areas predominantly inhabited by the tribal peoples like the Morans, Borahis, Ahoms, Chutiyas, Kacharis, and the lowly castes, such as the Kaivarttas and Hādis. Aniruddhadeva not merely recognised man's equality in the matter of religion, but like a true reformer accepted them all irrespective of caste or class to his faith and family. This has made him a unique figure in the history of his social reform movement not only in Assam but in India. Speaking about Messianic movements in Indian religions Stephen Fuchs's observation about Assam is noteworthy. 'It seems that the more turbulent among Shankara Deva's adherents joined Anirodh's branch. They strongly objected to the supremacy of the Brahmins and refused to submit meekly to the traditional oppression by Ahom rulers and their Brahmin priests. They resented especially the religious intolerance of the Śakti worshippers. Naturally, as heretics and low castes they became an object of special scorn of the orthodox Hindu hierarchy.'

The terrible persecution, which they suffered under the Ahom rulers only resulted in a closer unity among themselves and under their head, the Moamaria Gosain. Their ultimate ambition was to gain freedom and independence in their religion without interference from outside. Their fight for these objectives certainly assumed a messianic character.'<sup>55</sup>

In fine, one of the last works of Aniruddhadeva, which made him the most distinguished figure among the leaders of Neo-Vaisnavite movement, was his attitude towards the women in society. While others including great Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva faltered in respect of the question of admission of women in the order, Aniruddhadeva gave a respectable place to women. Aniruddhadeva not only gave them initiation, but also the right to participate in the *Nām-prasaṅga* and higher religious discussions along with men—a very bold step indeed considering the conservative attitude of the society of the time.<sup>56</sup>

## References:

- \* **Swami Nirīpananda Maharaj** (28th August, 1900 - 5th March, 1981) in his earlier life known as Karttik Chandra Mitra, was a son of Sm. Sarat Kumari Mitra, a daughter of *Kathamrita*—famed Yoginī, a close associate of Sri Sri Ramakrishnadeva and Sri Sri Saradadevi. Earlier, Mr. Mitra used to live

with his mother in Sahitya Parishad Street residence, but later on he shifted to the premises of the Udbodhan Karyalaya (Bagbazar), where Sri Sri Saradamata had been living. Mr. Mitra obtained Isan scholarship in B. A. (Honours) in 1921 and passed M.A. in Ancient Indian History & Culture with a first Class in 1923. He was initiated by Śrīmad Sarat Maharaj of Udbodhan, and later on in 1924 he entered into Brahmacharya Asrama of Ramakrishṇa Mission, Belurmath at the behest of Mahapurush Maharaj Swamī Sivananda. In 1927 he entered into Sanyashood under guidance of Srimad Saratmaharaj and was known as Swami Nirlepananda. He continued to stay in Udbodhan Karyalaya hereafter following strict Mandate of Indian Seers. In 1946 he parted with the matha, but continued to stay in isolation following the path of a Yogī: *Tulyanindā - stutirmaunī santuṣṭa yena kenacit aniketaḥ sthira-matir* etc. (*Gītā*, XII. 19).

He began to bless and initiate a number of disciples from place to place, but chose to remain in the house of a poor and lowly paid employee of Calcutta Corporation, Mr. Kundu. During the last days he handed over an amount of Rs. 80,000/- to Mr. Kundu for creation of Lectureship in the memory of Yogindramohinī. After his demise his disciples made a total endowment of Rs. 100,000/- to Calcutta University and the lectureship was made in the name of Swami Nirlepananda.

[Ref. Swami Nirlepananda, *Ramakrishna - Vivekananda Jivanaloke*, Karuna Prakashan, Calcutta, 1976, *Smṛiti Sancayan*, Kolkata, 1374 Bangabda. Collected from the reminiscences of Maharaj's direct disciples Sm. Jayanti Bose, Salt Lake and others by the present author. The author is also indebted to Swami Vāmanānda Maharaj of Ramakrishna Math, Baranagar for his kind help.]

1. See V. Rangacharya in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, The Ramakrishna Mission, I Calcutta, 1956, p. 163.
- 1a. The meaning of the term *bhakti* underwent continuous changes as mentioned by Bothlingk and Roth (cf. *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, 1869) since the day of the *Ṛgveda* (quoted by S. Bhattacharya in *The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography* (ed. D. C. Sircar), C.U. 1970, pp. 67 ff.) It appears that the root *bhaj* and its derivatives *bhakta* and *bhakti* have different meanings which may be classified into early and late, or vedic and post vedic. *Pāṇini* (IV.2.54) introduces some sūtras according to which *bhakta* stood for an ardent devotee of a particular god or hero. Based on Sanskrit root *bhaj* meaning 'to adorn', Grierson observes that *bhakti* has the primary meaning of adoration, while the allied words *Bhagavat* and *Bhāgavata* mean 'the adorable one' and 'worshipper of adorable one' respectively. (G.A. Grierson in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 2, p. 539).
2. *Ṛgveda*, I. 155.6; noticed by D.C. Sircar in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, (edited by Haridas Bhattacharyya), Calcutta, 1956, pp. 108 ff.
- 2a. *Ṛgveda*, VII.99.1; 100.5-6.

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3. This is an epithet of Viṣṇu, see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I.2.5.5.
4. It is visible to suris 'like an eye fixed in the sky', *Ṛgveda*, I.22.20.
5. *Ṛgveda*, VIII. 29.7.
6. cf. *Journal of Indian History*, XXXII, p. 288.
7. See Durgacarya's commentary on *Yāska's Nirukta*, XII.19.
8. cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 38.
9. *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad*, III.9.
10. *Maitri-Upaniṣad*, VI.13.
11. *Ṛgveda*, VI.69; VII.99.
12. D. C. Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp. 111-12.
14. cf. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious system*, Trubner and co., Strassburg 1913, p. 28. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (I.4.8) which conceives the internal Ātman (soul) as dearer than the son, wealth and everything else.
15. Aṣṭādhyāyī, IV.3.98; see H.C. Rayachaudhuri, *Materials for the study of Early History of Vaishṇava Sect*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, pp. 3ff.
16. V.14. This Upaniṣad inculcating devotion to Śiva, originally a non-Aryan god, points to the non-Aryan contribution to the growth of Bhakti cult.
17. *Śvetasvatara Upaniṣad*, VI.23.
17. I.2.7.
18. See *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1944, pp. 82 ff.
19. Cf. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXIX, pp. 45-48.
20. See J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 2nd ed. pp. 143-44.
21. Kuṣāṇa King Vāsudeva is credited to have issued a large number of coins. Earlier regarding the popularity of Vāsudeva cult, The *Mahābhārata* records the story of one Puṇḍraka-Vāsudeva i.e. Vāsudeva of the Puṇḍraka people (probably North Bengal), apparently a claimant for the status of Vāsudeva.
22. XII.3.4.
23. XIII.6.1.
24. X.11.
25. III.17.6.
26. VIII.9-11
27. IV.1.
- 27a. R.G. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 12f.
28. Seal, B.N., *Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity*, pp.30 ff.; *Asiatic Researches*, I. pp. 274ff.; and *Indian Antiquary*, 1873, pp. 285ff. Even Yusuf Hussain in an article 'Islam and the cult of Bhakti' in *Glimpses of*

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- Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 26, suggests that like the reformation in Europe, the reformation movement of Hinduism in the middle ages is indebted not to any mean extent to the Mohammedan religion; also see S. Datta, 'Bhakti Movement and Aniruddhadeva of Assam' in *Medieval Bhakti Movement in India* (ed. N. N. Bhattacharyya), Delhi, 1989, pp. 296 ff.
29. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, pp. 484 ff.
30. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 254ff.
31. *Rgveda*, VI.49.13.
32. *Mahābhārata*, XII.349.37.
33. Lakṣmī is called Sirimā Devatā in a Bharhut inscription of the Śuṅga period (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol.III, and p. 288). She has been described as the consort of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta and Sarnath Inscription of Prakaṭaditya (*Ibid.*, p. 286)
34. XI.5.38.40.
35. For a connected account of the evolution of Śrīvaisṇavism and the Āḷvār movement, see V Rangacharya Charyya, *op.cit*, pp. 163ff.
- 35a. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 35b. We may refer to a few recent researches which speaks of the emergence of Bhakti movement in South India marked by a steep decline in trade and the end of the domination of the trading class signalling the rise of the land owning communities as the dominant class in South India. See K. Kailasapathy, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, Oxford, 1968; R. Champakalakshmi and S. Gopal (eds.), *Traditions, Dissents and Ideology : Essays in Honour of Romila Thapar*, New Delhi, 1996; G. Subbaiah, "Dakṣiṇāpatha: Where Does the Path Lead us?", *Indian History Congress* (67th), Calicut Session, 2007.
36. I am indebted to Satyaranjan Banerjee, former Khaira Professor, and C.U. for supplying me with this information. The verse has been taken notice of in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, ed., by M.M. Haraprasad Shastri, published form the Asiatic Society, Kolkata in 1939, Reprinted in 2006.
- 36a. See Kshitimohan Sen in *Cultural Heritage of India*, *op. cit.* p. 377.
37. A. Dey, *Theological Discourses in Indian History*, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, 2004, pp.6ff.
- 37a. *Loc.cit.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 38a. See Ramakanta Chakravartii, *Vaisnavism In Bengal*, Calcutta 1985, pp. 91 ff. Also cf. *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, (Kalna ed.), pp.29ff and Sahitya Akademi ed.), p. 405; for *Sādhya Sādhana* theory see *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, *Madhya līlā*, ch. 8
39. Anuradha Bandhyopadhyay, *Pūrva-Bhāratiya Vaiṣṇav Andolan o Sāhitya* (Bengali), Kolkata, 1983, p. 12.

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40. S.N. Sarma, *The Neo-Vaisnavite Movement and The Satra Institution of Assam*, Gauhati University, 1966. ch.III, p. 25.
41. R.M. Nath, 'Sankaradeva and The Vaisnava Movement in Assam' in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, op. cit., p. 203.
42. Cf. Dvijendra Nath Bhakata, *Satrar Samīksātmaka Itivṛtta*, Dhubri, 1995, pp. 84-85. In 1550 before Śaṅkaradeva's departure for the second Pilgrimage, while he was resting at a beautiful place in Cooch Behar with his entourage, he was very much pleased at the divine beauty of the place and exclaimed that the place might be known Madhupura-i.e. the future Satra of Madhupura. After the demise of Śaṅkaradeva, Mādhavadeva began to reside in Madhupura Satra and brought all insignia of his Master from Kakata-Kūṭā and of himself from Beladanga Satras. See Dvijendra Nath Bhakata, op. cit., pp. 81ff. Also Upendranath Lekharu, *Kathāguru-carita*, 1952, p. 148; Rajmohan Nath, *Mahapurustya Dharmer Darsan o Mādhupur Dhāmer Itivṛtta*, Dhubri 1995 p. 82, also, see Ramananda Dvija, *Śrī Guru Carita*; Rama Kumar Thakur, *Guru Carita*.
43. Cf. Dinesh Chandra Sen. *Bṛhat-Vaṅga*, vol.2, Calcutta, p. 1967. See also 'Sankaradeva's Meeting with Chaitanyadeva' by Shyamal Chandra Guha Roy in *Early Historical Perspective of North Bengal* (ed.) by B. N. Mukherjee and P. K. Bhattacharyya. North Bengal University, 1987, pp. 130ff.; and Umesh Chandra Deb, *Śaṅkaradeva* (Bengali), Calcutta, 1985 (with the preface by Nagen Saikiya of Dibrugarh University).
- 43a. Maheswar Neog, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Assam: Śaṅkaradeva and His Times*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, pp. 153 ff.
44. *Loc.cit.*
45. Aniruddha Dasa, *Guru-Vandanā*, Viṣṇupur-Sattra collection, 1791 Śaka, vv. 312ff.
- 45a. M. Neog (op. cit., pp. 130-131) on the basis of *Vanamālīdeva-carita* suggests that Vanamālīdeva of Dāmodaradeva's order received royal patronage from Jayadhvaja Siṁha after establishing Satras at Nowgaon, Majuli.
- 45b. Sarat Chandra Goswami in *Medieval Bhakti Movement in India* (ed.) by N. N. Bhattacharyya, pp. 271 ff.
46. Maheswar Neog, op. cit., pp. 138-139.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
48. S. L. Baruah in *Life and Teachings of Śrī Śrī Aniruddhadeva*, Dibrugarh University, 2003, p. III.
49. *Ibid.*, p. IV.
50. *Loc. cit.*
51. For the explanation of the terms Matak, Moran, Moāmariā and Māyāmariā, etc. See Sristidhar Dutta, *The Matak and their Kingdom, castes and tribes of Assam*, Allahabad, 1985, pp. 4ff.

52. Sristidhar Dutta, *op.cit.*, p. 13. Also see E.A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, second edition, Calcutta, 1926, p. 59.

Since the days of the Māyāmarīā rebellion consistent efforts have been made to blacken the character of the Māyāmarīā disciples and their Gurus including Gopāladeva and Aniruddhadeva; See 'Vaiṣṇavism in Kāmarūpa' by Sarat Chandra Goswami in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. I, No 2. The *Ādi-Carita* ascribed to Mādhavadeva (spurious) created much ill feeling among the Vaiṣṇavas of Assam and was denounced by them, see Lakṣmīkānta Mahanta of Śrāvaṇī-Sattrā, quoted by M. Neog, *op. cit.*, p. 29, fn. Dharmadeva Sarma's *Dharmodaya Nāṭaka* (dramatical work) attempted to blacken the characters of leaders Moāmariā revolt. See M. Neog, *Militancy of the Māyāmarīā Vaiṣṇavas*, p. 71.

But the biography of Aniruddhadeva by Cidānandadeva (1878–1890) published later in 1930 dispelled much of our misgivings about multifaceted personality of Aniruddhadeva.

53. D. Nath 'Social Background of Neo-Vaisnavite Movement in Assam' in *Life and Teachings of ŚrīŚrī Aniruddhadeva*, *op. cit.*, pp. 157ff.
54. For *Maheswar Neog Rachanāvalī*, vol. I, Guwahatī, 1986 as quoted by D. Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
55. Stephen Fuchs, *Rebellious Prophets: A study of Messianic Movements in Indian Religions*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1908, Reprinted 1965, pp. 135-136.
56. S. L. Baruah, *op.cit.*, pp. 183-184.
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# **The Jagjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapāla Comprehensively Re-edited**

SURESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

## **INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS**

A copper-plate grant of the hitherto wrongly identified Pāla King Mahendrapāla, discovered on March 13, 1987 in the Jagjibanpur (variants: Jagjivanpur, Jagajibanpur, Jagajjibanpur, etc.) Mouza of the Habibpur Police Station of the Malda District of West Bengal, can easily rank as one of the most important inscriptions of the Pāla period unearthed in recent years. The services of D.C. Sircar, the leading figure in the field of Indian epigraphy for the last several decades being no longer available, other scholars have come forward to make as much sense out of the inscription as possible. This inscription has already been noticed, commented upon, discussed, interpreted, transcribed and translated by a good number of scholars.

The inscription was transcribed by Shyam Chand Mukherji (S. C. Mukherji/ Mukherjee=SCM) in the *Samskr̥ta Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* (vol. LXVII), but not translated or in any way discussed. Full of errors, this version was followed (with some modifications) by Ashok Chattopadhyay Shastri (=ACS) in his *Pāl Abhilekh Sangraha* (in Bengali). Besides the text, ACS gave a translation and also made some observations. All this is, however, practically of little use because of the faulty text adopted by him. Kamala Kanta Gupta (=KKG) published his transcript of the text and discussed the contents of the inscription in several of his articles in Bengali periodicals; but he did not offer a full-fledged translation of the inscription. K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramoniya Iyer (=R&I) edited the inscription with transcription (i.e. text), translation and a lengthy discussion about the different aspects of the inscription and their historical bearings in, what was for long, the foremost organ of Indian epigraphic publications, the *Epigraphia Indica*<sup>1</sup> (vol. XLII). In pursuance of this, SCM re-edited the inscription in the *Pratna Samiksha* (vol. 6-8) with text, translation and discussion. Here he gave up many of his earlier readings and followed the footsteps of R&I instead, though not completely. Besides this, SCM published another article on the Jagjibanpur copper-plate inscription of Mahendrapāla in the *Maha-Bodhi Centenary Volume*, Calcutta, where he made some observations on its contents, without bothering to give the text or translation. Many of his assertions here are woefully fanciful and baseless.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it is difficult to keep

track of the varying positions taken up by him in his different publications for which he did not provide any explanation.

The above-mentioned scholars (except for ACS and SCM in a limited way as pointed out before) worked in isolation without any awareness of or reference to what others had done. This precluded the possibility of effecting any improvement in reading, translation or interpretation by inter-action or exchange or refutation of views, as a result of which backlogs of errors piled up in isolation.

Short of providing the full text and translation, Gouriswar Bhattacharya (=GB), through a number of articles, did much to correct some serious errors of reading and interpretation, particularly by R&I. Amitabha Bhattacharya made some general observations about the inscription in an article or two, but refrained from providing either transcription or translation. B. N. Mukherjee (=BNM)'s limited venture into this inscription, was not of much avail either.

On going through the considerable accumulated literature on the Jagjibanpur copper-plate inscription it appeared to us that there was still enough scope to bring about substantial improvement in all spheres—transcription (i.e. text), translation and interpretation—of this very important document of the Pāla period. The present article is an attempt in this direction. It will be our endeavour to take stock of the works of other scholars alongside our own study and record our position in the light of this exercise. We would be failing in our duty if we do not acknowledge our indebtedness to the cumulative efforts of other scholars for any success in our study of the present inscription.

Rather than following the cut-out format of editing an inscription, we have in the following pages placed an extra burden of responsibility on our own shoulders, as would be obvious to anyone from a perusal of their contents. This has been done to bring the stockpile of the existing errors, differences in reading and interpretation under the scanner and to indicate our own position in a clear-cut manner. Whether the product has been worthy of the effort, can best be judged by the discerning readers.

For the guidance of readers it would be useful to point out at the outset the main features of this article, which include, besides the

1. INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS, the following:-
2. TEXT



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3. TRANSLATION
4. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS
- 5&6. CHECK LISTS (1&2) of Errors/Differences in the Published Readings
7. NOTES (Pertaining to INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS, TEXT, TRANSLATION, DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS)
8. BIBLIOGRAPHY
9. PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART
10. ILLUSTRATIONS (of the Obverse, Reverse and the Seal at the back).

Details regarding the discovery, early notices etc. have been given by SCM, KKG, GB, R&I etc. scholars, and need not be repeated here. GM. records the dimensions of the copper plate as 52.2×37.1×.05 cm and of the seal as 19×21.8 cm. The accounts of SCM (not self-consistent again) and R&I vary slightly. The copper plate weighs 11 kg 100 gm including the seal (SCM). The edges of the plate are raised into a protective rim except for the area taken up by the seal at the top. The seal portrays the usual Dharmacakra motif represented by a wheel flanked by a couchant deer on either side, being reminiscent of the 'dharma-cakra-pravartana' (turning of the wheel of dharma) by the Buddha at Mṛigadāva in Sarnath, U.P. The seal contains decorative arabesque work and displays the legend 'Śrī-Mahendrapāladevaḥ' in raised letters appearing horizontally below the motif within an inner circle. The seal is firmly fixed onto the plate in the middle on top with nails. The middle of the first three lines on the obverse have been kept blank to accommodate the base of the seal.

Our inscription is in Sanskrit, composed in prose and verse. There are altogether 73 lines of writing, 40 on the obverse and 33 on the reverse. The last line is shorter than the rest and is centred in the middle. The inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation. On the whole the engraver has done his job well, though careless mistakes are not entirely absent.

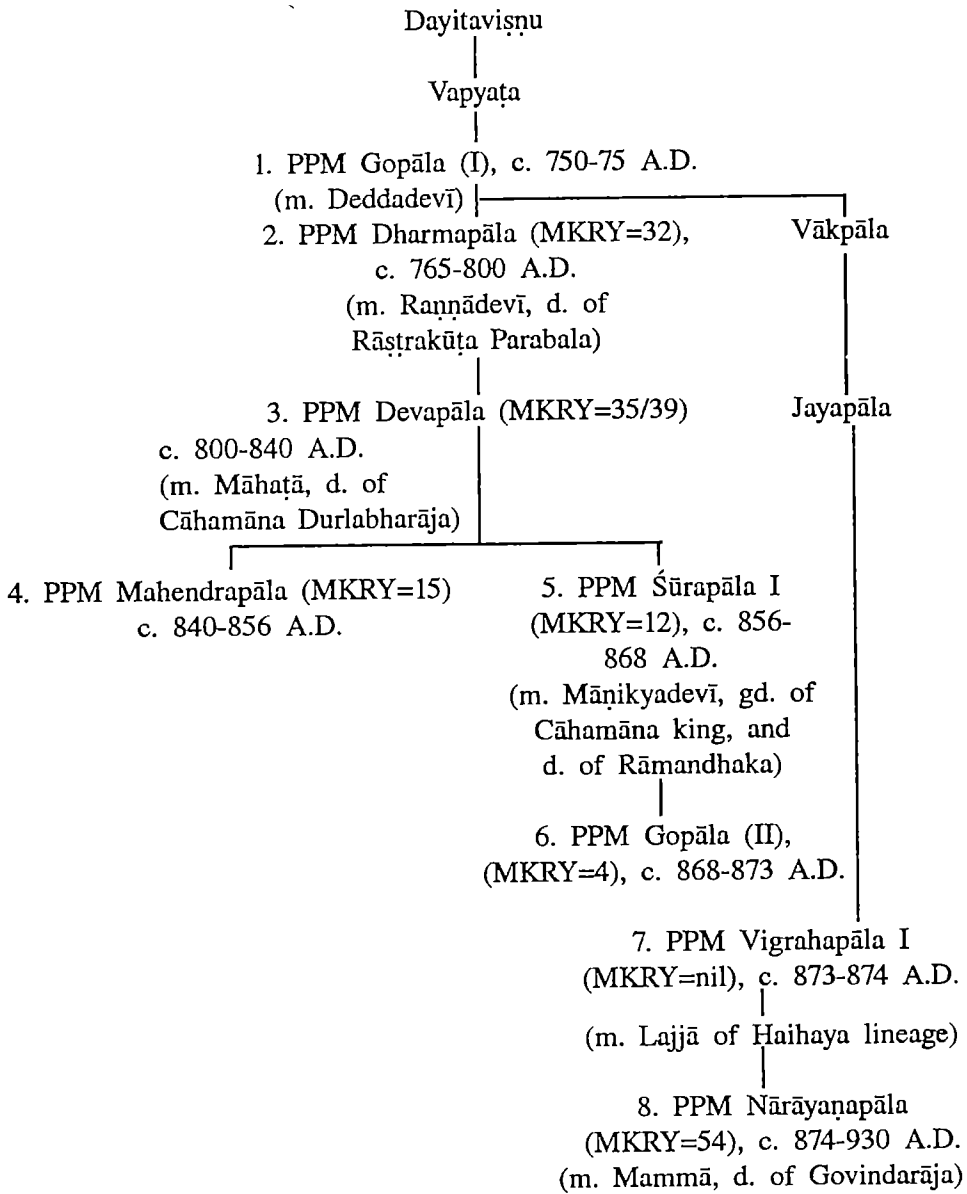
The palaeography of this inscription is regular for the locality and period of its issue and is in agreement with that of the early Pāla copper plate inscriptions from Bengal and Bihar. Of particular interest is the appearance, simultaneously, of relatively less evolved and more developed forms of some letters (e.g. ṇa, tha, dha, na, etc.). Medial ā has the form of a full-length priṣṭhamātrā, but there are exceptions (cf. jā, ṭā, sphā in

the Palaeographical Chart). Medial u, generally wedge-shaped and placed at the bottom/bottom right, also has other forms (cf. ku, col. 2, ii; ñu, tu, stu, ru in the Palaeographical Chart). Medial e has the shape of a wavy śīrṣamātrā; but in ai and au, the first e-mātrā appears as a diminutive curve hanging down from the left end of the letter/head-mark. Halanta (=with virāma) forms of t, n and m call for special attention. Some comments of R&I in respect of the forms of a few letters do not bear the test of scrutiny (e.g. their remarks about initial ā, i and e). R & I failed to take note of the ā-sign in jā (in which the medial ā converges into the tongue of ja), and read the letter sometimes as ja (cf. nijā, nirvyāj=ānati, line 8, etc.). R&I wrongly read ku as initial au, and made fallacious comments on the shape of au. Their observation that 'there are a few instances where the half form of n with the virāma on the left is found represented by an ardhachandra mark with a slightly curved vertical line or virāma below (lines 5,14,16)' is misplaced, for the description applies not to n (as they think), but to m (or rather the Bengali/eastern Indian variety of anusvāra, which, growing out of halanta m, co-existed with the plain dotted type for some time).

The Jagjibanpur copper plate has unveiled the identity of Mahendrapāla as a Pāla king. We now know from recently discovered copper plates that he was succeeded by his younger brother Śūrapāla I and the latter by his own son Gopāla (i.e. Gopāla II), whose existence was unknown before. After Gopāla II, the succession passed on to Vighrahapāla I, who represented the collateral branch of the Pālas. The genealogy and chronology of the early Pāla kings is capsuled by us into the following **Table** in the light of the latest available data:

# The Jagjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapāla Comprehensively Re-edited

Table showing  
The Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kings of the Pāla Dynasty



Abbreviations used in this table:

PPM = Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja

MKRY = Maximum Known Regnal Year

d = daughter

gd = granddaughter

m = married

In the above Table only actual kings have been assigned serial numbers. The genealogy and chronology of Pāla kings after Nārāyaṇapāla will have to be reconstructed keeping in mind all the factors involved. But this is beyond the scope of our present article.

Before we proceed with the transcription of the text of the inscription, we regret our inability to consult the original copper plate which is now preserved in the District Museum of Malda, West Bengal. In preparing the transcript we have relied on the excellent estampages published in E.I., vol. XLII which have been reproduced along with this article with grateful acknowledgeent to the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, as well as a very good life-size fibre glass cast replica made from the original copper plate, kindly placed at our disposal by Dr. Gautam Sengupta, Director, Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Govt. of West Bengal. We are indebted to Mr. Subir Sarkar, Administrative officer, American Institute of Indian Studies, Kolkata, and Dr. Sayantani Pal, Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, for kindly helping us with copies of some of the articles mentioned in the BIBLIOGRAPHY. We are sorry that it has not been possible for us to consult the works of Mr. Gopal Laha and some others, as these were not available to us but for which these would have been discussed and mentioned in the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

### Jagjibanpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Mahendrapāla year 7

#### TEXT

#### Metres used:

Śārdūlavikīṛḍita-verses 1,4,8,10,13-15,26	Upajāti-9,11,24,28,30
Vasantatilaka-3,6,7,12,16,22,33	Mandākrāntā-34
Mālinī-2,25	Sragdharā-5,7,31,32
Anuṣṭup-17-19,21,23	Hariṇī-29

1. Svasti / Śr(īmān=māni)ta<sup>1</sup>-śāśano nija-ba-
2. lair=adhyāsito vī(r)yavān / ary=ānanda<sup>2</sup> su(sva)bhū-
3. ti-nandītamanā<sup>3</sup> dāna-priyaḥ kṣāntimān / bhā-
4. svad-van(r)śa-bhavaḥ prajā-hitakaro niḥśeṣa-bhūm=īśvaraḥ Siddhārtho  
bhuvanāni pātu Sugataḥ pātā ca dharmma-st(th)iteḥ // [1\*] Nṛipatir=iha  
babhūva dhva-
5. sta-doṣ=āndhakāro ravir=iva paṭu<sup>4</sup>-dhāmnān=dhāma-Gopāla-nāmā /  
agaṇita-guṇa-ratnaṁ yaṁ sam=āsādyā jātā(taṁ) Hari-vasati sukhēbhyo

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6. datta-toy-añjaliḥ Śrīḥ // [2\*] Aty-uddhata-dviṣad=anīka<sup>5</sup>-jay=ārjjita-śrīḥ  
śrī-Dharmmapāla-iti tasya suto babhūva / prakṣālitāni kali-sa-
7. ntamas=āvilāni yasy=(e)ndun=eva<sup>6</sup> yaśasā kakubhām=mukhāni // [3\*]  
Durvvārā(n) dviṣato vijitya samare tām=Indra-rāj=ādikān/Sindhūnām=  
adhipa-
8. m=pramathya<sup>7</sup> rabhasād=unmī(nmū)lita(m) kṣmābhṛitā / dattā yena mahī  
Mahodayavatī vikrāntibhājo(jā) nijā nirvyāj=ānati<sup>8</sup>-Vāmanāya Balinā  
Cakrā-
9. yudh=ārthine<sup>9</sup> // [4\*] Reṇu(ū)n=yasy=āṅgaṇebhyo hata-ripu-mahiṣī  
Śva(ā)sa-vātā haranti siñcany(nty)=etāni<sup>10</sup> mādyat=kari-karaṭa-galad=  
dāna-toya-pravāhāḥ (/\*)
10. rājñām sevāparāṇām=praṇata-nija-śiro-ratna-puṣpa-pratānair=ddaurddarp  
=ānīta-Lakṣmī-kara-kamala-dhṛitaḥ pūjitaḥ pāda-padmaḥ//[5\*] Nīter  
=vvilāsa-bha-
11. vanam=priya-Vikramāyāḥ śrī-Devapāla-iti tat=tanayo babhūva / yaḥ  
kautukād=iva jagat=padavīn=didṛikṣuś=caṁkramyate sma bhavan=  
āṅgaṇa-līlay=eva //[6\*] Da-
12. ṇḍ=opanīta-kanakair=vvasudh=ādhipānām rājā mahā-samara-nāṭaka-  
sūtradhāraḥ yo nirmmite(ta)<sup>11</sup> Sugata-sadma<sup>12</sup> grīhañ=ca Gauryā<sup>13</sup>  
yat=kautukañ=ca tila-
13. kañ=<sup>14</sup>ca jagat=traye (=') pi // [7\*] Durvvār=āstra-nipāta-bhīṣaṇa-raṇa-  
(ā)t=sannāha-labdh=odayam / sāksīkritya vibhāvasuṁ raṇa-śirovedī  
mahā-maṇḍape / kha-
14. ḍg=āvarjjitai(ta)-vairi-vāraṇa-saṭā<sup>15</sup>-kumbhāsṛig=ambhaḥ pluto yo  
jagrāha karaṁ kṣitīśvara-varo niḥśeṣa-bhu(ū)bhṛid=bhuvām(m)// [8\*]  
Yam yodhayāmāsuri=arātayas=te ye-
15. śām riramsā sura-sundarībhiḥ / tathā vivasvad=bhramaṇ=āvadhīni ye(ai)ḥ  
kretum=iṣṭāny=asubhir=yaśān(m)si //[9\*] Dharmasya prasavena yena  
vipulām=bhūtiñ=ci(m ci)-
16. ram=bibhratā bhrū-līlā-hṛita<sup>16</sup>-Kāmarūpa-vibhaven=ārohat=ādym=  
bhṛi(ū)śam(m)<sup>17</sup>/ Durgāyāś=ca Himālay=ācala-bhuvāḥ ślāghyañ-  
(m)karañ=(m)grīhnatā samyak-svam<sup>18</sup>=pa-
17. rameśvaratvam-aparan=devena sandarśitaṁ(m)/[10\*] Sa Cāhamān=  
ānvaya-vāridh=īndoh sādhvīm sutān-Durlabharāja-nāmnaḥ śrī-Māhaṭām  
dharmmaparām narendras=Trai-
18. tīm=iv=oha (ḍha)<sup>19</sup> sa(u)lakṣaṇāṅgīm(m) //[11\*] Sā Devak=īva nara-  
deva-sahasra-vandyam saukaryato vasumatī-bharam=udvahantaṁ(m)/  
Lakṣmyāḥ svayam=vara-patim=puruṣo-

19. (tta)mañ=ca devaṁ sut=ottamam=asūta Mahendrapālaṁ(m) // [12\*]  
Yasy=āśā vijaya-prayāṇe<sup>20</sup> rajasām sāndre samutsarppati vyūhe nirbhara-  
pu(ū)rit=āmba-
20. (ra)tayā sampādīt=orvvī-bhrame<sup>21</sup> / sprīṣṭe pādatalair=akāṇḍa-patan=  
āśaṅkā-camatkārīṇo(ṇī)-vidyām=utpatan=aika-hetum=ajapan<sup>22</sup>=  
Vidyādharaṇāṇ(ṇ)=ga-
21. (ṇāḥ) // [13\*] Ā-prāleya-girer=vṛṣ=āṅka-vṛṣabha-kṣuṇṇ=āgra<sup>23</sup>-ratna-  
sthalād=ā-Sindhora=Ddaśa-kandhar=āri-viśikha-vyāloḍit=āntarjalāt / ā-  
pūrvv=āpa-
22. ra-diṇ=mukh=aika-tilakāt<sup>24</sup> śaila-dvayād=bhūbhujō(ā) nirvyājam  
nipatanti yasya caraṇe dūr=ānatair<sup>25</sup>=mmaulibhiḥ // [14\*] Khaḍg  
=otkhāta-mahebhā-kumbha-vi-
23. galat=kīlāla-dhārā-jale jāto vairi-vadhū-vilocana-vamad=bāsp= āmbubhir  
=vvarddhitāḥ / santīry = āpi patīn<sup>26</sup>=apām=pratidiśaṁ yātaḥ sahasrai(r)  
=mmukhai-
24. ś=citram=vādhaka-kāruṇ(y)air<sup>27</sup>=vvilasito yasya pratāp=ānalaḥ / // [15\*]  
Tvaṁ sarvvadā nṛpati-candra-jayaśrīy=ārthī svapne(=')pi na praṇayinī  
bhavato='ham=ā-
25. sam / ittham=bhiyā kupitay=eva ripūn=bhajantyā vyājaghnire<sup>28</sup>  
samara-keli-sukhāni yasya // [16\*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-  
pravarttamāna-nānā-
26. vidha<sup>29</sup>-nau-vāṭaka-sampādita-setubandha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śreṇi-  
vibhramāt / niratiśaya ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭa-śyāmāyama-
27. vāsara-lakṣmī-samārabdha-santata-jalada-samaya-sandehāt / udi(ī) cīn  
=āneka-narapati-prābhṛitīkṛit=āprameya-haya-vāhinī-khara<sup>30</sup>-khur  
=otkhāta-
28. (dhū)lī(i)-dhūsarita<sup>31</sup>-dig=antarālāt parameśvara-sevā-samāyāt = āśeṣa-  
Jambudvīpa-bhūpāla-pādātā(a)-bhara<sup>32</sup>-namad=avaneḥ Kuddālakḥāta<sup>33</sup> -  
samā-
29. vāsita-śrīmaj=jayaskandhāvārāt paramasaugata-parameśvara-parama-  
bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Devapāladeva-pād=ānudhyātāḥ
30. paramasaugataḥ parameśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārako mahārājādhirājaḥ  
śrīmān Mahendrapāladevaḥ kuśalī // Śrī-Puṇḍravarddhana-
31. bhuktau / Ku(ddāla)khātaka<sup>34</sup>-viśaya Naṁ(n)dadīrghik=oddraṅge sīmā /  
Tatra pārvveṇa Ṭaṅgila-nady=arddha-śrotaḥ<sup>35</sup> paricchinna dākṣiṇen=āpi  
Kubja-gha-

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32. ṭikā = 'arddha-śrotikayā Kāśiggaḍa bandhāka<sup>36</sup>-madhyena Nārāyaṇa-vāsīya pūrvva-sīm=āvadhiḥ / Paścimen=āpi Golayi-nirjjha(re)-
33. n=Ājagara<sup>37</sup>-vāsak=āvakhātena vā(a)lmika-stūpen=āśvattha-vṛikṣeṇa<sup>38</sup> Svalpa-Nandā(dhā)ra-<sup>39</sup>paścima-pāṭena vilva-vṛikṣeṇa Bijjaga-bandhā-
34. kaṁ paścima-Saṇṇal=āntar<sup>40</sup>=āmalaḥ vṛikṣa-paryantaḥ / Uttareṇ=āpy=ataḥ pūrvvā-mukh=ottara<sup>41</sup>-kuṇḍā dakṣiṇena Nandāsurālyā<sup>42</sup>
35. Ṭangil=ārddha-śroto(=')vadhiḥ / Evan=ni(vam ni)yamita-sīmni samupagatām(n) sarvvān=eva rājanaka-rājaputtra-kumārāmātya-bhuktipa-
36. ti-viṣayapati /<sup>43</sup> senāpaty=uparika-tadāyuktaka /<sup>43</sup> viniyuktaka-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsika /<sup>43</sup> caur=oddharaṇika /<sup>43</sup> dausādhyasādha-
37. (nika)-khola-dūta-gamāgamik=ābhitvaramāṇa-hasty=aśv=oṣṭra-nau-bala-vyāpṛitaka-go-mahiṣy=ajāvīkā-vaḍav=ādhyakṣ=ādi rājapād= opajīvi-
38. no='nyāṇśa(śca) cāṭa-<sup>44</sup>bhaṭa-jātīyān yathākāl=ādhyāsi-viṣaya-vyavahāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān (brā)hmaṇa-mānanā-pūrvvakam prativāsi-
39. naḥ kṣetrakarāṇśa(mśca) yath=ārham=mānayati bodhayati samādiśati ca [/\*] Matam=astu bhavatām(m) / Mahāsenāpati śrī-Vajradevena dūtaka-mu-
40. klena vayam=vijñāpitāḥ / Yathā mātā-pitrora=ātmanah sakalasya ca satva-rāśeḥ puṇy=ābhivṛiddhaye Nandadīrghik=odraṅge mayā<sup>45</sup> vi-

## Second Side

41. hāraḥ kārītaḥ tatra yath=oparīlikhita-Nandadīrghik=odraṅgam<sup>46</sup> bhagavato Buddha-bhaṭṭarakasya Prajñāpāramit=ādi sakala-
42. dharmma-nettrī-sthānasya āry=Āvāivarttika-Bodhisatva-gaṇasy=āṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgal=ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya yath=ārham pūjana-lekha-
43. n=ādy=artham<sup>47</sup> cīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayan=āś(s)ana-glāna-pratyaya bhaisajya-parīṣkāra=ādy=artham khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān=ārtha(m)<sup>48</sup> anye-
44. śām=api mam=ābhimatānām-mat=parikalpita-vibhāgen=ānavadya-bhog=ārtham śrīmad=Bhaṭṭaraka-pādā dadatv=iti [/\*] Ato='smābhi-
45. s=tadīya<sup>49</sup>vijñāptyā ayaṁ yath=oparīlikhita-udraṅgaḥ sva-sambaddha-bhūmi-sametaś=catus=sīmā-paryantaḥ satalaḥ soddeśaḥ sopā-
46. rikaraḥ saghaṭṭa<sup>50</sup>-tar=opetaḥ sadaś=āpacāraḥ<sup>51</sup> sacaur=oddharaṇaḥ pariḥṛita-sarvva-pīḍaḥ /<sup>52</sup> a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa(o)='kiñcit= pragrāhyaḥ/

47. rāja-kul=ābhāvya sarvva-pratyāya-sameto bhūmicchidra-nyāyen= ācandr  
=ārka-kṣiti-samakālaṁ tath=aiva pradattaḥ /<sup>52</sup> Yatā(to) bhavadbhi(h)  
sarvve(ai)r=eva dāna-
48. m=idam=anumodanīyaṁ prativāsibhiḥ /<sup>53</sup>kṣetrakaraiś=c=ājña-śravaṇa-  
vidheyair=bhūtvā samucita-kara-piṇḍ=ādi pratyāy=opanayaḥ kāryaḥ [/\*]
49. Bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhir=bhūme(r)=ddāna-phala-gauravād= apaharaṇe  
mahā naraka-pāta<sup>54</sup>-bhayāc=ca dānam=idam=anumodya paripālaniyam  
=i-
50. ti / Samvat 7 Vaiśākha-dine 2 [/\*] Tathā ca dharmm=ānuśānsana  
(śāmsinaḥ) ślokāḥ / Vahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar=ādibhiḥ  
[/\*] yasya yasya ya-
51. dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(m)/ [[17\*] Śaṣṭir=vvarṣa-sahasrāṇi  
svargge modati bhūmidah / ākṣeptā c=ānumantā ca tāny=eva narake  
vaset//[18\*]
52. Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yo hareta vasundharām(m) [/\*] sa  
viṣṭhāyām kṛi(ri)mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pacyate //[19\*] Iti kamala-  
dal=āmbu-bindu-lolām
53. śriyam=anucintya manuṣya-jīvitañ=ca [/\*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=  
ca buddh(v)ā na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayo vilopyāḥ //[20\*] Śrīmat=  
Śaṅgrāma-tā-
54. reṇa kṛitaḥ(te) sukṛita-karmaṇi / Saumitriṇ=iva Rāmeṇ(n)a Śūrāpālo  
(=')tra dūtakaḥ // [21\*] Śrīmān kule mahati Devaradeva-nāmā ślā-
55. ghyo babhūva dharaṇī-tala-gīta-kīrttiḥ / ady=āpi sad=guṇa-kathāsu ya<sup>55</sup>  
eka-eva saṁkīrttyate prathamam=eva janair=mmahadbhiḥ //[22\*] Anyo-
56. (=')nya-sparddhayā vṛiddham=ananya-jana-gocaraṁ / tyāgas=satyañ=ca  
s(ś)auryaṇ=ca yasya c=aitad=guṇa-trayaṁ(m) //[23\*] Tasy=ātmajo(=')  
bhūt=Kamalā-niv(ā)saḥ<sup>56</sup>
57. śrīmān sa Nārāyaṇadeva-nāmā [/\*] dharmma-priyaḥ prāṇa-samāna-satyō  
balena yukto guruṇā mahīyān // [24\*] Amalina-taravāri<sup>57</sup>-sphāra-
58. dhārā-nipātaiḥ / pluta-vapur=ari-vṛindam mlānayantī samantāt / api kari-  
vara-bhed=odbhūta-rakt=ānuliptā diśi diśi sitimānaṁ
59. yasya kīrttis=tatāna [[25\*] Tyāgo-nirbhara pu(ū)rit(=ā)rtthi<sup>58</sup>-hṛidayah  
sau(śau)ryam jit=ārātikaṁ satya-nirmmita<sup>59</sup>-nāka-dhāma-dhiṣaṇā vijñā-
60. ta-vastu-sthiti(h) / rūpaṁ netra<sup>60</sup>-vinoda-dāna-caturaṁ ślā(m) jan=  
ānandakṛit / kīrttir=ddik=sarasīṣu kairava-vanac=chāy=eva yasy=ābhavaḥ  
//[26\*]



**The Jagjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapāla Comprehensively Re-edited**

61. Vahnir=vvair=īndhanānām nn(n)aya<sup>61</sup>-śata-mukut=odghṛiṣṭa-pād=  
āravindah pātā loka-sthitīnām(m) praṇayi-jana-saroj=ākar=  
ārkāyamāṇ(n)aḥ / yaḥ pṛi-
62. thyām=ekanāthaḥ prathita-nija-guṇa-ślaghayā varjjit=ātmā [/\*] cakre śrī-  
Darmmapālo nṛipatir=adhipatim=maṇḍale Darddaraṇḍyām(m)<sup>62</sup> // [27\*]  
Babhūva
63. Lakṣmīr=iva tasya jāyā vapus=ṭri(ri)lokī-tilakam=vahantī / siddhi-  
sr(str)i-varggasya vapusmat=īva /<sup>63</sup> Kalyāṇadev = īti yath=ā(r)ttha-nāmā  
// [28\*] K(u)la-kama-
64. linī-līlā-Lakṣmīr=ut=ālaya-devatā sva-pati-lṛidaya-grāhiṇy=eṣā satī kim  
=Arundhatī [/\*] Kim=uta Vasudhār=eyam=iva vitta-prasādhita-  
mandirā
65. iti manasi y=āviṣṭā(n) lokāṁś=cakāra vitarkkātān // [29\*] Div=īva tasyām  
raviṇ=eva tena dhām=eva<sup>64</sup> samyag=vidhin=odapādi<sup>65</sup> / satv=opakār=  
aika-ra-
66. taḥ pratāpī śrī-Vajradevo vimala-svabhāvaḥ // [30\*] Yo Lakṣmīn=  
kulajān=dadhat<sup>66</sup>=praṇayinīm=vīry=odayāl=līlayā khadg=āvarjjita danti-  
kumbha-vi-
67. galad=rakt=āmbubhiḥ /<sup>67</sup> plāvitaḥ / hutvā śastra-hutāśane ripu-havir=  
mmantr=ānvito durllabhām saṅgrāme Vija(ya)-śriyam=pariṇayan=loke  
varatvam(m) gataḥ // [31\*]
68. (Tyā)go dravo ca<sup>68</sup> satye sadasi paṭu-giror=n=āpavāde parasya<sup>69</sup> / prajñā  
śāstre na jātu<sup>70</sup> vyapagata-tamaso vañcane(=')pi praj=ārthāḥ<sup>71</sup> / kṣāntir  
=dāne<sup>72</sup>na (bhūyo)
69. dviṣati raṇa-vare sammukhe śastra-pāṇau / maitrī-tyāge sthire(o=')-  
bhūn=na tu cala vanitā-samprayoge (=') pi yasya // [32\*] Āryeṣu Jahnu-  
tanayā śa(sa)-
70. lil=ābhiṣeko dik=kāminīṣu ghana-candana-paṅka-lepaḥ [/\*] Durvvāra-  
vairi-vanitā-vadan=āmbujeṣu<sup>73</sup> yasy=endu-dhāma<sup>74</sup>-kalito yaśasām  
vitānaḥ // [33\*]
71. Han(m)sasy=aitāḥ<sup>75</sup> prakṛiti-paṭavo yāvad=ev=eḥa gāvaḥ / tatv=ālokaṁ  
vihata-tamasā tan(v)ate sarvva-dikkaṁ<sup>76</sup> / yāvat=pṛi-
72. thvī-valaya-vahan=āścarya-karmma(ā) ca Ku(ū)rmmaḥ / tāvat=tasya  
vrajatu kṛitinaḥ kīrttir=eṣā pratiṣṭhām(m) // [34\*]
73. Utkīrṇam=idam śāsanaṁ sāmanta-śrī-Māhaṭena<sup>77</sup>/

## Translation

### Verses (1-16):

Success. Hail! May the illustrious *Sugata* (the Buddha, literally, one who has fared well), whose teaching is respected (*mānita-śāsano*), who occupies his exalted seat by virtue of his (spiritual) power (*nijābalair=adhyāsito*), is full of virility (*vīryavān*), is lord of joy (*ary=ānanda*), one whose mind<sup>1</sup> is happy with energy derived from inherent gift<sup>2</sup> (*sva-bhūti-nanditamanā*), one who is fond of bestowing gifts (*dāna-priyaḥ*), who is forebearing (*kṣāntimān*), who was born in a lustrous race (*bhāsvad=varṇśa-bhavaḥ*), who works for the well-being of his subjects (*prajā-hita-karo*), is the exclusive lord of the entire world (*niḥśeṣa-bhūmīśvaraḥ*), is Siddhārtha (literally, one who has fulfilled the object of his coming), and is the upholder of righteousness (*pātā ca dharmma-sthiteḥ*), protect the worlds (*bhuvanāni pātu*).—V. 1.

Here was born a king (*nṛpatir=iha babhūva*) named Gopāla (*Gopāla-nāmā*), who was the abode of brightness (*dhāmnān=dhāma*) and was, like the sun, expert (*ravir=iva paṭu*) in destroying the darkness of night (*dhvasta-doṣ=āndhakāro*). Innumerable gems of quality (*agaṇita-guṇa-ratnam*) grew on account of him (*yam sam=āsādyā jātā(am)*). The goddess of fortune (*Śrīḥ*) gave oblations of water (*datta-toy=āñjaliḥ*) to the comforts of the abode of Hari (*Hari-Vasati-sukhebhya*).—V. 2.

His son was the illustrious Dharmapāla (*Śrī-Dharmmapāla-iti tasya suto babhūva*) who obtained fortune (*jay=ārjjita-Śrīḥ*) by defeating the forces of extremely arrogant foes (*aty=uddhata-dviṣad=anika*). The impurities of the great darkness of Kali (*Kali-santamas=āvilāni*) were washed away (*prakṣālitāni*) clearing the faces of the directions (*kakubhām=mukhāni*) by his moon-like fame<sup>3</sup> (*yasy=endun=eva yaśasā*).—V. 3.

Having defeated in battle (*viṣṭya samare*) stubborn enemies (*durvvārān dviṣato*) including Indrarāja (*Indrarāj=ādikān*); and churning violently (*pramathya*), the lord of the Sindhus (*Sindhūnām=adhipam*), the latter was per force compelled to come forth (*rabhasād=unmilita*) by the king (*kṣmābhṛitā*). His own territory (*nijā mahī*) Mahodaya (*Mahodayavatī*) was given away by the valourous one (*vikrāntibhājā*) to the unpretentious (*nirvyāja*) supplicant Cakrāyudha (*Cakrāyudh=ārthine*), as was done by Bali to the begging Vāmana<sup>4</sup> (*Balin=ānati-Vāmanāya*).—V. 4.

Pollens of flowers (or particles of toiletry) from his courtyard (*reṇūn yasy=āṅganebhya*) which were being blown by the air breathed (*śvasa-vātā haranti*) by the queens of the slain enemies<sup>5</sup> (*hata-ripu-mahiṣī*) were sprinkled clear (*siñcanty=etāni*) by the streams of water in the shape of echor discharged

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from the temples of rutting elephants (*mādyat-kari-karaṣa-toya-galad=dāna-toya-pravāhāḥ*). He (Dharmmapāla) held the lotus-hands of Lakṣmī (*Lakṣmī-kara-kamala-dhṛitaḥ*) brought by his immense power (*daurddapy=ānīta*) and his lotus-like feet were worshipped (*pūjitaḥ pāda-padmaḥ*) by the kings attending on him bowing down in salutation (*rājñām sevāparāṇām=praṇata*) with the jewels adorning their crowns appearing like flower-wreaths (*nija-śīro-ratna-puspa-pratānaiḥ*). –V. 5.

The pleasure-house of Morality (*Nīter=vvilāsa-bhavanam*) and the darling of Valour<sup>6</sup> (*priya Vikramāyāḥ*), the illustrious Devapāla, was his son. Seeking to see (i.e. to ascertain) the range of the world out of curiosity (*kautukād=iva jagat=padavīn=didrikṣu*), he wandered about (*cankramyate sma*) the earth playfully as if it were the quadrangle (*bhavan=āṅgana-līlay=eva*) of his own house. –V. 6.

The stage-director of the drama of great wars (*mahā-samara-nūṭaka-sūtradhāraḥ*), with the golds (i.e. wealth) of the kings of the world collected by expeditions (*daṇḍ=opanīta-kanakair=vvasudh=ādhipānām*), built a temple of Sugata (*Sugata-sadma*) and an abode of Gaurī (*grihañ=ca Gauryāḥ*) which was an object of curiosity<sup>7</sup> (*kautukañ=ca*) and an ornament (literally, a mark on the forehead, *tilakañ=ca*) of the three worlds (*jagat=traye'pi*). –V. 7.

Fierce battle razed with clanking of armour and discharge of fierce weapons (*durvvār=āstra-nipāta-bhīṣaṇa-raṇat-sannāha labdh=odayam*). The sun was made witness (*sākṣīkṛitya vibhāvasuṁ*) in the great pavilion (*mahā-maṇḍape*) with its elevated sacrificial war altar of human heads (*raṇa-śīro-vedī*) in which the enemies' array of elephants, overcome with swords (*khaḍg=āvarjjita-vairi-vāraṇa-saṭā*) had their pot-like heads pierced with arrows (or spears) and flowing with blood (*kumbhā-sṛig=ambhhaḥ-pluto*). The supreme lord of the world (*kṣitīśvaravaro*) collected tributes (*jagrāha karam*) from kings of the entire world (*niḥśeṣa-bhūbhṛid= bhuvām*). –V. 8.

The enemies who fought him (*yodhayāmāsur=arātayas=te*) were those who had lust for the celestial damsels (*yeṣāṁ riramsā sura-sundarībhiḥ*) and hence they reached up to the travel course of the sun (*vivasvad=bhramaṇ=āvadhīni*) in their bid to buy the objects of their desire, viz. fame (*kretum =iṣṭāny=asubhir= yaśāṁśī*). –V. 9.

(a) By whom (*yena*, i.e. by Śiva), immense spiritual power was forever held/or sacrificial ashes were perpetually worn (*vipulām=bhūtiñ=ciram=bibhratā*) with the generation (through penance) of dharma (*dharmmasya prasavena*); by being capable of robbing the beauty of Kāma (the god of love: *hṛita-Kāma-rūpa-vibhavana*), reducing it to ashes with the play of his eye-brows (*bhrū-līlā*), to put on the same for his primary adornment

(ārohat=ādyam=bhūṣam); by holding in marriage the laudable hand (ślāghyan=karaṇ=grihnatā) of Durgā (=Pārvatī), the daughter of the mountain Himālaya (Himālay=ācala-bhuvah), perfection of self (samyak=svam) and supreme divinity (parameśvaratvam) were shown by the unsurpassed god (aparan=devena sandarśitam).—V. 10.

(b) By whom (yena, i.e. by Devapāla), immense power was for long possessed (vipulām-bhūtiṃ=ciram=bibhratā) through his birth from Dharmapāla (Dharmīnasya prasavena)<sup>8</sup>; by being capable of robbing Kāmarūpa<sup>9</sup> (Assam; hṛita-kāmarūpa-vibhavena) within the twinkle of an eye (i.e. quickly and effortlessly: (bhrū-līlā), which was his first attainment (ārohat=ādyam=bhūṣam); by exacting coveted tributes (ślāghyan=karaṇ=grihnatā) from inaccessible regions of the Himalayas<sup>10</sup> (durggāyās=ca Himālay=ācala-bhuvah) - perfection of self (samyak=svam) and supreme divinity (parameśvaratvam)<sup>11</sup> were shown by this other god (i.e. Devapāla : aparan=devena sandarśitam).—V. 10.

He, the lord of men (*narendrah*), married (*ūdha*) Māhaṭā, who was chaste (*sādhvīm*), a follower of the path of righteousness (*dharmmaparām*), bore auspicious physical features (*sulakṣaṇ-āṅgīm*), was an embodiment of the Tretā age<sup>12</sup> (*Traitīm*), as it were, and was the daughter (*sutām*) of the king Durlabharāja (*Durlabharāja-nāmnah*), a (veritable) moon in the ocean of the lineage of the Cāhamānas (*Cāhamān=ānvaya-vāridh=īndoh*).—V. 11.

She, like Devakī (*sā Devak=īva*), gave birth to the best of all sons, Mahendrapāla (*sut=ottamam=asūta Mahendrapālam*) who was adored by thousands of men and divinities (*nara-deva-sahasra-vandyaṃ*), who bore the burden of the earth with ease (*saukaryato vasumatī-bharam=udvahantam*), was chosen by Lakṣmī as lord (husband) on her own accord (*Lakṣmyāḥ svayamvara-patim*), was a divinity (*devaṃ*) and the most perfect man (*puruṣ=ottamam*).—V. 12.

On the dust (*rajasām*) kicked up on account of his marching for the conquest of the regions (*yasy=āśā-vijaya-prayāṇe*) having moved upwards and lain thick in arrays filling the entire sky (*sāndre upasarppati vyūhe nirbhara-pūrit= āmbaratayā*), creating a false likeness of the earth<sup>13</sup> (*sampādīt=orvī-bhrame*), the groups of Vidyādhara (*Vidyādharāṇām gaṇāḥ*), on touching it with the soles of their feet (*spṛiṣṭaiḥ pādatalaiḥ*) were filled with the apprehension of falling down unexpectedly (*akāṇḍe patan=āśaṅkā*) and muttered (*ajapan*) attributing to some astonishing trick (*camatkāriṇī-vidyām*) the only cause of this flying upwards (*utpatan=aika-hetum*).—V. 13.

From the snow-clad mountain (*ā-prāleya-gireḥ*) with the sign of the bull (*vṛiṣāṅka*) having the tops of its gem-bearing site stamped exposed by

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the hooves of the bull (*vṛiṣabha-kṣuṇṇ=āgra-ratna-sthalād*); from the sea (*ā-sindhoḥ*) the inner water of which had been stirred up by the arrows of the enemy of the Ten-headed one (*Daśa-kandhar=āri-viśikha-vyāloḍit=āntarjjalāt*); and from the two mountains (*śaila-dvayāt*) which are the two ornaments, each of the eastern and western directions (*ā-pūrvv=āpara-din=mukh=aika-tilakāt*), kings unpretentiously fall down (*bhūbhujā nirvyājam nipatanti*) at his feet (*yasya carane*) with their crowns (or heads) lowered down from a distance (*dūr=ānatair=mmaulibhiḥ*). –V. 14.

The blood flowing (*vigalat kīlāla*) from the temples of mighty elephants (*mah=ebha-kumbha*) felled down by sword (*khadg=otkhāta*) turned into a stream (*dhārā jale*) being increased in volume with the addition of water in the shape of tears (*vāṣp=āmbubhiḥ varddhitaḥ*) shed by the eyes of the enemies' wives (*vairi-vadhū-vilocana-vamad*). Even swimming across the lords of waters (*santīry=āpi patīn=apām*), it moved out in every direction with thousands of mouths (*pratidiśam yātaṁ sahasrair=mmukhaiḥ*). The fire of his prowess (*yasya pratāp=ānalaḥ*) shone wonderfully (*vilasito*) blended alike (*citram*) with fierceness and pathos (*vādhaka-kāruṇ(y)aiḥ*). –V. 15.

“Oh moon among kings (*nṛipati-candra*), are ever (*sarvvadā*) craved for by the fortune of victory (*jaya-śriy=ārthī*); not even in dreams (*svapne'pi na*) have I (the Goddess of Victory) become your beloved (*praṇayinī bhavato = 'ham= āsam*)”. Thus (*ittham*) by her propitiating the foes (*ripūn bhajantyā*) out of fear and anger (*bhīyā kupitay=eva*), his pleasures in the war-games (*samara-keli-sukhāni yasya*) were killed<sup>14</sup> (*vyājaghniṇe*). –V. 16.

### Prose Portion: (Divided into Sections A to G by us)

#### A. Lines 25-30: (*Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha....Mahendrapāladevaḥ kuśalī*)

From the prosperous and victorious camp pitched at *Kuddālakḥātaka*,<sup>15</sup> where the fleets of boats of various kinds moving along the course of the Bhāgīrathī, by giving rise to a semblance of a series of sunken mountain tops and consequently of the building of another Setubandha ; where the darkening of the brightness of daylight by packed arrays of rutting elephants seems to raise the suspicion of (the onset of) the incessant rainy season; where the horizon is rendered grey by the dust dug up by the hard hooves of innumerable troops of horses presented by many kings of the north; and where the earth is pressed down under the weight of the infantry of the countless kings of Jambudvīpa gathered to pay homage to their supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Sugata, *Parameśvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Mahendrapāladeva*, who meditates on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*,

the illustrious *Devapāladeva*, being in good health (makes the present announcement)

**B. Lines 30-35:** (*Śrī-Paunḍravarddhana-bhuktau ....Ṭangil=ārdha-ś(s) roto (') vadhiḥ*)

The boundaries in respect of the *Nandadīrghikā udrāṅga* comprised in the *Kuddālakhātaka viṣaya* under the illustrious *Puṇḍravarddhana-bhukti*:

There the half stream of the river *Ṭangila* marks the boundary on the east and (partly) on the south too, which is (further) demarcated by the half stream of *Kubja-ghatikā*, *Kāśiggada-bandhāka* in the middle, stretching up to the eastern boundary of *Nārāyaṇa-vāsa*. The western boundary is marked by *Golayī nirjjhara*, the low land (*avakhāta*) of *Ajagara-vāsaka* (python habitat), termite-mound, *aśvattha* tree (the holy fig tree, *Ficus Religiosa*), the western bank (*paścima pāṭa*) of *Svalpanandādhāra*,<sup>16</sup> the *vilva* tree (*Aegle Marmelos*, *bel*), west of *Bijjaga-bandha*, the *āmalakī* tree (*Emblic Myrobalam*) six reeds away<sup>17</sup> (*ṣaṇ=ṇal=āntara*). Next, the northern boundary consists of the east-facing northern water-holes, and (the area) from *Nandasurāli* on the south upto the half stream of (the river) *Ṭangila*.

**C. Lines 35-39 :** (*Evan=niyamita-sīmni samupāgatān....sam=ādiṣati ca*)

To all the people assembled within the specified boundary, viz. the *rājanaka* (feudatory), *rājaputra* (prince or a subordinate ruler), *kumārāmātya* (an officers' cadre composed originally of junior members of the royal family), *bhuktipati* (an officer in charge of a *bhukti*, i.e. an administrative unit, a province), *viṣayapati* (the governor of a district, *viṣaya*), *senāpati* (a military commander, or the commander-in-chief), *uparika* (a viceroy, the governor of a province; the word literally means 'one at the top'), *tadāyuktaka* (an officer who was subordinate to *āyuktaka*, an officer, often the governor of a district or subdivision), *vinīyuktaka* (a subordinate officer under the *āyuktaka*), *daṇḍika* (a police officer), *daṇḍapāśika* (a policeman), *caur=oddharaṇika* (police officer in charge of recovery of stolen goods), *dauḥsādhyā-sādhānika* (officers trained to undertake daring feats<sup>18</sup> of civilian or military nature), *khola* (officer, the nature of whose job is uncertain), *dūta* (messenger), *gamāgamika* (probably an officer in charge of regulating the people's entrance and departure in cities or the royal court), *abhitvaramāṇa* (letter-carrier or a special kind of messenger, one who expedited work), *hasty=aśv=oṣṭra-nau-bala-vyāpṛitaka* (military officers in charge of elephants, horses, camels, the army and the navy), *go-mahiṣy=a-jāvikā-vaḍav=ādhyakṣa* (superintendents looking after cows, she-buffaloes, goats and mares), and others subsisting on the king's feet (i.e. under the employment of the king) as well as those falling under the categories of

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*cāṭas* (irregular soldiers), *bhaṭas* (literally, soldiers, but really constables) and the district officers (*viṣaya vyavahāriṇaḥ*) including the *karaṇas* (accountant, clerk or scribe), as may be present from time to time (*yathākāl=ādhyāsi*) and to the resident cultivators<sup>19</sup> (*prativāsinaḥ kṣetrakarāmś=ca*) - to all these, especially honouring the brāhmaṇas, he (i.e. king Mahendrapāla) pays due respect, makes known, and issues these commands:

**D. Lines 39-44:** (*Matam=astu bhavatām...Śrīmad=Bhaṭṭāarakapādā dadatv=iti*)

‘May it have your consent. We have been informed by the Mahāsenāpati (the great commander of the forces), the illustrious Vajradeva, through the mouth of the dūtaka (emissary of the grant) as follows’:

‘I have caused a vihāra (Buddhist monastery) to be constructed in Nandadīrghikā udraṅga (Nandadīrghik=odraṅge mayā vihāraḥ kāritaḥ) for the enhancement of the religious merit of my mother and father, myself and the whole multitude of living beings. May his Gracious Majesty (literally, the feet of his Gracious Majesty - ‘Bhaṭṭāarakapādā(h)’) grant<sup>20</sup> (dadatu) the Nandadīrghikā udraṅga<sup>21</sup> as written above for worship (pūjana), writing/copying<sup>22</sup> (of Buddhist religious texts - ‘lekhaṇa’), etc.; garments (for monks - ‘cīvara’), food/alms (for monks-piṇḍapāta), beds (śayana), seats (āsana), requisites for the sick (glāna-pratyaya), medicines (bhaiṣajya), other requisites (for monks - pariṣkāra) etc. (ādy=artham); for repair of damages and cracks, etc. (of the vihāra - ‘khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān=artham)—as fit/applicable (‘yath-ārham’)—of the divine lord Buddha (Bhagavato Buddha-bhaṭṭāarakasya); the category of Prajñāpāramitā and all the other female religious leaders/divinities (Prajñāpāramit=ādi-sakala-dharmma-nettrī-sthānasya); the group of Bodhisatvas of the noble Avaivarttika order (āry=Āvaivarttika-Bodhisatva-ḡaṇasya); the noble congregation of monks adhering to the individual eight holy personages (aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgala-ārya-bhikṣu- saṅghasya); as also for the unblemished enjoyment (anavadya-bhog=artham) with the apportionment (of facilities / land) made according to my plan (mat-parikalpita-vibhāgena), also of others of my choice<sup>23</sup> (anyeṣām=api mam=ābhimatānām)’.

**E. Lines 44-47:** (*Ato=‘smābhis=tadīya vijñāptyā...tath=aiva pradattaḥ*)

Thereupon, in pursuance of his submission (tadīya vijñāptyā), the udraṅga as written above has been accordingly granted by us<sup>24</sup> (asmābhiḥ.... tath=aiva pradattaḥ) with (adjacent) land attached thereto within the four specified boundaries (*sva-sambaddha bhūmi-sametaś=catus=sīmā-paryantaḥ*) with (right of) the bottom and the surface (*satalaḥ soddeśaḥ*), *uparikara* (additional taxes), with ghats (landing quays) with boats<sup>25</sup> (*sa-ghaṭṭa-tar=opetaḥ*), with the ten offences (*sa-daś=āpacāraḥ*) with recovery of stolen articles from

thieves (*sa-caur=oddharaṇaḥ*), with exemption from all oppressions (*parihṛita-sarva-pīḍaḥ*), free from the entry of *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (*a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśaḥ*), totally exempted from payment of taxes (*a-kiñcit-pragrāhyaḥ*), together with all the income which will no longer be the royal family's due, in accordance with the *bhūmicchidra-nyāya* (the principle of rent-free enjoyment of uncultivable land), to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth shall endure (*ā-candr=ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam*).

**F. Lines 47-50 :** (*Yatā(o) bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=eva.... dharmm=ānuśansana ślokāḥ*)

Wherefore this grant should be approved by all. And the resident cultivators, being ready to obey our commands, should make over (to the donee) the customary taxes, payments in kind and other types of revenue (*samucita-kara-piṇḍ=ādi pratyāy=opanayaḥ kāryaḥ*).

Furthermore, the future kings, out of respect for the merit accruing from a gift of land, and afraid of falling into the great hell consequent on the resumption of it, should applaud and preserve this gift.

(Issued in the) year (samvat) 7 on the Vaiśākha day 2.

There are also verses in praise of dharmma:

Land has been given away by many kings like Sagara and others. Whosoever (king) at any given time owns the land, to him accrues the merit (of such grant) at the time. —V. 17.

The giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years and the transgressor (of a grant as well as the conniver of such transgression) dwells in hell for the same number of years. —V. 18.

He, who misappropriates land given either by himself or by others, rots along with his forefathers as worms in excreta. —V. 19.

The good deeds of others should not be obliterated by people pondering that fortune as well as human life is fickle like a drop of water on a lotus petal, and also comprehending all that has been cited herein. —V. 20.

Śūrapāla has been made the emissary (*Śūrapāl='otra dūtakaḥ*) in this meritorious act (*sukṛita-karmaṇi*) by the illustrious Star/Saviour in Wars<sup>27</sup> (*Śrīmat-saṅgrāmatāreṇa*), like the son of Sumitrā by Rāma (*Saumitir=iva Rāmeṇa*). —V. 21.

In a great family (*kule mahati*) was born an illustrious person (*Śrīmān*), Devaradeva by name (*Devaradeva-nāmā*), who possessed an enviable reputation (*ślāghyo*) and whose fame was sung across the world (*dharanī-talagīta-kīrttiḥ*). Even today (*adyāpi*), talking about virtues (*sad=guṇa=kathāsu*), he alone is the subject of the praises sung at the very beginning (*eka-eva samkīrttyate prathamameva*) by eminent people (*janair=mmahadbhiḥ*). —V. 22.



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Sacrifice, truthfulness and valour (*tyāgaḥ satyañ=ca śauryaṇ=ca*)-these three virtues of his (*yasya c=aitad=guṇa-trayaṁ*)=grew vying with one another (*anny= 'onya-sparddhayā vridham*) as is not noticed in any other person<sup>28</sup> (*ananya-jana-gocaram*). -V. 23.

His son, the illustrious Nārāyaṇadeva by name (*tasy=ātmajo= 'bhūt Śrīmān sa Nārāyaṇadeva-nāmā*), was the abode of Kamalā (*Kamalā-nivāsaḥ*). A lover of righteousness (*dharmma-priyaḥ*), to him truth was as dear as his life (*prāṇa-samāna-satyo*). He possessed great physical strength (*balena yukto*) and was considered highly by his teacher<sup>29</sup> (*guruṇā mahīyān*). -V. 24.

The multitude of his enemies, their bodies streaming with blood split by the ceaseless and fierce blows of his spotless sword (*amalina-taravāri-sphāra-dhārā-nipātaiḥ*), are fading all around (*mlānayanī samantāt*). Though smeared with blood (*rakt=ānuliptā*) from the great pierced elephants (*api kari-vara-bhedo*), his fame spread over the different directions rendering them white (diśi diśi sitimānam *yasya Kīrttis=tatāna*). -V. 25.

The heart of supplicants was filled (by him) depending on (personal) sacrifice (*tyāgo-nirbhara-pūrit=ārthi-hṛdayaḥ*); the enemies were conquered with valour (*śauryaṁ jit=ārātikam*); the heavenly abode (for himself) was built with truthfulness (*satya-nirmita-nāka-dhāma*); the (true) position of matters was ascertained by intellect (*dhiṣaṇā vijñāta-vastu-sthitiḥ*). His graceful appearance was apt to give pleasure to the eyes (*rūpaṁ netra-vinoda-dāna-caturam*), conduct lent happiness to the people<sup>31</sup> (*śīlaṁ jan=ānundakṛit*). His fame (*kīrttiḥ*) was like the reflection of a forest of white lotuses (*kairava-vana-cchāy=eva yasy=ābhavat*) in the lake of the quarters (*dik-sarasīṣu*). -V. 26.

He was (like) fire unto the faggots (in the shape) of the enemies (*vahnir=vvair=īndhanānām*) and rubbed his white lotus-like feet (*udghṛīṣṭa-pād=āravindaḥ*) against hundreds of (royal) crowns which had been taken (*naya-śata-mukuta*) from them. He was the protector of the established social order (*pātā loka-sthitiṇām*) and to the (lotus-like) beloved ones he stood for the sun, the caterer for lotuses (*praṇayi-jana-saroj=ākar=ārkāyamānaḥ*). The sole lord of the earth (*prithvyām=eka-nāthaḥ*), he turned self-effacing (*varjjit=ātmā*) in the face of praises of his well-reputed qualities (*prathita-nija-guṇa-Slāghayā*). The illustrious king Dharmapāla made him chief (ruler) of the maṇḍala of Darddaraṇḍī<sup>32</sup> (*Śrī-Dharmmapālo nṛipatir=adhipatim=maṇḍale Darddaraṇḍyām*). -V. 27.

His wife, like Lakṣmī (Lakṣmī=iva tasya jāyā), was an embodiment of the three worlds (*vapus=trilokī*) and constituted (by virtue of her extraordinary qualities) the distinctive mark on the forehead thereof (*tilakam=vahantī*). In her, the three-fold categories of human endeavour reached their fulfilment

(siddhis=tri-varggasya) and appropriately was she named Kalyāṇadevī (Kalyāṇadev=īti yath = ārttha-nāmā). -V. 28

'Is she a kindred of Lakṣmī sporting playfully among the lotuses (*kula-kamalinī-līlā-Lakṣmī*), or is she the presiding deity of the house (*ut=ālaya-devatā*) or is this chaste lady,<sup>33</sup> the capturer of the heart of her husband (*sva-pati-grāhiny=eṣā satī*) Arundhatī (*kim=Arundhatī*), or is this female temple, embellished with wealth (*vitta-prasādhita-mandirā*), the Earth herself (*Vasudhār=eyam*)?' She gave rise to such debates in the minds of the people who were engrossed (*iti manasi y=āviṣṭā(n) lokāṁś=cakāra vitarkitān*). -V. 29.

On her (Kalyāṇadevī), who was like the sky (*div=īva tasyām*), was begotten (*udapādī*) by him (Nārāyaṇadeva), who was like the sun (*ravin=eva tena*), a son, viz. the illustrious Vajradeva, the abode of perfection by the creator<sup>34</sup> (*dhām=eva samyag=vidhinā*). Valiant (*pratāpī*), single-minded in doing good to (all) living beings (*satv=opakār=aika-rataḥ*), he possesses an unblemished nature<sup>35</sup> (*vimala-svabhāvaḥ*). -V. 30.

He gained at ease (*līlayā*) possession of his beloved (*dadhat=praṇayinīm*) Lakṣmī of noble birth (*Lakṣmī=kulajām*) with the rise of his power (*vīry=odayāt*); flooded (the battlefield) with water (in the shape) of blood (*rakt=āmbubhiḥ plāvitaḥ*) flowing from the temples of tuskers (*danti-kumbha-vigalat*) which were brought down by his sword (*khadg=āvarjjita*). He reached celebrity in the world (*loke varatvaṁ gataḥ*) by marrying (*pariṇayan*) the rarely attainable (*durlabhām*) goddess of victory<sup>36</sup> (*Vijaya-śriyam*) in battle (*saṅgrāme*) in which the enemies took the place of clarified butter for oblation (*ripu-haviḥ*), and, with chanting of incantations (*mantr=ānvīto*) were offered (*huta*) unto the (sacrificial) fire (in the shape of arms (*śastra-hutāśane*). -V. 31.

Passionate and swift in truth (*rāgo dravo ca satye*), he is an expert of oration before the public (*sadasi paṭu-giroḥ*) and not in spreading calumny about others (*n=āpavāde parasya*). His proficiency in the scriptures (*prajñā śāstre*) never keeps away from darkness (*na jātu vyapagata-tamaso*) and the subjects' cause does not suffer even in deception (*vañcane='pi praj=ārthāḥ*) There is no let up in charity (*kṣāntir=dāne na bhuyo*) and he confronts the enemy only in proper war when he (the enemy) is armed (*dviṣati raṇavare sammukhe śastra-pāṇau*). He was steady in friendship and sacrifice (*maitrī-tyāge sthiro='bhut*) there would be no wavering (*na tu cala*) even when in contact with women<sup>37</sup> (*vanitā-samprayoge='pi yasya*). -V. 32.

The (canopy-like) spread of his fame, furnished with the lustre of the moon<sup>38</sup> (*yasy=endu=dhūma-kalito yaśasām vitānaḥ*) over the lotus faces of the wives of the irresistible enemies (*durvvāra-vairi-vanitā-vadan=āmbujeṣu*)

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is (so much to their liking) like consecration in the holy water of the Gaṅgā (literally, the holy water of Jahnu's daughter: *Jahnu-tanayā-salil=ābhiṣeko*) to the nobles (*āryeṣu*), and like anointment with thick sandal-wood paste (*ghana-candana-paṅka-lepaḥ*) to the maidens of the quarters (*dik=kāminīṣu*). –V. 33.

As long as these skies of the goose,<sup>39</sup> skilled by nature (in directing the goose to its course) endure (*hansasy=aitāḥ prakṛiti=paṭavo yāvad=ev=eha gāvah*); the light of truth (*tattv=ālokaṁ*), the dispeller of darkness (*vihata-tamaseḥ*), illuminates all the directions (*tanvate sarva-dikkaṁ*); and as long as the Tortoise-the performer of the extraordinary feat of bearing the volume of the earth (*yāvat-prithivī-valaya-vahan=āścarya-karmā*) lasts, so long may this meritorious act<sup>40</sup> (as recorded in this grant) of the achiever go on to attract fame (*tāvat=tasya vrajatu kṛitinaḥ kīrttir=eṣā pratiṣṭhām*). –V. 34.

### Prose Portion:

**G. Line 73:** (*Utkīrṇam=idam .... Śrī-Māhaṭena*)

This (copper plate) charter has been engraved (*utkīrṇam = idam śāsanam*) by the feudatory chief, the illustrious Māhaṭa<sup>41</sup> (*sāmanta-Śrī-Māhaṭena*).

## Discussion And Analysis

### Auspicious beginning : line 1

Like other copper plate inscriptions of the Pāla kings, the present one begins with an auspicious symbol, standing for 'siddham' or 'siddhir=astu'. This is followed by the auspicious word 'svasti' (hail).

### First phase of verses : 1-16 (lines 1-25).

The inscription then takes to verses in the way characteristic of Pāla copper-plate inscriptions. There are altogether 16 verses in the first phase occurring in lines 1 to 25. None of these appears in any other Pāla inscription.

### Invocation of Siddhārtha : Verse 1

The first verse makes an invocation of Siddhārtha, also called Sugata (i.e. the Buddha, the family deity of the Pālas).

The epithets applied to the Buddha here are : (1) mānita-śāsana, (2) nija-balair = adhyāsita, (3) vīryavān, (4) ary=ānanda, (5) sva-bhūti-nanditamanā (6) dāna-priya, (7) kṣāntimān, (8) bhāsvad-varṇśa-bhava, (9) prajā-hita-kara, (10) niḥṣeṣa-bhūm=iśvara, and (11) pātā (ca) dharmma-stihiteḥ.

Unlike in some other Pāla c.ps, no apparent attempt has been made here to extol the virtues of any particular Pāla king simultaneously by using words of double entendre.<sup>1</sup>

## Genealogical Verses - Gopāla (I) to Mahendrapāla : Verses 2-16

### King Gopāla (I) : Verse 2.

The second verse eulogises Gopāla as the source of brightness, and as expert (paṭu=read as paṭa by others) like the sun in dispelling the darkness of night, which may bear allusion to the dark period of 'mātsyanyāya'<sup>2</sup>.

Innumerable gems of quality grew on account of him (agaṇita-guṇa-ratnaṃ yaṃ sam=āsādyā jātā (am), which induced Śrī (i.e. Lakṣmī) to give oblations of water (datta-toy=āñjali-Śrīḥ) to the comforts of the abode of Hari (Hari-vasati-sukhebhya). Kamala Kanta Gupta's rendering that 'he (Gopāla I) conquered the region upto the sea' is unwarranted.<sup>3</sup>

### King Dharmapāla: verses 3-5

The next three verses (verses 3-5) dwell on Dharmapāla, the son and successor of Gopāla I.

Verse 3 states that fortune (Śrīḥ) was obtained by Dharmapāla by conquering the forces of extremely arrogant foes. The impurities of the great darkness of Kali (i.e. the Kali Age) were washed away and the faces of the directions were cleared up by his moon-like fame ('yasy=endun=eva-yaśasā', wrongly read as 'yasy=Endrandeva yaśasā' by R&I, and SCM).

Verse 4 refers to the defeat at the hands of Dharmapāla of stubborn enemies (durvvārān dviṣato) including Indrarāja (Indrarāj=ādīkān). It is further stated that Dharmapāla gave away his own territory (nijā mahī) including Mahodaya (Mahodayavati) to the unpretentious (nirvyāja) supplicant Cakrāyudha (Cakrāyudh=ārthine) as had been done by Bali to the begging Vāmana (Balin=ānati-Vāmanāya)<sup>4</sup>. Indrarāja here obviously refers to Indrāyudha, Cakrāyudha's rival claimant to the throne of Kanauj, whose causes was espoused by the other north Indian power-house of the time who also possessed imperial ambitions, viz., the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.<sup>5</sup>

The same verse (V.4) also claims some sort of victory obtained by Dharmapāla over the king of the Sindhu region (then under Muslim occupation), but its precise nature is not quite clear. The king of the 'Yavanas' finds mention among the north Indian kings who attended the durbar at Kanauj as subordinates of Dharmapāla (Khalimpur c.p.). The word 'unmīlita' (not 'unmūlita' as read by some scholars) leaves the position somewhat unclear, though the words 'pramatyya' and rabhasā' seem to indicate the use of force on Dharmapāla's part on the king of Sindhu. The matter must remain inconclusive for the present.

In verse 5 the composer has endeavoured to show his poetic skill while

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indicating the might of Dharmapāla. The queens of the slain enemies (not 'the dying queens' as translated by R&I) were kept confined by Dharmapāla; the particles of dust (reṇūn) or pollen or toiletry (given up by them as a mark of their widowhood), which were blown by their breath (i.e. sigh), were sprinkled clear by the streams of ichor flowing down the temples of the rutting elephants (of the Pāla king).

### King Devapāla : verses 6 to 10.

Verse 8 : It is distressing to see how scholar after scholar failed to correctly interpret the expression 'Nīter=vvilāsa-bhavanam=priya-Vikramāyaḥ Śrī-Devapāla-iti tat=tanayo babbhūva', until its correct significance was made clear by Gouriswar Bhattacharya.<sup>6</sup> Failing to realise that the attributes relate to Devapāla and not to Dharmapāla, these scholars became unduly concerned about a supposed 'Vikramā' being a (second) queen of Dharmapāla, co-wife of Raṇṇādevī (mother of Devapāla)<sup>7</sup>:

As has been pointed out by GB in clarifying the expression, a parallel expression, 'naya-vikram=aika-vasatiḥ' has been used in respect of Vākpāla (younger brother of Dharmapāla) in the Pāla c.ps starting from the Bhagalpur c.p. of Nārāyaṇapāla. In our inscription, the two virtues, 'naya' and 'vikrama' have been attributed to Devapāla, but in a somewhat different form. Instead of 'naya', the feminine term 'nīti' has been used; similarly, the masculine term 'vikrama' has been made feminine 'vikramā' on the analogy of 'nīti', and the two terms are taken to be two females but nevertheless, meaning two virtues, of Devapāla.<sup>8</sup>

In the second caraṇa of verse 6, the composer has hinted in a figurative way that king Devapāla turned the wide earth into the yard of his own house (bhavan=āṅgana)

In the following verse (V. 7) Devapāla has been given the appellation 'mahā-samara-nāṭaka-sūtradhārah' (V. 7) literally, 'stage director of the drama of great wars', apparently in recognition of his successful leadership in many great wars. With the goods (i.e. wealth) collected from expeditions, he built a temple of Sugata (Sugata-sadma) and an abode of Gaurī (grihañ=ca Gauryā(h) which was an object of curiosity (kautukañ=ca) and an ornament in the forehead (tilakañ=ca) of the three worlds (jagat=traye'pi). The reading of 'Śauryā' (for Gauryā) by SCM is wrong for 'ga' and 'śa' are written distinctly in this inscription. The building (together?) of a temple of Sugata and an abode of Gaurī shows the non-sectarian attitude of Devapāla. Unfortunately, no trace of this unique piece of architecture has survived for us. We do not even know where it was situated.<sup>9</sup>

In verse 8 the composer has depicted a scene of the battle-field in which the enemies along with their war elephants were annihilated. It is told that Devapāla collected tributes from kings of the entire world.

The enemies who fought him had no hope of success against Devapāla in battle; but by sacrificing their lives in the battlefield they hoped to obtain fame, to gain access to heaven, and enjoy the company of the celestial damsels there. (Verse 9).

In verse 10 Devapāla is compared to lord Śive. In concrete terms, Devapāla is given the credit of conquering Kāmarūpa (Assam) at ease, which was his first achievement, and of extracting covetable tributes from inaccessible regions of the Himalayas.<sup>10</sup> He demonstrated perfection of self and supreme divinity like the unsurpassed god Śiva.

R&I have wrongly read 'huta-Kāmarūpaṁ' (for ḥṛita-Kāmarūpaṁ) and in this they have been followed by SCM. Devapāla's contemporary king of Kāmarūpa could have been Prālabha, Harjaravarman (c. 815-32 A.D.), or the latter's son Vanamālarman (c. 832-55 A.D.)<sup>11</sup>.

As for the Himalayan campaigns, it may be mentioned that the Mirzapur c.p. describes Devapāla as 'Nepāla-nātha-vijayī'.

### **Māhaṭā-the queen of Devapāla: V. 11.**

Verse 11 informs us that Devapāla married Māhaṭā, the much accomplished daughter of king Durlabharāja of the lineage of the Cāhamānas. The name Māhaṭā, daughter of Durlabharāja was already known from the Mirzapur c.p., where, however, no mention was made of her lineage. In the Mirzapur c.p. also Māhaṭā's admirable qualities have been lavishly extolled.

Durlabharāja of our inscription has been identified by R&I with Durlabharāja I of the Cāhamāna dynasty of Śākambharī (son of Gopendraka and father of Guvāka I) who flourished in the eighth century A.D. and whose exploits are traced to a late work called *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*. In their view the allegiance of the Cāhamānas wavered between the Pratīhāras and the Pālas according to the demands of the situation.<sup>12</sup> The Pāla-Cāhamāna matrimonial relation was re-established later when Śūrapāla I married a Cāhamāna princess.<sup>13</sup>

### **King Mahendrapāla : Verses 12-16**

Verses 12 to 16 are devoted to Mahendrapāla, during whose reign this c.p. ins. was issued.

Verse 12 compares Mahendrapāla to Viṣṇu. Like Viṣṇu (=Kṛiṣṇa) he was born of the Devakī-like mother, Māhaṭā; was adored by thousands of men and divinities; bore the burden of the earth with ease (as Viṣṇu did in his

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boar incarnation); was chosen by fortune (Lakṣmī) as lord on her own accord; was a divinity (deva) and the most perfect man (puruṣottama).

In verse 13 the composer poet has given his imagination a free run. The thick dust kicked up by Mahendrapāla's army that set out on a conquest of the regions (āśā-vijaya-prayāṇe) went upwards and remained suspended there filling the entire sky, creating the illusion of a solid earth up there, but on coming to learn that it was not so, the confused (flying) groups of Vidyādharas attributed this unusual phenomenon to some astonishing trick. Such aerial flights of imagination on the part of the composers are not uncommon in Pāla c.ps. Scholars have any way failed to translate this verse correctly. The misreading of 'ūrvvī-drume' for 'urvṃvī-bhrame' has landed Ramesh and Iyer in a queer situation (op. cit., p. 20 and foot note 2; Translation, p. 25. Cf. also 'aśvā-vijayapathān' by SCM).

In a figurative way, verse 14 claims for Mahendrapāla the overlordship of the whole country (i.e. India. From the Himalayas (ā-prāleya-gireḥ) in the north to the sea (separating Srilankā from India) the water of which had been stirred up by the arrows of Rāma, the enemy of Rāvaṇa, and from the eastern to the western mountains, i.e. the Eastern and the Western Ghats, which adorn the faces of the two directions—kings bowed down before Mahendrapāla treating him as their overlord. This conforms to the stereotyped concept of a pan-Indian empire (Cakravartī-kṣetra)<sup>14</sup> and echoes claims made for Devapāla in his Munger and Nalanda c.ps.<sup>15</sup>, -V. 15.

In the absence of any supporting evidence, the claim cannot be taken in its face value in the case of Mahendrapāla. Wrongly read words in this verse include 'Vṛiṣabha-khaṇḍākhya', 'ā-Lohita', 'adhityakāt' and 'dūrānantarair'—see Check Lists).

In verse 15 the composer has shown his poetical imagination while trying to point out the spread of Mahendrapāla's prowess in different directions, even across the seas.

Verse 16 seems to imply that Mahendrapāla was not inclined to pursue a vigorous aggressive policy towards his enemies. The key to this interpretation is the word 'vyājaghnire' (from √han, meaning 'killed', 'destroyed' etc.), which has been wrongly read as 'vyājṛimbhire' by R&I and translated as 'increased'. This has reference to the fate of his 'enjoyment of the war-games'.

### Success of Mahendrapāla

Though his c.p. does not refer to any specific conquest to Mahendrapāla's credit, it can be safely assumed that he succeeded in maintaining intact the power base of the Pālas in north Bengal and Bihar as would appear from the discovery

of numerous stone inscriptions ranging in dates from year 2 to 15 of king Mahendrapāla from this region<sup>16</sup>. The discovery of the present c.p. has overnight changed the earlier perception that the Mahendrapāla of these inscriptions was Mahendrapāla I (c. 883-908 A.D.) of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty.

**Prose Portion: Lines 25-20, divided into six Sections, A to F**

Now begins the prose portion which has been divided by us into the following six sections for convenience of reference and better understanding of the subject matter.

**Sections:**

- A. Lines 25-30 Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha ... Mahendrapāladevaḥ kuśalī
- B. Lines 30-35. Śrī-Puṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau....Ṭangil=ārdha-ś(s) roto(')vadhiḥ
- C. Lines 35-39. Evan=niyamita-sīmni....sam=ādiśati ca
- D. Lines 39-44. (Matam=astu bhavatām .... Śrīmad=Bhaṭṭāraka-pādā dadatv=iti)
- E. Lines 44-47. Ato='smābhis=tadīya vijñāptyā .... tath=aiva pradattaḥ
- F. Lines 47-50. Yatā(o) bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=eva...dharmm=ānusan-sana (saṁśinaḥ) ślokaḥ

The main points of interest may now be discussed under the different sections as outlined above.

**Section A: The reigning king and the grandeur of the Jayaskandhāvāra  
Lines 25-30 (sa khalu ... Mahendrapāladevaḥ kuśalī)**

The grant was issued by Parama-Saugata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Mahendrapāladeva, who meditated on the feet (pād=ānudhyāta) of Parama-Saugata Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Devapāladeva, being in good health (kuśalī), from the victorious camp pitched at Kuddāla-khātaka (wrongly read as Auddālakhātaka by R&I). This stock set of phraseology is used to describe the might and grandeur of all the Pāla jayaskandhāvāras.

In view of the mention of so many jayaskandhāvāras in the Pāla c.ps it would appear that some of the 'camps of victory' were make-shift arrangements for the temporary residence of the king during his visit on special occasions, whereas the ones at Pāṭalīputra, Mudgagiri, Rāmāvati etc. big cities were built on a permanent basis.



Section B: Location and Boundaries of Nandadīrghikā udraṅga

Lines 30-35 (Śrī-Puṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau ... Ṭaṅgil-ārddha-ś(s)roto(?) vadhiḥ)

The boundaries of the donated land at Nandadīrghikā udraṅga comprised in the Kuddālakḥātaka (wrongly read as 'Kundalakhāta by R&I) viṣaya under the Puṇḍravarddhana-bhukti are given next. It deserves to be mentioned here that the donated land in the jajilpara c.p. or Gopala III<sup>17</sup> is located in Kuddālakḥāta viṣaya comprised in the Puṇḍravarddhana bhukti. It is quite likely that Kuddālakḥātaka and Kuddālakḥāta refer to the same viṣaya. The Jajilpara c.p. was, however, issued from a jayaskandhāvāra named Vaṭaparvatikā. In view of both the inscriptions coming from the Malda district (which also claims the Khalimpur c.p.), it would not be unreasonable to hold that Kuddālakḥātaka/khāta viṣaya as also the jayaskandhāvāra of Kuddālakḥātaka were situated in about the same region. The term Kuddālakḥāta/khātaka (literally, dug with spades) bears an association of the development of land with spades, but there is no knowing when such activity was undertaken in a significant scale that gave its name to the viṣaya / jayaskandhāvāra.

The eastern, western, northern and southern boundaries of Nanda-dīrghikā-udraṅga have been demarcated with reference to such landmarks as stream (srotikā), or arddha-srotikā (half-stream) of rivers, embankments (bandha/ bandhāka), fountain or spring (nirjihara), water reservoir of sorts (ādhāra), water-holes (kuṇḍā), raised footway (ālī-for demarcation between lands), low land (avakhāta), termite mound (valmīka stūpa), aśvattha, vilva and āmalakī trees, and the like. The recurrence of the river Ṭaṅgila seems to suggest that it was a dominant feature of the landscape of the locality. Ramesh and Iyer have suggested the identificaiton of some names in connection with the demarcation of boundaries (e.g. Ṭaṅgila, Kubja-ghaṭikā, Nārāyaṇavāsa, Kāsiggada etc.) with the help of modern maps and village list.<sup>18</sup> Nothing definite can be said on these except for Ṭaṅgila (=the river Tangan).

The names 'Golaṭi', Jāgaravāsaka' and Ṣaṇḍāla (correct reading: ṣaṇ=ṇāla) have been wrongly read by them.<sup>19</sup> The word 'ṣaṇ=ṇal=āntarita' (six nalas apart) may suggest the continuation of measurement by 'nala' as a unit. The picture that emerges in one's mind of the Nandadīrghikā udraṅga is not of a congested area or a hub throbbing with town-life or commercial activities (udraṅga), but rather of a rural type of locality amidst natural surroundings with sufficient vacant space and natural objects around, which is why it is difficult to be certain about the correct meaning of the term 'udraṅga' as

mentioned here. Is it a town, or a tax/toll collection centre, or is it something else?

**Section C: List of Dignitaries and Other Addressees**

**Lines 35-39 (Evan=niyamita-sīmni....sam=ādīśati ca)**

This section (lines 35-40) gives a stereotyped list of the royal officials/servants (rāja-pād=opajīvinah) of different designations and categories who are supposed to have been present within the specified boundary (evan=niyamita-sīmni) of the donated land to hear the king's order. The officials enlisted here are : (1) rājanaka, (2) rājaputra, (3) kumārāmātya, (4) bhuktipati, (5) viṣayapati, (6) senāpati, (7) uparika, (8) tadāyuktaka, (9) viniyuktaka, (10) daṇḍika, (11) daṇḍapāśika, (12) caur=oddharanika, (13) dauḥśādhyaśāghanika, (14) khola, (15) dūta, (16) gamāgamika, (17) abhitvaramāṇa, (18) hasty=aśva-nau-bala-vyāpṛitaka, (19) go-mahiṣy=ajāvīkā-vaḍav=ādhyakṣa and others subsisting on the king's feet, as well as those falling under the categories of cāṭas, bhaṭas, the district officers (viṣaya-vyavahāriṇah) including the karaṇas (sa-karaṇān) as may be present from time to time (yathākāl=ādhyāsi) and the resident cultivators / or residents and cultivators (prativāsinaḥ kṣetrakarāmś=ca). The present list is not among the largest available in Pāla copper plates. Khola which is of uncertain meaning, finds mention in the Khalimpur c.p. Reference to 'viṣaya-vyavahāriṇah sakaraṇān' is also not so common in Pāla c.ps. The assemblage of all the functionaries (and others involved) in the site of the land to be donated appears to be more notional than real. To all these, especially honouring the brāhmaṇas (this part is commonly more elaborate in other Pāla c.ps), the king (Mahendrapāla) pays due respect, makes known and issues these commands :

**Section D: Purport of the Grant for which Vajradeva approaches the king**

**Lines 39-44 (Matam=astu bhavatām ... Śrīmad=Bhaṭṭāarakapādā dadatv=iti)**

This Section deals with the very important question of what this grant is all about. Prior to introducing the matter squarely, the king wishes the consent of those who (are supposed to) have assembled at the donation site of Nandadīrghikā udranga (boundaries of Nandadīrghikā udrāṅga and the list of the addressees have been provided in Sections B and C above).

Then the matter is introduced by the king, speaking in the 1st Person (pl.) as follows : 'We have been informed by Mahāsenāpati (the great Commander of the army), Śrī-Vajradeva, through the mouth of the dūta (Mahāsenāpati Śrī-Vajradevana dūtakamukhena vāyam=vijñāpitāḥ).'

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This is followed by Vajradeva's version in which Vajradeva speaks in the 1st Person (Sing.) and the king figures in the 3rd Person (Pl.) and which is put to the king through the mouth of the dūtaka in the following manner: 'I have caused a vihāra (Buddhist monastery) to be constructed in Nandadīrghikā udraṅga (Nandadīrghik=odraṅge mayā vihāraḥ kārītaḥ) for the enhancement of the religious merit of my mother and father, myself and the whole multitude of living beings. May his Gracious Majesty (literally, the feet of his Gracious Majesty - 'Bhaṭṭāarakapādā(=ḥ) grant (dadatu) the Nandadīrghikā udraṅga as written above for worship (pūjana), writing/copying (of Buddhist religious texts - 'lekhana'), etc.; garments (for monks- 'cīvara'), food/alms (for monks - 'piṇḍapāta'), beds (śayana), seats (āsana), requisities for the sick (glāna-pratyaya), medicines (bhaiṣajya), other requisites (for monks - 'pariṣkāra), etc. (ādy=artham); for repair of damages and cracks (of the vihāra-'khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān=ārtham') - as fit/applicable (yath=ārham), - of the divine lord Buddha (Bhagavato Buddha-bhaṭṭāarakasya); the place (abode) of Prajñāpāramitā and all the other female religious leaders/divinities (Prajñāpāramit=ādi-sakala-dharmma-nettrī-sthānasya); the group of Bodhisatvas of the noble Avaivarttika order (āry=Āvaivarttika-Bodhisatva-gaṇasya); the noble congregation of monks adhering to the individual eight holy personages (aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgala-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya); as also for the unblemished enjoyment (anavadya-bhog=ārtham) with the apportionment (of facilities / land) made according to my plan (mat-parikalpita-vibhāgena), also of others of my choice (anyeṣām=api mam=ābhimatānām).'

This important Section has been the subject of lots of misreading, wrong interpretation and wrong translation at the hands of scholars.<sup>20</sup>

The most blatant of these are : - (1) wrongly taking king Mahendrapāla (and not Vajradeva) as the builder of the Nandadīrghikā udraṅga, and (2) wrongly taking Vajradeva as the dūtaka of this grant. G. Bhattacharya (GB) correctly pinpoints the fallacies of R&I as well as BNM and observes: 'unfortunately MUKHERJEE himself has become a victim of the blunder(s) of both the authors.'<sup>21</sup> Strangely enough B. N. Mukherjee makes repeated assertions about king Mahendrapāla's being the founder of the monastery (vihāra) while revealing information about a t. c. seal impression found at the site of the monastery which speaks (according to his own reading) 'of the noble congregation of monks of the H(N) am(dī)rghi-vihāra, caused (to be founded) by the illustrious Vajradeva''!<sup>22</sup> In addition to this, he blindly follows the readings of R&I and shares with them the errors with regard to the following words: Nandadīrghik=odraṅgo (for Nanadīrghik=odraṅgam),

lekha(pa) n=ādy= arthe (for lekhan=ādy=artham), samādhān= ādy=artham (for samādhān= ārtham)<sup>23</sup>.

Among other instances of misreadings by scholars mention may be made of 'mahā vihārah' (for 'mayā vihārah' by KKG, SCM-1 and ACS) and 'puj= ānala-khādy=ānn=ādy=artham' (for 'pūjana-lekhanādy=artham' by KKG.<sup>24</sup> There is no reference to dedication of the vihāra for proper enjoyment, at the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka (Buddha) as KKG construes. The split of the land into 'amśas' as indicated by SCM or KKG is likewise not supported by the original text. Like many of his fanciful assertions, SCM's statement about a three-fold division of the donated land<sup>25</sup> is a figment of his own imagination.

### Avaivarttika and hierarchy of Buddhist personages

The appearance of the term 'Avaivarttika' in this inscription deserves attention. A community of Buddhist monks affiliated to this order of the Mahāyāna school (Māhāyānik=Avaivarttika-bhikṣu-saṅgha) was already known to us from the Gunaighar (Comilla district, now Bangladesh) c.p. grant of Vainyagupta, dated G.E. 188 (=A.D. 507-08). To Ramesh and Iyer goes the credit of correctly reading the term 'Avaivarttika' in lines 38-39 of the Nalanda c.p. of Devapāla.<sup>26</sup> Formerly, the letters for 'āry=Āvaivarttika were read as 'āyārthe tāmttra (tri)ka' by H. Shastri, and as 'ārcārthe tā (ta)traka' by N.G. Majumdar, who interpreted the portion in their own ways.<sup>27</sup> Ramesh and Iyer have also correctly pointed out the significance of the term 'Avaivarttika' as 'firmly set on the road to enlightenment'.<sup>28</sup> B. N. Mukherjee has further elaborated on the concept with reference to some Buddhist texts.<sup>29</sup>

It appears that Vajradeva was an adherent of this order and founded the vihāra as a centre for monks subscribing to its tenets.

### Services and Recipients Juxtaposed

On scrutiny of the lines in this Section it is possible to observe that some services were intended for some recipients. It may further be noticed that service of each category ends with 'artham' or 'ādy=artham' (for such purposes) whereas recipient of each category has a genitive case-ending. As it is the list of recipients does not fully answer to the list of services, and who is to get what has not been specifically spelt out. In fact the term 'yath=ārham' seems to leave the decision to our discretion. The following is an attempt on our part to juxtapose the recipients against the Services.

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Table 1 : Jagjibanpur c.p. of Mahendrapāla

A.	B.
Services offered No.	Recipients of Services No.
i) (a) pūjana-(b) lekhana etc. (ādy=artham)	1. Bhagavato Budha-bhaṭṭārakasya
ii) (a) cīvara-(b) piṇḍapāta- (c) śayana-(d) āsana- (e) glāna-pratyaya-(f) bhaisajya- (g) pariṣkāra etc. (pariṣkāra=ādy=artham)	2. Prajñāpāramit=ādi-sakala-dharm- nettrī-sthānasya 3. āry=Āvaivarttika-Bodhisatva- gaṇasya
iii) khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhāna (samādhāna=ārtham)	4. aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgala-ārya- bhikṣu-saṅghasya
iv) mat-parikalpita-vibhāgen= ānavadya-bhoga (bhoga=artham)	5*. Not mentioned, but apparently the structures of the vihāra. 6. anyeṣām=api mam=ābhimatānām

In our view, Recipients of Service No. (i) both (a) and (b) are those enlisted under Nos. 1, 2 and 3, i.e. the ones who are objects of reverence, but are not living. Services enlisted under No. (ii) - from (a) to (g) are to be extended to living persons, monks belonging to the bhikṣu saṅgha=Recipients 4; Services under (iii) can only be meant for Recipient 5.\* Services listed under (iv) are specifically designed for Recipients 6. The whole inter-relation between Services and Recipients is summed up in the following equation:

Table 1(a) : Equation of Services and Recipients - Jagjibanpur c.p.

A	B
(i)	= 1, 2, 3
(ii)	= 4
(iii)	= 5*
(iv)	= 6

### Parallels from the Nalanda, C.P. of Devapāla<sup>30</sup>

Besides 'āry=Āvaivarttika Bodhisatva-gaṇasya', our inscription shares with the Nalanda c.p. many other expressions in respect of Section D. Services and Recipients may likewise be discerned in the Nalanda c.p. and these may be arranged in the following order :-

Table 2: Nalanda c.p. of Devapāla

A	B
Services offered	Recipients of Services
(i) (a) bali-(b) caru-(c) satra- (d) cīvara-(e) piṇḍapāta- (f) śayana-(g) āsana-(h) glāna- pratyaya-(i) bheṣajya-(ādy =artham)	1. Bhagavato Buddha-bhaṭṭārakasya 2. Prajñāpāramit=ādi-sakala-dharmma- netrī-sthānasya 3. ārya-Āvaivarttika-Bodhisatva- gaṇasya
(ii) lekhaṇa-(ādy=artham)	4. aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgalasya
(iii) khaṇḍa-spuṭita-samādhān =artham	5. cātur=ddiś=ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya 6. dharmmaratnasya 7. vihārasya

Both H. Shastri and N. G. Majumdar have clubbed 1 and 2 together, taking 2 as adjective to 1. H. Shastri translates the whole (i.e. 1 and 2 combined) as 'the blessed lord Buddha, the abode of all the leading virtues like the Prajñāpāramitā'.<sup>31</sup> 'N. G. Majumdar translates the same as 'of the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka, who is the eye of all the virtues including Prajñāpāramitā', deriving 'netrī' from 'netra' (eye)<sup>32</sup>. But in our view, 1 and 2 may be treated as separate entities and netrīsthānasya may be taken to mean netrīsthānīyasya. According to Majumdar, 'The expression aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgalasya is here in apposition to cāturdiś=ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya which follows, and the two expressions taken together would mean 'the community of monks from four quarters comprising the eight great classes of intelligent beings'.<sup>33</sup> In our view, the genitive case-ending in 'aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgalasya' suggests that it is a separate entity. But in the Jagjibanpur c.p. 'aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgal=ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya' has been knit together in a compound (samāsa) to indicate a single entity. N. G. Majumdar has explained the significance of the expression aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgala' on the basis of Buddhist philosophy and he has equated 'aṣṭa-ārya-pudgala' with 'aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgala' which again he has translated as 'the eight great classes of intelligent beings'. In the Nalanda c.p. Service Nos. (ii) and (iii) are specifically earmarked for Recipient Nos. 6 and 7 respectively. 'Dharmmaratna' here seems to stand for Buddhist religious texts. Services listed under (i) were apparently extended to Recipient Nos. 1 to 5, as applicable.

To come back to our inscription and with the hindsight of the Nalanda c.p. just discussed, it appears more practicable to take 'aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa-pudgala' in the sense as suggested by N.G. Majumdar than to take it in the sense of the 'eight spiritual stages (bhūmis)' crossed by the Avaivarttika (=avivarttanaśīla)

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Bodhisatvas as proposed by B. N. Mukherjee,<sup>34</sup> for the term 'aṣṭa-mahāpuruṣa' rather indicates that the number of the 'mahāpuruṣas' was eight.

### Similar arrangements in the Bhagalpur c.p. of Nārāyaṇapāla<sup>35</sup>

We have just noticed the many similarities that the Jagjibanpur c.p. shares with the Nalanda c.p. of Devapāla while detailing the purport of the grant. As both of these inscriptions dwell on the construction and religious activities of two Buddhist vihāras, such similarities between them cannot be said to be altogether unexpected. But there is occasion for surprise when we see important similarities of the Jagjibanpur c.p. with the Bhagalpur c.p. of Nārāyaṇapāla at this juncture. For the Bhagalpur c.p. is concerned not with a Buddhist vihāra, but with a temple complex meant for lord Śiva and the congregation of Pāśupata teachers. The Services offered in that inscription and the recipients of such services may now be noticed.

Table 3 : Bhagalpur c.p. of Nārāyaṇapāla

A	B
Services offered	Recipients of Services
i) (a) pūjā- (b) bali- (c) caru- (d) sattra - (e) nava-karma etc. (nava-karmādy=artham)	1. Bhagavataḥ Śiva-bhaṭṭārakasya 2. Pāśupata-ācārya-parśadaś=ca 3. anyeṣām=api sv=ābhimatānām
ii) (a) śayan-(b) āsana-(c) glāna- pratyaya-(d) bhaiṣajya- (e) pariṣkāra etc. (pariṣkār =ādy=artham)	
iii) sva-parikalpita-vibhāgena anavadya-bhog=artham	

A comparison of Table 3 with Table 1 (Jagjibanpur c.p.) would show remarkable similarities: Services (ii) and (iii) in Table 3 are identical with (ii) and (iv) of Table 1 except that the latter has two additional items (cīvara and piṇḍapāta) which are missing in Table 3, and Table 3 reads 'sva-parikalpita' (iii) instead of 'mat-parikalpita' (iv) of Table 1. 'Pūjana'. in Table 1 (i-a) has the form 'pūjā' (i-a) in Table 3. As for Recipients, 6 of Table 1 is 3 of Table 3. Nos. 1 and 2 of Table 3 may be likened to 1 (Bhagavato Buddha-bhaṭṭārakasya) and 4 (ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya) of Table 1.

The similarities in approach of the Śaivite temple with a Buddhist vihāra will be easier to understand if we remember that the Śaivite temple complex was caused to be constructed by Nārāyaṇapāla himself who was also responsible for devising the activities to be conducted there. In spite of his

personal Śaivite leanings, the traditional Pāla attachment to Buddhism is betrayed by the appearance of some typical Buddhist terms (as listed under Services, No. ii-a to e), though not all, in its vocabulary.

### Similar arrangements in the Gunaighar c.p. of Vainyagupta<sup>36</sup>

We may end our quest for epigraphic parallels by having a closer look at a much earlier inscription - the Gunaighar c.p. of Vainyagupta of Gupta Year 188 (A.D. 507-08). The following Table shows the Service-Recipient equation as provided by this c.p.

Table 4 : Service-Recipient equation in the Gunaighar c.p.

A	B
Services offered	Recipients of Services
i) gandha-puṣpa-dīpa-dhūp=ādi pravarttana (pravarttanāya)	1. Bhagavato Buddhasya 2. (tasya ca) bhikṣu-saṅghasya
ii) (a) cīvara-(b) piṇḍapāta- (c) śayana-(d) āsana-(e) glāna- pratyaya-(f) bhaiṣajy=ādi paribhoga (paribhogāya)	3. vihāre ca
iii) khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa-pratisaṃskāra- karaṇa (karaṇāya)	

The Service-Recipient equation has been clearly spelt out in the Gunaighar c.p., which should help us solve this aspect of the Jagjibanpur c.p. in respect of the terms which are common in both the inscriptions (cf. Tables 1 and 4).

### Some typically Buddhist terms in the services offered

The Services offered in the Jagjibanpur c.p. (see Table 1, iia to iig) are related to the discipline followed by Buddhist monks from much earlier times.

‘Cīvara’ means the dress or robe of a Buddhist monk. Generally, it consisted of three parts (ticīvaram). ‘Piṇḍapāta’ has reference to the food received in the alms bowl of a Buddhist monk. ‘Śayan=āsana’ (Pāli senāsanam) seems to have meant originally ‘sleeping and sitting’ and hence ‘dwelling’. Generally it is translated as beds and seats, which is followed by us. ‘Glāna-pratyaya’ (Pāli gilānapaccayo) indicates the medical requisites for the sick (from glāna √glai). ‘Bhaiṣajya’ means medicine (bhiṣaj=a physician). ‘Paṛiṣkāra’ (Pāli parikkhāro) stands for the (other) requisites of a Buddhist monk (cf. aṭṭha parikkhāra-the eight requisites of the Buddhist Priest).<sup>37</sup>

### Correction of some mis-interpretations

In the light of the data of the four representative c.ps as well as usage,



it would appear that B.N. Mukherjee's translation of the expression 'glāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajya-pariṣkāṛ=ady=artham khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān=ādy=ārtham' (sic) as 'purification [after illness?] etc. and for fragmented (or) fully blown (i.e. deep) religious meditation etc.'<sup>38</sup> is ingenious but misplaced. The correct meanings of the terms in 'glāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajya-pariṣkāṛ= ādy=artham' have been discussed above. 'Khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān=ārtham' has nothing to do with meditation, but is concerned with the upkeep of the (buildings of) the vihāra (cf. Tables 2 and 4 for confirmation). The fallacy of B. N. Mukherjee's view as reflected in his translation : 'and also for others of my (i.e. the king's) choice and by the division settled by me for the faultless enjoyment (by the beneficiaries) the king gives thus (i.e. the following manner)',<sup>39</sup>—attributing Vajradeva's credit to the king — has been already pointed out. In this, however, Mukherjee is not alone.<sup>40</sup>

**Section E: King's approval of the grant with rights and privileges  
Lines 44-47 (Ato='smābhiḥ=tadīya vijñāptyā .... tath=aiva pradattaḥ)**

The grant of the request along with the customary rights and privileges with the tenure of the land has been outlined in this Section.

Some scholars have failed to comprehend the king's approval part (recorded in the 1st person as 'asmābhiḥ...tath=aiva pradattaḥ') correctly which has resulted in erroneous and cumbersome interpretation and translation (cf. for example, R&I's Translation: 'I gave as if directly by myself (bhāṭṭārakapāda)', which has been closely followed by SCM.).

The Nandadīrghikā udraṅga was granted with land attached thereto within the specified four boundaries (sva-sambaddha-bhūmi-sametaś= catus=sīmā-paryantaḥ). The rights and privileges to be enjoyed by the donee are indicated by the expressions : (1) satalaḥ, (2) soddeśaḥ, (3) soparikaraḥ, (4) saghaṭṭa-taropetaḥ (5) sadaśāpacāraḥ, (6) sacauroddharaṇaḥ, (7) parihṛita-sarvvapīḍaḥ, (8) a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśaḥ, (9) a-kiñcit-pragrāhyaḥ, and (10) rājakul=ābhāvya-sarvva-pratyāya-sametaḥ. The land was granted according to the 'bhūmicchidra-nyāya', and was made tenable for the duration of the moon, the sun and the earth (i.e. for all time to come). The rights and privileges handed over with the land to the donee follow the general pattern of Pāla land charters.

Though not specifically mentioned in the inscription, it may be assumed that Mahāsenāpati Vajradeva, who had caused the vihāra to be built at Nandadīrghikā udraṅga was the original donor of the land of the udraṅga. He apparently approached the king to grant it tax-free status according to the bhūmicchidra-nyāya along with all the rights and privileges that went with it, by duly recording it in a copper plate charter. Apparently Vajradeva made

payments to the state as compensation for the loss of revenue it would entail to the treasury, and to make sure that he obtained the religious merit for the donation.<sup>41</sup> However, such details are generally not recorded in the Pāla charters and the present grant is no exception.

In the present case the vihāra was the donee, i.e. the beneficiary of the donation, and to start with, Vajradeva appears to have played an important part in the administration of the vihāra, doubling both as the donor and the donee.

**Section F : Solicitation of Approval and Cooperation of all, Date  
Lines 47-50 (Yatā(o) bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=eva ... dharmm=ānuśansana  
(śamsinaḥ) ślokāḥ**

This Section (lines 47-50) follows the customary pattern of Pāla c.ps in which the approval of all for the grant and the co-operation of future kings for its continuance are solicited. The resident cultivators (or residents and cultivators - 'prativāsibhiḥ kṣetrakaraaiś=ca') were to make over (to the donee) the customary taxes, payments in kind and other types of revenues.

**Date of the grant : line 50**

The grant was dated in the year 7 (of Mahendrapāla), in the Vaiśākha day 2. B. N. Mukherjee has mentioned the date as the 7th day of Mahendrapāla's regnal year, which is wrong.

**Second phase of verses : 17-34 (lines 50-72).**

**Customary benedictory Verses : Verses 17-20.**

A few customary benedictory verses extolling the merits of making and protecting a gift and the demerits of its misappropriation now follow. These are the only four verses the present inscription has in common with other Pāla copper plate inscriptions.

**Dūtaka of the grant = Śūrapāla - V. 21.**

In this meritorious act (sukṛita-karmaṇi, viz. issue of the land grant) Śūrapāla has been made the dūtaka (emissary) by Śrīmat-Saṅgrāmatāra, i.e. the Star/Saviour in wars (an appellation used to designate the king Mahendrapāla), like Saumitri (i.e. Lakṣmaṇa) had been by Rāma. This Śūrapāla, son of Devapāla by Māhaṭā (daughter of Durlabharāja) was already known to us from his Mirzapur c.p.<sup>42</sup> The present inscription shows that Śūrapāla was preceded on the throne by his co-uterine elder brother Mahendrapāla. There is, however, no mention of Mahendrapāla in Śūrapāla's copper plate. Whether this omission stems from the preference for recording only the direct line of succession, or there is more to it than that, cannot be said at the present state of our knowledge.

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Some scholars have erred in thinking that Mahāsenāpati Vajradeva was a/the dūtaka (messenger) of the grant apparently because of their failure to grasp the correct meaning of the expression 'Śrī-Vajradevena dūtaka-mukhena'. This is rather the standard format in Pāla c.ps. while recording large donations for religious institutions in which the king was apparently approached through an influential intermediary even at the initial stage. This intermediary gained royal recognition as the dūtaka of the grant.<sup>43</sup>

Once assuming that Vajradeva was the dūtaka of this grant, when faced with the king's younger brother Śūrapāla (I) being mentioned as the dūtaka (line 54) R&I decide that 'this charter is unique in having two royal messengers (dūtaka)'.<sup>44</sup> KKG also falls a victim of this confusion<sup>45</sup>, while SCM is somewhat guarded by his meaningless translation.<sup>46</sup> So far as B.N. Mukherjee is concerned, he has no knowledge that Śūrapāla is mentioned as the dūtaka of this grant. For him Vajradeva is the only dūtaka.<sup>47</sup>

### **Mahāsenāpati Śrī-Vajradeva and his predecessors : verses 22-34 (lines 54-72)**

What gives the present inscription a speciality is the detailed eulogy in 14 verses of the donor Mahāsenāpati Vajradeva, his father Nārāyaṇadeva and grandfather Devaradeva which almost rivals in scale the eulogy of the Pāla kings.

#### **Devaradeva, the grandfather of Vajradeva : Verses 22-23**

Born in a great family (kule mahati), Devaradeva possessed an enviable reputation, and his fame was sung across the world. Even to-day, his praises are the first things sung by the eminent people while talking about virtues. –V. 22.

He was noted for his possession, in extraordinary abundance, of the three virtues of sacrifice, truthfulness and valour. –V. 23.

From the vague praises applied to Devaradeva it appears that he had no specific achievement to his credit and it was his son Nārāyaṇadeva who was the real founder of the fortunes of the family.

#### **Nārāyaṇadeva, son of Devaradeva : Verses 24-27.**

Verses 24-27 are devoted to Devaradeva's son Nārāyaṇadeva. A profusion of praises is showered on him to the effect that he combined in him great military and physical power, pleasing appearance as well as remarkable attributes of head and heart.

Verse 24 states that he was an abode of Kamalā (i.e. Lakṣmī or Fortune).<sup>48</sup> He was a lover of righteousness and held truth as dear as his life. He possessed (great) physical strength and was highly esteemed by his teacher (guruṇā mahīyān).

V. 25 mentions the killing by him with his sword with great bloodshed the enemies and their mighty elephants for which his fame spread widely.

V. 26 praises him for the more subtle or sublime aspects of his character and personality. The composer has also taken the opportunity to project his own skill while focusing the qualities of his subject (see Translation for details). There is no way of knowing how far this panegyric reflects the reality. But it can be safely assumed that he was the real founder of the fortunes of his family.

The shower of praises on Nārāyaṇadeva continues unabated in verse 27. At the end of the stanza we are told that the illustrious king Dharmapāla made him chief (governor) of the maṇḍala of Darddaraṇḍī (Śrī-Dharmmapālo nṛipatiṛ= adhipatim=maṇḍale Darddaraṇḍyām). R&I read the name of the maṇḍala as Darddaraṇya and G. Bhattacharya, as Darddaraṇī (New Pāla Ruler named Mahendrapāla, p. 170). Strangely enough, according to the interpretation of KKG and ACS it was Nārāyaṇadeva who made Dharmapāla the ruler of Darddaraṇḍī! The use of the 'prathamā vibhakti' with Dharmapāla militates against this. Note also the use of the 'dvitīyā vibhakti' in 'adhipatim'. The location of the maṇḍala (not mentioned anywhere else) is not known. The present verse also makes grandiloquent claims (e.g. he was like fire unto the enemy faggots and rubbed his white lotus-like feet against hundreds of crowns which had been taken from them; he was the protector of the established social order; and he was the sole lord of the earth) which do not appear consistent with his subordinate status.<sup>49</sup>

Verse 27 also allows us a glimpse of the tender side of his character. We are told that to the beloved ones he was as the sun is to lotuses, and that he turned self-effacing in the face of praises of his well-reputed qualities. The second of these traits reminds one of such bashfulness on the part of Dharmmapāla on hearing his own praises.<sup>50</sup>

### **Kalyāṇadevī, wife of Nārāyaṇadeva : Verses 28-29**

Verses 28 and 29 lavishly glorify Kalyāṇadevī, the wife of Nārāyaṇadeva.

Rightly named Kalyāṇadevī, she carried the three worlds (in herself) and constituted the distinctive mark on the forehead thereof. In her the three vargas (divisions of human activities) reached their fulfilment. —V. 28

She did not seem to be an ordinary mortal person of this earth. The people who were spell-bound by her extraordinary charm and grace debated amongst themselves about her true identity in a way that reminds us of the manner queen Raṇṇādevī has been eulogised<sup>51</sup> in the Nalanda and Munger c.p.s of Devapāla. —V. 29.

**Vajradeva-son of Nārāyaṇadeva and Kalyāṇadevī : Verses 30-34**

On her (Kalyāṇadevī, who was like the sky) was begotten by him (Nārāyaṇadeva), who was like the sun, a son, the illustrious Vajradeva, the abode of perfection made by the creator. Valiant, single-minded in doing good to (all) living beings (satv=opakar=aika-rataḥ-this may show his Buddhist credential), he possesses an unblemished nature. - Verse 30.

Verse 31 lauds Vajradeva's warlike qualities and attainments. He gained possession of his beloved Lakṣmī (Lakṣmīn=kulajārṇ dadhat-praṇayinīm) with the rise of his power (vīry=odayāt). The battlefield was flooded with the blood of the great tusked he brought down by his sword. He reached celebrity in the world by marrying the rarely attainable Vijaya-Śrī in battle (durllabhārṇ saṅgrāme Vijaya-Śrīyaṇ pariṇayan) in which the enemies were offered as oblation in the sacrificial fire of arms. Does the beloved 'kulajā Lakṣmī' also double for a lady of a respectable family whom Vajradeva married with the rise of his power ? Otherwise marriage with Vijaya-Śrī alluded to in the same verse later would appear unduly repetitive.

Verse 32 mentions some of Vajradeva's sterling qualities. Passionate and swift in truth (rāgo dravo ca satye), he is skilful as an orator in public and not in spreading calumny about others (n=āpavāde parasya). His proficiency in scriptures does not keep away from darkness (=the ignorant ones). Even if he is deceived, he continues to address the needs of the subjects (vañcane (')) pi praj=ārthāḥ). There is no let up in his charity (kṣāntir=dāne na). He fights his enemy face to face (and only) when the latter is armed (i.e. he maintains the ethical code of a hero in not striking an unsuspecting unarmed enemy from behind). With him, friendship and sacrifice had priority to attraction of the fair sex. Scholars have failed to read many of the words employed in this stanza correctly and their translations have also suffered as a result (see Check lists).

V. 33 speaks of his fame (its soothing quality) derived from the abode of the moon (indu-dhāma-kalito and not Indra-dhāma-kalito as read by scholars) spreading over the lotus-like faces of the wives of the stubborn enemies. It is as (pleasant) to them as consecration in the holy water of the Gaṅgā is to the nobles (āryeṣu) and as anointment with thick sandal-wood paste is to the maidens of the quarters.

**Hoping for long duration of this Kīrtti: Verse 34**

In V. 34 the poet wishes that the meritorious act of the achiever would attain fame (vrajatu....pratiṣṭhām) for as long as long as the skies of the goose, expert by nature (in directing the goose to its course), endure; the light of

truth, the dispeller of darkness (i.e. the sun) illuminates all the directions; and the Tortoise performs the extraordinary feat of bearing the volume of the earth. Scholars have erroneously read 'bhavyasy=aitāḥ' and have made a mess of the expression 'tāvat=tasya vrajatu kṛtinah kīrtir=eṣā pratiṣṭhām.' R&I have correctly read 'vrajatu' (√vraj=to go, to proceed, to attain, etc. + lot-tu) in the text, but have inadvertently treated it as a personal name Vajraṭa which again they have confounded with Vajradeva, c.f. 'eulogy (of Vrajata)', op. cit., p. 29. SCM has read 'Vrajata' in the text itself and has treated it as a personal name in the translation, cf. 'work of Vrajata' (P.S., p. 70). Furthermore, he has made the gratuitous remark : 'There is a word, reading 'Vrajaṭa' in this verse, which the learned editors of the charter in the Ep. India (sic) have read as 'Vrajaṭa'. They have suggested that it was the name of the composer'. (ibid., p. 60). Following an earlier reading of SCM, ACS has stated that the name of the composer of the inscription is 'Vrajabhṛitī'. As a matter of fact, this inscription does not mention the name of its composer. KKG also has failed to read some words and read some words wrongly, e.g. 'dhvajata' for 'vrajatu'. Similar verses hoping for long duration of a meritorious deed is quite common in epigraphs.

**Engraver: Sāmanta Śrī-Māhaṭa: line 73 (prose)**

Verse 34 is followed by the last line (line 73 of the inscription which is much shorter than the other lines and is carefully centred. It is in prose and states that this (copper plate) charter has been engraved (utkīrṇam=idam śāsanam) by the feudatory chief,<sup>52</sup> the illustrious Māhaṭa (Sāmanta Śrī-Māhaṭena). The similarity of the name Māhaṭa with the name Māhaṭā, the queen of Devapāla (and mother of Mahendrapāla) is interesting. Besides, he was a man of some importance as is indicated by his designation 'sāmanta'<sup>52</sup>. It has been suggested by one scholar that probably he was a brother of Māhaṭa (SCM, Pratna-samīkṣā, vol. 6-8, p. 59). Nothing definite can be said on this in the absence of more positive evidence.

**The Jagjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapāla Comprehensively Re-edited**

**Check List of Errors / Differences in the Published Readings : List No. 1**

Serial No.	Verse/Line	(I) S. C. Mukherji: SCM-1	(II) A. Chattopadhyay Shastri: ACS	(III) Our version: SCB
1.	1; 2-3	subhūtinanditam sadā na priyaḥ	nityaṁ vandigaṇaiśca vanditamanādānapriyaḥ	su(sva) bhūti-nandi- tamanā dāna-priyaḥ
2.	2; 4-5	svasya doṣānta- kāri	sva(su)doṣāntakāri	dhvasta doṣ= āndhakāro
3.	3; 5	guṇayutaṁ..... ñjanā	guṇavantaṁ..... jātā	guṇaratnaṁ..... jātā (aṁ)
4.	4; 7	yasyandenaiva	.....	yasy=endun=eva
5.	4; 7	samavetān Indra- rājādikān	samare tā Indra- rājādikāḥ	samare tān=Indra- rāj=ādikān
6.	4; 7-8	Sindhūnāmādhip- stamadhvarajasāda	Sindhūnāmādhipaṁ pramathya rabhasād	Sindhūnām= adhipam= pramathya rabhasā
7.	4; 8	vikrāntibhāje nija	vikrāntibhājā nijā	vikrāntibhājo(ā) nijā
8.	4; 8-9	Cakrāyudhārthine	Cakrāyudhāyārthine	Cakrāyudh=ārthine
9.	5; 9	vātāddharavisiñci- nyetāni māsyat	vātā haranti siñcya- ntyetan hi mādyat	vātā haranti siñcany- (nty)=etāni mādyat
10.	5; 10	vārdha sevopa (pā) sanām	rājñān senāparāṇām	rājñān sevāparāṇām=
11.	6; 10-11	Nītervilāsa- bhuvanapriya	Nītervilāsa- bhuvanapriya	Nīter=vvilāsa- bhavanam=priya
12.	6; 11	jagatyudadhīn	jagatyudadhīn	jagat=padavīn
13.	7; 11-12	duṣṭevanīṛikanekai	dūropanītakanakai	daṇḍ=opanīta- kanaka
14.	7; 12	rājña	.....	rājā

(I) SCM-1 : From Saṁskṛita Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā, vol. LXVII

(II) ACS : From Pāl Abhilekh Saṅgrāha

(III) .... : Same as our version

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Serial No.	Verse/Line	(I) S. C. Mukherji: SCM-1	(II) A. Chattopadhyay Shastri: ACS	(III) Our version: SCB
15.	7; 12	nirmmime	nirmame	nirmmite(ta)
16.	7; 12	gṛihañca śauryāya kautukañca tilakañca	gṛihañca ramyañ sauryāya kautuka- karañca	gṛihañca Gauryā yat =kautukañca tilakañca
17.	8; 13	.....	labdhodyamaḥ	labdh=odayaṇ
18.	8; 13-14	puñjita vahnīṣu	sangrāme hatavairi	khadḡ=āvarjjitai (ta)-vairi
19.	8; 14	niḥśeṣabhūbhṛid- bhṛiṣāṁ	.....	niḥśeṣa-bhu(ū)- bhṛid=bhuvām(m)
20.	9; 14	yodhayāmāsura- ra (asuraṇ) ya	.....	yodhayāmāsura= arātayas=te
21.	9; 15	vivasvadramaṇā- va-īni (?)	vivasvadramaṇā vadhīni	vivasvad= bhramaṇ=āvadhīni
22.	10; 16	durggādhāśca Himālayācala- dravaḥ	durvādhaśca Himā- layācalavaraḥ	durggāyāś=ca Himālay=ācala- bhuvāḥ
23.	10; 16	ślāghyaḥ kara- sthaḥ dhṛitaḥ	ślāghyaḥ karasthaḥ kṛitaḥ	ślāghyaṇ=karaṇ= gṛihnatā
24.	11; 17-18	strayīmidvoha	striyaṁ kilovāha	s=Traitīm=iv=oha (oḍha)
25.	12; 18	.....	saukarmato	saukaryato
26.	13; 19	yasyāśvā vijaya- pathāni	yasyāśvīyagate patheṣu	yasy=āśvā-vijaya- prayāṇe
27.	13; 20	vidyāmṛitānaka- hetumanjapa (śa?) mvidyādharaṇāṅg- aṇāḥ	vidyabhyasadhiyā tathā ca mananaṁ vidhyādharaṇām- abhūt	vidyām=utpatan= aika-hetum=ajapan =Vidyādharaṇāṇ (m)=gaṇāḥ
28.	14; 21	vṛiṣabhakuṇḍāgra (pa)ratvasthalād	vṛiṣakuṇḍākhyā ratnasthalād	vṛiṣabha-kṣuṇṇ= āgra-ratna-sthalād
29.	14; 21	nyālohitāntarjja-lāt	nyālohitāntarjja-lāt	vyāloḍit=āntarjjalāt



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		(I)	(II)	(III)
Serial No.	Verse/Line	S. C. Mukherji: SCM-1	A. Chattopadhyay Shastri: ACS	Our version: SCB
30.	14; 21-22	-āparādrimukhekā- dhityakāñca śai- ladrapādbhūbhujē	-āparadiṇmukhācca nyataṁ mānauja- sām bhūbhujām	-āpara-diṇ=mukh= aika-tillakāt śaila- dvayād=bhūbhujō(ā)
31.	14; 22	bhrūrānatte mau- libhiḥ	bhrūrānate mau- libhiḥ	dūr=ānatair= mmaulibhiḥ
32.	15; 22-23	khaḍgāghāta mahē- bhangam (=Mah dayam?)bhuvittalat	khaḍgāghāta Mahendrakumbha- vigalat	khaḍg=otkhāta- mah=ebha- kumbha-vigalat
33.	15; 23	santīryādhipatīn dhām pratidiśam	santīryāpi patīn sadā pratidiśam	santīry=āpi patīn= apām=pratidiśam
33a.	15; 24	ścitramvādhaka kāraṇe	ścitram vādhaka kāraṇair-	ś=citram=vādhaka- kāruṇai(ṇyai)r-
34.	16; 24	jayaśriyāñcā	jayaśriyañca	jayaśriy=ārthī
35.	16; 24-25	praṇayinī bhava- to'mā (--) saṁ(?)	praṇayi me bhavato mano hi	praṇayinī bhavato= 'ham=āsam
36.	16; 25	itthampriyā	itthampriyā	itthambhiyā
37.	31-32	Kubjayatikāyā	Kubjayotikā	Kubjaghatikā
38.	32	Kāsikkata-vandhāka	Kāsmigaḍavandhāka	Kāsiggaḍa-bandhāka
39.	32-33	Ś(S) rotayinirjjha- reṇa Jambha (ñkṛ?)- vāsakā	srotasi nirjjhareṇa Jambūvāsaka- khātena	Golayi-nirjjhareṇ =Ājagara-vāsak= āvakhātena
40.	33-34	Nandāsurolyāttu	Nandasurālyāt tu	Nandasur=ālyā(h)
41.	37	gomahīṣyājāvikā-	gomahīṣājāvikā	go-mahīṣy=ājāvikā
42.	39	Varjjadevena	Śrī Vajradevena	Śrī-Vajradevena
43.	40	vasundharāśce	vasundharāyāśca	ca satvarāśeḥ
44.	40-41	mahāvihāraḥ kāritaḥ	mahāvihāraḥ kāritaḥ	mayā vihāraḥ kāritaḥ
45.	42	dharmmanetrī- sthānasya	dharmanetrī- sthānasya	dharmmanettrī- sthānasya

Serial No.	Verse/Line	(I) S. C. Mukherji: SCM-1	(II) A. Chattopadhyay Shastri: ACS	(III) Our version: SCB
46.	42	ārya Vaivarttika	ārya Vaivarttika	āry=Āvaivarttika
47.	42-43	yathārdde pudgadga (dga) laśca tadādyar ddham cīvara pariṣ-kārādyarddham	pūjanāśana cīvara pariṣka (ā) rādyar- tham	yath=ārham pūjana- lekhan=ādy=artham cīvara...pariṣkā= ādy=artham
48.	44	Bhaṭṭārakapādā dadatviti	Bhaṭṭārakapādāva- dadāt	Bhaṭṭārakapādā dadatv=iti
49.	44-45	ato'smābhista (corrected sma)- dīya vijñaptaye	ato'smābhirasmadīya vijñaptiā	ato='smābhis= tadīya vijñaptiā
49a.	46-47	yathārdhamapi... mayābhimatānām- ātpa(īpa)rikalpita	anyeśāmapi.... mamābhimatānām parikalpita	anyeśām=api...mam =ābhimatānām= parikalpita
50.	47	tathaiva prabhavaḥ	.....	tath=aiva pra- dattaḥ
51.	47	yato	matvā	ato
52.	49	bhāvibhirapiṇḍa- pātabhi	.....	bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhir-
53.	49	gauravopaharaṇe	gauravāpaharaṇe	gauravād=apa- haraṇe
54.	21; 53-54	Śrīmāssāt-sāma- tāreṇa kṛitaḥ (overwritten by hand)	Śrīman mahāmata rekhākṛitā sva- kṛita	Śrīmat-Saṅgrāma- tāreṇa kṛitaḥ sukṛita
55.	22.; 54	Śrīmān (Māhaṭa?) kule mahati	.....	Śrīmān kule mahati
56.	22; 54	ndeva ca Daha- varmma (over- written by hand)	.....	Devaradeva-nāmā
57.	23; 55-56	anyonya śraddhayā	ananyaśraddhayā	anyo(=')nya-spardd- hayā

**The Jagjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapāla Comprehensively Re-edited**

Serial No.	Verse/Line	(I) S. C. Mukherji: SCM-1	(II) A. Chattopadhyay Shastri: ACS	(III) Our version: SCB
58.	25; 59	kīrtisthalānām	kīrtistanoti	kīrtis=tatāna
59.	27; 62	-rmaṇḍale Darda (rbha) raṇyāṇī	-rmaṇḍale Dar- durānte	-rmaṇḍale Darddaraṇ- ḍyām
60.	28; 63	ca prabhūto kirti- lokaṃva (ha)ntī	vapustrilokī- tilakaṃ vahantī	vapus=ṭri(stri) lo- kī-tilakaṃ=vahantī
61.	29; 64	Lakṣmīruttānapada- vatāsvapraṭiṣṭhā- daya-	Lakṣmīrutānapadeva yā svapati-hṛidaya-	Lakṣmīr=ut=ālaya devatā svapati- hṛidaya-
62.	29; 64	Sunītarundhatībhi	Sunīti vārundhatī	satī kim=Arundhatī
63.	29; 64	Vasudhāreyamvitta- prasādhita	Vasudhāre yaścitta- prasādhita	Vasudhār=eyam= vitta-prasādhita-
64.	30; 65	devī dattasyāravi- denavṛittadhāmeva	divīva tasyām draviṇ- āvṛitena dhāmeṣa	div=īva tasyām raviṇ=eva tena dhām=eva
65.	30; 65	samyagvidhinā kṛiyādi	.....	samyag=vidhin= odapādi
66.	30; 65-66	satvodhanakilasva- taḥ pratāpī	satvopakāraṃ kurute pratāpī	satv=opakār=aika- -rataḥ pratāpī
67.	31; 66	khadgāghāto	khadgarañjita	khadg=āvarjita
68.	32; 68	(difficult to make out for overwritten correction)	loke'smin..... pūjanārthaṃ	Rāgo dravo..... ca praj=ārthāḥ
69.	32; 69	tiṣṭhopyadhvare	.....	dviṣati raṇavare
70.	32; 69	tyāge sthire bhū- bhṛit-lavanitā	tyāge sthiro bhud- bhujacalavanitā	tyāge sthire(o') bhun=na tu cala vanitā
71.	33; 69-70	ārya Prajñāpāramitā Śrīpu(?) līlābhīṣeko	ārya prabhā pari- sar salilābhīṣeko	āryeṣu Jahnu-tanayā ś(s)alil=ābhīṣeko
72.	33; 70	saundaryam	Mahendradhāma-gatinā	yasy=endu-dhāma-

Serial No.	Verse/Line	(I) S. C. Mukherji: SCM-1	(II) A. Chattopadhyay Shastri: ACS	(III) Our version: SCB
		kavitāyā murtyate	yaśasā pradattaḥ	kalito yaśasām vitānaḥ
73.	34; 71	imeḥ ślokāḥ prakṛiti-paṭuvo dhādvande Buddhastavaḥ	bhuñjan kāmam prakṛiti-paṭudhī bhūpatirgām cirāya	Han(m)sasy=aitāḥ prakṛiti-paṭavo yāvad=ev=eha gāvaḥ
74.	34; 71	dattvālokaṁ tatva- vedānudīpikaṁ	tattvālokaṁ vihata- tamasam varttate sarvadikṣu	tatv=ālokaṁ vihata- tamasam tanvate sarvva-dikkaṁ
75.	34; 71-72	prithvītalapra- vato su(sū?)ryaruḥ -mā ca kūrmaḥ	prithvīvalaya- vahula śreyasaḥ samsthitih syāt	prithvī-valaya- vahan=āścarya- karmma(ā) ca ku(ū) rmaḥ
76.	34; 72	tāvattasya Vraja- bhṛitinaḥ kīrtti- reṣā pratiṣṭhām	tāvad Vajrākhyā- manujapateḥ kīrtti- reṣā pratiṣṭhet	tāvat=tasya vrajatu kṛitinaḥ kīrttir=eṣā pratiṣṭhām

## Check List of Errors / Differences in the Published Readings : List No. 2

Sl. No.	Verse/Line	(I) Kamala Kanta Gupta KKG	(II) S.C. Mukherji SCM-2	(III) K.V.Ramesh & S. Iyer R&I	(IV) Our Version SCB
1.	1.	2. ....	A(t)yānanda	A[t*]y=ananda	ary=ānanda
2.	„	2-3 sabhūtivandita manādāna-	subhuti-nandita- mahā-dāna-	subhūti-handi- ta mahā-dāna-	su(sva)bhūti- nanditamanā dāna-
3.	„	4. prajāhitakarā	.....	.....	prajā-hitakaro
4.	2.	4-5 sva sva doṣān- dhakāro	.....	.....	dhvasta-doṣ= āndhakāro
5.	„	5. paṭa	paṭa	paṭa	paṭu
6.	„	„ guṇavantarī	guṇavantam	.....	guṇa-ratnaṁ
7.	3.	6. ....	dviṣad=aneka	dvishad=aneka	dviṣad=anika
8.	„	7. ....	yasy=Endradeva	yasy=Endradeva	yasy=(e)ndun =eva
9.	4.	8. ....	.....	-pramadhyā	-pramathya
10.	„	„ ....	nirvyāja(m) ānati	nirvyāja[m*] nati	nirvyāj=ānati
11.	„	8-9 Cakrāyudhā (dhaprā) rthine	Cakrāyudhāy= ārthine	Cakrāyudhaya[r] thine	Cakrāyudh= ārthine
12.	5.	9. ....	siñcaty=etāni	sincaty=etāni	siñcany(nty)= etāni
13.	„	„ ....	jalad=dāna	.....	galad=dāna
14.	6.	10-11 bhuvanam	bhuvanam	.....	bhavanam

(I) KKG : From Itihās (33rd year), and Pūrvādri (year 12)

(II) SCM-2 : From Pratna Samiksha, vol. 6-8

(III) R&I : From Epigraphia Indica, vol. XLII

(IV) ..... : Same as our version

Sl. No.	Verse/Line	(I) Kamala Kanta Gupta KKG	(II) S.C. Mukherji SCM-2	(III) K.V.Ramesh & S. Iyer R&I	(IV) Our Version SCB
15.	„ 11.	jagatyudadhīn .....	.....	.....	jagat=padavīn
16.	„ „	śa(sam)kramyate .....	.....	.....	śam(ś=cam) kramyate
17.	7. 11-12	da(dū)ropanīta .....	.....	.....	daṇḍ=opanīta
18.	„ 12.	nirmmime .....	nirmmame	nirmmame	nirmmite(ta)
19.	„ „	.....	śauryā	.....	Gauryā
20.	8. 13-14	khādyavarjīta .....	.....	.....	khadg= āvarjīta
21.	„ 14.	.....	vāraṇa ghaṭā	vāraṇa ghaṭā	vāraṇa -saṭā
22.	„ 15.	kṣetramiṣṭānya- .....	.....	.....	kretum=iṣṭāny =a-
23.	9. 15-16	ñcitambibhratā .....	.....	.....	ñ=ci(m ci) ram=bibhratā
24.	10. 16.	.....	huta	huta	hṛita
25.	„ „	.....	ślāghyani=ka-	.....	ślāghyañ=ka-
26.	„ „	.....	samyakatvam	samyaktvam	samyak-svam
27.	11. 17-18	(strai) () (yī)- mivāha sulakṣa- aṇāṅgīm	straiyīm-iv- odvāha sulakṣa- ṇāṅgīm	trai (s=tra)- yīm-iv-o[dvā*]ha salakṣaṇ-āṅgīm	s=Traiṭīm=iv= oha(oḍha) sa(su)lakṣa- ṇāṅgīm
28.	13. 19.	.....	yasy=aśvā vijaya- pathān.....vyūha	.....	yasy=aśā vijaya-pra- yāṇe....vyūhe pu(ū)rit=āmba- (ra)tayā
30.	„ 20.	.....	.....	drume	bhrame
31.	„ „	.....	añjayan	ajayan	ajapan
32.	14. 21.	.....	kuṇḍākhyā	.....	kṣuṇṇ=āgra

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33.	„ „	.....	viśikhany=āloḍit-	.....	viśikha- vyāloḍit-
34.	„ 22.	.....	mukhaik= ādhityakāt	.....	mukh=aika- tilakāt
35.	„ „	.....	dūrānantair-	dūr-anantair-	dūr=ānatair-
36.	15. 23.	santīryāpi patīna-dhām-	santīry=ādhipatin -apām	santīry=adhi- patin=apām	santīry=āpi patin=apām
37.	„ 24.	(sū) trambādha- ka-kāranair-	.....	ś=citram= [pava] ka- haraṇair-	ś=citram= vādhaka- kāruṇai(ṇyai)r-
38.	16. „	tvaṁ (taṁ)	.....	.....	Tvaṁ
39.	„ 24-25	bhavatīhamā(na)- saṁ(m)	.....	.....	bhavato='ham āsam
40.	„ 25.	vyājaghnire/ vyājaṣmire	vyājṛimbhire	vyājṛimbhire	vyājaghnire
	Line				
40.	25-26	.....	.....	nan-adhipa dhara	nānāvidha khara
41.	28.	.....	.....	dhūli-prasarita	dhūli-dhūsa- rita
42.	„	pādātābhara	pādātābhara	padān=a-bhara	pādātā(ta)- bhara
43.	31.	.....	.....	Auddālakhātaka	Kuddālakhā- taka
44.	29.	pādāntam dhyātaḥ	.....	.....	pād=ānu- dhyātaḥ
45.	31.	.....	.....	Kunda[1a] khātaka	Ku(ddāla)- khātaka
46.	31.	.....	paricchinna	Paricchhinna	paricchinnā

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47.	31-32	.....	Yoṭikā	.....	ghaṭikā
48.	32.	.....	Kāsiggara- bandhāka	Kāsiggara- Vammaka	Kāsiggara- bandhāka
49.	„	.....	Golaṭi	Golaṭi	Golayi
50.	33.	(ni) (dhā) ja(sā) Vāsakāvakhātena	na Jambu-vāsak- āvakhātena	ṇ-Aja[ga]ra- vasak-avakhātena	n=Ājagara- vāsak= āvakhātena
51.	„	.....	Svalpa-Nandā- pāra	portion left out	Svalpa-Nandā- (dhā or pā)ra
52.	„	nirjjaṭa	Vijjaga- bandhakam	Vijjaga vandhakam	Bijjaga- bandhākam
53.	34.	saṇṇalāntar-	saṇṇal-antar-	Shaṇḍal-antar-	ṣaṇ=ṇal=āntar-
54.	„	.....	.....	Nandasurālpā	Nandasur= ālyā
55.	36-37	dausādhassā- dhyānika	dau(h)sādhā- sādhanika	.....	dau(h)sādhya- sādhanika
56.	38.	no'nyāṅgam	no=nyañca (nyañś=ca)	no='nyañch (nyañś=ch)=a	no='nyāñśa (m=śca)
57.	40.	vasundharāśreḥ	ca satvaraścaḥ	.....	ca satvarāśeḥ
58.	40-41. mayā vihāraḥ	.....	mahāvihāraḥ	.....	.....
59.	41.	.....	Nandadīrghik- odraṅge	Nandadīrghik- odraṅga(ṅgo)	Nandadīrghik =odraṅgam
60.	42-43.	pūjānala-khādyā- nnādyartham	pūjana-lekha (pa)n-ādy-arthe	pūjana lekha (pa)n-ādy-arthe	pūjana-lekhan =ādy=artham
61.	43.	.....	samādhān-ady- artham	.....	samādhān= āartham
62.	44.	Śrīmadbhaṭṭāraka-	.....	.....	Śrīmad=Bhaṭ-



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		pādā dadatvi- (ti) ti			ṭātraka-pādā dadatv=iti (i.e. dadatu iti)
63.	44-45.	ato'smābhira- smadīyarvijñā- ptyā	.....	.....	Ato='smābhis =tadīya vijñā- ptyā
64.	46.	.....	.....	sa-paṭṭa	saghaṭṭa
65.	„	.....	.....	sa-daś-apachā (rā)raḥ(dhaḥ)	sadaś= āpacāraḥ
66.	49	.....	narakapāt	naraka-pātaka	naraka-pāta-
67.	21. 53-54	Śrīmatṣa jñāmatā rekḥākṛiteḥ	Śrīmān Saṅgr- āmatāreṇa kṛitam	.....	Śrīmat-Saṅgr- āmatāreṇa kṛitaḥ
68.	22. 55.	.....	sad-guṇa-kath- āśrya eka eva	.....	sad=guṇa- kathāsu ya eka eva
69.	23. 55-56	anyonyāspadva- yo-vṛiddhamanya mananya	.....	.....	Anyo(=')nya -sparddhayā vṛiddham= ananya-
70.	25 57-58	sphara (sphurat) dhārā	.....	.....	sphāra-dhārā
71.	„ 59.	kīrtistathā- nandaṁ	.....	.....	kīrtis=tatāna
72.	26. 59.	.....	pūritārtha-	pūrit-ārtha-	pūrit=ārthi-
73.	„ 59-60	dhiṣaṇaḥ (ṇo) vijñāta vastrasthiti(h)	.....	.....	dhiṣaṇā vijñā- ta-vastu-sthiti- (h)
74.	„ 60.	rūpane(nne) tra	kurvan=netra	kurvane(n=ne)tra	rūpaṁ netra
74a.	„ 60.	vayasyābhavat	.....	.....	-va yasy= ābhavat

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75.	27. 61.	Vahnirvvairīn- dha-nāmbharnn- paśata-	Vahnir=vvair= īn-dhanānām=nṛipa- śata-	.....	Vahnir=vvair= īndhanānām nn(rn)aya- śata-
76.	„ „	sarojākarārkāya- māliḥ	.....	.....	saroj=ākar= ārkāyamāṇ(n)- aḥ
77.	„ 62.	.....	.....	Darddaraṇyām (ṇyām)	Darddaraṇdy- āṇ(m)
78.	28. 63.	vadhūstrī (stri)- lokī	.....	.....	vapus=tṛī (ri)- lokī
79.	29. 64.	lolām (lā)	līnā	līnā	līlā
80.	„ „	.....	lakṣmīr= Uttānapādeva	.....	Lakṣmīr=ut= ālaya-devatā
81.	„ „	.....	Sunīti v=Ārun- dhatī	.....	satī kim= Arundhatī
82.	„ „	vasudhāreyam= vitta prasādhi- tamandirāt	vasudhār=eyam= vitta-prasādhita- mandira	vasudhār= eyam=vitta- prasādhita- mandira	vasudhār= eyam=vitta- prasādhita- mandirā
83.	„ 65.	lokāmśca kārya	.....	.....	lokāmś= cakāra
84.	30. „	dhāmeva samy- ag-vidhino(da) pādi	Rāmena samyag- viditogg(g)- uṇādi	Rāmeva samyag- vidino(lo) ggu (gu)ṇ=ādi	dhām=eva samyag= vidhin= odapādi
85.	„ 65-66	sattopakāraṇ karataḥ	.....	.....	satv=opakār= aika-rataḥ
86.	32. 68.	tyāgo dravye ca satye	tyāgo durvo(bo)- dha-satye	Tyāgo durvvo (bo)dha-satye	Rāgo dravo ca satye

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87.	„	.....	parastāt	parastāt	parasya
88.	„	.....	nanartta	nanartta	na jātu
89.	„	prajāyāḥ	praj=ārkaḥ	praj=ārkaḥ	praj=ārthāḥ
90.	„	kṣāntirdīne (....) yo	kṣāntir=dīnena bhūyo	kṣāntir=dīne na bhūyo	kṣāntir=dāne na bhūyo
91.	32. 69.	(bhrū(ha)nu) cala-vanitāmsa (tām sa) marayogepi	.....	.....	sthire(o=') bhun=na tu cala-vanitā- samprayoge (=')pi
92.	33. 69-70	arci(rciḥ) ṣu juhvata tayā	Ārya-Prajñāpāra- mitā śrīṣu	.....	āryeṣu Jahnū- tanayā-śa(sa)-
93.	33. 70.	kalito ma () () () ()	yasy=Endra- dhāma-kalito yaśasām vitānaḥ	yasy=Endra- dhāma-kalito yaśasām vitānaḥ	yasy=endu- dhāma-kalito- yaśasām vitānaḥ
94.	34. 71.	() () (bhī) tāḥ	Bhavyasy= aitāḥ	Bhavyasy= aitāḥ	Han(m)sasy= aitāḥ
95.	„	prakṛitipaṭa (dho) plāvadeve (ndra) gāvaḥ	.....	.....	prakṛiti-paṭavo yāvad=ev= ehā gāvaḥ
96.	„	tattvālokaṁ nihata tamasaḥ tattvate	.....	.....	tatv=ālokaṁ vihata-tamasaḥ tanvate
97.	„	sarvvadikṣu	sarvva-dikṣam	.....	sarvva-dikṣam
98.	„ 72	dhvajata kṛitinaḥ	Vrajata kṛiti- naḥ	.....	vrajatu kṛitinaḥ
99.	„	pratiṣṭhām (pratiṣṭhā)	.....	.....	pratiṣṭhām(m)
100.	- 73.	.....	.....	Māhaḍena	Māhaṭena

## NOTES

### Introductory Observations

1. Unfortunately, this important journal has failed to come out for quite some time which has caused concern and dismay in the concerned academic circle. It is expected that the authorities would take urgent steps to resume publication of this journal without delay.
2. The following are just some examples (serial numbering and diacritical marks are mine) :-
  - (i) In the Jagjibanpur c.p. there is a eulogisation of Mahendrapāla's forefathers beginning from Vapyata, father of Gopāla (p. 174);
  - (ii) That Dharmmapāla became the lord of the seven seas or the seven rivers of the Indus system has also been recorded in this grant (ibid.);
  - (iii) The wife of king Dharmmapāla was Raṇṇādevī, which has been written as Reṇyadevī in this inscription. She has been described in this inscription as the 'strīdharma incarnate' (p. 176);
  - (iv) King Mahendrapāla is said to have conquered a vast territory extending from ... the Indus river to the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra... He probably also killed the enemies in the land of Kanauj with his sword (p. 175);
  - (v) During his victorious campaigns... the king (Mahendrapāla) made it a point to propagate the ideals of Buddhism there and the 'Hetuvidyā' (p. 174);
  - (vi) The name of the preceptor of the king was probably Śrī Manasanarayana or Śrī Matsanaranjana (p. 176);
  - (vii) There is probably a reference to the erection of three temples of square type by the king by the side of the Nanda Lake (ibid.);
  - (viii) It is not clear whether Mahāsenāpati Barggadeva was killed in a fierce battle and his wife Lajjādevī went to the Mahāvihāra erected by her husband with his brother-in-law as indicated in lines 67-68 of this inscription (ibid.);
  - (ix) The inscription seems to have been composed by one Vrajabhṛti or Vrajabhuti (p. 173).

### Text

1. The reading 'mān=māni' is rather hypothetical.
2. R&I read aty=ānanda.
3. The letter preceding dāna looks like nā or rā, but not hā.
4. Read paṭa by other scholars.
5. Read aneka by other scholars.
6. R&I read yasy=Endradeva.
7. R&I read pramadhya(thya).
8. vikrānti-bhāje nija[r̥n\*] nirvyāja[r̥n\*] nati—read by R&I.
9. R&I read Cakrāyudhāy=ārthine, which may be metrically justified.

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10. R&I read siñcaty=etāni.
11. R&I read nirmame
12. The original has sardma.
13. SCM reads Śauryā.
14. SCM sees a duplication of kan here. Actually his own reading of kautukañ (for tila-) at the end of the preceding line is wrong.
15. Other scholars read ghaṭā.
16. R&I read huta.
17. R&I read bhṛṣaṇ(śaṇ).
18. R&I read samyaktvam.
19. R&I read trayīm-iv-o[dvā\*]ha.
20. R&I read prayāṇa-.
21. R&I read drume.
22. R&I read ajapan.
23. SCM reads Kuṇḍākhya.
24. SCM reads adhityakāt.
25. R&I read dūr-ānantarair-.
26. R&I read adhipatim.
27. R&I read [pāya]ka-haraṇair-.
28. R&I read vyājṛimbhire.
29. R&I read nānādhipa.
30. R&I read dhara.
31. R&I read prasarita.
32. R&I read pādān-ā-bhara.
33. R&I read Auddālakhātaka.
34. R&I read Kunda[la]khātaka.
35. Read srotaḥ. Palatal sibilant also occurs in śrotikayā (line 32) and śroto(=')vadhiḥ (line 35).
36. R&I read Kāsiggara-Vammaka in the Text and Kāsiñjara and Vammaka in the Translation.
37. R&I read Golaṭi and Ajagaravāsaka in the Text, while in the Translation the latter is reduced to Jāgaravāsaka (p. 17, also p. 26).
38. The portion 'Svalpa-Nandādhāra (or pāra) paścima-paṭena vilva-vṛikṣeṇa' fails to occur in R&I's Text, but is included in the Translation.
39. The letter preceding 'ra' can be read either as dhā or pā. We prefer the former.
40. R&I read Ṣaṇḍal-āntar-.
41. The original has pūrvāmukhoścattarakuṇḍā The intended reading may be pūrvvamukhāś=c-ottara-kuṇḍā(h) meaning 'and the east-facing kuṇḍas on the north'. R&I suggest that the engraver had originally written the letter u after kho and subsequently cancelled it. In our view, the letter following kho is śca.

42. R&I read Nandasurālpā.
43. The punctuation mark here serves the purpose of a comma.
44. R&I read='nyāñch(nyāmś=ch)=achāṭa'.
45. SCM, KKG, ACS read mahā (vihāraḥ).
46. R&I read -odraṅga(ṅgo) and comment 'There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here'. SCM also shows a punctuation mark here They fail to recognise this fore-runner of the Bengali type of anusvāra and mistake it for a punctuation mark.
47. R&I read lekh(pa)n-ādy-arthe.
48. R&I read samādhān-ādy-artham.
49. KKG, SCM-1 and ACS read ato'smābhir=asmadīya.
50. R&I read sa-paṭṭa.
51. R&I emend it as sa-daś=āparādhāḥ which is uncalled for as both the forms occur in inscriptions.
52. R&I take no notice of this punctuation mark here.
53. Punctuation mark here serves as a comma.
54. R&I read naraka-pātaka.
55. R&I read kath-āśraya.
56. The double daṇḍa noticed here by R&I appears to be superfluous marks.
57. R&I read amalinatara-vāri-.
58. R&I read pūrit=ārtha-.
59. R&I read satyan=nirmmita.
60. R&I read kurvane(n=ne)tra-.
61. R&I read nṛipa-.
62. R&I read Darddaraṇyām(nyām). GB also reads Darddaraṇī as the name of the maṇḍala.
63. The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
64. R&I read Rām=eva
65. R&I read vidino(to)ggū(gu)ṇ=ādi.
66. R&I read daya(dha)t.
67. Punctuation mark is unnecessary here.
68. R&I read durvvo(bo)dha.
69. R&I read parastāt.
70. R&I read nanartta (for na jātu).
71. R&I read praj=ārkkah.
72. R&I read kṣāntir=dīne.
73. R&I notice a redundant stroke (punctuation mark) here, but it is not visible in the plate.
74. R&I and others read yasy=Endra-dhāma-.
75. R&I read Bhavyasy=aitāḥ.

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76. Equivalent to diśam (from diś). Cf. Williams, M. Monier, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, for dikka.
77. R&I read Māhaḍena.

### Translation

1. Though it is also possible to read the letter preceding bhūti as su, we prefer to read it as sva, as it gives a better meaning.
2. For clarification about the reading, see Discussion and Analysis.
3. R&I's translation, 'His fame, like that of Indra', stems from their reading yas=Endradeva-yaśasā.
4. Some of the words of this verse have not been read correctly by R&I and this has affected their translation also.
5. R&I translate the expression hata-ripu-maḥiṣī as 'the dying queens of the enemy kings'.
6. R&I have wrongly interpreted the expression, taking Vikramā as the name a second queen of Dharmapāla. For further details, see Discussion and Analysis.
7. The use of the singular number for the pronoun (yat) and the adjectives - kautukañ=ca and tilakañ=ca seem to suggest that Sugata and Gaurī were enshrined in a common temple. Alternately, the pronoun and the adjectives are applied only to the abode (temple) of Gaurī, which immediately precedes these.
8. This aspect of the expression 'dharmaṃśa prasavena' has escaped the attention of scholars.
9. R&I fail to realise that Kāmarūpa with respect to Devapāla has reference to Assam.
10. For details regarding Devapāla's exploits in Assam and the Himalayan region see Discussion and Analysis.
11. As has been rightly pointed out by R&I, it draws sustenance (in the eyes of the composer) from the epithet parameśvara assumed by the Pāla kings.
12. R&I read the word as trayī (in trayīm=iva, translated as: like the three Vedas).
13. R&I wrongly read drume for bhrame and translate the expression sampādit =orvvī-drume (as read by them) as: 'created an impression of making the earth appear like a tree (p. 25, and also p. 20, note 2).
14. Read as 'vyājṛimbhire' by R&I and translated as increased (the pleasure), lending a diametrically opposite view to Mahendrapāla's attitude to war.
15. The name of the jayaskandhāvāra is read as Auddālakhātaka by R&I.
16. Svalpanandā sounds like an antonym of Mahānandā and may have been a smaller river in the area.
17. R&I's reading Ṣaṇḍal-āntar-is wrong. They take Ṣaṇḍala as the name of a place.
18. Derived from duḥśādhya-sādhana.
19. Or, residents and (ca) cultivators.
20. R&I's translation: 'I gave as if directly by myself (bhaṭṭārakapādā)' is wrong.
21. Wrongly read as Nandadīrghik-odraṅga(ṅgo) by R&I.

22. Lekhana is unnecessarily emended to lepana and translated as ointment by R&I.
23. About the wrong attribution of Vajradeva's work to Mahendrapāla by R&I and others, and for correct interpretation of the passage, see Discussion and Analysis.
24. Not properly translated by R&I.
25. Read by R&I as sa-paṭṭa-tar-opetaḥ and translated as 'with yajña trees' (p. 27)
26. The four verses, Nos. 17 to 20, are common in Pāla inscriptions.
27. Is this used as sort of a biruda (GB), or just an epithet of Mahendrapāla?
28. Translated by R&I as : 'which could not be comprehended by anybody'.
29. It is difficult to accept 'stature' as the proper translation (cf. R&I) of guruṇā; it would have done for a word like gauravena or gurutvena.
30. R&I read the expression as amalinatara-vāri which they translate as 'like crystal clear white pure water.'
31. The translation of R&I do not give expression to the different words of this verse, some of which they read differently.
32. Read as Darddaraṇyām(ṇyām) by R&I according to whom the name of the maṇḍala is Darddaraṇya (pp. 9, 18). KKG and ACS are of the view that it was Nārāyaṇadeva who made Dharmapāla the ruler of the maṇḍala of Darddaraṇḍī. For details, see Discussion and Analysis.
33. Alternately, Satī can be taken as a proper name to mean Satī, the consort of Śiva, who is held as the model of chastity.
34. R&I give a different reading and translate the expression as : 'who like Rāma was endowed with several praiseworthy virtues'.
35. R&I translate vimala-svabhāvaḥ as 'who was very powerful'.
36. On kulajā Lakṣmī and vijaya-śrī, see Discussion and Analysis.
37. R&I fail to read some of the words in this verse correctly which has affected their translation also.
38. Other scholars have read the word as 'Indradhāma' and translated it accordingly. While 'ndu' and 'ndra' would not look much different in appearance from one another, the context decides our option in favour of 'indu' rather than 'Indra'. As for R&I's complaint that the author of the praśasti has failed to mention how the fame of Vajraṭa (wrongly quoted for Vajradeva) 'acted on the lotus-like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings as he had described in the case of the virtuous people and the damsels of the quarters' (op. cit., p. 7) has no real basis as our translation would show.
39. R&I read the word as 'Bhavyasy=aitāḥ' but leave it untranslated.
40. Kīrtti here stands for the meritorious act as recorded in the grant and not just the eulogy as R&I suggest.
41. R&I wrongly read the name of the engraver as māhaḍa.

### **Discussion and Analysis**

1. E.g. Gopāla I (in the Bhagalpur c.p. of Nārāyaṇapāla onwards, V. 1) and Śūrapāla I (Mirzapur c.p. of Śūrapāla, V.I). Nonetheless, the epithets here



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would be applicable to any of the Pāla kings from Gopāla I to Mahendrapāla. In that case, the epithet No. 8 would have reference to the Solar origin (cf. 'varṇe Mihirasya jātavān', Kamauli c.p. of Vaidyadeva, V. 2, E.I., Vol. II, p. 350), and for the epithet No. 6, the emended reading 'mahā-dāna-priya' would be more appropriate.

2. C.f. Khalimpur c.p. of Dharmapāla, V. 4, Gauḍalekhamālā, pp. 12, 19 and Note\*.
3. Itihās, No. 33, p. 3. In fact the expression under reference may be likened to 'Harim tvaktvā virāgād=iva śrīmad-yauvana-rūpa-sadguṇa-triṣṇā devyā Śrīy=āśleṣitaḥ' - discarding Hari, out of disinterest, Śrī (i.e. Lakṣmī) embraced the illustrious one (i.e. Śūrapāla I), attracted by his youthful appearance and craving his starling qualities, Mirzapur c.p. of Śūrapāla I, V. 18.
4. This is a close parallel to V. 3 of the Bhagalpur c.p. of Nārāyaṇapāla (Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 57, reproduced in the Bharat Kala Bhavan c.p. of Rājya-pāla (R. N. Mīshra, Chhavi - 2, p. 224).
5. Further light on the Pāla - Kanauj - Indrāyudha-Cakrāyudha developments is thrown by the three copper plates of Gopāla II, son of Śūrapāla, dated year 3 (on which an illustrated talk was given by Mr. Ryosuke Furui of Japan at the Centre of Archaeological Studies in Eastern India=CASTEI) and year 4 (two inscriptions, which have been unsatisfactorily edited by S.C. Mukherji in Pratna Samuksha, Vol. 6-8, pp. 71-80, and which are expected to be re-edited by the present author soon. Many of the genealogical verses giving information about the early Pāla rulers are common in all the three inscriptions. The c.p. dated year 3 is now under the custody of the Archaeological Department of Bangladesh. Mr. Furui took photographs of the c.p. and is expected to edit it soon. When published, it will make a significant addition to the storehouse of Pāla inscriptions.
6. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, The Myth of Vikramādevī - Mother of Devapāla, Pratna Samiksha, Vol. 6-8 (1997-1999), pp. 84-87.
7. C.f. K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramoniya Iyer, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XLII, pp. 8 and 25; Kamala Kanta Gupta, Itihās, Vol. 33, p. 3. One scholar has construed that the name of the queen of Dharmapāla was Nīti, Ashok Chattopadhyay Shastri, Pāl Abhilekh Sangraha, p. 118. S. C. Mukherji is in some hesitation about what to do with Vikramā vis a vis Raṇṇādevī. vide his Translation (in Pratna Samiksha, Vol. 6-8, p. 66) of Verse 6 : 'he (the king) begot a son named Devapāla (or he begot by his beloved wife Vikramā an abode of morality, a son. named Devapāla?)'. Cf. also ibid., p. 59, where he writes: 'May it be conjectured that Vikramā was another name of Raṇṇā? But, methinks Messrs. Ramesh and Iyer have misinterpreted the passage ignoring the literal or real meaning.'
8. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 85.
9. The Mirzapur Plate of Śūrapāla also refers to the building by Devapāla of a temple (monastery) of Jina (=Buddha), that was golden (made of gold,

- jātarūpamayam=āyatanam Jinasya) the pinnacle of which was the most outstanding in the region of Jambunada (i.e. India ? Jambunad=ādi-śikhara-pratipakṣa-Lakṣmī), D.C. Sircar, Lucknow Museum (Discovered in the Mirzapur district of U.P.) Copper-Plate Inscription of Śūrapāla I, Regnal year 3, E.I., Vol. XL, pp. 7 and 12 (V. 12). The location of this temple is also unknown.
10. Cf. also the mention of Kedāra (Kedarnath in modern Uttarakhand) and Gokarṇa (in Nepal) in the Nalanda and Munger c.ps (V.7) of Devapāla in connection with Dharmapāla's expeditions.
  11. It may be mentioned in this connection that according to the Bhagalpur c.p. (V. 6), copied in the Bharat Kala Bhavan c.p. of Rājyapāla, the king of Prāgyotiṣa (=Kāmarūpa, Assam) desisted from war-like preparations by accepting the order of Jayapāla (rājā Prāgyotiṣāṇām=upśamita-samit-sarīnkathām yasya c=ājñām), son of Vākpāla, who acted on Devapāla's behalf during the latter's reign.
  12. K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramoniya Iyer, E. I., Vol. XLII, pp. 9-10.
  13. It is said in the c.p. inscriptions of Gopāla II that (his father) Śūrapāla had married Māṇikyadevī, granddaughter (dauhitrī) of the Cāhamāna king (Caman=ādhipasya) and daughter of king Rāmanvaka or Rāmandhaka (nṛpate Rāmandhakasy=ātmajāt=āsy=āsīd=Gaṇa vacchalasya mahiṣī Māṇikyadev=īti yā- V.6)
  14. Vide D. C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Reprint, 1996, pp. 28 and 351; Pāl-Sen-Yuger Varṇānucarit, 1982, p. 63.
  15. See under Bibliography.
  16. For the most upto date list of the stone inscriptions of Mahendrapāla from north Bengal and Bihar, see Gouriswar Bhattacharya, Newly Discovered Copper Plate Grants of the Pāla Dynasty, p. 443.
  17. Formerly known as Gopāla II. Cf. Pramatha Nath Misra and R. C. Majumdar, The Jājilpārā Grant of Gopāla II, year 6, Journal of the Asiatic Society (of Bengal), Letters, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951, pp. 137-154.
  18. E. I. XLII, pp. 17 and 18 and notes 1 and 2 (p. 18). Ramesh and Iyer seem to have confused pārā (or pādā, the segment of a village) with pāra (or pāḍa, the bank of a tank/pond or river, *ibid.*, p. 18, note 1).
  19. *Ibid.* pp. 17, 18, 21, 26 and 27.
  20. See K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramoniya Iyer, E. I. XLII; S. C. Mukherji, Pratna Samiksha, Vol. 6-8; Kamala Kanta Gupta, Itihās, Vol. 33; Ashok Chattopadhyay Shastri, Pāl Abhilekh Saṅgraha; B. N. Mukherjee, Purabhilekha Patrika, Journal of the Epigraphic Society of India, Vol. 23, 1997 under Bibliography.
  21. Gouriswar Bhattacharya, A Note against A Note on the Jagjibanpur Inscription of Mahendrapāla, Pratna Samiksha, Vol. 6-8, p. 88.
  22. B. N. Mukherjee, An Inscribed Object from Jagjibanpur, *ibid.*, p. 82.
  23. B. N. Mukherjee, A Note on the Jagjibanpur Inscription of Mahendrapāla, Purabhilekha Patrika, Vol. 23, p. 22.

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24. See our Check Lists.
25. S. C. Mukherjee, The Jagajibanpur Copper-Plate Inscription of king Mahendrapāla, Regnal Year 7 (854 A. D.), The Maha-Bodhi Centenary Volume, Calcutta, pp. 173-176.
26. E.I., Vol. XLII, pp. 16-17.
27. Hirananda Shastri, The Nalanda Copper-Plate Inscription of Devapāladeva, E.I., Vol. XVII, pp. 322 and 325; N. G. Majumdar, Nalanda Copper-Plate of Devapāladeva, Monograph of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1926, p. 23 and note 11, and p. 29.
28. E. I., Vol. XLII, p. 16.
29. Purabhilekha Patrika, Vol. 23, p. 22 and Notes 4 and 5.
30. See Note 27 above and also Bibliography.
31. See Note 27 above for reference, p. 325.
32. See Note 27 above for reference, p. 29.
33. Op. cit., p. 15.
34. Purabhilekha Patrika. Vol. 23, p. 22.
35. E. Hultzsch, The Bhagalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, The Indian Antiquary, 1886, pp. 304-310; Akshay Kumar Maitreya, Gaṇḍalekhamālā, reprint, Kolkata, 2004, pp. 55-69.
36. D. C. Bhattacharya, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI. pp. 53ff.; D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 310-345.
37. Chiders, Dictionary of the Pali Language.
38. B. N. Mukherjee, Purabhilekha Patrika, Vol. 23, p. 23.
39. Ibid.
40. Cf. K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramoniya Iyer, E. I., Vol. XLII, p. 8.
41. Cf. D. C. Sircar, Pāl-Sen Yuger Varṇśānucarit, Calcutta, 1982, p. 64. The observation made with reference to the grant of land in the Khalimpur c.p. of Dharmapāla, holds true with the present grant also.
42. D. C. Sircar, Lucknow Museum Copper-Plate Inscription of Śūrapāla, E.I., Vol. XL, pp. 4-16.
43. E.g. the Khalimpur c.p. of Dharmapāla and the Nalanda c.p. of Devapāla. The Murshidabad c.p. of Dharmapāla and the c.p. of Gopāla II, year 3 (both of which are as yet unpublished, but of which it has been possible to know the major content), seem to support this supposition.
44. K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramoniya Iyer, E. I., Vol. XLII, p. 15.
45. Kamala Kanta Gupta, Itihās, Vol. 33, pp. 3 and 4.
46. Cf. 'who have been conveyed (the royal order) self the (royal) messenger (dūtaka) from Mahāsenāpati Vajradeva', Pratna Samiksha, Vol. 6-8, p. 68.
47. B. N. Mukherjee, ibid., p. 81 : 'In this record the king claimed to have been notified through the messenger (dūtaka) Mahāsenāpati Vajradeva'.
48. The choice of the expression 'Kamalā-nivāsaḥ' has been determined by his name (Nārāyaṇa).

49. The fact that these claims have been made in a Pāla c.p. grant (supposed to be prepared under royal order and official supervision with the royal (dynastic) seal bearing the king's name, cannot but be regarded as somewhat unusual. It would appear that in such cases where big institutional donations were made by high dignitaries outside the royal family, these dignitaries were given a free hand in introducing the eulogy of their own families. Vide Note 43 above for a few other examples.
50. Khalimpur c.p. of Dharmapāla, V. 13: 'yasy=ākarnṇayatas=trapā-vivalit=ānamraṇ sad=aiv=ānanarṇ'.
51. Cf. Nalanda and Munger c.ps of Devapāla, V. 10: 'Dhṛita-tanur=iyam Lakṣmīḥ sāksāt=kṣitir=nu śarīriṇī kim=avanipateḥ kīrttir=mūrtā 'thavā grīh-adevatā iti vidadhatī śucy=ācārā vitarkavatīḥ prajāḥ.....'
52. The engraving of an inscription by a man of status is not altogether unknown. A close example is provided by the Mirzapur c.p. of Śūrapāla I which was engraved by Dakkadāsa and Vairocanadāsa, vide D.C. Sircar, E.I., Vol. XL, pp. 10 and 16; vide also Gouriswar Bhattacharya, Bangladesh National Museum Praśasti of Pāhila, Prācyasīkṣāsuhāsinī, p. 390.

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## JAGJIBANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

### A PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART

Column 1 Initial vowels and consonants					Column 2 Consonants, medial vowels and Conjuncts						Column 3 Miscellaneous			
i	ii	iii	iv	v	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	i	ii	iii	iv
A	अ				La	ल	ल	ल						
I	आ				Ṣa	भ					५	५	५	ava- graha
I	इ	००	००		Ṣa	व								
U	उ	उ			Sa	म	य							anusvāra/ visarga
E	ए	ए	ए		Ṣa	न					यं	नः	यं	
Ka	क				Conjuncts and medial vowels						yañ	lah	yañ	virāma
Kha	ख	अ	अ	अ	ख	अ	अ	अ	अ	अ	१	१	१	virāma =t
Ga	ग	ग	ग		hā	jā	jā	jā	jā	jā				
Gha	घ	घ			Ṣa	ख	ख	ख	ख	ख	१	१	१	=n
Ca	च				vi	ghni	si	si	si	si	१	१	१	=n
Ja	ज	ज	ज		क	क	क	क	क	क				
Ta	ट	ट	ट	ट	ku	ku	pu	tu	stu	ru	५	५	५	=m
Da	ड	ड	ड	ड	ग	क	स	क	क	क	५	५	५	=m
Ṣa	ष	ल	ल	ल	gu	bhrū	sū	kri	ari	ari				
Ta	त	त			मे	व	तो	ओ			१	३		numer- als
Tha	थ	व	थ	थ	me	vai	to	sau			7	2		
Da	द			thā	Ṣa	द	द	द	द	द	८			auspicious symbol
Dha	ध	प	प	प	Ṣa	nga	si	si	si	si				
Na	न	न	न	न	Ṣa	क	क	क	क	क	१	१	१	punctuation marks
Pa	प	प	प		Ṣa	ṣth-	am	ṣda	ṣta	ṣtha	॥	॥	॥	
Pha	फ	फ			Ṣa	उ	उ	उ	उ	उ				
Ba-Va	ब				ṣtha	ṣpa	ṣpa	ṣpa	ṣpa	ṣpa	३	३	३	Conjuncts
Bha	भ				ṣya	ṣi	ṣi	ṣi	ṣi	ṣi	jja	ngam		
Ma	म				ṣy-	rthi	ṣpa	ṣpa	ṣpa	ṣpa	rthan			
Ya	य				ṣa	व	ओ	मा	उ					
Ra	र				dva	bdhā	aro	karu	ṣpā	jñā				

## Intellectual activities in Bengal in pre-Pāla period

SUBID CHATTOPADHYAY

Bengal comprising the present territories of West Bengal, Bangladesh and their fringes now forming parts of the adjoining states of east and north-east India gradually emerged as an independent entity in geographical, political and cultural terms only in the early medieval and medieval periods of Indian history. This may, however, be seen as a culmination of the process that commenced with the initiation of human culture on its soil.

Tectonic movement and climatic condition prepared its ecology where the miscegenation of the numerous immigrants with the autochthons over millennia since the earliest times endowed it with the special tinge of its own. This finds indirect recognition even at the initial stage of literary activities in the sub-continent where we come across disparaging remarks regarding the eastern parts of the country as well as its inhabitants. The people of Vedic culture had to undergo expiation on their return from the eastern quarters certainly to free their body and mind from the impact of the unholy or rather 'foreign' culture of the land.

Even so we get reference to peoples like the Puṇḍras, Vaṅgas and Magadhas, in the early texts like the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. It is very unfortunate that hitherto we have not found any written composition of this remote past from the sons of the soil who have left no separate traditional literature. But their ethno-cultural endeavour must have had its own virility to imbue the immigrants with its own impress. This is palpable through references to the achievements of the easterners like Yājñavalkya. Later Vedic literature gradually evinces closer association with eastern parts of the country including Bengal. It has been rightly guessed that the Vrātyas represented the outer bands of the Aryans who reached remote places quite early and imbibed culture of the land.

The *Mahābhārata* narrates the prosperity of the region representing West Bengal and Bangladesh which included Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma. Although we do not yet meet with any specific reference to literary works of Eastern India or particularly Bengal, existence of such activity cannot be totally ruled out. Pāṇini's reference to eastern grammarians confirm this eventuality especially so as he alludes to the Gauḍa and Vaṅga countries in this context. Suhma and Rāḍha find mention in the Jaina *Āyārāṅga Sutta* and Patañjali speaks of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma and Puṇḍra in a group. Special characteristic of eastern



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speech is called Āsura by him and the land is known as Āsurya in the *Śatapatha Brahmana*. Modification of the Aryan speech in the east no doubt indicates the linguistic vigour of the easterners. Unfortunately, however, neither any literary work of the time composed in Bengal nor any composition by sons of Bengal settled outside its territories are so far known.

The Mahasthan inscription found from the Bagura district of Bangladesh is the earliest epigraph so far discovered from Bengal. Written in Prakrit language and Brāhmī script of circa 3rd century B. C. it mentions Puṇḍranagara or city of the Puṇḍras, i.e. Mahasthan. Apart from the location of the land of the Puṇḍras or Puṇḍravardhana of later times it indicates the nature of administration, especially land related revenue administration. Affinity with measures suggested in the *Arthaśāstra* to prevent calamity during crop-failure due to different natural causes has been deemed as evidence of extension of the Maurya administration in this region. Some scholars even suggest mention of the official designation Mahāmātra and Śaḍvargika sect of the Buddhists in the record. Thus we can very well perceive that culturally the land of the Puṇḍras kept pace with other parts of the sub-continent. They were apparently conversant with Brāhmī script and Prakrit language.

Susuniya Rock inscription of Candravarman written in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī script of circa 4th century A.D. discovered in Bankura district of West Bengal furnished evidence of Sanskrit learning and Vaiṣṇava faith in Bengal during Gupta period. Candravarman has been identified with the Āryāvarta king Candra who is mentioned in the list of rulers defeated by Samudragupta as provided by the Allahabad pillar inscription. Candravarman may have been a local ruler of Bengal.

Gupta copper-plates from the days of Kumārgupta onwards found from different parts of East Bengal and Tippera now included in Bangladesh and Tripura state of Indian Union provide more definite picture of extension of the central Indian administrative system as well as pattern of interchange that was going on inside Bengal. Brahmanical, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Buddhist and Jain faiths and other cults like that of Nāgadeva flourished. Obviously, associated systems of learning and education advanced too. That it was so may be inferred from the skill demonstrated in the use of flawless Sanskrit and Brāhmī script. Monasteries, temples, shrines and *āśramas* of various religious sects and cults were patronised by kings and commoners. Cultural activities in all spheres went on unhindered as evident from different inscriptions bearing names of Gupta kings as well as those issued without any such reference discovered from various parts of Bengal. Similar condition prevailed under later ruling kings like Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva.

In the beginning of the period the copper-plates were written in Sanskrit prose. Verses were limited to the function of traditional warning against future alteration of the grants. These were again quoted from scriptures. But coming to the Mallasarul copper-plate inscription of Vijayasena of the time of Gopacandra found from Burdwan District of West Bengal written in late northern Brāhmī script of the 6th century A.D. we meet with introduction of different metres of Sanskrit Kāvya apart from the Anuṣṭubh used in the earlier plates. Further development of the Kāvya style is to be noticed in the records of the seventh century A.D. onwards.

Language of the records and their allusion indicating intellectual pursuits in various parts of contemporary Bengal find confirmation from the Chinese accounts since the days of Fa-Hien who copied manuscripts in Tāmralipti for two years. Hiuen Tsang referred to the love of learning of the people of Bengal. Numerous Buddhist monasteries became centres of education. Several Deva temples and Jain monks were also known to him. I-tsing learnt Sanskrit and *Śabda-vidyā* in Tāmralipti.

Apart from such indirect information fortunately a few works composed by Bengali intelligentsia in the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods have come down to us. They throw welcome light on the different branches of learning which were pursued, in this region.

The earliest notable work is one relating to veterinary science. It has been designated *Hasty-āyurveda*. It is composed in the form of a conversation which took place at Campā between Romapāda, king of Aṅga and Pālakāpya, a sage. Romapāda is said to be a contemporary of Daśaratha of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Pālakāpya's *āśrama* was presumably situated somewhere in Bengal on the bank of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra where the course of the river left the Himalayas and moved in the direction of the sea.

Details of various diseases suffered by elephants have been recorded in the book. It consists of 160 chapters, spread over 700 pages and is divided into four Sthānas or sections, viz., Mahāroga, Kṣudraroga, Śalya and Uttara. According to Haraprasad Sastri the book was composed in the 5th or 6th century B.C. Kṣīrasvāmī referred to Pālakāpya in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa* written in the 11th century A.D. The *Agni Purāṇa*, parts of which were composed before the 10th century A.D. depended on Pālakāpya's work for preparing its chapter on the treatment of elephants. The reference in the *Raghu-vaṃśa* to the Sūtrakāras who imparted training to the elephants of the king of Aṅga may also be an allusion to Pālakāpya. He may well have been called both a Muni and Sūtrakāra like Bharata whose *Nāṭya-śāstra* and

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Pālakāpya's book are written in similar fashion. Most probably the writer of the present work simply edited and compiled long prevalent traditions of medical treatment in this respect somewhere in Aṅga or on the banks of the Brahmaputra during the days of the Gupta rule. Name of one ancient sage who initiated systematic handling of the science may have been mentioned as author by the compiler in lieu of his own name. The science flourished even in the days of Kauṭilya but this work embodies the first notable composition on the subject.

Sanskrit grammar also received sustenance from Bengali intellect. Candragomin, who introduced the Cāndra school of Sanskrit grammar, originally was a Kṣatriya of Varendra according to Tibetan tradition. Subsequently he lived for some time in Candradvīpa (probably Sandwip, Noakhali District in Bangladesh). He became a disciple of Sthiramati at Nalanda and there he also met Candrakīrti, the Mādhyamika commentator. He may have composed his *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* and its *Vṛtti* between 465 and 544 A.D. as suggested by B. Leibich. Combined testimony of Bhartṛhari, Kalhaṇa and a late Tibetan work suggests that he was also known as Candracārya. He commented on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. The *Kāśikā*, a commentary on Pāṇini by Jayāditya and Vāmana utilised as many as 35 Sūtras of *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* without reference to the work. These Sūtras do not occur in Pāṇini's grammar.

The Buddhist epithet *gomin*, *Maṅgala-śloka* in adoration to Sarvajña (i.e. the Buddha) at the commencement of his *Vṛtti* etc. indicate that Candragomin was a Buddhist. Apart from the grammar, *Nyāya-siddhyāloka*, a book on Logic and 36 Tāntrika texts included in the *Bstan-hgyur* have been attributed to him. He is also said to have composed Sanskrit Stotras on Tārā and Mañjuśrī, *Lokānanda*, a drama, *Śiṣya-lekha-dharma*, a Kāvya etc. But his most significant contribution was the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. It was once studied throughout Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Srilanka. Even though not totally differing from Pāṇini, a number of Sūtras have been added to Pāṇini's rules. But lack of strong originality later led to its disappearance.

In the sphere of philosophy, too, a work of eminence is known, viz., the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā*. It contains 215 memorial verses spread over four parts called *Āgama* of 29 verses, *Vaitathya* of 38 verses, *Advaita* of 48 verses and *Alāta-sānti* of 100 verses. Gauḍapāda, also designated Gauḍācārya, is referred to as a disciple of Śuka and Parama-guru, i.e. teacher's teacher of Śaṅkarācārya. The work offers a blend of pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta and Mādhyamika Śūnyavāda. It has been ascribed to a date prior to C. 750 A.D. in view of some portions of the book being quoted in early commentaries of the Mādhyamika school.

It betrays certain influence of Buddhist philosophy. Two other commentaries composed by Gauḍapāda are known. One is related to Īśvarakṛiṣṇa's *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*. Alberuni referred to it as the work of a sage of Gauḍa. The second commentary is on the *Uttara-gītā*. The *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* is a more important work, which probably utilised the *Māṭhara-vṛtti* or some other work used by Māṭhara.

Literary excellence of Bengal and its particular style of expression found approbation in all India forum of intellectuals since the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Remarks of Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the introductory verse 7 of the *Harṣacarita* regarding *Akṣara-ḍambara* or luxurious use of resonant syllables by the Gauḍas as compared with different Kāvya styles prevalent in the Northern, Western and Southern parts of India suggest the development of a definite mode of expression among the intellectuals of Bengal. He even indirectly recognised its glamour through his lamentation that all these styles could hardly be found together. Gauḍa Mārga or Gauḍī Rīti assumed an important role in Sanskrit literature in contrast with the Vaidarbhī in the days of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin who flourished around the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Bhāmaha preferred the Gauḍīya while Daṇḍin disliked it for its *artha-ḍambara* and *alaṃkāra-ḍambara*. It is thus evident that despite personal aversion Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Daṇḍin could not but recognise the importance and popularity of the style, which probably came into being over the centuries preceding their periods. Vāmana in the 9th century also referred to its long prevalence. All these evidences further indicate the existence of a Gauḍa literature prior to the days of the imperial Pāla rulers of Bengal and Bihar. Influence of the Gauḍa style gradually extended beyond the territories of Bengal in subsequent period and poets of other places adopted this method in their works. From the 10th century onwards more and more evidences are forthcoming which show growing activity in all aspects of intellectual field.

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## Perspectives on Women in Early India: Some Glimpses

RITA CHAUDHURI

Frequent debates and discussions on women issues highlight a growing interest in gender studies among scholars in recent years. In this context, India has provided an expansive field for theorizing and fieldwork. Beset with stereotypes, views on women, like other generalities, attribute their condition to race and gender characteristics, rather than social conditions. Labels such as docile, gentle or nurturing, connote some social realities, but through uncritical usage invite little or no attention to the conditions that gave rise to them. Women's own initiatives are generally disregarded.

The imperative need of reforming a society riddled with such social evils as caste complexities and the abject condition of women, reflected in such practices as *sati*, child marriage and enforced widowhood, was felt by the protagonists of the socio-religious reform movements of the 19th century, such as the *Brāhma Samāj* in Bengal, the *Prārthanā Samāj* in Maharashtra or the *Ārya Samāj* in Northern India. Interestingly, both the opponents and proponents of reform invoked the sanction of the *śāstras* to prove their point and the older the source, the more authentic and authoritative they were considered to be.<sup>1</sup> The antecedents of women's studies in Indological literature may be traced to Rāja Rāmniohan Roy's first tract on *sati*, where he tried to prove that the burning of widows was not an ancient custom prescribed by the *Dharmaśāstras*, but a later evil linked to a widow's right to inheritance. In 1855, Íśvarachandra Vidyasāgara wrote two brief treatises in support of remarriage of Hindu widows, quoting passages from *Kūtyāyana*, *Parāśara* and other *Smṛti* writers. It should be remembered that these texts inevitably reflected the prejudice of the *Brāhmaṇas*, rather than the actual practice of the people and mainly catered to the requirements of the upper castes.

Many scholars feel that existing works on this subject have a seriously limiting dimension. Most of the historians of this genre have been bracketed as 'Nationalists', since their work contain such statements as, '....No ancient nation held their women in higher honour than the hindus'.<sup>2</sup> This kind of construction was a retaliation to colonial constructions of India's past as reflected in James Mill's *History of British India* which emphasized on the stagnant nature of Indian society, that prevented its progress and among other things relegated certain sections of the population including women to a lowly position in the social hierarchy. Moreover, historians like V.A.

Smith with their inherent contempt for everything Indian, characteristically attributed anything worthwhile in Indian culture to Greek influence.

A.S. Altekar's exhaustive work on the position of women in Hindu civilization is primarily based on Brāhmanical sources and outlines the position of women from earliest times right up to the mid-fifties of the 20th century when the Hindu Code Bill was under consideration. Undoubtedly, amongst the best works that is available to us by way of women's studies in history, it unveils the limitations of the traditional approach. It has led to a selective focus on certain aspects of the ancient texts. Generally, the trend in such works have been to demonstrate that the status of women was very high in the Vedic period; subsequently, there was a general decline which worsened with the coming of the invaders, especially the Muslims, who abducted Hindu women and violated them. These circumstances resulted in the development of such evils as *purdah*, *satī* and female infanticide.

It will be worthwhile to remember that the position of women in early India was not uniform everywhere and no monolithic conclusion can be drawn from available sources, for there existed various categories of societies who often went unrepresented in literary and historical accounts. It is being increasingly demonstrated that the role of women as gatherer, in early societies that subsisted on hunting and gathering, has been grossly underestimated owing to a male bias in anthropology.<sup>3</sup> While some anthropologists claim that early societies were sexually egalitarian, having relations of reciprocity rather than subordination, others point out that hunting societies did subordinate women to men in certain respects, but men did not exercise that amount of control over women as they did in class societies.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, Altekar thought that primitive communities which had not yet emerged from barbarism evolved few checks on the tyranny of men over women, and in these communities women were underfed and over-worked; hence he felt a deep satisfaction over the fact that the position of women in the Vedic age was 'much better than what we ordinarily expect it to have been.'

Society in the R̥g Vedic period had certainly gone beyond the state of the gathering and hunting, but for an assessment of the position of women as reflected in the earliest portions of the *R̥g Veda*, an understanding of their place in production is necessary. If it is accepted that *Vidhata* was the earliest folk assembly of the Indo-Aryans with distribution as well as other functions<sup>5</sup> then the question of women's participation in it will have to be related to their role in food production. Herein, it is important to raise significant questions. According to Irawati Karve, in the early passages of the *R̥g Veda* a common word for father and mother, that is, parents, could have been derived from

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either the dual form of *mātr* or of *pitṛ*; both the terms conveyed the same meaning, but later, only the dual form of *pitṛ* was used while referring to the two parents.<sup>6</sup> This suggests the transition of Vedic society from an egalitarian organization to a patriarchal structure. To establish this hypothesis on a firm basis, more research is needed.

Vedic literature, being composed in many stages over a long period of time with many interpolations, reveals that the status of woman veered according to occasion from being relatively free to being restricted. Even in the tenth maṇḍala of the *Ṛg Veda*, there is evidence that moral lapses on the part of women were not treated severely. Incidents such as incestuous intercourse between father and daughter in the story of Prajāpati (X. 61. 5-7), between brother and sister in the dialogue between Yama and Yamī (X.10), references to *parāvṛjī* or *parāvṛkta*, meaning a 'castaway' presumably an offspring of illegitimate love and the incident of Vimada carrying off Purumitra's daughter against his will but with the probable consent of the daughter (I. 112. 19) are probable indications of this.<sup>7</sup>

The early part of the *Ṛg Veda* (the first maṇḍala) contain indications of a liberal society where there was free mixing in social gatherings, (I. 123, 11; VII. 2.5), a youth's courtship of the maiden he loves (I. 115. 2), their mutual love, (I, 167. 3; IX. 32.5, etc.), the spell (VII, 55. 5.8) whereby a lover hopes to lull the whole household to sleep while he visits his beloved—all testify to the custom of girls normally marrying long after they had reached puberty. Moreover, a woman could take part in sacrifices along with her husband and there is evidence that she often sat in tribal assemblies.<sup>8</sup> Further, the most celebrated example of women's learning occurs in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* [3.6; 3.8]. In the third chapter of the *Upaniṣad*, we find king Janaka offering a 1000 cows to the most learned Brāhmana. Of all the Brāhmanas, Yājñavalkya alone dared to claim this reward, whereupon he was challenged and closely questioned on deep philosophical topics by eight celebrated scholars including Gārgī. As the latter's questions become more subtle and pointed, Yājñavalkya arbitrarily threatens her with dire consequences if she persists in questioning him and so eliminates her from the contest. Most scholarly works do not highlight Gārgī's fearlessness, independent mind and her ability to take on a well-established philosopher. Instead they present a picture of blissful, harmonious pursuit of philosophical truth 'bringing forth the finest definition of Supreme Reality'.<sup>9</sup>

On the whole, the perspective on women is confined to seeing them within the context of the family. It is the status of women within the family and primarily in the relationship of wives to husbands with which the traditional

writers are concerned. Apart from the fact that early writers consider women as the 'mistress of the household', even Manu, who was no champion of women's rights declares that 'Gods are pleased with those households where women are held in honour'. Further it is enjoined that a husband should be punished by the ruler by loss of caste, if he abandons his wife without sufficient reason. Smṛtikāras also maintain that a wife should worship her husband as a God even though he be destitute or devoid of good qualities. She is expected to remain chaste and faithful to him.

In the two epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, we are confronted with two diametrically opposite women characters—Sītā the heroine of the former epic is invariably meek and complaisant before her lord; Draupadī in the latter, manifests a bolder and stronger character who can round on her five husbands and reproach them in no uncertain terms. An interesting study of women's work in Bengali, Telegu, Marathi and Maithili which have the epic stories as their themes, by Nabaneeta Dev Sen,<sup>10</sup> has led her to conclude 'In the woman's folk tradition in India, never mind where you are, which century you belong to or what language you speak, you are all sisters in sorrow'. According to her, Draupadī is too dramatic to be a role model of the weak and the exploited. Women cannot identify with Draupadī, who has five husbands and Lord Krishna for a personal friend. With her unconventional life and thirst for vengeance, she aspires awe. Sītā is a figure closer to home, the girl next door, a person they know too well, a woman whose pain they can share. She symbolizes sacrifice, a woman's greatest virtue according to patriarchal traditions. She laments but does not challenge Rāma. This is what makes her a role model for Indian women. For inspite of the sweeping changes across the subcontinent in the last decades, for the silent majority of Indian women justice remains a dream, equality an absurdity and suffering at the hands of a patriarchal society an everyday reality.

Denied of the opportunity of public presence, women nevertheless sought and found spaces outside domesticity. Fortunately, the advent of Buddhism and the provision for ordaining women as nuns, opened before them, an option, even if limited for an alternative way of life. Their joy of finding freedom from the drudgery of everyday life and achieving not merely social but spiritual liberation found expression through literary compositions such as the *Therīgāthā*—the earliest recorded poetry by Buddhist nuns. The translation of one of the poems may be quoted:

Mutta 'So free am I, so gloriously free,  
Free from three petty things -  
From mortar, from pestle and from my twisted lord,



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Free from rebirth and death I am,  
And all that has held me down  
Is hurled down.<sup>11</sup>

However, although the period as a whole is supposed to have been characterized by a higher status for women than in the past,<sup>12</sup> patriarchal values in relation to women are also reflected in early Buddhist literature. While they recognized that regardless of caste, class or sex everyone had the potential for salvation, the attitude of society was generally against women. The Buddha himself did not want *bhikkhunīs* in the *saṅgha*. If permission was finally (and grudgingly) granted it was entirely because Ānanda made the Buddha concede that women were as capable of salvation as men.<sup>13</sup> In fact in the entire early Buddhist literature only Ānanda seems to have genuinely believed in the principles of equality between men and women and he systematically championed their cause.<sup>14</sup> The general tone of Buddhist literature is antagonistic to women. Once they were admitted into the *saṅgha* they were firmly placed under the authority of *bhikkhus*. Moreover, it was ordained that no matter how old or senior a *bhikkhunī* was, she must rise and salute even the junior-most *bhikkhu*. They were even required to offer their alms to the monks if they ran into them.<sup>15</sup> In some cases the *bhikkhunīs* received more severe punishments than *bhikkhus* for similar offences.

Considerable distrust for women is displayed in Buddhist texts and they were quite clearly subjected to the authority of men. Interestingly, the courtesan, during this period, did not suffer from social ostracism or a low status. Thus the Buddha is known to have accepted Ambapali's invitation to a meal and received the gift of the Ambavana from her.<sup>16</sup> There were others like Vasantasenā in the 'Mṛcchakatika' and Rāgamañjari and Chandrasenā who were known as '*nagara-vadhu*'. This class of courtesans were noted for their beauty and accomplishments and enjoyed a social standing.

The *Arthasāstra* provides evidence that even in Mauryan times the freedom of high-class women was considerably restricted by custom.<sup>17</sup> In the instructions to the king's superintendent of weaving, the staff of the royal weaving and spinning establishments are advised to appoint indigent women — widows, cripples, orphans, beggar women, women who had failed to pay fines and were compelled to work them off and broken down prostitutes. Obviously, they belonged to a lower class in society and worked under male overseers.

For a better class women who may be compelled to earn a living, Kautilya states that if she could still afford a maid, the latter might fetch the yam from the weaving shop and bring it back in the form of cloth; but if the lady was compelled to do it herself, she was to visit the weaving shop in the dim

light of dawn, when she would not be easily seen. The official, who received her work, should only use a lamp to examine its workmanship. If he looked her in the face or spoke to her about anything other than her work, he was to be fined from 48 to 90 *paṇas*. Evidently, the upper class women were not normally seen in public without their menfolk.

The Saṅgam period (150 B.C. - 250 B.C.) witnessed the composition of poems in Tamil, by women, which were mostly founded on warrior ethic, instructing a mother how to bring up her child as a warrior or a wife to prepare a husband to march out to the battlefield.<sup>18</sup> Women's writing became scarcer as society became more rigid and education less accessible to them. However, in the subsequent periods, we find women, represented in early Indian sculptures, in the company of their husbands at secular as well as religious gatherings, thus pointing to their active participation in social gatherings. They often created endowments and gave donations for religious purposes and their names are recorded in inscriptions. Some of them actively participated in administration, functioning sometimes as regents on behalf of their minor sons, like Prabhāvatī Guptā, Nāganikā and Balaśrī.

From the writings of the Śāstrakāras and contemporary literature, assignable to the third century A.D. and probably to the beginnings of the fourth century A.D., it is evident that there was a general decline in the status of women. The period is described as the onset of the Kali age, marking a period of social crisis, the main elements of which were the mixing of the *varṇas* or *varṇasaṁkara*, hostility between Śūdras and Brāhmaṇas, refusal of Vaiśyas to pay taxes and offer sacrifice, oppression of the people with taxes, widespread theft and robbery, insecurity of family and property, destruction of livelihood, growing importance of wealth over ritual status and dominance of *mleccha* princes. In short, widespread social disorder affected the safety and security of the people.

Some of the features which characterized the status of women in the Gupta period, remained almost the same in the subsequent periods. Thus we witness:

- a) A general decline in the status of women who were not entitled to formal education, though like the Śūdras they were allowed to listen to Epics and Purāṇas.
- b) Few, scattered reference to women teachers, philosophers and doctors in early literature.
- c) Lawgivers unanimously advocated early marriage, some of them even pre-puberty.
- d) Celibacy was to be strictly observed by widows, *saṁ* gained the approval of jurists, even if confined to upper classes.

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- e) Women denied any right to property, except for *strīdhana* in the form of jewellery and garments. They themselves came to be regarded as property to be given or loaned to anybody. Their perpetual tutelage was argued forcefully.

From about the 9th century a new wave of devotional Hinduism revolutionised women's perception of the world and the self, expressed in some of the most enduring poetry and music in India. Songs and poems by the best known women poets of devotional Hinduism, such as *Āṇṭāl* from Tamil Nadu (9th century), *Ākka Mahādevī* (12th century), *Jānā Bāi*, *Ātukuri Mollā* and others (15th - 18th century) appear throughout this long period.

Devotional Hinduism gave space to people on the margin, such as women, lower castes and outcastes. Women, powerless and silent in many domains of community life, found strength in their sense of the divine and their own voice in poetry and songs. One of them *Ākka Mahādevī* (12th century) of the *Vīraśaiva* sect has left a set of powerful poems expressing her love for the divine. One of India's most celebrated devotional poets is the 16th century princess *Mīrābai*, whose songs are still sung in Hindu households and regarded as a paradigm of joyous spiritual surrender.

Tantricism attached great importance to the cult of the mother goddess in written texts and in iconography. Although tantricism belongs mainly to *Śākta* sect, it is also fairly well pronounced in the *Śaiva*, *Vaiṣṇava*, Buddhist and Jain sects. Tantricism generally provided for the initiation of women and *Śūdras* and did not discriminate between the *varṇas*. Women were some of the greatest exponents of Tantricism.

Indian texts centralized women as devoted and self-sacrificing, yet occasionally rebellious. Texts on religion, law, politics and education carried different pronouncements for men depending on caste, class, age and religious sects. In contrast, any consideration for women was overshadowed by their biological characteristics and the subordinate, supportive role they were destined to play. Occasionally Indian texts and historical narratives singled out some women for special attention but usually this was because their accomplishments were significant by male standards. We may conclude with the words of Gerda Lerner, an American pioneer in the field of women's history 'women have history; women are in history.'

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## Some Sacred Geographical Names Mentioned on Early Indian Coins

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

Attention of scholars has been drawn to a large number of geographical names mentioned on coins of both the northern part and the southern part of India in my book entitled *Geographical Names from Early Indian Coins*, published from Calcutta in 1990. In the present paper an attempt is made to deal with some sacred geographical names noticed to appear on coins.

First of all, attention is drawn in this connection to some such names mentioned on coins of certain foreign rulers of India. On the reverse of an interesting type of square copper coins of Eucratides (c.175-150 B.C.) depicting an enthroned deity bearing a wreath and palm and wearing mural crown<sup>1</sup> occurs the legend *Kavisiye nagara devata* meaning the city divinity of Kāpiśī. It may not be unjustified to think that because of its association with a deity the city Kāpiśī acquired a sacred character. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and certain other texts<sup>2</sup> mention Kāpiśī, which has been identified with modern Begram on the basis of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription<sup>3</sup> found there mentioning the city. It was the capital of the kingdom of Kāpiśā, generally identified with modern Kafiristan south-east of the Hindukush extending as far as the river Kunar including Ghorband and Panjshir Valley.<sup>4</sup>

The name of another city of sacred association appears to occur on a unique gold piece, now preserved in the British Museum, which does not bear the name of any king and has been described as Indo-Scythic and uncertain coin by P. Gardner.<sup>5</sup> The Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the left of the female figure on one side of the coin has been read by E. J. Rapson as *(Pa) khalavadi devada*<sup>6</sup> which has been taken to mean "The deity of Pakhalavadi".<sup>7</sup> Pakhalavadi is considered to be the same as Puṣkalāvātī or Puṣkarāvātī of Sanskrit, Pukkalāoti of Prakrit and Peukelaotis of Greek sources. A city of ancient Gandhāra, Puṣkalāvātī has been located at modern Prang and Chārsādā, on the Swat river seventeen miles north-east of Peshawar in West Pakistan in the north-western part of the subcontinent of Indo-Pakistan.<sup>8</sup> At Chārsādā, the ruins of the city of Puṣkalāvātī have been unearthed.<sup>9</sup> Regarding the date of the piece, there is some controversy. Since the Kharoṣṭhī script is not known to have been in use in the north-western part of the Indo-Pak subcontinent after the fourth or fifth century A.D. the coin requires to be dated earlier than that time. As, in respect of style and palaeography, some similarity is noticed between this

coin and a group of coins having on them the name of Azes, the piece has been tentatively placed<sup>10</sup> at approximately the same date as that of the coins with the name of Azes, i.e. the second half of the first century B.C. or first half of the first century A.D.

Not multiplying instances further from the coins of foreign rulers of India, reference is now being made to certain cities having definite sacred disposition like Ujjayinī, Vārāṇasī and Vidiśā noticed to be mentioned on some early indigenous coins of the northern part of India.

On a certain class of coins<sup>11</sup>, A. Cunningham read *Ujeniya*,<sup>12</sup> while J. Allan transliterates the legend on these coins as *Ujaniyi* though, as he thinks, the correct reading is probably *Ujeni*, a form supported by the Pali *Ujjeni*.<sup>13</sup> Capital of the ancient kingdom of Avanti and celebrated as a city representing the best traditions of Indian culture, Ujjayinī is identified with modern Ujjain situated on the Sipra river, 16 miles to the north of Indore and 120 miles nearly due west from Bhilsa.<sup>14</sup> When Aśoka was summoned to the throne, he was the governor of Ujjayinī.<sup>15</sup> Patañjali mentions the city<sup>16</sup> and though, according to the author of the *Periplus*, Ozene was not a capital city,<sup>17</sup> Ptolemy mentions it as a capital city of Śaka Caṣṭaṇa.<sup>18</sup> In a Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscription the Śaka father-in-law of Īkṣvāku Vīrapuruṣadatta is referred to as the *Mahārāja* of Ujjayinī. Ujjayinī<sup>19</sup> has maintained its sacred character even at later times as is apparent from its mention as a *tīrtha* or *pīṭha* in a number of texts like the *Jñānārṇavatāntra*, *Aṣṭādaśapīṭha*, *Bṛhannīlatantra*, *Pūṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpūṭhanirūpaṇa*, etc.<sup>20</sup>

Two copper coins were collected in 1944 by S. Singh Roy from the ruins of Rajghat near Vārāṇasī which, according to him, have the name *Vārāṇasī* written on them in characters of the first century B.C.<sup>21</sup> The celebrity of Vārāṇasī, one of the most ancient cities of India in early times, dates back from the Later Vedic period down to the age of the Mahājanapadas<sup>22</sup> when it was the capital of the kingdom of Kāśī which was probably at first the most powerful among the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Jātakas tell us that Vārāṇasī, situated on the bank of the Ganges and extending over twelve yojanas,<sup>23</sup> was much coveted by all the kings round and in this respect it "resembled ancient Babylon and medieval Rome".<sup>24</sup> The city in eastern U.P. is held in high veneration even at the present times and thronged by millions and millions of people every year coming from different parts of the globe.

The name of Vidiśā has been stated to occur in the form *Vedisa* or *Veddasa* on some twenty-one coins of the Mohant Ghasidas Memorial Museum of

### Some Sacred Geographical Names Mentioned on Early Indian Coins

Raipur.<sup>25</sup> The legend on the coins seems to refer to the city by the form *Vaidiśa* in which it is also mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*,<sup>26</sup> in an inscription from Sanchi<sup>27</sup> and also in a copper-plate inscription of the Kalacuri king Buddharāja issued from Vaidiśanagara.<sup>28</sup> Vaidiśa or Vidiśā, capital of Ākara, i.e. Eastern Malwa, is identified with the modern village of Besnagar near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh.<sup>29</sup> Excavations at Besnagar in 1963-64 have also yielded two more coins with the legend *Velisa*.<sup>30</sup> According to K. D. Bajpai, some copper coins from Ujjain appear to bear the legend *Veddisa*, although he at first read the legend on these coins as *Dasa(sa)*.<sup>31</sup> The sacred character of Besnagar even in quite early times is evident from the famous Garuḍa pillar of Heliodorus there.

On some coins of the southern part of India the name of the sacred river Gaṅgā and that of the holy city Kāñcī have been noticed to occur. Rājendracola I (A.D. 1012-1044) assumed the title *Gaṅgaikoṇḍacola*, meaning, "the Cola (king) who conquered the Gaṅgā, after his army had reached as far as the river Gaṅgā in the north".<sup>32</sup> The title seems to have been a favourite one of Rājendracola as it is noticed to occur not only on some of his silver coins<sup>33</sup> but also in inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> The title still survives in Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram,<sup>35</sup> the name of a ruined city in the Udaiyarpalaiyam Taluk of the Tiruchi District (Tamilnadu), not far from Chidambaram.

The Tamil legend *Kāñcī* occurs along with the representation of tiger, bow and indistinct marks on the reverse of a type of light weight gold coins<sup>36</sup> known from a hoard found at Kavilayadavalli in the Atmakur Taluk of the Nellore District. The obverse Tamil legend *Sung*, a short form of *Sungandaviruttarulina dva*, a title by which Kulottuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1118) was famous as an 'abolisher of tolls', and the numeral 27, have led scholars<sup>37</sup> to attribute the coins to Kullotuṅga I. Kāñcī is also mentioned in the title *Kaccivelungumperumāḷ* occurring on some copper coins,<sup>38</sup> believed to have been issued by the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1216-1288 A.D.) for the reason that some of the specimens mentioning the title contains, as T. Desikachari points out,<sup>39</sup> the letter *Su*, a short form of Sundara. The title meaning one who restored Kacci, i.e. Kāñcī, was assumed by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. Kāñcī, where apparently the coins bearing the Tamil legend *Kāñcī* were minted, is mentioned in inscriptions even from the time of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.) its earliest literary-reference having been traced in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*.<sup>40</sup> It is identified with Conjeeveram,<sup>41</sup> on the river Pallar, 43 miles south-west of Chennai, in the Chingleput District of Tamilnadu.

References:

1. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, 1914, p. 26 and Plate III. 131; cf. also D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, p. 364, and Plate IX. 4. Cunningham (*Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, p. 169) read the legend to mean "the god of the city Kavisi", J. Marquart (*Erānshar*, pp. 280-281) first read the legend correctly and Rapson (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, pp. 783-786) emphasized its importance. For further details, see our discussion in *Geographical Names from Early Indian Coins* cited above, p. 7, note 7.
2. IV.2.99. Cf. also V.S. Agrawala's *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Banaras, 1963, pp. 35, 38, 49, 71. 120. As Agrawala points out, Kāpiśī was destroyed by the Achaemenian emperor Cyrus (Kurush) in the sixth century B. C. according to Pliny. For its mention in different sources, see N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, London, 1927, p. 91. See also B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, p. 90.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, p.11; Cf also *Bull. Sch. Or Af. Stud.*, Vol. VI, pp. 34ff.
4. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 387. Cf. also D. C. Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature* (hereafter *Cosm. Geog. Eur. Ind. Lit.*), Calcutta, 1967, p. 151, note.
5. *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings in Bactria and India*, Reprinted, New Delhi, 1971, p. 162 and Plate XXIX. 15; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, p. 767.
6. It has, however, been pointed out (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1965 p. 100) that the last letter may also be read as *ta* as on a coin (Gardner, *op. cit.*, Plate XXII. 8) *ta* is seen written in the same form.
7. The correct reading of the Kharoṣṭhī legend on the right of the female figure is *ampae* and the whole obverse legend is *(Pa) khalavadi devada (or ta) anipae* meaning "of *Aṁpā* (or *Aṁvā* or *Aṁbā*), the deity of Pakhalavadi" (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1965, pp. 110-111).
8. W. H. Schoff (Translator), *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 183-184; Foucher, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra*, p.11; Cf. also H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, p. 60 with notes and p. 247.
9. M. Wheeler, *Chārsādā—A Metropolis of the North-West Frontier*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 2-3.
10. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1965, p. 112.
11. For coins discovered at Ujjayinī in different times, reference may be made to A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century* (hereafter *Coins Anc. Ind.*), London, 1891; Reprint, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 94ff; J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India (in the British Museum)*, London, 1936 (hereafter *BMCCAI*), Photolithographic Reprint, London, 1967, pp. cxli ff. and p. 241ff.; *Journal of the Numismatic Society*



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- of India (hereafter *Journ. Num., Soc. Ind.*), Vol. VIII, pp. 99 ff.; Vol. X, pp. 38ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 73ff. and pp. 209ff.; Vol. XVI, pp. 61f.
12. *Coins Anc. Ind.* (cited in footnote no. 11), p. 97.
  13. *BMCCAI*, p. cxiv. For the coins bearing the legend *Ujeni* from recent excavations, see *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, 1956-57, pp. 32ff. and 1957-58, pp. 32ff.; cf also *Seminar Papers of the Local Coins of Northern India*, edited by A. K. Narain, Varanasi, 1968, p. 159 and *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, p. 47 and note 2.
  14. *Coins Anc. Ind.*, p. 94.
  15. Cf. *BMCCAI*, p. cxiv.
  16. III. 1. 26. var. 10.
  17. Schoff's translation, p. 42.
  18. *Coins Anc. Ind.*, p. 95.
  19. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization* (hereafter *Sel. Ins.*), Vol. I, 2nd Edition, 1965, p. 231. For the mention of *Ujeni* or *Ujjayini* in epigraphs other than those referred to here, cf. P. Gupta, *Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions* (hereafter *Geog. Anc. Ind. Ins.*) Upto 650 AD, Delhi, 1973, pp. 114-115.
  20. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, 2nd Edition, Delhi, 1973, p. 98.
  21. *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 134; Plate XI. 5-6, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 40.
  22. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, pp. 74-77, 96-98.
  23. *Ibid.*, p. 96, note 3.
  24. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
  25. *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 307.
  26. Act V. 15. Edited by S. P. Pandit, Bombay, 1869, p. 153; cf. also A. Scharpe, *Kālidāsa-Lexicon* (Brugg, Belgie, 1956), Vol. I, Part II, p. 56.
  27. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 102.
  28. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, Part I, ed. V.V. Mirashi, pp. 47ff.
  29. *Coins Anc. Ind.*, p. 80. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 397; *Cosm. Geog. Ear. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 78, 81-82.
  30. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1963-64, pp. 16-17. Cf. also A. K. Narain ed. *Sem. Pap. Loc. Coins Nor. Ind.*, cited above in footnote no. 13, p. 169 and *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, p. 44.
  31. *Indian Numismatic Studies*, New Delhi, 1976, p. 102.
  32. Vidya Prakash, *Coinage of South India* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 17), Varanasi, 1968, p. 85.
  33. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, 1892, p. 323 (No. 7); Vidya Prakash, *op.cit.*, p. 93.; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 252.

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34. Cf. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Second Edition, Madras, 1955.
  35. Cf. R. Nagaswamy, *Gaṅgaikōṇḍacolapuram*, 1970.
  36. *Journ. Andh Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, Part III, 1927, pp. 141-143; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, 1927, pp. 193-194; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *op.cit.*, pp. 60 and 258.
  37. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *op.cit.*, p. 60.
  38. W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Reprinted Edition, Varanasi, 1970, p. 122, note 2 and p. 152G. Vidya Prakash, *op.cit.*, pp. 63 and 71; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *op.cit.*, pp. 67 and 272.
  39. *Tamil Antiquary*, 1913, p. 47.
  40. Cf. P. Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 77.
  41. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, 1927, p. 194. *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 6th Edition, 1953, p. 540.
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MĀLDĀ DISTRICT MUSEUM PLATE OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLADĒVA,  
YEAR 7—PLATE I

Obverse

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MĀLDĀ DISTRICT MUSEUM PLATE OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLADĒVA,  
YEAR 7—PLATE II

Reverse

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Plate - I Excavation camp Chidu - Chimiri fort near Roing. 92'



Plate - II 'Reh' festival of the Idu Mishmis.