

EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

SENA PERIOD

BY

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CHAPTER I.

Political History

The subject of this thesis is the history of Bengal during the Sena rule. This includes not merely the political but also the administrative, the fiscal, the social, the religious and the literary history of the period. And although "it is the administrative, social, religious, and ethnological history which is of much greater importance and far transcends political history in point of human interest and edification,"¹ a discussion of the political history to begin with is necessary for thorough understanding and lucid treatment of the whole subject.

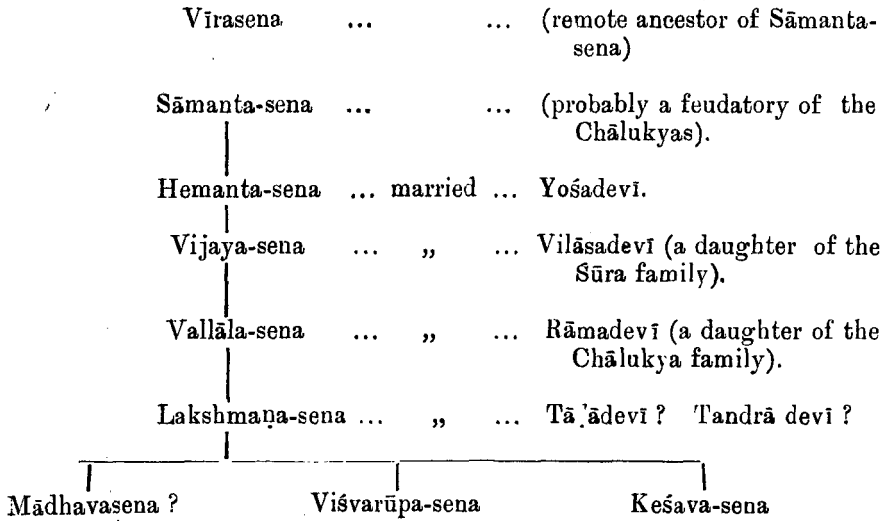
It is true that no Thucydides or Tacitus has left any record of the achievements of the people of ancient India, or any Kalhana, a history of Bengal during the Sena rule. The latter is therefore still a desideratum. But the researches of a multitude of scholars in this field have disclosed an unexpected wealth of materials for the reconstruction of this history. These materials mainly fall into two classes, *viz.* (1) epigraphic records, (2) literary works. Epigraphic records consist of inscriptions found of almost all the rulers of this dynasty.

Literary works consist of the *Vallālacharita* by one Ānandabhaṭṭa, a writer of the fifteenth century, the *Dānasāgara* composed by king Vallālasena himself, the *Adbhūtasāgara*, a manual begun by Vallāla but finished by his son Lakshana, the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyi, the *Āryāsaptasatī* of Āchārya Govardhana, the

¹ *The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 1.

Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva of Halāyudha, the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* or *Suktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa and a host of other writings quoted in this last work.

By carefully sifting the evidence and skilfully marshalling the facts disclosed by these records it is possible to construct a fairly good and all-round history of the period. But as stated above we will begin first with the political history for which we are indebted mainly to the epigraphic records. These documents reveal the following line of succession in the Sena dynasty of Bengal :—



The Senas of Bengal claim descent from the lunar race and are said to have originally belonged to the South.¹ In the Mādhānagar grant² of Lakshmaṇa it is said that Sāmanta was 'the head-garland of the Karṇāṭa Kshatriyas.' In the fifth verse of the Deopara inscription³ Sāmanta is said to have been "the head-garland of the clans of the *Brahma-kshatriyas*." A lively discussion has centred round the term *Brahma-*

¹ Deopara Inscription, V. 4. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 305.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. V, 1909, p. 467 ff.

p. Ind., Vol. I, p. 305.

kshatriyas. Prof. Kielhorn translates the phrase, *Brahmakshatriyānām kulāśirodāma* as “the head-garland of the clans of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas.” In some passages no doubt we find the term *Brahmakshatra* used in the sense of “the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas” as taken by Prof. Kielhorn. Thus we find *Brahmakshatram-ahimsantah te keśam samapūrayan*¹ and again *pañcha pañchanakhā bhakshyā Brahmakshatreṇa Rāghava*.² But another sense of the term is also known, namely, that of a person born of a Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya parentage especially in the genealogical accounts of the *Bhāgavata*³ and the *Vishṇupurāna*.⁴ But though the term had hitherto been a prolific source of puzzle and confusion, it is no longer so after the publication of the essay on the “Guhilots”⁵ by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Here I cannot do better than quote one passage from his article. “We have already seen that a Chātsu inscription speaks of a Guhilot king Bharṭṛbhaṭṭa as *Brahmakshatr-ānvita*, which I have translated by possessed of (both) priestly and martial energy, but a foot-note has been added below saying that what is also implied is that Bharṭṛbhaṭṭa was a Brahmakshatri. Bharṭṛbhaṭṭa is not the only ancient king of India who is so called. In the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena of the well-known Sena dynasty of Bongal Sāmantasena is described as *Brahmakshatriyānām kulāśiro-dāma*, which expression was rendered by Prof. Kielhorn by “head-garland of the clans of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas,” but which ought to have been rendered, I think, by “head-garland of the Brahmakshatri family.” That the latter is the correct translation is shown by the term *Brahmakshatra* used with reference to the Sena kings in the *Ballālacharitam*. Now there is a caste called Brahmakshatri corresponding to this Brahmakshatra, the members of

¹ Rāmāyaṇa, Vālakāṇḍa, 13, 7.

² Rāmāyaṇa, Kishkindhyākāṇḍa, 39, 17.

³ 9 Skandha, 22 Adhyāya, 44 Sloka.

⁴ 4th Aṃsa.

⁵ J. & Proc. A. S. B., Vol. V, 1909, p. 186.

which are found all over the Punjab, Rajputana, Kathiawar, Gujarat and even the Deccan. In my opinion as already stated, they were originally the Brāhmaṇa classes of new tribes afterwards turned Kshatriyas, before their final merging into the Hindu society." Thus when the Sena kings in their records are said to have belonged to the Brahmakshatra family all that we have to understand is that they were originally Brāhmaṇas but were Kshatriyas at the time when they came into historic importance. The members of the Brahmakshatri caste are found even to this day but are confined exclusively to the western part of India, and if any Brahmakshatri family came to Bengal in the 10th century A.D. they must naturally have come from the west. And this is just the reason why the Senas of Bengal who were Brahmakshatris are said to have come from Karṇāṭa which certainly is a part of Western India. So far in regard to the term Brahmakshatra. Now the question arises, if the Senas came from the west and specially from the Karṇāṭa country, is there any trace of the name Sena in the records found in the Canarese-speaking district? In this connection are worth noting the researches of Dr. R. C. Majumdar who embodied their results in the shape of an article called the "Origin of the Sena Kings" which he read before the Second Oriental Conference. He says, "The epigraphic records of Southern India introduce us to a line of Jaina teachers whose names end in the surname Sena."¹ And he gives the following line of teachers in the Sena family of Dharwar district.²

Kumārasena.			
Virasena	c. 850-903 A.D.
Kanakasena			
Ajitasena	c. 950-975 A.D.
Brahmasena			
Āryasena	c. 1000-1054 A.D.
Mahāsena			

¹ Proceedings and Transactions of Second Oriental Conference (1922), p. 343.

² *Ibid.*, p. 343.

Then a little further on he says, "There are clear references in the inscriptions of the Sena kings of Bengal that their forefathers were religious teachers. Thus Sāmantasena is called a Brahmavādī in the 5th Verse of the Deopara inscription and the epithet '*acharama-param-ātma-jñāna-bhīshmād*' is applied to him in the tenth verse. The fact that Sāmantasena retired to a hermitage in his old age may not also be without significance." ¹ Then after a few lines he proceeds: "The fact that the Senas of Dharwar were Jainas while the Sena kings of Bengal were Śaivas need not stand in the way of the proposed identification. It is a well-known fact that in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. there was a religious revolution in Karṇāṭa in favour of Śaivism which ultimately culminated in the establishment of the Vīraśaiva or the Liṅgāyat sect. A notable instance of the conversion from Jainism to the Śaiva faith is furnished by the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla who ruled from 1018 to 1042 A.D. It is not impossible that the conversion of the ruling dynasty to the Śaiva faith might have influenced some members of the Sena family to embrace the new creed." ²

The most important fact to note here is that the surname Sena was prevalent in the country of Karṇāṭa and for this our thanks are due to Dr. Majumdar. But it is somewhat difficult to follow him when he says that apparently all the Senas of Karṇāṭa were originally of Jaina faith just because some Jaina teachers bear the surname Sena and that they were subsequently converted to the Śaiva religion when the Vīraśaiva or the Liṅgāyat sect sprang into existence. Change of religion especially from Hinduism to Jainism or *vice versa* is not unknown to this day and certainly was not unknown to Karṇāṭa about the eleventh century A.D. All that we need pay attention to is that the surname Sena was by no means unknown to Karṇāṭa and this exactly agrees with the fact

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 344-45.

² *Ibid*, p. 345.

that the Senas originally hailed from that country as their records unanimously tell us.

Thus there is no doubt about the fact that the Senas came from the South originally. But how a chief admittedly of Karnāṭaka origin came to wield political power in Bengal is still a mystery. Various theories have been propounded by various scholars and various guesses and surmises have been indulged in, but none of them is satisfactory. According to Mr. R. D. Banerjee¹ some of the ancestors of the Senas accompanied Rājendra Chola in one of his expeditions to Bengal and carved out a principality there. Mr. R. P. Chanda, on the other hand, is inclined to take the view that one of the forefathers of the Senas of Bengal accompanied Chālukya Vikramāditya in one of his expeditions to Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa and with the help of the Chālukya king he held the Bengal principality and that "Sāmantasena born in the family of the princes of Karnāṭa Kshatriyas was engaged in fighting out the enemies of the Karnāṭa Raj in the Rādhā country."² The view of Dr. Majumdar though slightly different is practically the same. He holds that not one of the ancestors of Sāmantasena but Sāmantasena himself accompanied Chālukya Vikramāditya to Bengal. He says, "It is thus quite conceivable that Sāmantasena might have accompanied Vikramāditya in one of his expeditions and like Nānyadeva carved out a principality for himself in the conquered territories."³

Now it is impossible to agree with Mr. Banerjee in his views, because Rājendra Chola was a Tamil and he did not come from Karnāṭa. The view expressed by Messrs. Chanda and Majumdar seems to be more acceptable. The only objection to their view is that Sāmantasena's activity was confined only to the southern region. He was neither engaged in fighting out the enemies of the king of Karnāṭa and Rādhā,

¹ Bāṅglār Itihāsa.

² Gauḍa Rājamālā, p. 47.

³ Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference (1922), p. 347.

nor was the founder of the Bengal principality. In the Deopara inscription Sāmantasena is said to have carried his victorious arms as far as Adam's bridge (V. 5), and to have "singly slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa overrun by hostile tribes, to such an extent, that the ruler of goblins, whose citizens are delighted, does not even now leave the Southern quarter where the ample store of marrow, flesh and fat is not yet exhausted" (V. 8). If Sāmantasena was already a ruler in Bengal, it is very strange that no victory of his in East India has been recorded. And as all his achievements refer to South India only, the natural inference is that he was in Karṇāṭa and not in Bengal.

But the other part of their view is worth acceptance, for the Chālukya king Vikramāditya was a ruler of Karṇāṭa. He also is reported to have invaded Bengal¹ and he flourished from 1076 to 1126 A.D. This brings us so close to the time of the founder of the Sena dynasty, whoever he was, that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Senas came into Bengal in the victorious march of this Western Chālukya King to East India. But it is worthy of note that we find the Senas for the first time stationed not only in the Rādhā country but also in Magadha for we have epigraphic records at Bodh-Gayā and palm-leaf manuscripts in Nepal which together reveal a line of kings not only called Sena and coming from Karṇāṭa but also ruling over Behar synchronously. This seems to show that when Vikramāditya VI conquered Gauḍa, he left garrisons of Karṇāṭa warriors—one in Rādhā and the other in the Magadha province.

Let us now see how the Sena dynasty came to rule over Bengal. These Senas, we are told, were confined originally to the Rādhā country which as we know corresponds to West Bengal. East Bengal seems to have been ruled over about this time by a line of Kings who called themselves Varmans,

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 442.

as is clear from the Belava copper plate of Bhojavarman¹ who was reigning at Vikrampur. We have already seen that Sāmantasena was in no way connected with any part of Bengal. It is no doubt said of him in the Deopara inscription that when he retired from worldly life he was settled on the Banks of the Ganges. As his kinsmen had already been garrisoned in the Rāḍhā province as the Naihati grant of Vallālasena clearly informs us, one may perhaps infer that when Sāmantasena retired he was living somewhere in that province on the banks of the holy river. But there is no reason to connect him politically with any part of Bengal.

Sāmantasena's son was Hemantasena. But nothing of any importance has been recorded about him.

Hemantasena.
Hemantasena's son was Vijayasena who appears to have been not only the first Sena who made himself an independent ruler, but was also the first of his dynasty to rule over a large part if not the whole of Bengal. The Deopara inscription of this king gives us an account of his magnificent achievements and victorious career. It is stated there that he defeated Nānya and Vira, assailed the lord of Gauḍa, put down the prince of Kāmarūpa, defeated the Kalīnga (king), imprisoned a number of princes including Rāghava and Vardhana and sent a naval expedition towards the west up the whole course of the Ganges (V. 20-22).

Vijayasena.
Though there is considerable difficulty in identifying these defeated kings owing to the fact that the two inscriptions mentioned above do not, like the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, connect these kings with the countries they ruled, the researches of some scholars have done much to illuminate the darkness around them. But before any attempt is made at their identification it is necessary to have at least a rough idea of the time of Vijayasena.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 40.

Now it is a well-known fact that Vallālasena was the author of at least two works called the *Dānasāgara* and the *Abbhūtasāgara*. The first of those he was able to complete but the second was continued after his death and brought to a finish by his son Lakshmaṇa. This latter, *i.e.*, the *Abbhūtasāgara*, has a verse, '*bhuje-Vasu daśamite Śake śrimad-Vallālasena-rājyādau*,' to which the late Rai Monomohan Chakravarti Bahadur was the first to draw our attention. The line clearly tells us that Śaka 1082 or A.D. 1159-60, was the initial year of Vallāla's reign. Again in the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena there is a date which has been read by Mr. R. D. Banerji as Sam. 32,¹ but a glance even at Bühler's chart will show that the two figures on the printed plate published by Mr. Banerjee cannot by any means be thought to resemble 3 and 2 respectively. An attempt to decipher the date has recently been made by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali² and Babu Dineshchandra Bhattacharya, M.A.,³ apparently independently of each other, and they both agree in reading the date as 61, which, though it is not as certain as desirable, is at any rate far more probable than that read by Mr. Banerjee. No doubt, if their view be accepted, Vijaya must be credited with having enjoyed an exceptionally long reign of at least 61 years. But this is by no means an absolute improbability in Indian History. Choraṅga, the contemporary of Vijayasena⁴ ruled even for 71 years⁵ (1076-1147 A.D.). Thus we may approximately fix the earlier limit of Vijayasena's reign about 1099 A.D. (1160-61=A.D. 1099), that is about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

Having thus determined the date of Vijaya, we shall now proceed to identify his contemporaries. Nānya and Rāghava

¹ J. A. S. B., 1906, p. 11 footnote.

² J. & Proc. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 16 footnote.

³ Ind. Ant., August, 1922, p. 157.

⁴ Vallālacharitaṃ (Bibliotheca Indica).

⁵ J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 101.

have been identified by Babu Manmohan Chakravarti respectively with Nānyadeva¹ of Mithilā, and Rāghava² king of Kaliṅga, son of Choragaṅga. The identification of Nānya rests on a statement of Vidyāpati. In the Yuddhavira, one of the tales of the *Purushaparikshā* of Vidyāpati it is stated that king Nānyadeva of Karṇātakula ruled in Mithilā and had a son named Malladeva who took service under Jayachandra, king of Kānyakubja and Kāśī, and died at the age of sixteen. In another tale of the same work this Jayachandra is said to have been defeated and killed in war with Shāhabuddin by the treachery of his queen. As we know from Mahomedan History that Jayachand, king of Kanauj, was defeated by Shahabuddin in A.D. 1194 and also as we have several inscriptions coming from Kānyakubja and Kāśī and ranging between 1170 and 1188 A.D. and bearing the name of Jayachandra, we may be certain that Vidyāpati has introduced in his narratives really historical persons. Now as the young son of Nānyadeva has been made contemporary of this Jayachandra, we may hold that Nānyadeva flourished in his time or a little earlier, say, in the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D.³ This date for Nānyadeva of Mithila makes it almost certain that he is the Nānya spoken of in the Deopara inscription.⁴ As has been already remarked, Rāghava of the Deopara inscription has been identified by Manomohan Chakravarti with Rāghava king of Kaliṅga and son of Choragaṅga. In the *Ballālacharita* of Ānandabhaṭṭa Vijayasena is said to have been a friend of Choragaṅga. Manomohan Babu has assigned king Rāghava of Kaliṅga to

¹ J. A. S. B., 1915, pp. 408-9.

² J. A. S. B., 1903, pp. 101-13.

³ J. A. S. B., 1915, pp. 408-9.

* Prof. Kielhorn in his paper on the Deopara Inscription has identified Nānya with Nānyadeva, the founder of the Karṇāataka dynasty of Nepal and placed him in Saka 1019 or A. D. 1097. It seems that Nānyadeva, the founder of Karṇāataka dynasty of Nepal, and Nānyadeva mentioned in the *Purushaparikshā* are the same person, for the Nānyadeva of Vidyāpati is also said to have belonged to the Karṇāataka dynasty.

the period ranging between A.D. 1156 and 1170. And as according to our calculation, Vijayasena reigned from 1099 to 1160 A.D. he must have been a contemporary of Rāghava for sometime at least.

As regards Vīra and Vardhana, they have been identified by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri respectively with Viraguna of Koṭājavī and Vardhana of Koṣāmbī from a statement of Sandhyākaranandī in the *Rāmācharitam* to the effect that these two kings as well as Vijayadeva of Nidrāvala helped Rāmapāla in regaining Varendrī.¹ This identification of Viraguna and Vardhana rests evidently on the determination of the time of Rāmapāla. If his time can be fixed near about the time of Vijayasena, the identification of Vīra and Vardhana may be accepted. Now according to both Dr. R. C. Majumdar² and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri⁴ the time of Rāmapāla falls in the closing years of the 11th century and the earlier years of the twelfth. This can be made out thus : The Sārnath inscription of Mahīpāla I gives a known date for him, 1026 A.D. His son Nayapāla ruled at least for 15 years and Nayapāla's son Vighrapāla for at least 13 years. The reigning periods of Vighrapāla's two sons Mahīpāla II and Sūrapāla II are not known but let us suppose that they ruled for a and b years respectively. After them came the three Kaivarta kings Divvoka, Rudaka and Bhīma whose unknown reigning periods let us represent by c , d , and e respectively. Finally came Rāmapāla who ruled for at least 42 years. Thus the date for Rāmapāla would be $1026 + 15 + 13 + a + b + c + d + e + 42 = 1096 + a + b + c + d + e$. The value of a to e is, as has been pointed out, not known. But we shall not be far from right if we place Rāmapāla in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Rāmapāla must therefore have been a contemporary of Vijayasena. Therefore

¹ Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 174-175.

² J. A. S. B., 1921, p. 6.

³ Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 175.

as we see that the reigning period of Rāmapāla coincides with the time of Vijaya we may take the identification of Vira and Vardhana of the Deopara inscription with Viraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī and Vardhana of Kośāmbī as almost certain.¹ We have so far been able to identify four kings, Nānya Rāghava, Vira and Vardhana and there remain two more kings to be identified. They are the king of Gauḍa and the prince of Kāmarūpa. According to V.A. Smith, the king of Gauḍa was 'either Rāmapāla or his son Kumārapāla, more likely the latter.'² But it seems that the king of Gauḍa defeated by Vijaya was neither Rāmapāla nor Kumārapāla but Madanapāla the second son of Rāmapāla and the third king in order from Kumārapāla. Neither Rāmapāla nor Kumārapāla was the last king of his dynasty. The Manahali grant of Madanapāla proves that he was the master of Varendrī in his eighth regnal year. In that year he made some land-grant in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti which certainly included Varendrī. Madanapāla was surely the last king of his dynasty who wielded any political power. It is as yet, not definitely known who was the successor of Madanapāla. Thus there is a strong possibility that Madanapāla was the king of Gauḍa referred to in the Deopara inscription. The date of the accession of Madanapāla which according to the chronology³ of Prof. R. C. Majumdar is A.D. 1130, makes him also a contemporary of Vijayasena.

The prince of Kāmarūpa was most probably some ancestor of Vallabhadeva, perhaps his grandfather Rāyārideva.

¹ Dr. V. A. Smith has tried to identify Vira with a King of Assam on the authority of a legend dated Saka 1111 (A. D. 1189) and on the mention of a king of Kāmarupa named Viravāhu "whose son became powerful king" in an undated copper plate. But his view can no longer be tenable in presence of the statement in the Rāmacharita. Moreover no reliance can be placed on a mere legend. The undated copper plate in which the name Viravāhu occurs and which is mentioned by him, has been found from the reference given by him to be the Nowgong copper plate of Balayarman. According to Dr. Hoernle, the editor of this grant, the inscription "was probably prepared about 990 A.D." So Viravāhu cannot be the Vira of Deopara Inscription.

² E. H. I., p. 419.

³ J. & Proc. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 6 ff.

From a copper plate inscription of Vallabhadeva, dated Saka 1107 (1184-85 A.D.) we know that the armies from the Gauḍadeśa invaded Kāmarūpa during the time of Rāyārideva.¹ There is a considerable difficulty in identifying Sāhasānka. Mr. R. D. Banerjee has cited the names of some four or five kings whose *biruda* was Sāhasānka : but none of them can be placed in our period.

The time when Vijaya flourished was exceptionally favourable for an adventurous and war-like king like him. The mighty fabric of the Pāla empire after lasting for more than three centuries had at last begun to fall to pieces. The first sign of its decay was seen in the revolt of the Kaivarta king Divvoka. Though Rāmapāla had succeeded after a mighty attempt to restore his kingdom from the clutches of the third Kaivarta king Bhīma, he was the last great king of his dynasty. His successors were probably not so strong as he was. After Rāmapāla followed a very troublous time in Bengal and taking advantage of this unsettled condition the Varmans asserted their supremacy in East Bengal² and Vijaya who was already settled in Nidrāval (a place somewhere in Bengal), and who at one time, according to Sandhyākara-nandī, the author of the Rāmācharita helped Rāmapāla in regaining his kingdom³ snatched away Varendrī probably from the hand of Madanapāla after the latter had been on the throne for eight years. But it seems that Vijaya was not the only prince who had an eye upon the rich kingdom of Gauḍa, but Nānya, the king of Mithilā, Rāghava, the king of Kaliṅga, the prince of Kāmarūpa, Vardhana of Kośāmbī⁴ and Viraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī, each and all fought to have a share in the kingdom of Bengal and so in the course of maturing

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 184.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, 1913-14, p. 37 ff.

³ For the identification of Vijaya of Nidrāvala with Vijaya of the Sena dynasty, please see Appendix D.

⁴ Ind. Ant., 1920, pp. 174-5.

their plan, they came in conflict with Vijaya, who became the favourite son of Fortune, defeated them and ultimately came out victorious from the contest. It is not impossible that Vijaya considerably strengthened his position by marrying in the ancient Śūra family of the Suhma country. In the Barrackpur grant of Vijaya he is said to have married "Vilāsadevi, the moonlight of the Sea of the Śūra family" (V. 6). The existence of a Śūra family of Bengal is long known from the traditional account of Ādiśūra who, it is said, brought five Brahmans from Kānyakubja to Bengal. The genealogical lists of the Bengal *ghaṭakas* (matchmakers), give the names of the following kings of the Śūra family :—Ādiśūra, Bhūśūra, Kshitiśūra, Avaniśūra, Dhārāsūra, and lastly Raṇaśūra.¹ Though the existence of Ādiśūra has been doubted by scholars and on very good grounds, and though much reliance cannot be placed on the traditional accounts of the Bengal *ghaṭakas* there is sufficient ground to believe that there did exist in Bengal a line of Śūra kings. The Tirumalaya inscription of Rājendra Chola records that he defeated one Raṇaśūra of Takkaṇa Lāḍaṃ, *i.e.*, Dakshiṇa Rāḍhā.² The Dakshiṇa Rāḍhā was apparently the Suhma country.³ Now the *Kulapañjikās* of the Bengal *ghaṭakas* also name the king Raṇaśūra. When the tradition is corroborated by epigraphic evidence, there is no reason to disbelieve it. Thus there can be no doubt that there was an ancient Śūra family ruling in Southern Bengal. By marrying in this family Vijaya probably gained double advantage. First he was materially backed up in his contest by his wife's relatives and secondly, his status was raised in the eyes of the people of Bengal. While Vīra, Vardhana, Rāghava, Nānya and even the prince of Kāmarūpa were looked upon as foreigners by the people of Bengal. Vijaya who had already been in Bengal for a long

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. IV, p. 286 footnote VII.

² Inscriptions of Southern India, Keilhorn, No. 733.

³ J. A. S. B., Vol. IV, 1908, p. 286.

time was looked upon as one of them especially by this matrimonial alliance with an ancient family of that province.

The reign of Vijaya was marked not only with wars abroad but also with works of high public utility at home. The poet Umāpatidhara has recorded of him in the Deopara inscription that he built many high and magnificent temples and excavated many spacious tanks. The beautiful and grand temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva was built in his reign. The fine city of Vijayapura mentioned in the Pavanadūta as the capital of king Lakshmaṇa was probably built during his time and was named after him.

The king Vijaya was a worshipper of Śiva, and he styled himself as Paramamaheśvara. Two inscriptions of his open with an adoration to Śiva. Vṛshabhaśaṅkara, the *biruda* of this king, also indicates his Śaiva faith. Of Vijayasena the following two inscriptions have so far been found :—

I. The Deopara stone inscription. Deopara is a village in the Rajshahi district, a few miles west of the town of Rampur Boalia. The object of the grant is to record the fact that Vijaya built a high and magnificent temple of Śiva under the name of Pradyumneśvara. The inscription was composed by the poet Umāpatidhara “whose understanding is purified by the study of words and their meaning.” It was carefully and beautifully engraved by Rāṇaka Śulapāṇi, the crest-jewel of the guild of Varendra artists. The inscription is not dated.¹

II. The Barrackpur grant. Barrackpur is a cantonment in the 24-Parganas. The grant was made in honour of lord Maheśvara for performing the *homa* ceremony by the queen of Vijayasena, the illustrious Vilāsadevī, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The grant was issued from the victorious camp of Vikramapura to the illustrious Udayakaradevaśarman, a student of the Āśvalāyana Śākhā of the

¹ It was published by Prof. Keilhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 307.

Rgveda. It is dated Sam. 61 (32 according to Mr. R. D. Banerjee).¹

Vijaya was succeeded by his son Vallāla. He came to the throne, as we have seen on the authority of the Adbhūtasāgara, about 1159 A. D. Nothing particularly is known about the political activities and military achievements of this king. The Naihati grant, the only inscription of his reign, as well as the grants of his successor Lakshmaṇa do not throw any light on the subject, beyond recording the fact that he was a Mahārājādhirāja or a paramount sovereign. The Madanapāḍa grant of Viśvarūpa, son of Lakshmaṇa, says that he was the Gauḍeśvara or lord of Gauḍa. Lord of Gauḍa he is also called at the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri says that with the aid of the Kaivartas, "Vallāla conquered Northern Bengal and tried his best to make a clean caste of them, and divided them by sending the more turbulent ones to defend the Southern frontier, the Dakshinaghāṭa. Their leader was Maheśa whom he made a Maṇdaleśvara from which fact the Dakshinaghāṭa is still known as Maṇdalaghāṭa."² But this statement of his rests, so far as we can find out, on the *Vallālacharita*, a work of the 15th century and based on mere tradition. Another tradition, to the effect that Vallālasena went on a conquest to Mithilā, has been made known to us by Babu Nagendranath Vasu from a passage in the *Laghubhārata* (Ch. 2, p. 140). The *Vallālacharita*, however, says that king Vallāla was actually the ruler of Mithilā.³ According to various traditions current in Bengal, Vallāla was the founder of Kulinism and the reorganiser of the caste-system. The old *Kārikā* of Harimiśra for instance, records that "he honoured the Brahmanas with

¹ The grant is published by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 156.

² Introduction (p. 15), to N. N. Vasu's 'Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa.'

³ Vallālacharita, p. 16.

the superior rank of Kaulinya—a rank the equal of which is rarely to be met with in this world.”¹ The *Vallālacharita* gives a detailed account of his in this connection. We will have occasion to appraise the value of these traditions, when we treat of the Social History of the Sena period.

Vallāla was a man of letters. It is stated in the beginning of the *Dānasāgara* that he learnt all the *Purānas* and the *Smṛti* works from his preceptor Aniruddha.² He was the author, as we have already remarked, of two encyclopaedic works, the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhūtasāgara*. The former was completed in Saka 1091 or 1169-70 A. D. while the latter was begun by him in A. D. 1168-69. This latter work (*i.e.*, the *Adbhūtasāgara*), however, he could not carry to completion and it was finished only after his death by his son Lakshmaṇa.

Vallāla was, like his illustrious father, Vijaya, a Śaiva by faith. His grant opens with an invocation to Śiva and he styles himself a Paramamāheśvara and takes the *biruda* Nihśankaśankara. But according to Babu Nagendranath Vasu, he was a Tāntrik worshipper. “It appears,” says he, “from the genealogical books of the Varendra Brahmins of Bengal that Hindu Tāntrikism with the worship of the Tāntrika gods and goddesses spread to Orissa through the efforts of the Brahmins sent by Vallālasena, king of Gauḍa.”³

Vallāla ruled at least up to 1170 A. D. His Naihati grant is dated in the year 11. Now taking the initial year of the reign of Vallāla to be 1159-60 A. D., the date of the issue of the grant would be 1170-71 A. D.

This Naihati grant is the only one inscription that has been so far discovered of his time. Naihati is a village in the Katwa Sub-division of the Burdwan district. The grant is issued from the victorious camp of Vikramapura on the

¹ Quoted by N. N. Vasu in J. A. S. B., 1896.

² Notices of Sanskrit MSS. by Haraprasad Sastri, Second Series, p. 170. Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja, p. lxiv.

occasion of a solar eclipse and registers a *dakṣiṇā* for the golden-horse gift ceremony to the illustrious Ovāsudeva a student of the Kauthumī Śākhā of the *Sāmaveda*. It records the grant of a village in the Uttara-Rāḍhamaṇḍala of the Vardhamānabhukti. The *dūtaka* of the grant was Harighoṣa the minister of peace and war. It is dated the 16th day of Vaiśākha, the year 11.¹

We now come to Lakshmaṇasena who succeeded his father Vallāla to the throne. We find a good many titles and epithets coupled with his name. They are *aśvapati*, *gajapati*, *narapati*, *rājatrayādhipati*, *parameśvara*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *paramasaura*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *arirāja* and *Madanaśaṅkara*. The exact date of his coronation ceremony has not yet been precisely determined. According to Babu Manomohan Chakravarti Lakshmaṇasena came to the throne in 1170 A. D.² But as we have already seen that the Naihati grant of Vallāla was issued in 1170 A. D. it is quite possible that he (Vallāla) ruled for some more years. As a matter of fact, the colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* enables us to determine the initial year of Lakshmaṇa's reign quite precisely. Śrīdharadāsa, the compiler of the anthology, gives the date of the compilation of his work thus:—“ Śāke-saptaviṃśatyadhika-śata-upeta-daśaśate-śaradāṃ Śrīmat-Lakshmaṇasena-Kshitipasya rasaikavimṣe Savitur-gatyā Phālgunavimśeshu parārthahetave kutukāt Śrīdharadāsen-edam *Suktikarṇāmṛtaṃ* chakre.”³ Here the phrase *rasaikavimṣe* is clearly a copyist's mistake for *rājyaikavimṣe* as the former gives no meaning and makes the whole sentence obscure. But if we read *rājyaikavimṣe* for *rasaikavimṣe* the meaning of the whole sentence becomes at once clear. Then the statement would mean that in Śaka

¹ The grant is published by Mr. R. D. Banerjee in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 176.

² J. & Proc. A. S. B., Vol. I, 1904, Introduction to Pavanadūta.

³ Rajendralal Mitra's 'Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts,' Vol. III, p. 141.

1127, Phālguṇa 20, which is the 21st year of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena Śrīdharadāsa compiled his work *Saduktikarnāmrta*. Now Śaka 1127, Phālguṇa 20, if it be a northern year, would be equivalent to 11th February, 1206 A. D. Therefore, as 1206 A. D. is the 21st year of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, he must naturally have come to the throne in 1185 A. D.

Lakshmaṇasena was the last great king of his family. His reign was marked both for the glorious career of his early life and for the serious reverses of his old age. We learn about his early career from his Madhainagar grant and from the Madanapada grant of his son Viśvarūpasena. We know from the former grant that he led an expedition to Kalinga while quite a youth, subdued the king of Kāmarūpa and defeated the king of Kāśī. The latter grant records that he erected sacrificial posts in Purī, Benares and Prayāga to celebrate his victories. It seems from the above two statements that he led his expedition to Kalinga twice. His first Kalinga war was probably made in connection with the expedition of his grandfather Vijayasena which led to the defeat of Rāghava. Vijayasena ruled for an exceptionally long period and it is just possible that his grandson Lakshmaṇasena attained sufficient maturity at the time of his Kalinga war. The second Kalinga war of Lakshmaṇasena might have been fought against either Rājarāja II, son of Choragaṅga or Anaṅgabhīma II, the successor of Rājarāja II and another son of Choragaṅga. Rājarāja ruled from 1170 to 1190 A.D., while Anaṅgabhīma II ruled from 1190 to 1198 A.D. The king of Kāśī and Prayāga who was defeated by him must have been the Gaharwār king Jayachandra who was defeated by Shāhabuddin in 1194 A.D. The inscriptions of this king, found both at Benares and at Kanauj, range between 1170 and 1188 A.D. Vallabhadeva of Assam was most probably the king of Kāmarūpa defeated by Lakshmaṇasena

and spoken of in the Madhainagar grant. His inscription is dated Śaka 1107 or 1184-85 A.D.¹

This glorious and magnificent career of Lakshmaṇasena suffered a set-back in his old age. The celebrated *Taba-kāt-i-Nāsiri* of Minhaj tells us that between 1193 and 1205 A.D., he was totally defeated by Bakht-yār-Khālġ and his capital Nudiāh was sacked. According to Mr. R. D. Banerjee² and S. Koomar the defeat of Lakshmaṇasena at the hand of Bākht-yār was a pure myth as Lakshmaṇasena had been dead long before the Nudiāh raid of Bākht-yar happened. Their argument is based on the controversy of the so-called Lakshmaṇasena era. As this era was, according to them, founded in 1119 A.D., in commemoration of the accession of Lakshmaṇasena to the throne and as the Bodh Gayā inscription of the time of Aśokchalla speaks of the date as the fifty-first year from the passing away of Lakshmaṇasena's reign, the king Lakshmaṇasena must have ceased to reign at least about 1170 A.D. (1119+51). So he could not have possibly been defeated, according to them, between 1193-1205 A.D. But as we shall see when we discuss the origin of the Lakshmaṇasena era, their view is not tenable. Lakshmaṇasena in fact came to the throne not in 1119 A.D., but in 1185 A.D., as we have already seen. According to Mr. S. Koomar, the whole account of Minhaj is so grossly [exaggerated and so incredible that scarcely can any faith be placed in it. It is true that his statement that the mother of Lakshmaṇasena was tied up with legs turned upwards in order to prevent the birth of the child at an inauspicious moment, his mention that Lakshmaṇasena began to reign as soon as he was born, his narration of the capture of Nudiāh by Bākht-yar in the guise of a horse dealer and with the aid of eighteen of his horsemen only and many other similar statements are so opposed to nature and reason that it is not possible to believe them. But though

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 184.

² Bānglār Itihāsa.

this part of Minhāj's account may be summarily rejected as exaggerated and based upon hearsays, we have not yet sufficient ground to disbelieve the main part of his story, namely, the defeat of Rao Lakshmaniā at the hand of Bākht-yar. The writing of history on the scientific basis has been introduced only in modern times and the ancient historians generally suffer more or less from exaggeration and confusion of mere anecdotes and hearsays with purely historical facts.

After the fall of Nudiāh Lakshmaṇasena retired to his capital Vikramapura and died shortly after there. There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact location of Nudiāh. According to Manomohan Babu the Nudiāh of Minhāj and the Vijayapura of the *Pavanadūta* are the same and they are to be identified with the present Navadvīpa in the modern district of Nadia. But according to Ramaprasad Babu they are to be identified with Vijayanagara, a modern village in the district of Rajshahi. Taking Nudiāh to be identical with Vijayapura the question arises what was the exact location of Vijayapura mentioned by Dhoyī, the author of the *Pavanadūta*. Ramaprasad Babu gives the following reasons for the identification of Vijayapura with Vijayanagara :

(1) The tradition points to a king Vijaya as the founder of Vijayanagara.

(2) The village of Deopara where the inscription of Vijayasena was found is situated only at a distance of 7 miles from this place and here can still be found the ruins of magnificent temples on the banks of the tank called Padum-sahar or the tank of Pradyumneśvara Śiva.

(3) It seems from the description of Minhāj that the city of Lakshmanawāti was not far from Nudiāh. Now tradition represents Gauḍa in the Maldah district as Lakshmanawāti. The spacious tank near the ruins of Gauḍa known as Sāgardīghī is traditionally said to be the work of Lakshmaṇasena. There is also an old ruined fortress here called the

fortress of Vallāla. Now the ruins of Vijayanagara are only at a distance forty-five miles from this Lakshanāwatī whereas Navadvīpa is at a distance of 110 miles from it.¹

But the description of the situation of Vijayapura as given in the Pavanadūta does not lend support to the view of Ramaprasad Babu. There we are told that the messenger Wind before proceeding to Vijayapūra the capital of Lakshmaṇa goes to Suhmadeśa. A detailed description of this Suhmadeśa is given. It was situated on the banks of the Ganges and there were in this place the images of Murāri, Ardhanariśvara-Siva and Sūrya (Raghukulaguru), and king Vallāla, we are told, built here a high and lofty embankment (Śrī-Vallāla-setubandha). From this place the Wind is to go to a site where the Jumna comes out of the Ganges (V. 33) and thence he is at once to proceed to Vijayapura. Now generally the poet Dhoyī mentions the country first and then its capital as in the case of the kingdom of Kaliṅga he mentions the country first and then its town. It seems that here also the poet did exactly the same thing. He first gave detailed description of the country of Suhma and then mentioned the capital Vijayapura which was near a place where the Jumna comes out of the Ganges. Now as the district of Rajshahi is never known to have been included in the Suhmadeśa, Vijayanagara cannot be said to be the same as Vijayapura of Dhoyī. Vijayapura, we are expressly told, was situated at a place not very far from where the Jumna comes out of the Ganges. Where can this place be? Evidently it is Trivenī in the district of Hoogly. It is known as Muktaveni or the place where the Jumna becomes freed from the Ganges. "Three streams branch out at this point, Bhāgirathī flowing to the South, the Saraswatī to the west (right), and Jumna or *Kānchrāpāra khāl* to the east (left)."² The ruins of the embankment made by Vallāla can still be traced here. The

¹ Gauḍa Rājamālā, pp. 74-5.

² Bengal Gazetteer, District Hoogly.

Jāmai-jāngāl a high embankment with a magnificent broad flight of steps which is attributed to the Orias into whose hands Tribenī passed in the sixteenth century, must be the Śrī Vallāla-Setubandha mentioned in the *Pavanadūta*. The ruins of the temples of Murāri,¹ of Śiva (Chandrārdhvamauleh), and of Sūrya (Raghukulaguru), mentioned in the *Pavanadūta* can also be found either at Trivenī or at Saptagrāma, a place not very far from Trivenī. Thus Rakhaldas Babu writes:—

“The temple at Trivenī was most probably a Vaiṣṇava temple as the descriptive label shows,.....” “The inscription of the Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf Sha of H. 888 has fallen from its place in the Masjid and is lying in the grave of Shah Safi. On examining it, it was found that this inscription was incised on the back of a lower part of an image of Sūrya.”² About the temple of Śiva in Trivenī the Bengal Gazetteer writes:—“There is a group of seven small temples 50 yards from the river of which the central one has a tower about 30 ft. high and 12 ft. square with liṅga inside.”³ As the central temple of this group is clearly a Śaiva one, it seems that all the others also contained the different forms of Śiva such as Ardhanārīśvara, etc. The temple of Ardhanārīśvara Śiva, it appears from the description given in the *Pavanadūta*, was not very far from the river and here also we find that this group of seven temples is situated only at a distance of 50 yards from the river. Thus the fact that in Trivenī in the Hoogly district the Jumna comes out of the Ganges, the existence of a high embankment named *jāmāi-jāngāl*, the traces of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya temples at or near about Trivenī all point to the conclusion that the old capital of Vijayapūra should be sought for in or near the

¹ Pavanadūta, V. 28.

² J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 247.

³ Bengal Gazetteer, District Hoogly.

modern district of Hoogly and not in Rajshahi as Ramaprasad Babu contends. There is one other strong objection against the view held by him. If Vijayapura of the *Pavanadūt* be identical with Vijayanagara in the Rajshahi district then the messenger Wind coming from the west must be made to cross the Ganges in order to reach the city. But this is not mentioned anywhere in the poem.

Lakshmaṇasena was a liberal patron of poets and literary men. Jayadeva, the celebrated author of the *Gītagobinda*, Dhoyī, the author of the *Pavanadūta*, and Halāyudha, the writer of *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, a treatise on *Smṛti*, were among many others the ornaments of his court. Lakshmaṇa himself was a writer of no mean ability. He finished the *Adbhūta-sāgara* begun by his father Vallāla and composed many stray poems in praise of Viṣṇu, some of which are quoted in the anthology, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. He was also a benevolent and munificent king. Thus the *Taba-kāt-i-Nāsiri* records "trustworthy persons have related to this effect, that little or much never did any tyranny proceed from his hand; and whosoever preferred any request to him for anything, other than one lak he did not bestow after the manner of the beneficent Sultan Kutub-ud-din, the Hatim of his time."¹

Lakshmaṇa seems to have been a devoted worshipper of Nārāyaṇa, especially, his Narasiṃha incarnation. He gave up the religion of his forefathers and became a Vaishṇava. In the Tarpaṇadīghī and the Anulia grants he is styled as Parama Nārasiṃha. But though he was a Vaishṇava, he was tolerant towards other sects. Thus though his Madhainagar grant opens with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa it eulogises Panchānana. Similarly his Anulia grant though it contains the phrase *Om Namo Nārāyanāya*, invokes Sambhū.

¹ *Taba-kāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 555-6 (Raverty's Translation).

Of the grants of Lakshmanasena the existence of five so far has been made known to us. These Grants of Lakshmanasena. are his Tarpanadighi grant, Anulia grant, Sundarbana grant and one unpublished grant. Of these grants only the first three have been edited and published. The Sundarbana grant was noticed by Pandit Ramagati Nyayaratna in an essay called *Bāṅglābhāshā o Shāhityavishyaka-prastāva*. Since then the grant has been lost sight of. The last grant has not yet been published. We hear it is in the possession of Babu Amulyacharana Vidya-bhushana who thinks of editing it. We will now give a short account of the first three grants.

1. The Tarpanadighi grant:—

Tarpanadighi is a village in the Dinajpur district. The grant was issued on the occasion of the *hemāśvaratha* gift ceremony to Iśvaradevaśarman, a student of the Kauthumī branch of the *Sāmaveda*. The *dūtaka* of the grant was Nārāyaṇa Datta, the minister of peace and war. The grant was issued from the victorious camp of Vikramapura.¹

2. Anulia grant:—

Anulia is a village near Rānāghāṭ in the district of Nadia. The grant was issued from the victorious camp of Vikramapura to Raghudevaśarman, a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the *Yajurveda*. The *dūtaka* of the grant was the same Nārāyaṇa Datta, minister of peace and war, who had been mentioned in the same capacity in the Tarpanadighi grant.²

3. Madhainagar grant:—

Madhainagar is a village in the subdivision of Sirājganj in the district of Pabna. The inscription records the grant

¹ The grant was published by Mr. R. D. Banerji in Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 6.

² The grant was published by Babu Akshaya Kumar Maitra, C. I. E., in J. A. S. B., 1900.

of the village Dāpaniyāpāṭaka in Paṇḍravardhanabhukti to a Brāhmaṇa named Govindaśarman.¹

The epigraphic evidence discloses the fact that Lakshmaṇa-sena was succeeded by his son Viśvarūpa who in his turn again was succeeded by Keśava. The Madanpada grant of Viśvarūpa and the Idilpur charter of Keśava are exactly similar in nature but with this distinction that the grant of the latter contains some more additional verses which are wanting in that of the former. It appears also that the name Viśvarūpa has been erased from the Idilpur grant and that of Keśava has been put instead. This seems to prove that Viśvarūpa was the elder brother and succeeded Lakshmaṇa. We know nothing about the political activities of these two kings beyond the fact that they called themselves Gauḍeśvara and took the proud title of *Garga-Yavanānvaya-pralayakāla-Rudra*. The invasion of Bakht-i-yar-khālĳ was most probably in the nature of a temporary inroad and his rule in Bengal did not extend beyond a few miles of Lakhanāwatī. The fact that the grants of these two rulers were made in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti and also the fact that they like their father assumed such high-sounding titles as *aśvapati*, *gajapati*, *narapati*, *rājatroyādhipati*, *parameśvara*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *paramasaura arirāja* and *Viśhavānkaśamkara* and *Asahyaśamkara* respectively, show that they were rulers of no mean ability.

Abul Fazal mentions one Mādhavasena, son of Lakshmaṇasena who ruled for a period of 10 years after his father. In the anthology of Śrīdharadāsa some verses are quoted of one Mādhavasena. But whether this Mādhava ruled in Bengal and also whether he preceded or succeeded Viśvarūpa and Keśava we have no means of ascertaining. At least no inscription of this king has been found in Bengal. Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu

¹ The grant was published by Mr. R. D. Banerji in J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 471,

says that one copper-plate grant of Mādhavasena has been found in a temple in the city of Almora in the Kumayun district, U. P. According to the same authority another copper-plate dated 1223 A. D., has been found in Beleśvara temple in the Kedāra tracts of the Himalayas in which the word *Vaṅgaja Brāhmaṇas* appears. From this Nagen Babu is inclined to believe that after the invasion of Bengal by Bākht-i-yar, Mādhavasena left Bengal and went on a pilgrimage to Kedāranāth. This Mādhavasena has been identified by the same learned writer with Danaujamādhava of the *Kula-pañjikās*, and has been placed before Viśvarūpa and Keśava. But there is no trustworthy evidence which makes Danaujamādhava a son or successor of Lakshmaṇa.

With Keśava the Sena dynasty seems to have come to an end. The only trace of the Sena ruler that we meet with after him is that of Danauja Mādhava in the thirteenth century when Ghiyāsuddin Balban came to Bengal, chastised the rebel Mugisud-din, and forced the Sena chief to give an undertaking not to help him.

The Madanapada grant is the only one inscription so far found of the reign of Viśvarūpasena. Madanapada is a village in the Faridpur district. The inscription records the grant of certain lands situated in the village of Piñjakasthī in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. It was issued from the victorious camp pitched at the village of Phalgu to the śrūtipāṭhaka, Viśvarūpadevaśarman. The *dūtaka* of the grant was the illustrious Kapivishṇu, the minister of peace and war.

Of the reign of Keśavasena only his Idilpur grant is so far known to exist. Idilpur is a village in the pargaṇā of the same name in the district of Backerganj. The grant was issued from the victorious camp of Jambuḡrāma on the occasion of the king's birth-day. The recipient of the grant was a Brāhmaṇa named Iśvaradevaśarman.

CHAPTER II.

Administrative History.

So far in regard to the political history of Bengal during the Sena period. We shall now attempt to set forth the administration of this province such as was prevalent in this period. Much light is thrown on this matter by the grants of these kings which all without exception reveal a long list of officials seldom varying. If we are but able to understand what function exactly they discharged, that cannot fail to give us a fairly good idea of the administrative system which characterised the Sena rule over Bengal. This list is as follows:—

(1) Rājā, (2) Rājanyaka, (3) Rājñī, (4) Rāṇaka, (5) Rājaputra, (6) Rājāmātya, (7) Mahāpurohita, (8) Mahādharma-dhyaksha, (9) Mahāsāndhivigrihaka, (10) Mahāsenāpati, (11) Mahāmudrādhikṛta, (12) Antaraṅga, (13) Vṛhaduparika, (14) Mahākshapaṭalika, (15) Mahāpratihāra, (16) Mahāvīyūhapati, (17) Mahābhogika, (18) Mahāpilupati, (19) Mahāgaṇastha, (20) Daussadhika, (21) Chauroddharanika, (22-26) Nau-valahasti-aśva-go-mahish-aj-avik-ādi vyāpṛtaka, (27) Gaulmika, (28) Daṇḍa-pāśika, (29) Daṇḍanāyaka, (30) Vishayapati.

Now let us proceed to identify these officials as far as possible and see what was the nature of their duty. At the very outset we find from the above list that the names of the officials are arranged in three well-marked grades. The first of these describes the status of feudatory princes and queens. The second grade consists of officials who are distinguished from the third by the prefix *mahā* or *vṛhad* attached to their names, while the third grade is composed of subordinate officials.

Among the officials of the first grade the *Rājā* is awarded the highest place of honour. He had always been an important personage in the ancient Hindu polity. We find him mentioned as a state-official as early as the Vedic period. The *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā* enumerates *rājan* as one of the *ratnins* of the sovereign.¹ But whatever his position might be in that remote period, under the Sena rule he was not an official directly connected with the state business, but the highest feudal lord of the realm. The only kind of service he rendered to his overlord must evidently have been of the military nature.

The *Rājanyakas* who come next in order, were also a class of feudatories. Dr. Vogel has pointed out the important fact that they used to date their inscriptions both in the *Sāstra* era and in the regnal year of the *rājā* to whom they owed allegiance.² The very fact that in their records they refer also to the regnal year of another king shows that the latter was the overlord and they, his feudatories.

The *Rājñīs* may be either the queen-consorts or the quasi-independent feudal sovereigns like the famous *Rāṇī Bhowānī* of recent times. The *rājñīs* as queen consorts (*mahishīs*) seem to hold a highly important place from very ancient times in India. The *mahishī* as one of the eight *vīras* is mentioned in the *Pañchaviṅśa Brāhmaṇa* along with *Purohita*, *Sūta*, *gamaṇī*, *Kshatṛi*, and *samgrahitṛi* who are all officials.³ And we also find that queens were included by *Kauṭilya* in the list of State-servants and their salaries specified. *Kauṭilya*, however, distinguishes between two kinds of such queens, namely, those who were *rājamātā*, mother of king and the other *rājamahishi*, the chief queen. They are, however, placed by him last in the highest class of state officials. But in the Sena period it is doubtful whether queens of the ruling

¹ Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, by Mr. Narendra Nath Law, p. 87.

² J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 537.

³ Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, p. 87.

family were looked upon as state-servants. As *rājñi* of the Sena inscriptions occurs among personages who were evidently feudatories and not mere state officials it is reasonable to suppose that *rajñi* denoted some semi-independent chieftain of this type and such as was represented in modern times by the famous Rāñi Bhowānī of Natore.

The *Rāñās* who are the same as the *rāñakas* have been taken by Dr. Vogel¹ and others to be identical with the *rajanyakas*. But as they were separately mentioned in the lists of the Pāla, Sena and the Varman inscriptions, they were evidently two different classes of feudatories at least in Bengal from the Pāla period onwards. The *rājaputras* who are named last in the first grade were most probably not the princes of the blood royal but the ordinary Rajput soldiers holding fiefs from the kings in return for their military service. If they were the princes of the royal family it is not understood why they should be named last. The term *rājaputra* in the sense of Rajputs actually occurs in the Naihāti grant of Vallālasena (v. 3) and we may reasonably hold that here in the list also the *rājaputras* were mere feudatories.

Among the officials of the second grade occur the following :—(1) The *Rājāmātyas*.—They were the ministers of the king. Kautilya always speaks of the *amātyas* in the sense of ministers.² It may be said that the *rājāmātyas* of the Sena grants may not be the same as the *amātyas* of Kautilya. But that they were so is evident from the fact that both here and in Kautilya they are mentioned before the priest. The very fact that the order of naming the *amātyas* and the *Purohita* is the same in both the places, leaves very little room for doubt that they were the identical officials.

¹ J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 536.

² Arthaśāstra (English Translation, First Edition), Book I, Chaps. IX and X, pp. 16-18.

(2) *Mahāpurohita* or *Purohita*.—The office of the *purohita* which is called *purohiti* or *purodhā* in the *R̥gveda*, is a very ancient one. In the time of the *R̥gveda* the *purohita* besides taking the part as *Hotr* used to advise the king in all matters concerning religion.¹ In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* he is called *Rāstragopa* (the protector of the *rāshṭra* or realm) and insured the king's power over his subjects and his safety and victory in battle.² In the epic period his office was principally of a religious nature though he was very often entrusted with the education of the royal princes.³ His position, however, appears to have been very high in the time of the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. He is spoken of next to the ministers (*amātyas*) by Kauṭilya and it is laid down by him that "As a student his teacher, a son his father, a servant his master, the king shall follow him."⁴ We are, however, not in a position to ascertain the exact nature of the duty of the *purohita* under the Sena kings. But as we have remarked before that the order of naming the *amātyas* and the *purohita* is the same in both Kauṭilya and the grants of the Sena kings, we may hold that their duty must also have been analogous. An idea of the duties they were required to perform may be had from the rule laid down by Kauṭilya for their selection. According to him, "Him whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well educated, in the Vedas and in the six Aṅgas, is skilful in reading portents, providential or accidental, is well versed in the science of government and is obedient and who can prevent calamities, providential or human, by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the *Atharvaveda*, the king shall employ as high priests."⁵ It is interesting to note

¹ Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 38-50.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Artha. (Eng. Tran.), p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*

in this connection that the Purohita does not figure at all in the grants of the Pāla kings. Is it because they were all Buddhists?

(3) *Mahādharmaḍyaksha*.—*Dharmāḍhyaksha* in the sense of a judge occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in the list of eighteen *tīrthas* or state officials.¹ In the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya he is called *dharmastha* and three *dharmasthas* together with three *amātyas* are required to administer justice.

(4) *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*.—He, as the name signifies, was the minister of peace (*sandhi*) and war (*vigraha*). It is a remarkable fact that this important officer of the later times does not occur either in Kauṭilya or in any of the pre-Kauṭilyan works. The mention of this officer is first met with in the Gupta inscriptions. One of the functions of this official was to act, not infrequently, as a *dūtaka* or the gift-causer of the grants issued by the king.

(5) *Mahāsenāpati*.—He is evidently the commander-in-chief of the army. He is mentioned in the list of eighteen *tīrthas* of the *Mahābhārata* under the name of *Chamupati* by the commentator Nilakantha.² The *Senāpati* also occurs in Kauṭilya.³ According to Dr. Fleet "the *mahāsenāpati* seems to have denoted equal rank with *mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta*."⁴ But whether he enjoyed such immense power and prestige is a matter of grave doubt. If the *rājā* and the *mahārājā* be two different persons, then it is evident from the prefix *mahā* attached to the name of the latter that he was superior to the former. Now we have seen that *rājā* was the highest feudal lord of the realm and as such he is named first in the first grade. Therefore it is very difficult to believe that the *mahāsenāpati* who occupies the fifth place in the second grade should either be superior to the *rājā*

¹ Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 84-5.

² *Ibid.*

³ Artha, (Eng. Tran.), p. 23.

⁴ Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. 15 n.

(in case the *rājā* and the *mahārājā* happen to be two different persons) or equal to him (in case the *rājā* and the *mahārājā* are the same person). In fact the *rājā* or the *mahārājā* was a semi-independent feudal chief and as such he derived his power and importance from the magnitude of his fiefs which he held from the king. But the *mahāsenāpati* was a mere paid officer of the state, and he had no importance apart from his office.

(6) *Mahāmudrādhiḥkṛta*.—According to Mr. Radha-govinda Basak, he is the keeper of the Royal seal. But as Kautilya's *mudrādhyakṣha* is the superintendent of the passports, it would be prudent to take *mudrādhiḥkṛta* also in the same sense. But if it be contended that the person entrusted with the royal seal also used to superintend the passports, then that would be all right. In fact, in the absence of sufficient materials it is very difficult to hold a view in one way or the other.

(7-8) *Antaraṅga-vṛhaduparika*.—In the body of the article, "Belava copper plate of Bhojavarmadeva," Mr. Basak takes *antaraṅgavṛhaduparika* as one compound and translates the phrase by 'chief-privy councillor.' But for doing so he does not offer any explanation. He refers in the footnote only to a short note by Babu Akshaya Kumar Maitra, C.I.E., who has found out from Śivadāsa's commentary on the *Chakradatta* (Calcutta edition) that in the inscriptions the *antaraṅga* is used "in a technical sense to signify the royal physician." It would be better therefore to separate *antaraṅga* and *vṛhaduparika* and take the former in the sense of a royal physician and see what the latter signifies. The exact function of this official, *Vṛhaduparika*, is not yet precisely known. Dr. Fleet in his index to the Gupta inscriptions says that the term requires explanation. There is however, a form, *uparikāra*. Dr. Bühler in his article on "Additional Valabhi grants" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 66), gives the following short note on *uparikāra*: "*Upari* usually

spelt *upri*, is a Mārāṭhā revenue term which denotes 'a temporary holder who cultivates land in a village, where he does not reside.' It seems to me very probable that the *upari* of the plates is the same word. Compare the Gujrati *uparivāda* and the Hindi *uparivar*." It seems from the above note of Bühler, that the *uparikāra* was a fiscal term connected with some kind of land revenue. It may not be improbable that the *uparikāra* and the *uparika* are derived from the same root *upari*. If that be so, then *vṛhaduparika* must be some higher official who used to superintend the subordinate *uparikas* who were fiscal officers.

Mahākshapatalika.—Dr. Fleet has taken him to be the "Superior officer of the *akshapatalikas* or keeper of records." But it seems from the elaborate description of his duties in Kauṭilya that he was not merely the superintendent of the keepers of records but an accountant-general of the state. These are some of his functions specified in the *Arthaśāstra*. He was to keep the account of the amount of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, the amount of *vyaji* (premia in kind of cash) realized, the status of government agency employed, the amount of wages paid, the number of free labourers engaged (*vishti*), pertaining to the investment of capital or any work; likewise in case of gems and commodities of superior or inferior value, rate of their price, the rate of their barter," etc., etc.

Mahāpratihāra.—The office of the principal gate-keeper or the chamberlain was always an important one in the states of ancient India. This official is mentioned under the name of *dvārapāla* in the list of eighteen *tīrthas* of the *Mahābhārata* by Nilakanṭha. Kauṭilya in a passage where he says that spies should be appointed to watch over state officials, names *dauvārika* (which is the same as *dvārapāla* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *pratihāra* of the Sena grants) along with *mantrin*, *purohita*, *senāpati*, *yuvarāja* and others. The importance of his position is seen from the fact that

both in the lists of the *Mahābhārata* and the Kautīliya he is named in the fifth place and mentioned in the former list directly after the *chamūpati* and in the latter list after the *yuvarāja*.

Mahāvīyūhapati.—He is evidently a high military officer of the state. The *vyūha* is a particular arrangement of soldiers at the time of battle. The *Mahābhārata* mentions different kinds of *vyūhas* "often named after birds, the word wing used as well in the *Mahābhārata* as in modern warfares suggesting the idea." The *Chakravyūha* was one of many such *vyūhas*, which was adopted by Droṇa at the time of killing Abhimanyu.¹ He appears to be the actual tactician on the battle-field and must have been an assistant of the *senāpati*.

Mahābhogika.—A considerable difficulty is felt in identifying this official here. According to Dr. Flēet, "In the inscriptions it is a technical official title, connected with the territorial terms *bhoga* and *bhukti*."² *Mahābhogika* may have been an official of a *bhoga* or a *bhukti* in other inscriptions, but here as he comes between such military officials as *mahāvīyūhapati* on the one hand and *mahāpilūpati* and *mahāganastha* on the other, it seems that he too was a military officer here. The Sanskrit-English dictionary of Monier Williams explains the term by "housekeeper" or a "groom" and Mr. Radhagovinda Basak has taken *mahābhogika* to be the chief groom.

Mahāpilūpati.—*Pilu* is probably a Persian term. *Mahāpilūpati* was most probably the chief commander of the elephant-forces. It may be somewhat a matter of surprise to find that the Hindu independent kings such as the Varmans and the Senas living far away from the centre of Mahomedan influence should name their military officials by a Persian term. But this is by no means a unique

¹ Epic India, C. V. Vaidya, p. 260.

² Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. 100, n. 2.

instance. We have the use of *dibira* another Persian term in the post-Gupta inscriptions, in Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅginī* and also in the *Daśakumāra-charita*. After the Guptas the Hūnas, Gurjaras, and other foreign tribes poured into India one after another bringing with them some culture of the Persian or Sassanian kingdom. This explains why such terms as *divira* and *pilu* make their appearance for the first time during the occupation of India by these foreign hordes.

Mahāgaṇastha.—He is the last of the officials of the second grade. Gaṇa is a squadron of soldiers and the *mahāgaṇastha* is evidently the chief commander of a *gaṇa* squadron. A *gaṇa* is composed of 27 elephants, 27 chariots 81 horses and 135 foot-soldiers.¹

Vishayapati.—He was the officer of a *vishaya* or a district. The entire empire of the Pālas and the Senas like that of the Guptas was divided into several *bhuktis* and these were again subdivided into *vishayas*. The *vishayas* were further subdivided into *bhogas* and *mandalas*. The *grāmas* were the units of *bhogas* and *mandalas*. Thus we noticed several *bhuktis*, e.g., *Pundravardhana* and *Vardhamāna* in the Sena grants. We also know that there were the Vikramapura *bhoga*, and Kotivarsha *vishaya* and *Varendramandala* in the *Pundravardhanabhukti*, and North Rādhā *mandala* in the *Vardhamānabhukti*.

Dandapāsika.—According to Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indrajī he was the head police officer. Dr. Fleet also takes him to be a police officer. Literally the word means holding the fetters or noose of punishment.

Dandanāyaka.—According to Dr. Fleet, he was a military officer, the word literally meaning the leader of forces. But *danda* may mean either 'a force' or 'punishment.' It is better here to take the term in the sense of an inflictor

¹ Belava Copper Plate, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, footnote.

of punishment, *i.e.*, a magistrate. The list of the military officials has already been given before. Here as the officer comes after another executive officer, namely, that of the police, it is reasonable to take *dandanāyaka* to be a magistrate. It is a noteworthy fact that *dandapāla* in the sense of a guardian of punishment occurs both in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Kautilīya*.

The third grade is composed of :—

(1) *Daussādhika*.—He was the superintendent of villages. The office of this man must have been a very ancient one, though we do not find any mention of him in *Kautilīya*. We know from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* that the *grāmanī* was entrusted with that office in that remote period. The duty of the *grāmanī* has thus been described by the author of the “Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity.” “His importance as a state official is realised only when we bear in mind that in early times he had military duties to perform for which he might be called as a troop leader. It is probable that he is the head of all village headmen in the realm.”¹ Whether he was a military officer in our period or whether his office was analogous to something like that of a ‘*patil*’ of the later times we have no definite knowledge, but as he comes first in the third grade, it seems that he was an important official. It may not be unlikely that he was also the “Headman of all village headmen in the realm,” as in the Vedic times, and was charged with the general safety and management of the villages.

(2) *Chauroddharanika*.—According to Pandit Bhagawan Lal Indraji he was a thief-catcher.² In India there have been from very ancient times two ways of catching thieves. One of these methods is to set a thief to catch a thief, and the other is the tracking system. According to Pandit Bhagawan

¹ Pp. 84-90.

² Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 81-82.

Lal Indraji the second practice was probably in vogue in Gujrat where in the Valabhi grants the term *Chauroddhara-nika* occurs but what method was adopted in the Pāla and Sena empire we have no means of knowing.

(3-8) *Nau-bala-hasty-aśva-go-mahish-aj-āvik-ādi-vyāpṛt-aka*.—Babu Radhagovindā Basak has translated the phrase by “Inspectors of fleet, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, etc.” It is not understood what he exactly means by inspectors of the fleet, etc. The terms *nāvādhyaksha*, *hastyadhyaksha*, *aśvādhyaksha*, and *go-adhyaksha* appear in Kauṭilya. It seems to us proper to take *nau-vyapṛtaka*, *hasti-vyapṛtaka* and others to be the same as *nāvādhyaksha*, *hastyadhyaksha* and others of Kauṭilya. These officers of Kauṭilya are connected with revenue office. The *nāvādhyaksha* was the superintendent of ships and his office was to examine “the accounts relating to navigation not only on oceans and mouths of rivers but also on lakes natural or artificial and rivers in the vicinity of a *sthāniya*,¹ and other fortified cities.”²

(9) *Hasti-vyapṛtaka*.—The office of *hastyadhyaksha* as we know from Kauṭilya was an important one. *Hastyadhaksha* was charged with the safety and general management of elephants whether domesticated or wild. The capture of elephants by private persons, it seems, was strictly prohibited and this officer was to prosecute all persons who dared to infringe the law.

(10) *Aśva-vyapṛtaka*.—He was the same as *aśvyādhyaksha* of Kauṭilya. He was the superintendent of horses. His business was ‘to register the breed, age, marks, groups or classes of horses, to classify these that are kept in sale-house for sale, those that are recently purchased and those that have been captured in war,’³ etc.

¹ A fortress in the vicinity of 800 villages.

² *Arthśāstra*, p. 156.

³ *Ibid*, p. 164.

(11-14) *Go-mahish-aj-āvik-ādi-vyapṛtaka*.—Here one person was appointed to look after the management of all these animals. This was the case in the time of Kauṭilya also. The duty of this officer of Kauṭilya was to supervise (i) herds maintained for wages, (ii) herds surrendered for a fixed amount of dairy produce, (iii) useless and abandoned herds, (iv) herds maintained for a share in a dairy produce, (v) classes of herds, (vi) cattle that strayed and (vii) cattle that are irrevocably lost and (viii) amassed quantity of milk and butter. He also used to collect the various sorts of income accruing from the management of cattle.¹

(15) *Gaulmika*.—Babu Radhagovinda Basak has taken this officer to be the commander of a *gulma*, squadron, but as he is mentioned along with so many other revenue officers it is best to take him as a revenue officer also. According to Dr. Fleet he is the superintendent of woods and forests.² This gives a better sense here. The office of the superintendent of forests is a very ancient one. This officer is mentioned in the list of eighteen *tirthas* by the commentator of the *Mahābhārata* under the name of *aṭavīpāla*³ and in the *Kauṭilya* under the name of *Kuṇḍādhyaśha*.⁴

¹ *Ibid*, p. 159.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 42, n. 4.

³ *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*.

⁴ *Artha.*, pp. 99-101.

CHAPTER III.

Fiscal History.

We have hitherto considered the political and the administrative history of the Sena period. Now we shall try to give an account of the fiscal condition of the times. In an agricultural country like India land has always been the most important source of wealth to the country and revenue to the royal exchequer. So if we can but find out the general condition of the land system under the Sena rule we shall get a fair glimpse into the fiscal condition of the country. The epigraphic records of the Sena kings give the description of the following fiscal details including those of land :—

(1) *Grāma*.—It was the village proper. We shall obtain a clearer idea of the position the village occupied in the fiscal system during the Sena period after we have considered the various details referred to in the Sena grants. These we shall now discuss one by one.

(2) *Pāṭaka*.—According to the lexicographer Hemachandra, *pāṭaka* is one half of a village. In the inscriptions *pāṭaka* is never used independently but always as a suffix to some proper name of a village; as for example we have *Chadaspāsāpāṭaka* in the Madhainagar grant of Lakshmaṇa Sena. Here Chadaspāsāpāṭaka denotes half of the village of Chadaspāsā.

(3) *Vāstu*.—It was the site either of a village or of a house.¹

(4) *Kshetra*, *Khila*, *nāla* and *ushara*.—We have now to note four fiscal terms together, as they cannot be properly understood unless they are compared with one another and unless their exact difference is taken into proper consideration.

¹ Vajjanti of Yādavaprakāśa, edited by Gustav Oppert, p. 159, l. 19 and p. 236, l. 159.

One of these, namely, *Khila*, has been defined by Hemachandra in the *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi* as follows: *Kshetr-ādy-aprahatam sthānam Khilam*.¹ Two conclusions may be deduced from this. The first is that *Kshetra* has the generic sense of cultivable land and the second that *Khila* is an uncultivated *Kshetra*.

The question that now arises is what could be the term for a *Kshetra* land which is under actual cultivation. This of course is the term *nāla* which has been defined by Yādavaprakāśa in the *Vaijayanti* as *prahatam sthānam*—furrowed land.² We thus get the cultivable land (*Kshetra*) which when under cultivation is called *nāla* but which, if left fallow, becomes *khila*. But what about the land which is unworthy of being brought under cultivation? How was it designated? The Sena inscriptions speak of only one such kind of land, namely *Ushara*, which according to the *Vaijayanti* is *Ushavati* (bhumī),³ i.e., land containing *Usha*⁴ or saline earth.

(5) *Go-patha*.—It was, as the name signifies, the cattle track. It is used in the inscriptions generally in connection with the fixing of the village boundaries and it thus seems that the word denoted the cattle track running from one village to another.

(6) *Go-chara*.—It is evidently the grazing ground for cattle. The practice of keeping aside the pasture land for cattle is a very ancient one. Thus it is stated by Kautilya that the king should make provision for pasture grounds on uncultivated land. According to Manu the pasture land should lay around the village and should be 100 dhanush⁵ in width.

¹ *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, 242.

² *Vaijayanti*, p. 124, l. 35.

³ P. 124, l. 36.

⁴ *Uspostu Kshāramrttikī*, *Vaijayanti*, p. 125, l. 49.

⁵ Chap. VIII, V. 237.

(7) *Trṇayuti*.—Messrs. R. D. Banerjee¹ and R. G. Basak² have translated *trṇayuti* by grass land. But as in the inscriptions *trṇayuti* and *go-chara* are used side by side and as the latter term also means the grassy plot of land, if we translate *trṇayuti* by grass land we fail to distinguish between the two. According to Babu Kishori Mohan Gupta, M.A., *trṇayuti* is distinct from *go-chara* inasmuch as the former forms the part of the boundaries of the village.³ *Trṇayuti*, he points out, is often used with *simā* boundary, as for example, *Sava-simā trṇayuti-go-chara paryanta* is used in the Rajore inscription of Mathanadeva⁴ and also in the Monghyr Copper plate inscription of Devapāla.⁵ But his explanation of the term *trṇayuti* does not seem to be very happy. The boundary which is indicated by a grassy plot of land is sure to be an unstable one and so it is unsafe to mark out a boundary with a grassy plot of land. Kishori Babu has also given another sense of the term. In the second sense it denotes the cultivable fields lying fallow after the harvest and serving as pasture land temporarily. But neither in the old *kośhas* nor in the inscriptions have we met with this use of the term. The real meaning of the term *trṇayuti* (as *yuti* lit. means pile or stack), seems to be that it was a plot of land in which the villagers used to stack dry grass, as a provision for emergency such as draught, famine, etc. As the term is used in connection with *simā*, it seems *trṇayuti* was situated on the outskirts of the village. It was so situated probably for the safety of the village from fire. It is very dangerous to keep a large pile of dry grass in the midst of the village for if once the fire breaks out the whole village is liable to be burnt down. The villagers of Rajputana and Central Provinces,

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 152.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, 19, 3-14.

³ Land System in accordance with Epigraphic Evidence, Ind. Ant., April, 1922, p. 74.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 266.

⁵ Gauda Lekhamālā, p. 39.

we hear, even to this day stack dry grass on a plot of land for the common use of the village.

(8) *Tala and Uddesā*.—Rakhal Das Babu¹ and Radhagovinda Babu² have taken *sa-tala* and *sa-uddesabhumi* to mean land with bottom and surface, *i.e.*, the land with the underground right (*i.e.*, the right of mining) and the surface right. We have, however, no proof whatsoever for holding that in our period the right of mining was conceded to the individual subject of the sovereign. On the other hand we know from Kauṭīlīya that the mining operations were used to be carried in his time by the king. And as the kings were always jealous of their rights and privileges and had always power to enforce, it is not reasonable to say that they conceded them to private individuals unless there is a strong evidence to that effect.

Tala as Kishori Babu³ rightly points out is low land. This seems to be borne out by the *Vaijayanti*.⁴ In Bengal, specially in East Bengal, certain parts of the village being low land would remain under water during the rainy seasons and this is probably denoted by *tala*. *Uddesa* in contrast to *tala* would be high land. Though Kishori Babu has taken *uddesa* to mean high land, he has made a slight mistake, we think, in taking high land to imply “embankments,” “earthen mounds.” To us, *Uddesa* seems to be those lands which would not be merged under water even during the rainy seasons. The distinction between two kinds of land is observed even to this day in East Bengal and the value of land differs accordingly. The value of the low land is somewhat higher than that of the high land on which generally the *āman* and *ropā* paddies (*i.e.*, the paddies which becomes ready in the months of December and January) cannot grow well. In the present-day Bengal, the low and

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 259.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XII.

³ Ind. Ant., 1922, p. 74.

⁴ *Vaijayanti*, edited by Gustav Oppert, p. 232, l. 70 and also p. 521.

high lands are known respectively as *nichu* and *bhitā* or *dāngā jami*.

Jala and Sthala.—*Jala* included tanks, wells, lakes, etc., while *Sthala* probably indicated land with various gardens.

Garta.—It was the pit, the trench. Probably it was equivalent to modern Bengali *dovā* which is generally used for depositing the refuse of the houses.

Jhātabitapaḥ, guvāka-nārikela, āmra-panasa-bhūmi.—The term *jhātabitapaḥ* is equivalent of *jhārabitapaḥ* which means bushes and trees. *Sa-jhātabitapaḥ bhūmi*, therefore, means land with trees and bushes. The *guvāka-nārikela* and the *āmra-panasa-bhūmi* undoubtedly contained betel-nut, coconut, mango and jackfruit trees. The gardens of these fruit trees have always been of great value and as such a regular source of income to those who possessed them.

Having obtained an idea of the different aspects of land in a village we shall now proceed to see the method of their measurement. Fortunately for us, unlike the Pāla records, almost all the grants of the Sena kings give a detailed account of the land measurement system. The land was used to be measured by two kinds of rods (*nala*). One of them was the old rod that was current in the country of Samatāṭa (*Samatāṭiya nala*).¹ The other, the *Ṛṣavaśaṅkaranala*,² seems to have been introduced by Vijayasena himself. We know that his *biruda* or surname was *Ṛṣhabhaśaṅkara* and it is in every way probable that he introduced the new rod of measurement which was called after him.

The following were the various standards for measuring lands by these rods :—*pāṭaka, droṇa, āḍhaka, khāḍī, unmāna* and *kāka*.

Pāṭaka.—It was, as we have already seen, the half of a village. The measure of a *pāṭaka* varied according to the variation in the area of a village.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 276.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 156.

According to the *Mānasāra Śilpaśūtra* which enumerates forty different kinds of villages and towns, the smallest village would be of 500 *daṇḍas* or 400 ft. square in area.

Droṇa, *ādhaka* and *kāka*.—These as standards for measuring space are not met with either in the old lexicons or in any Sanskrit works, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Arthaśāstra*. All these occur in them as standards for measuring quantity only. The reason for this is that they were the standards of land measurement peculiar to East Bengal and therefore unknown elsewhere. Even to this day these standards survive in some parts of East Bengal, such as the district of Mymensingh, Faridpur, Barisal and others.

It is interesting to note here that until very recently the rod (*nala*) was used in these districts as in the days of the Sena kings.

The standards for measuring land such as are in vogue in the parganās Mymensingh and Hussensāhi in the district of Mymensingh, are given below :—

4 Kākas	make	1 gaṇḍā
20 gaṇḍās	„	1 kāṭhā
20 kāṭhās	„	1 kānī
4 kānīs	„	1 ādhā (<i>i.e.</i> , ādhaka of the inscriptions)
16 ādhās	„	1 droṇa (same as droṇa of the grants)
1 ādhā	„	100 × 100 yds. sq.
1 yard	„	26 inches.

Ūnnāra and *khāḍī*, so far as we know, are not in vogue in Bengal at present and as such they cannot be identified with any definiteness.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL HISTORY.

Now we come to the Social History of the period. Here too our authentic sources of information must be the inscriptions. The first question that arises is whether anything that pertains to the modern social structure is traceable therein. The highest castes of Bengal are the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaidyas and the Kāyasthas. Do we find anything in these records which relates to these castes? It is worthy of note that while the names of the different officials are mentioned in the grants their surnames or family names are also sometimes specified. Thus we find the name Sāladda Nāga in the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena Hari Ghosha in the Naihati grant of Vallāla and Nārāyaṇa Datta in the Tarpana-dīghī and Anulia charters of Lakshmaṇa. All these were *dūtakas* in regard to their respective grants, and the last two of them have been expressly designated as *Sāndhivigrahakas*. Now *Ghosha* is a typically Kāyastha surname, and *Nāga* and *Datta* are the surnames of either the Kāyasthas or the Vaidyas. It is true that they were not unknown in the inferior castes. But as the bearers of these names in the Sena grants were *dūtakis* and *Sāndhivigrahakas*, it is reasonable to suppose that they were either the Kāyasthas or the Vaidyas. It should be noted that many surnames are found to be used both by the Kāyasthas and the Vaidyas. For example, the surnames *Datta*, *Deva*, *Dāsa*, *Nāga*, *Soma*, *Nandi*, *Dhara*, etc., are quite common to both the castes; so when a *Datta* and a *Nāga* are mentioned in the grants as *dūtaka* or *Sāndhivigrahaka* all that we can say of them is that they were either Kāyastha or Vaidya officials. That the Vaidyas were an influential caste under the Sena rulers is evident from many of the passages of the *Chandraprabhā*

which is a *Kulapañjikā* or genealogical account of the Vaidyas. This book was composed in Śaka 1597 or A.D. 1675 by Bharatamallika, and its genuineness has never been doubted. It is expressly stated in this book that Umāpatidhara (no doubt the poet who composed Deopara inscription) was the *biji* or the first founder of the *Dhara* family of the Vaidyas of Bengal.¹ The same book also refers to *Dvayī* or Dhuyī (also called Dhūī) as the *viji* of the Śakṛgotra of the Vaidyas.² This *Dvayī* or Dhuyī received *Kaulinya* or Kulinism from Vallāla.³ He was thus a contemporary of Vallāla and Lakshmaṇa and has been identified with the poet Dhoyī. It is interesting to know in this connection that Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, the author of the *History of Bengali Language and Literature* and a Professor of the Calcutta University, claims descent from this Dhoyī. Thus when two of the foremost poets of the Sena court are said to have belonged to the Vaidya caste, we may easily conclude that the Vaidyas held high position in the state and were an important factor in the society. The Rāmpāl plate of Śrī Chandra reveals a line of Brāhmaṇas whose surnames end in Gupta (Śarman).⁴ No such Brahmanas are met with in the modern Bengal. Where have they gone? Have they too, like the *Sena-Karṇāṭakshatriyas*, merged into the present Vaidya caste of Bengal?⁵ As regards the position of the Kāyasthas in the Sena empire we know nothing authentically beyond the fact that Hari Ghosha was a *Sāndhivigrahaka* of Vallāla. *Ghosha*, as we have just now remarked, is a typical Kāyastha surname and so when we have a Kāyastha, Hari Ghosha, mentioned as a *Sāndhivigrahaka*, we can say with assurance that in those days the Kāyasthas like the Vaidyas

¹ Chandraprabhā, p. 21.

² *Ibid*, p. 213.

³ Sadvaidyakulapañjikā by Kavikanthahāra, pp. 1-2.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 139.

⁵ The names of the Brāhmaṇas are :—(1) Makara Gupta, (2) Varāha Gupta, (3) Sumaṅgala Gupta, (4) Pitavāsa Gupta Sarman, Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 139.

were an influential caste and held important status in the state as well as in the society.

The Brāhmaṇas were highly esteemed and in this period as in all others in the history of India, they successfully maintained their supremacy. They exercised immense influence in temporal as well as spiritual matters and often held eminent position in the government of the country. Thus Halāyudha, the author of the *Brāhmaṇasarcasva*, was in his youth a minister of Lakshmaṇa and rose to be a *dharmādhyakṣha* in his old age. His elder brother Paśupati, who was like him also a *Smṛti* writer, rose to the rank of *Rājapaṇḍita*. In religious matters their position was supreme and uncontested. There was a regular post of *mahāpurohita* under all the Sena kings and the Sena rulers and their wives used to give wealth to the Brāhmaṇas and grant lands to them in accordance with the injunctions of the *Smṛti*. There were really very learned Brāhmaṇas and among them some geniuses of the first water. Jayadeva was a Brāhmaṇa and in the domain of poetry his genius soared very high. His wonderful lyrics are still fascinating the imagination of the world. Regarding the history of the castes other than the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaidyas and the Kāyasthas, our sources of information are very scanty and meagre and not often based on real historical evidence. About the position of the Suvarṇavaṇīkas the *Vallālacharita* says that formerly they used to wear sacred threads and their influence and position in the society were by no means low. But it was the king Vallāla who deprived them for the first time of their right of wearing sacred threads and degraded their position in the society on account of some arrogance on the part of their leaders.

Now we come to two other castes which are mentioned in all the Sena records. They are worth mentioning because they were important both socially and politically. They were the *Chattas* and the *Bhattas* who are referred to in all

the Sena records in the fiscal portion of the grants. It appears that they had certain rights connected either with the land or their owners. We are here of course adverting to the phrase *a-Chaṭṭa-Bhaṭṭa-praveśāh* a phrase which is also found in the charters of the other parts of India. In the Valabhi copper-plate, for instance, the expression is *a-chāṭa-Bhāṭa praveśāh*. The word *Chāṭa* of this expression corresponds to *Chaṭṭa* of the Sena records and the *Bhāṭa* of the former is of course a mistake for *Bhaṭṭa* of the latter. Who were then these *Chaṭṭas* and the *Bhaṭṭas*? Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indrajī has drawn our attention to the expression *Chāṭa Bhāṭa* of the *Kumārapāla-charita*.¹ There we are told that Siddharāja despatched these *Chaṭṭas* and the *Bhaṭṭas* to apprehend Kumārapāla who was then a fugitive. The *Bhāṭas* or the *Bhaṭṭas* must evidently be the modern *Bhāṭs* who were up till recently an influential caste over the greater portion of India, especially in Rajputana, Guzarat and the Deccan. They were formerly professional genealogists and as such they often found easy entrance to every house. In this way they were very helpful to the government. They would often be employed to detect fugitives. They would go by turn to every village and every house, their ostensible object being to recite the genealogy and sing the praise of the members of the household but their real object being to search out the fugitive. They were sometimes very oppressive and used to exact money from the people in some novel way. And this is probably why they are prohibited in the charters of the Sena kings as in other records, from entering the land granted to a Brāhmaṇa. About their oppressive nature the "Tribes and Castes of Bombay"² has the following interesting statement:—"Bhāṭas had some time ago a ready way of extracting money for the fulfilment of a pledge made to them. If a man refused to keep a promise made to

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 81-2.

² Tribes and Castes of Bombay, pp. 123-30.

them they committed *trāgo* as it was called, *i.e.*, brought a girl or an old woman of their family to the house of the defaulter and threatened to kill or actually did kill her; and if these means failed, the *Bhāt* used to proceed to plunge a dagger into his breast. The disgrace of these proceedings and the fear of having a bard's blood on their head, generally reduced the most obstinate to reason." *Bhāts* are found even to this day in certain parts of Eastern Bengal. They frequent the house of wealthy country gentlemen on great occasions and sing ballads. Among the most popular ballads are those dealing with the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and the story of Rājā Rajvallabha of Rājanagar. The *Chattas*¹ were most probably a criminal tribe like the modern Berads and Ramoshis who are principally found in Belgaum, Bijaypur, Dharwar and the Southern Maratha country. How these *Chattas* may be oppressive to the society would appear from the habits and customs of these Berads and Ramoshis. Thus it is recorded of the Berads that "they were formerly a war-like and dangerous class, notorious as thieves and highway robbers. In the Belgaum district even now, some of them are clever thieves, skilful in eluding search and hiding stolen property, and are much feared by travellers. They steal cattle with such cleverness and send the stolen animals to such a long distance that the greatest energy and caution often fail to find any trace of them. The owner has to go and ask the Berads' help, and if he promises a reward, the animal is found and restored. If an animal is missing, it is almost sure to have fallen into the hands of the Berads."²

As regards the primary social institution of marriage it may be noted that it did not reach the rigid form in which we find it now. In fact, interprovincial and intercaste marriages were not unknown in the Sena period. From the

¹ Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji takes *Chattas* to mean cheats or rogues. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 81-82.

² *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, by R. E. Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 78-90.

various grants of the Sena kings we come to know that they were *Brahmakshatriyas* and *Karnātakshatriyas*. But we have already seen that Vijayasena married in the Śūra family of the Suhmadeśa. This is an instance of interprovincial marriage. Again the *Chandraprabhā* informs us that Vallāla's daughter's son was a Vaidya.¹ This means that Vallāla's daughter who was evidently a Kshatriya girl was married to a Vaidya. This appears to be an instance of intercaste marriage. Babu Nagendra Nath Basu has found out a tradition to the effect that Vallāla himself married a Kāyastha girl and according to the *Vallālacharita* he even took a bride from the Charmakāra caste and married her according to the *Gāndharrva* form.² It is also mentioned in the *Chandraprabhā*³ that both Lakshmaṇa and his son Keśava contracted matrimonial alliances with Vaidya families.

The institution of *devadāsī*, now looked down upon, was not unknown in the period under review. It is stated in the Deopara inscription that king Vijaya "provided a hundred lovely female (attendants) whose bodily charms were heightened by jewel ornaments," for the Pradyumneśvara Śiva (V. 30) Dhoyī the author of the *Pavanadūta* also in a verse mentions the *devadāsī* or the temple girls of Śiva (*Pavanadūta*, V. 29). The custom of dedicating *devadāsīs* to shrines is only seen now-a-days in the district of Southern Malabar and the regions thereabout. The natural inference from this fact is that most probably the Sena kings brought this institution along with them from their original home Karnāṭa.

Gold ornaments and jewellery were of course used by the ladies of high castes. But it is also interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇa ladies used palm-leaf ear-rings. Conch-shell bangles were also worn by ladies, a practice which is still current in Bengal. But it seems to have fallen into

¹ Chandraprabhā, p. 189.

² Vallālacharita, Chap. III.

³ Chandraprabhā, pp. 222 and 364.

desuetude in other parts of India. They painted their feet with lac-dye and used saffron and musk for toilets.

We have heard much about Kulinism, and Vallāla is mentioned times without number as the originator of this institution. But we find neither epigraphic nor satisfactory literary evidence about this origin. The advocates of this theory base their conclusions on the statement made in the *Kulapañjikās* which can hardly be relied upon as genuine historical evidence. And even among the *Kulapañjikākāras* themselves there are differences of opinion. In fact in an earlier *Kulapañjikā* mention has been made of an older view of Kulinism based on personal qualifications. The *Sadvaidyaku-lapañjikā* of Kavikaṅṭhahāra which was written in Śaka 1575 or 1653 A.D. says that there are two views regarding the institution of Kulinism. The older view is that it was based on nine personal qualifications such as *āchāra*, *vinaya*, *vidyā*, etc. But the more recent view is that it was for the first time created by king Vallāla in the family of Duhisena and others.¹ Clearly therefore we find that the institution of Kulinism was a very ancient one and it was based on certain personal qualifications and not made hereditary by anybody. The view that Vallāla was its originator only gained ground in comparatively recent times and as such cannot be credited with much authenticity.

One interesting feature of the society in the Sena period cannot be overlooked. About the end of the Deopara inscription we are told that the record was engraved by one Śūlapāṇi who is called not only "the crest-jewel of the guild of the Varendra artists" (*śilpin*) but also a *rāṇaka*. This shows that the province of Varendra was renowned for the appreciation and development of the fine arts. There is no meaning otherwise of our being told that there was a guild of artists in Varendra and that Śūlapāṇi was the head of it. That Varendra

¹ Sadvaidyaku-lapañjika, pp. 1-2.

had made itself famous long before Śūlapāṇi is clear from the fact that Tārānāth in his *History of Buddhism in India* tells us that even as early as the time of Dharmapāla and Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty there were two artists, father and son, called Dhimān and Bīṭpāla who founded a school not only in cast metal work but also in sculpture and painting. It was known as the eastern or Magadhan school and replaced the old west school not only in the territory of Gauḍa but also in the country of Nepal. Varendra had thus been already known as a home of original artists—a conclusion supported by the exuberance of sculptures of one typical style found all over Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra and Pabna districts which represent Varendra. There is another point to be noticed in connection with Śūlapāṇi. He has been called a *rāṇaka*. In the administrative history section of this thesis we have stated that *rāṇaka* denoted as high a rank as *rājan*, *rājanyaka* and so forth. If they were not all feudatory titles some of them denoted at least the pick of the landed gentry. And Śūlapāṇi when he is designated as *rāṇaka* is to be taken as to be a fairly big zemindar. This is interesting because he could have risen only to this high position by his eminent success in the sphere of art. What is more probable is that his family must have been brought to great prominence by his great-grand-father. For, not only his name but also those of his father and grand-father and even great-grand-father have been specified. What is the good of mentioning all these names unless we are to infer that they denoted a dynastic list of artists who made themselves conspicuous by their skill and originality in *śilpa*. Probably, therefore, the family began to acquire importance in the time of the great-grand-father of Śūlapāṇi and as they or at least Śūlapāṇi could come to assume the rank of a *rāṇaka* it indicates that art in the Sena period was looked upon as an honourable and lucrative profession so as to enable an artist of exceptional merit to rise to an aristocratic position in society.

CHAPTER V.

Religious History.

We have finished our survey of the political, administrative, fiscal and social history of the period, and we now come to the history of religion under the Sena rulers. It is not less important than the previous ones. In fact it is essential to the understanding of the moral life of the people. The principal religions of India that have dominated the lives and thoughts of the people are of course (1) Buddhism, (2) Brahmanism, and (3) Jainism, with their different ramifications. Now let us ascertain what was the state of each of these three kinds of religion in the Sena kingdom of Bengal.

Buddhism in Bengal which was in a flourishing condition in the early Pāla period was at a low ebb towards its close and by the time when the Senās came to power it had begun to lose its separate identity as one of the principal religions, Buddha having found a place in the Brahmanic pantheon as one of the incarnations of Vishṇu.

We know from Kshemendra who flourished in Kashmir in the eleventh century that in his time Buddha had already been admitted into the Brahmanic pantheon as an incarnation of Vishṇu. But when the same happened in Bengal we do not know, till we come to the period of Jayadeva who lived in the court of Lakshmaṇa. This is evident from the *Gita-govinda* where Jayadeva in a well-known verse in praise of Vishṇu speaks of Buddha as an *avatāra* of that supreme god. In the time of Lakshmaṇa we then clearly find Buddha

absorbed in the Brahmanic pantheon. But though Buddhism as a separate religion was in a decadent state it did not certainly vanish from the land. The Sena rulers though they belonged to the Brahmanic religion, the first two being Śaiva, and the last three Vaiṣṇava, were not intolerant zealots, and we often find either from the grants of these rulers or from the literature of the period that there were regular Buddhist temples in the land and the great Buddhist scholars like Mahāmahopādhyaya Purushottamadasa and Śaraṇadeva flourished under the benevolent patronage of these Sena kings.¹ But that Buddhism was declining at this period is clear from the fact that there are no grants to Buddhist temples or Buddhist monks made by royal donors or private individuals. In fact, there is no inscription whether engraved on stone or copper-plate which records such a grant.

Both Purushottama and Śaraṇa were grammarians and lived in the court of Lakshmaṇa. It is a noteworthy fact that though Śaraṇa was a Buddhist by religion he was warmly praised for his scholarship by such a devout Vaiṣṇava as Jayadeva.² As a matter of fact the followers of Buddhist and Brahmanic faith lived side by side in amity, and if we are to believe in the statement made in the *Vallālacharita*, the Buddhist priests, though they lost much of their spiritual hold over the people, often acquired considerable temporal power and sometimes managed to obtain the proprietorship even of the Brahmanic temples. Thus it is said in the seventh chapter of the *Vallālacharita* that Dharmagiri who was addressed as *bhadanta* was the proprietor (*Sthānādhipa*) of the temple of Śaṅkara in Mahāsthāna.

If Buddhism as a separate religion was falling into decadence under the Senas of Bengal, the case was otherwise with Brāhmanism. As a matter of fact the period of the Sena rule in Bengal was the period of the revival of Brahmanic religion.

¹ Introduction to *Bhashavritti*, edited by Prof. Sris Chandra Chakravarty, pp. 487.

² *Ibid*, p. 7.

The Sena rulers, being of Brahmanic faith, whole-heartedly supported its cause. The inscription and the grants of these rulers as well as the works of literary men of the period tell us that under their benevolent patronage the temples of various deities belonging to the Brahmanic pantheon such as the Pradyumneśvara Śiva,¹ Ardhvanāriśvara Śiva, Murāri, and Śūrya² were regularly built all over the country and their worship was performed with great pomp and ceremony. A general revival of *Smṛti* literature which greatly advanced the cause of Brahmanic cult also took place during this period. And in the list of the *Smṛti* writers we meet with the names of such erudites as Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Halāyudha, Paśupati and Īśāna. Besides, king Vallāla wrote a treatise on *Smṛti*. As a result of this revival in *Smṛti* learning we find the rulers of the Sena dynasty or their royal consorts regularly performing various kinds of sacrifices or making gifts to the Brahmanas belonging to the diverse branches of the Vedic learning in accordance with the injunctions of *Smṛti*. Thus for instance, we find from the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena that queen Vilāsadevi made a grant of land as a *dakṣhiṇā* for the performance of *homa* at the time of the *tulāpurushamahādāna* ceremony on the occasion of a lunar eclipse to Udayakaradeva Śarman, a student of the Āśvalāyana śākhā of *Rgveda*. Similarly we find from the Naihati record of Vallālasena that the grant was made by the king as a *dakṣhiṇā* of the golden-horse-gift ceremony performed by his mother, the same Queen Vilāsadevi on the occasion of a solar eclipse to the illustrious Ovāsudeva, a student of the Kauthuma śākhā of the *Sāmaveda*. Again the Tarpanadighi grant of Lakshmaṇa was issued on the occasion of a ceremony known as the *hemāśvaratha* gift (one of the sixteen gifts mentioned in the *Matsyapurāṇa*). The donee of this grant was Īśvaradeva Śarman, a student of the Kauthuma branch of the *Sāmaveda*.

¹ Deopara Inscription, v. 26.

² Pavanadūta, vs. 28-30.

The principal feature of this Brahmanic revival was, as we have already remarked, that it embraced Buddhism in its fold and gave Buddha a lasting place in its pantheon as one of the incarnations of the great god Vishṇu. Another noteworthy fact about this Brahmanic revival was that a new Vaishṇava cult—the cult of Rādhā—sprang into prominence for the first time in this period. No doubt Rādhā as a shepherdess and beloved of Kṛshṇa not only appears in the tenth century inscription of Vākpatirāja (974 A. D.), the *Daśāvatāracharita* of Kshemendra and the various *Purānas*, but also in the famous book of fables, *Pañchatantra*, where the phrase, “*Rādhā nāmā me bhōryā Gopakula prasutā,*” occurs. But it appears that the cult of Rādhā and Kṛshṇa, upon which the whole superstructure of the latter-day Vaishṇava religion of Bengal was raised, gained regular force and vigour during the Sena rule in Bengal. And to this newly born cult the melodious poet of Lakshmaṇasena’s court, Jayadeva, gave an eternal charm and beauty. The other aspects of the Brahmanic cult were not also wanting. In fact all the principal gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon were worshipped. And it appears from the *Pavanadūta* that the sun-worship which had now disappeared from India was in vogue in Bengal at the time as the author mentions the existence of an image of Raghukulaguru (*i.e.*, Surya) in Sumhadeśa.¹ As regards the prevalence of Tāntrika worship we have as yet got no genuine evidence either epigraphic or literary to that effect. Babu Nagendra Nath Basu thinks that King Vallāla was a Tāntrika worshipper and through his efforts Tantrism spread into Orissa from Bengal.² But this assertion of his is mainly based on the statement of the Bengal Ghatakas, and as such cannot be relied upon with much force.

The existence of Jainism in the Sena period too, like Tantrism, cannot be traced with much force and definiteness.

¹ *Pavanadūta*, v. 30.

² *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, p. 4 xiv.

At least no grants of the Sena kings or no literary works of the period bear any testimony to that effect. Babu Rakhaldas Banerji has found among the ruins of the pre-Mahomedan period of Saptagrama¹ some Jaina images. But these may belong to the period of the Pāla kings or a period earlier still.

¹ J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 274.

CHAPTER VI.

Literary History.

We now come to the literary history of the Sena period—a history which can well be a source of pride and joy to a Bengali. For the Sena rule may rightly be described as the Augustan period of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. Science and art have all along flourished in India under the patronage of royal dynasties. It would take us too long to describe from the beginning how royal patronage had created literary activities and fostered their growth. One of the misfortunes of India was that the country was many a time invaded by foreigners most of whom belonged to the more or less uncivilised barbarian hordes. But the noteworthy point about the Hindu civilisation is that all these foreigners, *mlechhas* though they were, were gradually mollified under Indian environments and imbibed not only Hindu language and culture but also Hindu faith. When about the beginning of the sixth century A. D. the Huna eruptions perturbed and darkened the political firmament, it was feared that the Hindu civilisation was in some danger. But here too that civilisation demonstrated its mollifying and edifying influence. The foreign swarms were Hinduised one after another in quick succession and from the eighth to the eleventh century A. D. the royal family which wielded sway over the whole of northern India were the imperial Pratihāras, who, as we know at present, belonged to the Gurjara (Khazar) and therefore foreign race. Not only did they adopt Hindu names but even traced their pedigree from Lakshmaṇa, brother of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the ornament of the solar race. So steeped were they in Hindu culture that they began their patronage even to Sanskrit learning. Their most notable protégé was the famous poet Rājasekhara. When the Pratihāra power declined, their

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empire was split up into a number of smaller kingdoms such as the Chalukyas (Solānkis) and Chāhamanas in Guzarat and Rajputana, the Paramāras in Malwa and the Pālas in U. P., Bihar and Bengal. The kings of all these dynasties kept the torch of Sanskrit learning burning and held it aloft. But perhaps the greatest celebrity among them was the Paramara king Bhoja of Dhārā and Ujjayinī. His encouragement and development of science and art were so munificent and extensive that his name has been rightly compared to Vikramāditya, the traditional patron of learning in India. This desire to give encouragement to Sanskrit learning was by no means unknown during the Pāla rule in Bengal. But by far the greatest impetus we find given to it when the Senas came to power. The characteristic feature of the literary activity in the Sena period is that most of their protégés were natives of Bengal and what is noteworthy about it is that this activity displayed itself not merely in the sphere of *Sāhitya* or composition but also in the abstruse fields of Grammar, *Smṛti* or law and *Nyāya*.

What could be the cause of the splendid array of these *literati* who were ornaments of the Sena court? The reply obviously is, that the Sena kings were liberal in their patronage to the learned men of their time. But the question again is why were they so liberal. We might as well ask why was the Paramāra king Bhoja so liberal. The only reply to this question is that Bhoja himself was a learned prince and we may add that at least three of the Sena rulers were learned kings and we may further assert without any fear of contradiction that two of these Sena kings again, namely, Vallāla and Lakshmaṇa were as learned as Bhoja himself. These two Sena kings and their successor Keśava are credited with having composed Sanskrit poems. But the composition of a Sanskrit poem, though such a thing may be admired of a prince, is yet in itself not such a product as requires much thought and imagination. What has rendered the names of Vallāla and his son Lakshmaṇa famous in the annals of

Bengal is not the few Sanskrit poems that stand to their credit but certainly the production of two encyclopaedic works. The first namely, the *Dānasāgara*, which was completed in A. D. 1169-70, sets forth the various kinds of *dānas* or gifts and various ceremonies connected therewith. Vallāla seems to have been so fond of Sanskrit composition that as the *Dānasāgara* was being brought to a completion, he started the compilation of another encyclopaedic work the *Abdhūtasāgara* which deals with omens and portents. Unfortunately, however, he died on the banks of the Ganges before he could finish it. But the learned father had a learned son, and the work was resumed and completed by Lakshmaṇa. Bengal was lucky in the fact that it had two consecutive kings who were not only patrons of learning but were themselves learned men. Malwa had only one Paramāra king, namely, Bhoja, who could be compared to them. But Bengal was more unfortunate in another respect. The distress in the case of Paramāra kingdom was caused by the temporary preponderance of another but Hindu dynasty and though the line of Bhoja was extinct the Paramāra power was soon thereafter re-established at Dhārā by a collateral branch of the Paramāra dynasty. Such was, however, not the case with Bengal. In the closing years of Lakshmaṇa's reign the Mahomedan power was becoming stronger and though the Sena rule lingered one or two generations after Lakshmaṇa in some parts of Bengal, the original splendour of the Sena dynasty had completely vanished, and just as on a dark night one or two streaks of lightning may dazzle and stupefy human eye which may afterwards be enveloped in a sea of darkness, so Bengal was effulgent with extreme and manifold literary activity which lasted for at least three generations and was then immersed in a pitchy blind darkness from which it did not rise up for two centuries.

Who were the literary men, the votaries of arts and science, that flourished in the Sena court, especially when

Vallāla and his son Lakshmaṇa were reigning? We shall divide them under four classes as already indicated, *viz.*, (1) *Sāhitya*, (2) *Smṛiti*, (3) Grammar and (4) *Nyāya*. In this connection I cannot help referring to seven elucidating papers which the late Rai Manomohan Chakravarty Bahadur wrote on the subject. In these he had brought together a mass of materials from which a mightier pen could easily and beautifully describe the literary activity of the period. Taking first *Sāhitya* or poetry and poetics we find no less than twelve poets who figured prominently in this sphere. One of the most celebrated poets of this age was according to the modern estimate Jayadeva the author of the *Gītagovinda* who flourished in the court of Lakshmaṇa. Almost at the beginning of his work he cites in a verse the names of no less than four poets side by side with his own specifying the salient feature of the composition of each. As Jayadeva here associates himself with four poets, the latter must be of great eminence in his time. In this verse Jayadeva does not glorify himself at the expense of others as no doubt the verse has been so interpreted by the commentators and following them the modern scholars. What Jayadeva has done here is that he has singled out five poets of the Sena court including himself and described what in his opinion constitutes the *forte* or characteristic quality of the writings of each. The names of these five are (1) Umāpatidhara, (2) Jayadeva, (3) Śaraṇa, (4) Govardhana, (5) Dhoyī. It is not quite clear whether the order in which he has mentioned these names shows that the succeeding was looked upon as of a higher rank than that of the preceding name, in the hierarchy of *literati* then prevalent. At any rate, Dhoyī the last mentioned seems to have been looked upon as the poet-laureate of the Sena court because Jayadeva calls him *Kavikshmāpati* *i.e.*, the king of the poets. This agrees with what Dhoyī has said of himself about the end of his work, the *Pavanadūta*. There he styles himself as the paramount lord of the kings

viz., the poets! We will now give a short description of each.

(1) *Umāpati*.—Nothing particularly is known about the residence and family history of this poet. He has not given any. He most probably adorned the courts of three successive Sena kings from Vijaya to Lakṣmaṇa. That he was the court-poet of king Vijaya is known from his having composed the Deopara inscription of that king. That he also lived in the reign of Lakṣmaṇa appears from the fact that Śrīdhara-dāsa, the compiler of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, quotes a verse of his in praise of his (*i.e.*, Śrīdhara-dāsa's) father Vaṭudāsa in his anthology. Vaṭudāsa was a friend and officer of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. His principal poetical composition so far known to us is, besides more than a hundred stray verses quoted in various anthologies, his Deopara *praśasti*. It was such an excellent piece of poetical eminence that no less than four verses from it (Vs. 7, 23, 24 and 30) have been cited in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. The very fact that the anthologist has quoted some verses from this composition shows that it was not only engraved on a stone slab at Deopara and remained there, but manuscript copies of it must have been made by others for their perusal and recitation. Śrīdhara-dāsa, the anthologist quotes no less than 94 stanzas of his. Jayadeva's statement "*Vāchahḥ pallavayati Umāpatidharahḥ*"—"Umāpatidhara makes words as beautiful and tender as the young sprouts," is very apt. With this may be compared what Umāpatidhara has said of himself in the Deopara inscriptions. He describes himself as possessed of "understanding purified by the study of words and their meaning." Doubtless he was the true master of words. Some of his verses are really very mellifluous. It was not unlikely that he is identical with the person of the same name mentioned in the *Chandraprabhā* of Bharata Mallika, and the ancestor of Vaidyas, to which we have referred in the 'Social History' section.

(2) *Jayadeva*.—He, of all the poets of the Sena court, is the only one who has gained all-India reputation and who is still read and loved by the scholars and the ordinary people alike. His name is a household word in Bengal and his influence in shaping the subsequent Bengali literature was not insignificant. He is practically the forerunner of the Vaisṇava literature of Bengal—a class of literature which is immensely popular and which has consoled and still consoles many a poor forlorn soul. Such is the immense hold of Jayadeva on the minds of the Bengali poets that even such a great and eminent poet as Rabindra Nath Tagore is not free from it. The characteristic sweetness and softness of language that are visible in the poems of Rabindranath are, it is believed, the outcome of his reading Jayadeva extensively. He has read the lyrics of Jayadeva so thoroughly that sometimes he quotes Jayadeva *verbatim*, without being perhaps conscious of it. For instance, Jayadeva has, ‘*alīkula-sāṅkula kusuma-samuhe nirākula-vakula-kalāpe* (*Gīta*. v. 29) and Rabindra Nath writes *Nirākula phulabhāre vakula vāgāna*. It seems, Jayadeva obtained this popularity far earlier. The manuscript copies of the *Gītagovinda* lie scattered all over India from Nepal and Kashmir downwards and no less than 37 commentaries of the *Gītagovinda* have so far been found, the earliest known among them being the *Rasikapriyā* by the powerful king of Udaipur, Kumbhakarna who belonged to the 15th century. It is a matter of great regret that very little is known about Jayadeva authentically. Mithilā, Orissa and Bengal, each has claimed him to be her own. Manomohan Babu has examined each of the traditions claiming Jayadeva to be an Oria, a Maithili or a Bengali, and he is of opinion that the tradition which says that he was a native of Bengal is the most reliable.¹ The name of Jayadeva’s home which appears in the second line of III, 10 is

¹ J.A.S.B., 1906, p. 167.

variously read as Kenduvilva, Kenduvilla, Kendubilva, Kendubilla, Sindubilva and Tinduvilva.¹ The tradition of Bengal identifies it with modern Kenduli in the district of Birbhum on the north bank of the river Ajaya where an annual fair in memory of the poet is still held on the last day of the month of Māgha. Some of the manuscripts of the *Gītagovinda* give the name of his father as Bhojadeva, of his mother as Ramā and his friend as Parāśara. But as these passages are not found in such old commentaries as the *Rasikapriyā* they are very doubtful. According to traditions the wife of Jayadeva was Padmābatī. Such passages in the *Gītagovinda* as *Padmāvati-charana-chārana-chakravartī* (first half of 1. 2) and *Padmāvati-ramaṇi-Jayadeva-kavibhārati bhanita matīśātana*, etc., seem to corroborate the tradition.² But as the old commentaries like the *Rasikapriyā* do not support the reading we are not justified in asserting our own view in one way or the other. The posterior limit of Jayadeva's time is fixed by his verses being quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* which was composed in A.D. 1206. The anterior limit is ascertained from the mention of Dhoyī and other poets in 1. 4. In all probability he could not have flourished earlier than the reign of Lakshmaṇasena.

(3) *Sarana*.—According to Manomohan Babu no work of this scholar has yet been discovered. Only stray verses of his are quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. But we now know that he was a grammarian first and a poet afterwards, and his commentary on Pāṇini has been found.³ We shall say more of him when we shall come to describe the grammarians of the Sena period.

(4) *Achārya Govardhana*.—He wrote a work called the *Āryāsaptasatī* in imitation of Hāla's Prākṛt work the *Gāthāsapta-śatī*. It is called the *Āryāsaptasatī* because its verses consisting of 755 stanzas in all, are written in *Āryā* metre.

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 163-5.

² *Ibid*, p. 166.

³ Introduction to *Bhāshāvṛitti* by Prof. Śris Ch. Chakravarty, p. 4,

It was a work of erotic character. This probably led Jayadeva to remark '*Śṛṅgār-ottara-sat-prameya-rachanair-āchārya-Govardhana*' (Sarga I, v. 4). The posterior limit of his time is fixed by this reference in the *Gitagovinda*. The anterior limit is fixed by his mention of a Sena king as his patron in the verse 39 of the poem. He belonged to a class of Brāhmaṇas belonging to the *Putitunḍa* family. After the fall of the Sena power he is said to have taken up his residence at a village in the modern district of Backergunge, which is called after him Govardhana. His descendants are still to be found at the neighbouring villages of Bamrail, Solak and Nalchira.¹

(5) *Dhoyī*.—He is the celebrated author of the *Pavanadūta*, a short poetical work written evidently in imitation of Kālidāsa's famous work, *Meghadūta*. He has been called *Kavikshmāpati* by Jayadeva. More light is thrown upon this matter by the account which the poet gives about himself at the end of his work. In v. 101, he says that being "the paramount lord of the kings, namely the poets," he obtained from the king of Gauḍa a host of elephants caparisoned in gold and the gold-handled chowry. This clearly shows that he was looked upon as the poet-laureate of the Sena court. The same verse is quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* but with the second half entirely different. Why the second half differs it is difficult to say. But that occurring in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* tells us that Dhoyī attained in the Sena court to as much eminence as Vararuchi did in the assembly of Vikramāditya by means of the quality of being a *śrūtīdhara*. What *śrūtīdhara* most probably means is "one who can recite what he hears but once." Vararuchi was noted for this memory feat, and Dhoyī evidently seems to have excelled in that art. Verse 102 of the *Pavanadūta* says that, among many other things, he is longing for

(i) *Vaidarbharti* or Vidarbha style of composition so far as the arrangements of words is concerned,

¹ Bākala by Rohini Kumar Sen, p. 320,

- (ii) residence on the banks of the Ganges, and
- (iii) the office of an *āchārya* of the kings.

Now with regard to the first item there can be no doubt that the *Pavanadūta* exhibits the Vaidharbha style almost to a perfection. As regards the second matter, as he was in the capital of the Sena kingdom he was naturally on the banks of the holy river. The third point, however, is not quite clear, for as the *Pavanadūta* was composed in honour of Lakshmaṇasena, as we shall shortly see, he was the protégé of that Sena prince and when therefore he expresses his longing to be an *āchārya* to kings, this can be taken to refer to the members of the Sena dynasty only. And it is not at all impossible that he was an *āchārya* to this royal family for three generations from Vijaya down to Lakshmaṇa. The last verse, namely, v. 104, expresses the resolution of his mind to fix itself on Brahma by residing on the banks of the Ganges apparently in a temple of Śiva. This shows that the *Pavanadūta* was the last of his compositions. It has been suggested by some scholars that Dhoyī Kavikshmāpati is identical with Dhuyi or Dvayī who is mentioned in the *Chandraprabhā* as the ancestor of Vaidyas belonging to a branch of the Saktrigotra. The title Kavikshmāpati is equivalent to 'Kavirāja' the modern designation of the Vaidyas of Bengal. The story of the *Pavanadūta* in brief is this:—Once upon a time king Lakshmaṇasena while on an expedition for world conquest went to the Sandal hill where there was a town of the Gandharvas. The daughter of the Gandharva king, Kuvalayavatī by name, seeing the charm and beauty of the person of the king, at once fell in love with him. Then in order to communicate her love tidings to the king Lakshmaṇa, she prayed to the wind to be her messenger and deliver her tale of woe to the king who resided in Gauḍa. Then she describes the various countries and routes through which the bearer of her love message is to pass in order to reach Vijayapura, the capital of her beloved. The story ends

with the final instruction by the lady to the messenger regarding the manner in which the news of her pangs and sufferings caused on account of her separation from the king, should be communicated to him.

Besides these five far-famed poets there were many lesser luminaries in the Sena court whose stray verses have been preserved in the *Saduktikarnāmrta*. They are :— (1) *Udayana*.—He was a pupil of Āchārya Govardhana and revised his poem the *Āryāsaptasati*. (2) *Dharma Jogesvara*.—One verse of his is quoted in the *Saduktikarnāmrta*. This is in praise of a gift of one Gaudendra. (3) *Balabhadra*.—He was like Udayana a pupil of Govardhana and revised his poem. (4) *Madhu*.—The *Saduktikarnāmrta* quotes some eight verses of the *dharmādhyaksha* or judge Madhu. One of his verses praises the anthologist's father Vaṭudāsa as the right hand staff of Lakshmaṇasena. (5) *Vetāla, Bhaṭṭa Vetāla or Rājā Vetāla*.—Śrīdharadāsa quotes one verse of this writer which is in high praise of Vaṭudāsa. (6) *Vyāsa*.—He too praises Vaṭudāsa. (7) *Sañchadhura*.—Śrīdharadāsa quotes one verse of his which is also in praise of Vaṭudāsa.

The famous anthologist *Śrīdharadāsa* closes our review of the Sāhityakāras of the Sena court. He was the celebrated compiler of the *Saduktikarnāmrta*, and but for him it would have not been possible for us to give this brief history of the poets. He was a widely read man and of great culture, as his compilation unmistakably proves. He has compiled about two thousand and four hundred verses from more than four hundred and fifty authorities named and unnamed. They have been judiciously, and tastefully selected and cover a wide range of subjects. His father was the celebrated Mahāsāmanta Vaṭudāsa. This shows that the latter was a feudatory chieftain. Śrīdharadāsa calls himself a *Mahāmaṇḍalika* or a ruler of a *maṇḍala*, in the colophon and

at the end of each *pravāha*. The anthology was compiled in 1207 A. D.¹

Having thus described the poets of the Sena period we now come to the grammarians. Of the grammarians of this period the two learned scholars whose names and works have been handed down to us were Purushottamadāsa and Śaraṇadeva. Both these scholars were Buddhists by religion and based their works on Pāṇini.² The former scholar wrote a partial commentary on Pāṇini called the *Bhāshāvṛtti*.³ Besides *Bhāshāvṛtti* various other works such as the lexicographies, *Hārāvali*, *Trikāndaśeṣa*, *Varnadūshma*, etc., and ritual works such as *Vishṇubhaktikalpalata*, have been ascribed to him.⁴ Prof. Śrischandra Chakravarty who has recently published the *Bhāshāvṛtti* has found some ground which shows that its author was "most likely a Bengali."⁵ There is evidence both internal and external to associate him with the court of Lakshmaṇa.⁶ The fact that there are many eulogistic references to Buddha and Buddhist theology in his *Bhāshāvṛtti* shows that he was a Buddhist writer.⁷

Śaraṇadeva the other grammarian of the Sena court composed *Durghatāvṛtti*, a work also based on Pāṇini.⁸ It was completed in A. D. 1172. In the beginning of the *Durghatāvṛtti* he says that his work was composed in 1095 Śaka or 1172 A. D. (*Śaka-mahīpati-vatsaramāṇe eka-nabho-ṇava-pañcha-vitāne*). As the date of *Durghatāvṛtti* is 1172 A. D., his time certainly coincides with that of Vallāla and Lakshmaṇa. Therefore he is most probably the same Śaraṇadeva who has been mentioned by Jayadeva. Jayadeva says "Śaraṇa

¹ Colophon to the *Saduktikarnāmṛta*.

² *Bhāshāvṛtti*, Introduction, p. 1 ff.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Introduction to *Bhāshāvṛtti*, p. 18

is praiseworthy in liquefying the stiff" (*slāghyo durūho-drute*) because in his *Durghatavṛtti* "difficult passages apparently of doubtful grammatical accuracy from classical works, were very nicely justified."¹ Nothing is as yet known about the nationality and family of this scholar.

It would be seen from the above account that these two grammarians kept alive in Bengal the study of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in its original form. It is well-known that Bhattoji Dikshit recast the *sūtras* of Pāṇini and taught the subject of grammar in a somewhat different fashion. Bengal, however, kept itself clear of it, and stuck to the orthodox mode of teaching Pāṇini which survived almost down to the beginning of the 19th century. The credit of it is largely due to the two grammarians of Bengal that flourished in the Sena period.

Among the *Smṛti* writers of Bengal during this period the most famous were the following four :—(1) Jīmūtavāhana ; (2) Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, the preceptor of Vallālasena ; (3) King Vallāla and (4) Halāyudha. Besides these four writers there were two more *Smṛtikāras*. They were Paśūpati and Īśāna, the two brothers of Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha.

We have already made our remark about Vallāla and we now propose to take up the names of the remaining scholars of *Smṛti* one by one :—

1. *Jīmūtavāhana*.—He was by far the greatest *Smṛti* writer of the period. The Hindus of Bengal are still governed by his famous *Dāyabhāga*, specially in matters of marriage, succession and inheritance. So far only three of his works have been brought to light. These are (1) the *Kālaviveka*, (2) the *Vyavahāramātrikā* and (3) the *Dāyabhāga*.

The *Kālaviveka* deals with the appropriate months and seasons for the performance of religious duties and works, particularly lays stress on whether the prescribed months

¹ *Ibid.*

should be lunar or solar. The *Vyavahāramātṛikā* (or the 'alphabets of legal procedure and evidence'), as the name signifies, describes "the procedure to be followed in the courts of law and nature of its evidence." The *Dāyabhāga*, by far the most important work of the three, was composed, as the learned writer himself tells us, "to settle the disputes among the learned men regarding the division of property on inheritance." There is very little which is of personal nature in the author's writings. In the colophons of his works he is very often styled as *Paribhādriya Mahāmahopadhyāya*. In the last verse of the *Dāyabhāga* he is called *Paribhādra-kulodbhūta-Śrīmān Jīmūtavāhana*. The word *Paribhādra* is said to be the same as the vernacular *Pāriḡāin*, a section of Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas. That he was a native of Rāḍhā can also be inferred from his contrast of Rāḍhā in the *Kālaviveka* with Ujjain, the Greenwich of the Hindu astronomical calculations. For instance, in one place the author says: "it (the star) rises in the last seven days of Bhādra in land beginning with Rāḍhā and in the last four days (thereof) in Ujjain." This contrast of Rāḍhā with Ujjain seems to indicate that Rāḍhā was the home-land of the author. According to Manomohan Babu, Jīmūtavāhana flourished in the first quarter of the 12th century A.D.

(2) *Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa*.—He was the preceptor of Vallālasena and a native of Varendrī. Babu Rajenera Lal Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* mentions two ritual works of one Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa. These are the *Śuddhiviveka* and the *Hārulatā*. The name of this latter work together with that of Aniruddha occurs in a work of the 16th century called the *Śuddhikaumudī*.

(3) *Halāyudha*.—He was the author of the *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, the *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva*, the *Saiva-sarvasva*, the *Paṇḍita-sarvasva* and the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*. By the latter work he is best known. The principal object in composing the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, was to give to the Brāhmaṇas the

true and accurate meaning of the Vedic *mantras* such as are used in the daily *āhnikas* and the periodical *samśkāras*. In the introductory verses of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, the author has given a personal account of himself. From this we know that he was born in the *Vātsya gotra* and his father's name was *Dhanañjaya*. He had two brothers *Paśupati* and *Īśāṇa*. Of the three brothers, he was the youngest. He was appointed in his early age as the *rāja-paṇḍita* by King *Lakshmaṇasena*. In his youth he was given the post *Mahāmahaṭ* and honoured with 'umbrella bright as the moon' and towards the close of youth he was given the post of a judge.

(4) *Paśupati*.—He was the eldest brother of *Halāyudha*. In the introductory verses of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, *Halāyudha* says that *Paśupati* had written a manual or *paddhati* on *srāddha*, and another *paddhati* on *Pāka-yajña*. He also wrote *Daśakarma-paddhati*. In the colophon of this latter work he says that he was a *rāja-paṇḍita*.

(5) *Īśāṇa*.—He was the elder brother of *Halāyudha*. No manuscript of his work has as yet been found, but we know from the statement of *Halāyudha* in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* that he was the author of a *paddhati* relating to *āhnikas* of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

Though the study of *Nyāya* had begun before the advent of the *Sena* kings and continued in the period under review and long after it, the name of any famous *Nyāya* scholar of the *Sena* empire is hardly met with. *Manomohan Babu* says that *Gaṅgeśa-Upādhyāya*, the famous founder of the *Maithil* school of the *Nyāya* system, flourished during the overlordship of *Lakshmaṇasena*.¹ But as we do not know definitely whether *Mithilā* was at any time under the *Sena* emperors of *Bengal* we cannot include him in the list of scholars who flourished under the benevolent patronage of the *Sena* rulers of *Bengal*.

¹ J. and Proc., A. S. B., 1915, p. 265.

Appendices.

APPENDIX A.

Lakshmanasena Era.

The famous controversy regarding the Lakshmanasena Era arose in this way:—

There were discovered a number of palm-leaf manuscripts chiefly in Nepal and written mainly in the Maithili character which were dated in *la. sa.* or Lakshmana samvat. In addition to these palm-leaf manuscripts there were found at Bodh Gaya three epigraphic records which were dated as follows:—

I. Lakshmanasenasya-atita-rājye sam. 51.

II. Lakshmanasenadevapādānām atitarājye sam. 74, Vaisākhavadi 12, Gurau.

III. Lakshmanasenasya-atita-rājye sam. 84.

Now Prof. Kielhorn proved clearly from a calculation of the astronomical details, such as the name of the day, month and *tithi*, found in these manuscripts, that Lakshmana samvat or *la. sa.* must have originated on October 7, A. D. 1119. The discussions about these era proceed from this finding of Dr. Kielhorn. All the rival scholars agree that it originated in 1119 A. D. But there is no consensus of opinion among them regarding the occasion of its origin and the interpretation of the term *atita* in the Bodh Gaya inscriptions. These scholars may be divided for the sake of convenience into certain well-marked groups according to the views held by them.

According to the first group of scholars led by Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji,¹ the era marks the accession of Lakshmanasena to the throne. They contend that Lakshmanasena came to the throne in A. D. 1119 and died before 1170 A. D. because the Bodh Gaya inscription No. I speaks of his reign as *atita*

¹ Bānglār Itihāsa.

or a thing of the past. But this view cannot be tenable on the following grounds :—

(I) The testimony of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhūtasāgara*, as we have already seen, is opposed to this view. A passage in the *Dānasāgara* says that the book was completed in 1168-69 A. D. by Vallāla, while it is written in the colophon of the *Adbhūtasāgara* that the work was begun by Vallāla in 1167-68 A. D. and completed by his son Lakshmaṇa after his death. Though Rakhaldas Babu rejects those passages as spurious, this evidence is further corroborated by the celebrated *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* of Minhaj in which it is stated that Lakshmaṇasena was defeated by Bākht-yār between 1193 A. D. and 1205 A. D.

(II) The colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, as has been already pointed out, distinctly says that 1206 A. D. was the 21st year of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena, *i.e.*, in other words Lakshmaṇasena came to the throne in 1185 A. D.

Therefore we see that the view of the first group of scholars cannot be maintained.

According to the second group of scholars¹ the era marks the accession of a predecessor of Lakshmaṇasena. But their view cannot also be upheld for three reasons :—(I) The accession of none of the predecessors of Lakshmaṇasena can be placed in 1119 A. D. for (1) Vallāla, the immediate predecessor of Lakshmaṇa came to the throne according to the *Adbhūtasāgara* in 1159 A. D. and these scholars do not disbelieve the testimony of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhūtasāgara* and (2) whether we read the date in the Barrackpur grant as 32 or 61 Vijayasena's date of accession cannot be placed in the year 1119 A. D. And as Vijayasena was the contemporary of Rāmapāla and as the time of Rāmapāla falls in the closing years of the eleventh and the earlier years of the twelfth

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. during 1887-88 & 1889-91.

century A. D., Hemantasena, supposing he was a ruler of Bengal, must have come to the throne much earlier than 1119 A. D. Anyhow, this date cannot be the initial regnal year of either Hemantasena or his son Vijayasena.

(II) If the era was founded by some of the ancestors of Lakshmanasena of Bengal why did not at least Lakshmanasena and his successors use the era? All the Sena kings of Bengal used regnal years and there is no evidence of a continuous reckoning by this Sena dynasty.

(III) The era is distinctly called Lakshmanasamvat. If the era was founded not by Lakshmanasena but by some ancestor of his, why was it all along associated with the name of Lakshmanasena? No explanation has been yet adduced.

The third view¹ which alleges that the era was founded in the twelfth century A. D. to commemorate the *atitarājya* of Lakshmanasena cannot be tenable for the following consideration :—

I. There is no evidence of the use of any such era in Bengal in the first century of its existence.

II. Lakshmanasena was not certainly the last great king of his dynasty. Why should the people commemorate the *atitarājya* of Lakshmanasena and ignore the Pravardhamāna-vijayarājya of his sons who fought successfully against the Gargas and the Yavanas, as the Madanpāda and Edilpur copper plates inform us?

III. Why should the era be ignored by Lakshmanasena's own sons and be perpetuated by the kings of a neighbouring province?

The fourth and the latest view² that the era marks the birth of Lakshmanasena cannot also be supported for we have as yet got no evidence of an era marking the birth of a prince.

¹ Babu Ramaprasad Chandra expresses his opinion in *Gauḍa Rājamāla*, p. 64, and Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *J. & Proc.*, A. S. B. 1921.

² Babu Dinesh Ch. Bhattacharyya, M.A., is the chief exponent of this view. *Ind. Ant.*, August, 1922.

The fifth and the last view, which alone seems to us to be the soundest of all, is held by Dr. H. C. Raychowdhury.¹ He is of opinion that "the origin of Lakshmanasena era is to be sought not in the Sena dynasty of Vijayapur (Bengal) but in the Sena dynasty of Pithi (Behar)." And this is his cogent argument for holding this view :—

The Sena Kings of Bengal never used the era which has so often been ascribed to them. The dates found in the inscriptions of the Sena kings of Bengal are in regnal years and not in the years of any era as these dates do not form a connected series.

On the other hand, the era was used in Behar and was connected with the Sena royal house of Pithi which according to Mr. Jayaswal means Magadha. From the Janibigha inscription, epigraphic records at Bodh Gaya and the palm-leaf manuscripts of Nepal it is clear enough that "there was a line of Sena kings in Magadha who used the dates of Lakshmanasena era and these dates form a connected series." And it is held by eminent scholars like Fleet that "Any era may be introduced in a country in which it was not founded. But no era can have been founded in a country in which it was never used."

Therefore we see that as, on the one hand, there is no doubt about the fact that the era never originated in the Sena royal house of Bengal, so on the other hand, there is a strong possibility that the era was founded in Behar by some member of the Sena family of Magadha.

¹ Lakshmanasena Era, by Dr. H. C. Raychowdhury, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, *Orientalia*, pp. 1-5.

APPENDIX B.

The Date of the Nudiāh Raid.

The exact date for the raid of Nudiāh by Bākht-yār-khālġ has long been a matter of controversy among scholars. Thus Raverty, the translator of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, gave the date as 1193 A.D. while Blochman gave it as 1197-1198. Again, according to Dr. Thomas the raid took place in 1202 A.D. But Stewart asserts that it must have taken place in 1203 A.D. On the other hand, Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks that Nudiāh was sacked in 1200 A.D.¹ But before we for ourselves come to any conclusion, let us see what is the exact statement of Minhāj regarding it. According to him the raid took place after A.H. 589 and some years before A.H. 601, that is, between A.D. 1193 and A.D. 1205. Minhāj also adds the important statement that Lakshmaṇasena died shortly after the event. Now as we know from the colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmrta* that Lakshmaṇasena was still ruling in 1206 A.D. it appears that the raid took place nearer to this date. Hence the view of Stewart who says that the raid took place in 1203 A.D. seems to be correct.

¹ Bānglār Itihāsa, Part II, p. 15.

APPENDIX C.

The Identification of Vijayapura mentioned in the Pavanadūta of Dhoyī.

It is urged by some scholars that the 30th verse of the *Pavanadūta* shows that the messenger Wind crossed the Bhāgīrathī and went to North Bengal where according to them Vijayapura is to be located. But we have carefully considered the verse and failed to find in it any reference either to the crossing of the Ganges or to the North Bengal.

The *Pavanadūta* describes all the countries through which the Wind passes from Pāndya to *Suhma*. But there is not a single reference to Varendrī or Puṇḍra, the distinctive names of North Bengal. Some scholars, however, failing to find any reference to Varendrī or Puṇḍra in the *Pavanadūta*, takes *Gauḍī kshaunī* (v. 5) as equivalent to Varendrī. But to regard Gauḍa and Varendra as synonymous terms is an assumption which is contradicted by the evidence of our ancient literature. The *Prabodhachandrodaya*, for instance, places Rādhā, that is West Bengal, in Gauḍa. Thus it says in Act II. p. 28 : *Gauḍaṃ nāshṭraṃanuttamaṃ tatrāpi Rādhā purī*, etc. Bāṇa in his *Harshacharit* calls Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa (Murshidabad district according to Watters) a Gauḍa king and Yuan-chwang clearly distinguishes the realm of this Gauḍa king from Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal. In the Haraha inscription (Ep.Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff) the Gauḍas are described as *samudrāśraya*. It is obvious thus that the Gauḍa territory included West Bengal—the *Suhma* of the *Pavanadūta* and was not the exclusive designation of North Bengal—nay in the time of Yuan-chwang the Gauḍa realm was clearly distinguished from North Bengal.

Again, some scholars contend on the strength of stanzas 5 and 36 of the *Pavanadūta* that Vijayapura was situated in

the date as 32. Even if this date be correct there is nothing to show that the year 32 was the last date of Vijaya and that king might have continued to rule long after the issuing of the Barrackpur grant. Moreover, it should be noted, that Rāmapāla's expedition to regain his throne with the help of Vijaya might have been undertaken some years after his accession. Consequently Vijaya's reign need not cover all the 42 years of Rāmapāla's reign. It is thus clear that there is no inherent improbability of Vijayasena being a contemporary of Rāmapāla and his sons and grandson. Let us now see what evidence there is for regarding Vijayasena as a contemporary of Rāmapāla. It has been conclusively proved by Drs. H. C. Raychaudhury and R. C. Majumdar that Rāmapāla's reign could not have ended till some years elapsed after 1096 A. D. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Nānyadeva for whom Drs. Kielhorn and Smith give the date 1097 A. D. Now we know from the Deopara inscription that Nānya was a contemporary of Vijayasena. Again according to the *Adbhūtasāgara*, the accession of Vallāla, son of Vijaya, took place in 1159-60 A. D. Even those who reject the evidence of this work do not say that Vallāla ascended the throne after 1159-60 A. D. So there is a concensus of opinion that Vallāla ascended the throne not later than 1159-60 A. D. His father Vijayasena ruled certainly for at least 32 and probably for at least 61 years (Barrackpur grant). Therefore his accession must have taken place not later, but perhaps much earlier than $(1159-60) - 32 = 1127-1128$ A. D. In view of this fact and in view of his synchronism with Nānyadeva (Deopara inscription) for whom we have the date 1097 A.D. is it unreasonable to hold that Vijaya was a contemporary of Rāmapāla? Moreover, it is stated in the Deopara inscription that Vijaya was a contemporary not only of Nānya but also of Vīra and Vardhana. Now it is known from the *Rāma-charita* that among those who helped Rāmapāla to regain his throne there were besides Vijayarāja two princes named

Viraguna of Kotātavi and Vardhana of Kośāmbī. The obvious conclusion would be that Vijaya, Vardhana and Vira of the Deopara inscription are identical with Vijaya, Vira and Vardhana of the Rāmacharita. To deny this would be to assume that there were in the latter part of the eleventh and the first part of the twelfth century two Vijayas, two Viras and two Vardhanas in the Gauḍa territory and its neighbourhood. Such a conclusion, though not absolutely impossible, is highly improbable.

APPENDIX E.

The Conquest of Kāśī and Prayāga by Lakshmaṇasena.

Some critics urge that the account of Lakshmaṇasena's victory in the Kāśī-Prayāga region is incredible in view of the Gāharwār records which testify to the advance of the Gāharwār power as far as Monghyr. But if this line of argument were followed, it would lead us to reject the account of the early Chālukya victories in the Kāñchi region, because, forsooth, a Pallava king of Kāñchi once captured Vātāpi the Chālukya capital. We should also reject, by following a similar reasoning, the account of Dharmapāla's conquest of Kanauj, because forsooth, Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja claimed victories over Gauḍa and Bengal. Again this sort of argument would also make us disbelieve the stories of French advance to Berlin in the nineteenth century in view of the Prussian occupation of Paris shortly after Waterloo. In fact, we should not forget that when two neighbouring kings fight with each other victory turns now to one side and now to the other.
