

CHAPTER - VI

*IDENTIFICATION AND EXPLANATION OF
THE PLACES AND THE RIVERS OF THE
MAINAMATI COPPER-PLATE GRANTS*

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Introduction

In an attempt to reconstruct the historical geography of ancient kingdom and different place names, the inscriptions are the most dependable and informative source. As documents granting the transfer of property, the plates carry us into the heart of an action, which has a definite learning on the land. Each of the documents records the name of villages, field, mountain, river and limit of the area. Usually, it mentions the administrative jurisdiction within which the land is recorded and mentions its boundary. The most important problem is to identify the place-names that are found in the inscriptions. From the data of the inscription, the place-names, roughly, could be identified. It is also difficult to define exact boundary of the villages, fields, administrative centers and country. I have tried to define the boundaries of the below mention place-names with the help of the identifications made by various scholars earlier.

MENTIONED NAMES OF VARIOUS GRANTS OF MAINAMATI

THE GRANT OF BALABHATTA

Name of the mentioned places

- 1.Katakaśīla
- 2.Devaparvata
- 3.Dhanalakṣmītalapāṭaka

Name of the mentioned river

- 1.Kṣīrodā

THE GRANT OF ĀNANDA DEVA

Name of the mentioned places

1. Kāmarūpa
2. Srīkṣetra
3. Vasantapur
4. Peranāṭana Viṣaya
5. Samatata
6. Oḍḍayana
7. Salihrada pattana
8. Magadha

THE GRANT OF BHAVA DEVA

Name of the mentioned places

1. Peranāṭana Viṣaya
2. Devaparvata

THE GRANT OF SRĪ LAḌAHA CANDRA DEVA

Name of the mentioned places

1. Prāgjyotiṣa
2. Gauda
3. Vārāṇasī
4. Vikramapura
5. Paṇḍrabhūkti
6. Samataṭa Maṇḍala
7. Paṭṭikeraka
8. Phullahdā
9. Campāvani
10. Dollavāyikā
11. Buddha-Nandi Grāma

Name of the mentioned rivers

1. Gaṅgā
2. Yamunā
3. Buddhi Gaṅginī

12. Vallesvara
13. Govindoñcama
14. Oḍa-Godhani
15. Godhani
16. Jayalambha Grāma
17. Vappasiṃha Voraka Grāma
18. Guptinātana
19. Karavatti Voraka
20. Vaggurabhoga
21. Dhṛtipura Haṭṭika
22. Mahādeva Grāma

THE GRANT OF SRĪ LAḌAHA CANDRADEVA

Name of the mentioned places	Name of the mentioned rivers.
1. Prāgjyotiṣa	1. Gaṅgā
2. Gauda	2. Yamunā
3. Vārāṇasī	
4. Pauṇḍrabhūkti	
5. Samatāṭa Maṇḍala	
6. Vikramapura	
7. Peranātana Viṣaya	
8. Māyupāṭaka	
9. Brāhmaṇadeva Voraka Grāma	
10. Kaṇṣārokaddapolaka Grāma	
11. Paṭṭikeraka	
12. Sura Voraka Grāma	

THE GRANT OF SRĪ GOVINDA CANDRADEVA

Name of the mentioned places

1. Vaṅga
2. Gauda
3. Vārāṇasī
4. Vikramapura
5. Paunḍrabhūkti
6. Samatāṭa Maṇḍala
7. Peranātana Viṣaya
8. Śāharatalāka

Name of the mentioned river

1. Lauhitya

THE GRANT OF SRĪ VĪRADHARA DEVA

Name of the mentioned places

1. Paunḍravarddhanbhūkti
2. Samatāṭa Maṇḍala
3. Vātagaṅgā Viṣaya
4. Gaṅgā Maṇḍala Viṣaya
5. Adhavaśā Grāma
6. Meśvārvartā Grāma
7. Nāroraṅka

THE GRANT OF RAṆAVAṆKAMALLA HARIKĀLA DEVA

Name of the mentioned places

1. Bejakhaṇḍa.
2. Pattikera.

NAME OF THE MENTIONED PLACES AND RIVERS FROM THE MAINAMATI COPPER-PLATE GRANTS INSIDE OF SAMATAṬA

Name of the Places

1. Paṇḍrabhūkti / Paṇḍravarddhanabhūkti
2. Vaṅga
3. Samataṭa Maṇḍala
4. Peranāṭana Viṣaya
5. Gaṅgāmaṇḍala Viṣaya
6. Vātagaṅgā Viṣaya
7. Devaparvata
8. Vasantapura
9. Vikramapura
10. Guptināṭana
11. Paṭṭikerā
12. Śalīhrada pattana
13. Dhanalakṣmitāla pāṭaka
14. Māyupāṭaka
15. Campāvani
16. Phullahadā
17. Dollavāyikā
18. Govindoñcama
19. Oḍa-Godhani
20. Godhani
21. Katakasīla
22. Śāharatalaka
23. Karavatti Voraka
24. Sura Voraka Grāma
25. Brāhmaṇadeva Voraka Grāma
26. Kaṇsārokadda polaka Grāma
27. Vappasimha Voraka Grāma

28. Jayalambha Grāma
29. Mahādeva Grāma
30. Buddha-Nandi Grāma
31. Adhavasā Grāma
32. Meśvāvartā Grāma
33. Vaggurabhoga
34. Valleśvara
35. Nārora
36. Bejakhaṇḍa
37. Dhṛtipura Haṭṭika

NAME OF THE RIVERS

1. Gaṅgā
2. Yamunā
3. Lauhitya
4. Kṣīrodā
5. Buddhi Gaṅginī

NAME OF THE PLACES OUT SIDE OF SAMATAṬA

1. Kāmarūpa
2. Prāgjyotiṣa
3. Srikṣetra
4. Oḍḍayana
5. Magadha
6. Gauda
7. Vārāṇasī

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PLACE-NAMES MENTIONED IN THE MAINAMATI COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

PAUNDRABHUKTI

The name of Paundra-bhukti was found in all the copper-plate grants of Candra dynasty of SouthEast Bengal. The Candra rulers, who ruled in south-eastern Bengal and we do not have any record of their rule in Northern Bengal. All the records of Candra ruler have granted land under Paundrabhukti. From the internal evidence of the grants, it can be safely generalised that the lands lay in the Dhaka Madaripur, Comilla-Noakhali and Sylhet area of south-eastern Bengal. So, the Paundrabhukti comprised the south-eastern Bengal. The full name of the Paundra-bhukti was Paundravarddhanabhukti (c.f. Mainmati copper-plate grant of Viradharadeva). The main city of Paundranagar identified with Mahasthangara in Bogra district of Bangladesh. According to Ray Chaudhuri, "it seems to have been the biggest administrative division or province of the Gauda Empire. It extended from the summit of the Himalayas (*Himāvacchikhārā* of a Dāmodarpur plate) in the north to Khādi in Sundarvan region in the south"¹.

We have already referred to the Nalanda inscription of Vipulasrimitra which belongs to the first half of the 12th century A.D. Vipulasrimitra was disciple's disciple of Asokamitra. Asokamitra was a disciple of Maitrisrimitra. Maitrisrimitra was again a disciple of Karunasrimitra, about whom, we are told that he died at Somapura calsping the feet of the Buddha when that place was set on fire by the armies of Vangala (E.I, Vol-XXI , P-97). This Somapura has been identified with Paharpura in the Rajshahi district of Bengal². This Paharpur is not very far from Mahasthangarh. According to Wilson the ancient kingdom of Pundra desa included the district of Rajshahi Dinajpur, Rangpur Malda Bogra and Trihut³. According to other authorities the country of Pundra or Pundravarddhana was situated between the rivers Mahananda and the Karatoya. Farguson has shown that the region of Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bogra formed the ancient Pudravardhana, in short, it was North Bengal. Cunningham has

identified the capital with Mahasthanagad on the Karatoya River, twelve miles south of Barddhankuti and seven miles to the north of Bogra, in the district of Bongra and also with Pabna. According to *Rajatarangini* (Book IV) Puṇḍravarddhana was the capital of Gaud in the eighth century A. D. when it was visited by Jayapida, king of Kasmir during the reign of Jayanta.

VAṄGA AND VAṄGĀLA

In ancient literature, there is no specific name for the present entire Bangladesh. It consisted of a group of small regions. They were all known by different names. According to the Pūrāṇas and the great Epic⁴, the sage Dierghatamas had married king Ball's Śūdra nurse and had Kakṣivant and other sons; and at Ball's desire begot on the queen Sudeṣna five sons, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, who were called the Baleya Kṣatras and also Baleya Brāhmaṇas and who came as the founders of five respective countries in their names. In the Matsya Pūrāṇa, Vaṅga and Suhma are included in the list of eastern countries (chap 114, 43-45 and c.f. also Mbh. Bhīṣma Parva. chap. 9, 46), where the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas were mentioned as east Indian peoples (c.f. Rāmayaṇa, Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, canto xlii), the Puṇḍras are mentioned as an Eastern people⁵. Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Tamralipti mentioned as separate kingdoms (c.f. Mbh Sabhā Parva chap 29). It is also mentioned in the Sabhā Parva that the Pāṇḍavas were credited to have subverted the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas and led their victorious army to Suhma (Mbh, Sabha. P, chap. 30, 23-25). The King Jarasandha was said to have extended his superemacy over the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Puṇḍras. (Mbh. XII chap 5, 6607). Karna was also once credited to have conquered the Suhmas, Angas and Vangas (Mbh Karna P, chap 8, 19). In the Droṇa Parva (Mbh, chap- 10-15), Vāsudeva was said to have once routed in battle the Angas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Puṇḍras alongwith other peoples. In the time of Vallalaśen (12th century A. D.), the present Bangal consisted of four Kingdoms i.e Radha (west Bengal), Varendra (North Bangal), Vāgadi (present Medinipur district) and Vaṅga⁶.

The Kavyamīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara (chap 3 and 17) a work of the tenth century A. D, also mentions Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra etc, as Janapadas of the

east An almost contemporary reference to the Vaṅga people was made by Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamśa* where Raghu is credited to have conquered the Vaṅgas⁷. After he had finished his task with the Suhmas and planted his victorious banner in the midstream of the Ganges (canto iv 35-36) Before sometime of Yuan Chwang it is mentioned in *Vṛhat Saṁhita* of Varāhamihira that there were separate kingdoms in Vaṅga i.e. Suhma, Samatāṭa, Lohitya, Gaudaka (Gauda), Paundra, Tāmralipti and Bardhaman⁸. Mostprobably, the name of Vaṅgaa first mentioned in *Aitareya Ārāṇyaka* of the Ṛg-Veda. The name of the Vaṅga tribe is certainly found in the Bodhayans Dharmaśūtra (I.I, 14 ; of oldenberg Buddha 394, n). It was mentioned that Vaṅgas were impure alongwith Puṇḍras, Kalingas, Sauvīras and Arattas⁹. In Jain *Prajñāpāna*, which ranks Aṅgas and Vaṅgas, as Āryans. Vaṅga is really the name of the people who inhabited this region from a remote past¹⁰. It, therefore, appeared that in the period represented by Epics, Pūrāṇas and from above mentioned references Vaṅga was the important kingdom of Bengal. But it is difficult to define exactly the geographical position of the Vaṅga.

The Vaṅga country is also referred in the Mahakūṭa pillar inscription (E. I, Vol-V), which tells us that in the 6 th century A. D. Kirtivarman of the Chalukya dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, and Magadha, which were three neighbouring countries¹¹.

The Edilpurr copper-plate of Kesava Sena records the grant of a village called Talapada pataka situated in Vikramapura of Vaṅga under Paundravarddhana province¹². It, therefore, appears that Vikramapura, more widely known at present Munshiganj district, was under Vaṅga region. The famous Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited India in the beginning of the second quarter of the 7 th century A. D. He did not mention the name of Vanga but mentioned the name of Samatata. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna cintāmaṇi* (IV, 23), mentioned "*Vaṅgāstu Harikeliyāḥ*". But in *Manjusrimulakalpa*, Buddhist work mentioned that Harikela, Samatāṭa and Vaṅga were separated from each other¹³. Banerji supports Yasodhara's commentary on the Kāmasūtra in the Jayamangala (Kamasutra Chowkhamba, Sanskrit Book Depot, P- 295), namely *Vaṅga Lohityat purveṇa; Aṅga Mahanadyah purveṇa; Kalinga Gauda - Viśyad = dakṣiṇena*¹⁴. According to the Jaina Pannavana. Tāmalitti

was included in Vanga¹⁵. Law suggests that "Vaṅga is roughly represented by modern Decca and Chittogong divisions but it seems that the western boundary extended still further"¹⁶. Paul appears that "at the present state of our knowledge, the rivers Hoogly and Brahmaputra seem to be the western and eastern boundaries and in the north, it was Varendra while in the south it was Bay of Bengal"¹⁷. Buchanan says that "Banga, from which Bengal is a corruption, is applied only to the eastern portion of the delta of the Ganges as Upabanga is to the center of this territory and Anga to its western limits"¹⁸. According to Daji, Vaṅga was the country between the Brahmaputra and the Padma. Bengal was divided in to five provinces: Pundra or North Bengal; Samatata or East Bengal; Karnasuvarṇa or west Bengal; Tāmralipta or south Bengal; Kāmarūpa or Assam (Yuan Chwang). According to General Cunningham, the province of Bengal was divided four separate districts after the Christian era. These divisions attributed to Ballala Sena; Barendra and Banga to the north of the Ganges and Rādha and Bāgdi to the south of the river (but see J. A. S. B. 1873, p- 211); the first two were separated by the Brahmaputra and the other two by the Jalingi branch of the Ganges, Barendra, between the Mahananda and Karatoya corresponds to Pundra, Banga to East Bengal, Rādha (to the west of the Bhagirathi), to Karnasuvarṇa and Bagdi (Samatata of Hiuen Tsiang and Bhati of the Akbarnama) to south Bangal¹⁹. Pargiter suggests that Vaṅga must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, Parts of Rajshahi, pabna and Faridpur²⁰. According to George Birdwood, Vaṅga originally included the districts of Bordwan and Nadia. Basak suggests that "during the 7 th century A. D. when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited India (629- 48 A. D.) The name Samatata represented these countries, i.e. Vaṅga and itself"²¹. The name of Vanga has lastly come to our knowledge from the Mainamati copper-plate grants of Ladaha Candra and Govinda Candra.

From above dicussion it is clear that the name of Vanga came in the light from Vedic period. It was famous and prosperous country from the very beginning. Samatata and Harikela were just Maṇḍala. Mostprobably, Vanga consisted of a group of Maṇḍalas (Divisions). But earlier Samatata and Harikela had separate political status. According to Yaung Chauang and from the description, it is understood that Samatata and Harikela were situated on eastern side of Lauhitya River (i.e. present

Brahmaputra Nada). Therefore, most probably, Brahmaputra River was the eastern boundary of the Vaṅga country.

After the rising of Candra dynasty, the name of Vanga used in broader sense. From epigraphic evidences the kings of Candra dynasty, ruled over Harikela, Samatāṭa, Candr-dvīpa and Vaṅga of which capital city was situated in Vikramapura, in present Munshiganj, district near Dhaka City. These mentioned countries are situated in southeastern Bengal. It is likely that spreading the power over these countries, the name of Vaṅga was used in broader sense. From epigraphic evidences, it is well established that Pundra naga i.e, Varendra is situated in northwestern side of present Bengal. And present Mahasthagara is the Pundra Nagar City. So it is understood that the Yamuna was the western boundary, the Brahmaputra was the norther and eastern boundary and Padma was the southern boundary of Vanga in ancient period.

The name of Vangala is not found in any early records or any religious works. In the 16th century, however, Abul Fazal says " The original name of Baṅgāl (= Vaṅgāla) was Baṅga (= Vaṅga). Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth, throughout the province, which were called *al*. From this suffix the name (i.e. Bangala) took its rise and currency"²² (Jarrett, Ani .i- Akbari. Trans. II p- 120). Paul believes that "Vaṅga and Vaṅgāl can not be regarded as two separate countries. Vaṅgal seems to be an etymological variation of Vaṅga probably made by the southerners and foreigners"²³. The Nesari plates of 805 A. D. suggest that "the name of Vaṅgāla (apparently indicating the original territory of the palas in the Buckergunge region) was known even in earlier times, though it does not appear to have been popular in the sense of the eastern part or whole of Bengal before the rise of the Candras. This was popularised in the sense first of East Bengal, and then in that of the whole of Bengal by the Muslims"²⁴.

In Tirumalai Rock inscription of Rajendra Chola mentioned the name of Vangala-desā. Hultzsch indicates that Vaṅgāla-deśa, where the rain wind never stopped (and from which), Govinda Candra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant, elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to fight on a hot battle fied Mahipala decked (as he was)

with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets"²⁵. There is no room for doubt that this Govinda Candra is identical with the Govinda Candra of Mainamati copper plate. The Tirumalai inscription says about the expedition of conquest by Rajendra Chola. "The king first invaded Takkana ladam and forcibly attacked Ranapura, then turned to Vangala-desa from where Govinda Candra fled, afterwards met Mahipala and put him to that fight in a hot battle, and therefore, invaded Uttara-ladam as far as the Ganga. This shows Vaṅgāla-deśa was situated in southern half of East Baṅgāl and that the Chola king defeated Mahipal in the northern half thereof"²⁶. Bhattasali says "the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola throws interesting light on the political condition of Bengal during the period of the invasion by the Chola Emperor. The invader found one Dharmapala ruling over Daṇḍabhukti, roughly the present district of Midnapur. Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha i.e. the district of Howrah and Hooghly was then ruled by a king of the Sura family, named Ranapura. After having destroyed the first and defeated the second, the invader appears to have crossed the Bhagirathi and entered the Vangala-desa ruled over by king Govinda Candra. The Vaṅgāla king boldly met the invader. The weather appears to have fought in this favour by some heavy showers, as they find particular mention in the Tirumalai inscription. But nothing availed, and Govinda Candra had ultimately to get down from his royal elephant and flee, when the day turned against him. The invader then appears to have turned his arms against Mahipal I, lord of Varendri, north of Gangas. The Pala army, led by Mahipal in person, met the Chola army and a hot engagement ensued. Mahipala also shared the same fate as the Vaṅgāla king Govinda Candra, and the invader captured a number of women and elephants. He then re-crossed the Padma (Ganges) and entered Uttara-Rāḍha, present Murshidabad and Birbhum districts, and again reached the banks of the Bhagirathi and returned home by the very route through which he had advanced"²⁷.

From this fact, it is clear that the Candra kings of south-east Bengal ruled over Samatata, Harikela. Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla-desa (c.f. Copper-plates of Śrī-candra, Lādaha Candra Govinda Candra and Trumalai Rock inscription of Rajendra Chola). From the Tirumalai inscription, it indicates that the location of Vangala is in southern portion of Bengal. Roychowdhury suggests that "Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are two separate countries and suggested that Vaṅgāla was probably identical with Candradvīpa"²⁸. The Ablur

inscription of Kalacurya Vijjala (1157-67 A.D) mentions Vanga and Vangala separately²⁹. Hammira Mahakavya of Nayacandra suri (15 th century), which mentions Vanga and Vangala side by side³⁰. The Goharwa plates of the Kalachuri King Karnadeva³¹, the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola³² the Nalanda inscription of Vipulasrimitra³³ indicate the name of Vangala.

From the Nesari plates, the name Vaṅgāla has first come to our knowledge. The plate was dated in beginning of the 9th century A. D. From the beginning of the 9th century the name Vaṅgāla was well known and prosperous country. The Candradvīpa is now well established which is identical with Buckergunj district of Barishal division. Most probably, the name of Candradvīpa had come from the Candra of the Candra dynasty. It is noted that Trailokya Candra of Candra dynasty was first spread his power over that island (c.f.Copper plate grant of Sri Candra). Mostprobably, from that time that island was named by Candradvīpa. Southern Baṅgal also consisted of a group of small region in ancient time. It is essential to mention that the greater Faridpur and Barishal districts are southern Bengal. Most probably, these greater districts were known as Vaṅgāla. But the name Vaṅgāla was used in broader sense when the Candra dynasty was spread their power over south-eastern Bengal i.e., southern Bengal, Vaṅga, Samatāṭa and Harikela.

From the south Indian inscriptions, name Vaṅgāl has come to our Knowledge. At the same time, Mainamati copper-plates of Laḍaha Candra and Govinda Candra indicated the name Vaṅga. It is also mentioned that at the time of Laḍaha Candra and Govinda Candra, the Vaṅga was gradually rising to prosperity pre-eminence and peace. So, it is clear that Vaṅga was the whole of south-eastern Bengal.

From the points of view, Vaṅgāla -deśa or Vaṅgāla and Vaṅga are identical in the 11th century A. D. From the Vaṅga, Vaṅgāla, Vaṅgāla -deśa, it now presents Vaṅgāla -deśa i.e. Bangaladesa.

SAMATĀṬA

The name of the country, Samatāṭa, mentioned for the first time on the Allahabad Posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta³⁴ as one of the most important among the north-east Indian frontier kingdoms which submitted to the

mighty Gupta emperor. It was mentioned about the middle of the fourth century A. D. Samatāṭa was associated with Davaka, Kāmarūpa³⁵, Nepal³⁶. It is also mentioned in that plate that the king of Samatāṭa giving all taxes and obeying (his) orders and going to perform obeisance. So, it is clear that the king of Samatāṭa was a feudatory king under Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century A. D. The Brhat Samhita, the work of 6th century, mentioned the name of Samatāṭa, was separated from Vaṅga³⁷. The river Lauhitya, Samatāṭa, Prāgjyotiṣa and the Bhadrās are mentioned to the east³⁸.

Samatāṭa is mentioned in the Karmāvibhāga of the Brhat Samhita (chap- XIV) as an eastern country and was visited by Yuang Chwang, I-tsing and Seng-Chi, the celebrated Chinese travellers³⁹. The famous Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang visited Samatāṭa between 637-39 A. D. ⁴⁰ It was mentioned by Yuang Chwang that from Kāmarūpa, Yuan Chwang went south and after a journey of 1200 li or 1300 li reached the country of Sa- mo-ta-ch. (Samatāṭa) ⁴¹. The country, Samatāṭa was about 3000 li in circuit and the capital of the country was about 20 li in round. This country which was on the seaside and was low and moist. It was regularly cultivated and was rich in crops and flowers and fruits grew everywhere. The climate was soft and the habits of the people agreeable. The men were hard by nature and of black complexion. It had more than 30 Buddhist monasteries and above 2000 priests. They were all of the "*Sthavira*" School. There were some hundreds Deva temples, in which sectaries of all kinds of live. The naked ascetics called *Nirgranthas* are most numerous. Not far out of the city was a stupa which was built by Asokaraja. In this place, *tathāgata* in former days preached the deep and mysterious law for seven days for the good of the Devas. Beside this, were vestiges of a sitting and an exercise place of the four Buddhas. Not far from this in a monastery, was a figure of Buddha of green jade. It was eight feet high showing all the distinctive characteristics and exercising marvelous powers⁴².

The pilgrim then names in succession six countries beyond Samatāṭa : these were not visited by him but he gained information about them at Samatāṭa. These six countries are 1. Shi-li-cha-ta-lo, the north-east among the hills near the sea, 2. South east from this on a Bay of the sea Kiā-mo-laṅ-kiā, (3) To-lo-po-ti, to the east of the

preceding, (4) East from To-lo-po-ti was I-shang-na-pu-lo (5) To the east of this was mo-ha-chanpo, the lin-yi of the chinese and 6. To the south west of this was the Yen-mo- na- cheu⁴³. For instance" in the Si-Yu-Ki, Hiuen Tsiang (Records II 200) says that to the north east of Samatāṭa is the country called Srikṣetra to the south-east of this is Kamalaṅka, to the east of this is Darapti (read Dvarapati)"⁴⁴. The capital of Samatāṭa (San - mo - ta - cha), is placed at from 1200 - 1300 li or 200 - 217 miles to the south of Kāmarūpa and 900 li or 150 miles to the east of Tamralipti or Tamluk⁴⁵. The famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tasang, who came Samatāṭa about 635 A. D. speaks of 20 Buddhist monasteries in Puṇḍravarddhana or North Bengal, and 30 more in Samatata or south Bengal⁴⁶. It, therefore, indicates that the kingdom Samatāṭa was very famous in the beginning of the second quarter of the 7th century A. D. "Seng -chi a priest, went to India by the southern sea route and arrived at Samatāṭa. The king of that country named Rājabhata (or Patu), a Upasaka, greatly revered the three objects of worship and devoted himself to his religious duties"⁴⁷. The king Rājabhata most probaly, is identical with the Rājarājabhātṭa of Ashrafpur copperplate. His main capital city was in Karmānta, which is identified with Badakamta of the Comilla district. Raychaudhuri suggests that "the kingdom of Samatata in the 7th century A. D. may be reasonably regarded as having comprised the area bounded by the old course of the lower Brahmaputra River in the north., Chittagong Hills in the east, and the Bay of Bengal on the south. A branch of the old Gangess (Padma) corresponding to modern Gorai and Madhumati rivers"⁴⁸ perhaps formed the western boundary. Bhattasali seems that "we remember that natural barriers such as mountains and river marked off one kingdom from another in those days, we can not but accept the plain tract of land bounded by the Garo and the Khasi Hills and the hills of Tippera or the north and east by the Lauhitya or the old Brahmaputra river on the west and by the bay of Bangal on the south as the ancient kingdom of Samatata"⁴⁹. Dani suggests that Samatāṭa Maṇḍala is generally supposed to include the trans Meghna tracts⁵⁰. According to Law⁵¹, Samatata is identical with delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and must have comprised, according to epigraphic evidence the modern district of Tipperah, Noakhali, Sylhet (J. A. S. B. 1915, pp - 17 - 18) and portions probably of Barishal. According to Watters,

Samatāṭa is situated to the south of Dhaka in the district of the modern Faridpur⁵². Bhandarkar suggests that "it (Samatāṭa) is taken as comprising the delta of the Ganges and Bramhputra, of which the Jessore District forms the central portion. Its capital Karmmāṭa has been indentified with Kāntā in the Comilla district by Bhattasali (J. A.B. S. 1914, P.P-85f.f.)⁵³. Cunningham suggests that "Samatāṭa must be the Delta of the Ganges; and as the country is described as 3000 li or 500 miles in circuit it must have included the whole of present Delta, or traingular tract between the Bhagirathi River and the main strem of the Ganges⁵⁴".

From the stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta dated in the middle of the 4th century A. D. It has come to light that Samatāṭa is situated in the eastern side of Bengal. The Gunāighar copper-plate inscription⁵⁵ of Vainyagupta, dated in the beginning of the 6th century A. D. was issued from Kripura (some where in Tripura), and the grant was discovered from a village tank at Gunāighar. The name of the village Gunikāgrahara was mentioned in the plate, which might by identified with present Gunāighar. The donated lands of this grant were situated in the Uttara Maṇḍalika. It might be mentioned in the northern side of Samatāṭa Maṇḍala. From this fact, it is clear that western part of present Tripura and present Comilla were under Samatāṭa Maṇḍala. Another copper-plate grant of Vainya Gupta was also found in the Salvan Vihāra at Mainamati. The Ashrafpur copper plate grants⁵⁶ of king Devakhaḍga were issued from the royal residence at Karmanta. It is identified with Baḍakāmtā near Mainamati. it has come to light from these grants that Vikarpura area of Dhaka Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla were not included in Samatāṭa. A gold plated Śārvvāni image caused to be made by Deva Khadga's queen Prabhavati was found in Deulbadi about 14 miles to the south of Comilla town. Bhattasali suggests that "Ashrafpur is near the bank of the old and the real Brahmaputa, the find place of two plates of Deva Khadga and Deulbadi sixty miles south east almost at the foot of the hills of Tippera, the find place of the present image mark respectively the western and eastern limits of Samatāṭa the kingdom of the Khaḍgas⁵⁷". Chaudhuri says that "The Gunāighar plate does not naturally contain any reference to the Pundravarddhanabhukti as by it land was granted in the Comilla area of south eastern Bengal⁵⁸. Another three copper-plate grants of Khaḍga dynasty were discovered from Sālvan Vihāra of Mainamati. From all

these evidences, it shows that the Khadga kings ruled over Samatāṭa Maṇḍala which was situated on the eastern side of Lauhitya i.e. old Bramhputra. The Kailan copper plate of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta was found in the village of Kailan 18 miles south - west of Comilla town and was issued from Devaparvata which was situated on the bank of the river Kṣīrodā. The river Kṣīrodā is identified with the modern Khirā or Khirani which is a dried up river and branching off from the Gomati river just west of the town of Comilla. The copper plate grant of Ānānada Deva was found in Sālvan Vihāra excavation. It is known from the plate that Vasantapura was the newly constructed capital city of the king Ānānada Deva. Most probably Devaparvata was the old Capital City. The copper plate grant of Bhava Deva was discovered from Sālvan Vihāra of Mainamati. This grant was also issued from Devaparvata and dated in eighth century A. D. The paścimbhāg copper-plate grant of Śrī Candra which mentions Devaparavata situated on the river of Ksiroda in Samatāṭa. It mentions also the name of the forest of Lālāmvi. There is no doubt that this Lālāmvi is identical with Lamai of Comilla district. From these facts, there is no room for doubt that greater Comilla region was under Samatāṭa Maṇḍala.

Mainamati copper plate grants of Laḍaha Candra, Govinda Candra, Raṇavaṅkamall Harikāla Deva and Vīradhara Deva and Mehar plate of Dāmodara Deva and Sobharampur plate of Damodara Deva all of the grant recorded lands under Samatata Mandala.

The Samatāṭa was just as a Mandala (Division). From epigraphic evidences it shows that a group of Mandala like Samatāṭa Mandala under independent ruling dynasties (like Candra dynasty). It does not find the name of Samatāṭa Maṇḍala in Indian geography after the 13th century A. D.⁵⁹.

From the references of Brahat Saṁhihitā, a description of famous Chinese traveler, epigraphic evidences, it has come to light that from very beginning Samatata Maṇḍala was a separate kingdom from Candradvīpa, Vikramapura, Vaṅga, Vaṅgāla and Harikela. It was an easternmost kingdom, which was bounded by the Lauhitya river in the west and north Harikela Maṇḍala on the north east Tripura and Chittagong hills on the east and the Bay of Bengal on the south.

HARIKELA

The name of Harikela was found in the Rampal and Dhulla copper plate grants of Sri Candra. The lexicographer Hemachandra identifies the Harikela and Harikali contury with Vaṅga and in the passage "*Vaṅgāstu Harikelīay*" in his *Abhidhana Cintamani*⁶⁰ (12 th century A. D.). But in *Manjusrimulklapa*, Budhist work of 8 th, century mentioned that Harikela, Samatāṭa and Vaṅga were separated from each other but neighbouring contury⁶¹. It is undoubtedly an earlier tradition regarding the location of that country is preserved in Kesava's *Kalapadrukosa* which says "*Śrīhaṭṭo Harikelih syach = chhrihato = pikvachid = bhave*⁶²". In *Karpuramanjuri* of Rajshekharā (9th century A. D.), which praises the women of Harikela region and also mentions that they were the inhabitants of the east⁶³. In *Dakarnav*⁶⁴ it mentioned that there were sixty-four "*Tantrik Pīṭha*". One of them was in Harikela and this Harikela was separated from Tikkara Khāḍi, Rāḍha and Vaṅgāla-desā. Thre are two Manuscripts (15th century A. D.) in the University of Dhaka library collection. One is *Rudrakṣa Mahāṭya* (No - 2141 B, Folio 1) and another one is *Rūpacintāmonikośa* (No - 1451 Folio- 15A). Both of the manuscripts mention that Harikela is synonymous with Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) adjacent to Kāmarūpa⁶⁵. In 7th century A. D. the famous Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing came to Harikela and stayed there for one year. Harikela is reffered to by I-tsing as the eastern limit of Eastern India. From here, he went to Mahabodhi Nalanda and Tiladha⁶⁶. Basak suggests that Harikela was identical with Vaṅga in 10 th -11th century whose capital was Vikramapura in those centuries⁶⁷. According to a map from Japan, in 18th century A. D., Harikela was situated in the southern side of Tamralipti⁶⁸. From the Rampal copper plate grant of Srī Candra, it appears that Purna Candra and Suvarṇa Candra were the first and second kings of Rohitagiri. i.e. Mainamati-Lalmai area and Trailokyā Candra, son of Suvarṇa Candra spread his power over Harikela and become a king of Candradvīpa. Paul suggests that "it was contiguous to Candradvīpa and Harikela might have included some portion of Bakerganj and Noakhali districts⁶⁹". But from the present information, Harikela is situated on the northeastern side of Samatāṭa and Candradvīpa is situated on the southwestern side of Samatāṭa. It, therefore, clear that Samatāṭa is situated in between Candradvīpa and Harikela. Chittagong copper-plate grant of Kāntideva⁷⁰ disclosed

the fact that Harikela was a Mandala i.e. Division. So, it is undoubtedly true that Harikela was a separate kingdom from Samatata and Vaṅga.

From the epigraphic evidences it appears that present Sylhet division (i.e. S'rihatta), was the Harikela Maṇḍala, is situated in the north eastern side of present Comilla district. Before arising the power of Candra dynasty (i.e. up to the beginning of 10th century), Harikela was a separate kingdom. When Trilokya Candra and his son S'ri Candra spread their power over Vaṅga, Vaṅgāla, Candradvīpa, Samatata, and Harikela by that time the name of Vaṅga was applied in a wider sense.

CANDRADVĪPA

The name of Candradvīpa was found in the Rampal and Dhulla copper-plate grants of Sri Candra. The name Candradvīpa, was first noticed from the Rampal copper-plate grant of S'ri Candradeva. It mentions that Trailokya Candra, son of Suvarṇa Candra of Candra dynasty, was like Dilipa became a king of Candradvīpa and was the supporter of the Harikela king. Foucher reads, a manuscript, the work of 1015 A.D., on the obverse side as "*Harikela-deśe: -Śīla-Lokañatah*"⁷¹. Or, "the Śīla-Lokañātha in the country of Harikela" and on the reverse side as "*Candradvīpe Bhagavati Tārā*" or, the goddess Tara⁷² in Candradvīpa. Candradvīpa is situated in southern Bengal. From the Tirumalai Rock inscription of the king Rajendra Chola I, it has come to light that Vaṅgāla- deśa i.e, Southern Bangal was under the Candra King ie Govinda Candra. It therefore, seems to appear that the name Vaṅgāla-deśa was used in broader sense and by that time Candradvīpa was under Vangala-deśa. It is also noted that. Vikramapura was the capital city of Govinda Candra. Sahitya Parishat copper plate of Visvarupa Sena⁷³, mostprobably, mentions the name of Candradvīpa. The grant mentions the place name Ghāgharakattī-pāṭaka that was situated in Candradvīpa (Candradvīpa). There is a bazar named Ghāghar-bazar at Kotālipārā thana in Gopalganj district of south Bengal. This bazaar might be identified with Ghāghara Kattīpāṭaka. It is also noted that in that area, there are many villages, which end in Kathi. Paul appears that Candradvīpa and Harikela might have included some portion of Bakerganj and Nokhali districts⁷⁴. But it has discussed in the identification of Samatata that Noakhali region was under Samatata area not in

Bakerganj district. The district of Bakerganj is situated in southern side of Barishal town and the district of Nokhali is situated in the southern side of Comilla district. Sircar suggests that "Trailokya Candra was not a king of Harikela but was the ruler of Candradvipa i.e. Bakla Candradvipa in the present Buckergunje district⁷⁵". Mitra believes to appear that "Candradvipa was another locality in south eastern Bengal and is still a Pargana in the Bakerganj district. It might have included some portion of Khulna district⁷⁶". Bagchi indicates that "Candradvipa might have included some portion of Noakhali district⁷⁷". Majumdar suggests that Candradvipa was the home territory of the Candra dynasty⁷⁸. Bhandarkar⁷⁹ says that the kingdom of Candra family was Candradvipa with its capital at Vikarpura. Bajpai suggests that Candradvipa is identical to Bakla -Candradvipa⁸⁰. Ain-E-Akbari mentions that Bakla Pargana and Candradvipa both of them is same area⁸¹. Alam seems to appear that "most probably Purna Chandra, taking advantage of the declining fortune of the Pala power under Narayana Pala (855-908), conquered portions of lower Bengal in the closing years of 9th century, comprising Patuakhali and Barishal which was later on named Candradvipa after his family name⁸²". But there is no epigraphic evidence that Purna Chandra conquers southern Bengal. From Rampal plate of Sri Candra mentions that Trailokya Candra was a powerful ruler who ruled over Candradvipa and was designated with *Mahārājādhirāja*. From the inscription, it is also clear that Purna Chandra and Suvarna Chandra, were the local rulers of Rohitagiri region and some portion of present Gopalganj district. From above mentioned description and the epigraphic evidences, it seems to appear that Candradvipa named greater Barishal district and Patuakhali district after the Candra's family title.

PATṬIKERA AND PERANĀṬANA

The earliest reference to Patṭikera occurs in the manuscript of *Aṣṭasahasrikā prajñāpāramitā* preserved in Library of the Cambridge University. This manuscript (ed. 1643 A.D.), copied in the year 1015 A. D. contains the picture of a sixteen armed goddess with label "*Patṭikera Cuṇḍāvara Bhavane Cuṇḍā*"⁸³. The name of Patikera is also found in the Mainamati copper-plate grants of Laḍaha Candra and Raṇavāṅkamalla Harikālaḍeva. The ancient character of Mainamati area had come to

our knowledge from an accidental discovery of the grant of Harikaladeva from Mainamati area in 1803 A.D. One Sri Dhadi Eba issued the grant. The inscription records a grant of lands measuring 20 dronas in a village named Bejakhanda, in favour of a Buddhist monastery, dedicated to the goddess **Dūrgottārā**. The monastery was built in the city of Paṭṭikera. The donated property was situated in the village of Bejakhanda. There is a village named **Bejabādi** near the feet of the hills on the west. It might be identified with the village referred to in the plate.

From this grant there is no room for doubt that Paṭṭikera was a city. Both the copper plate grants of Ladaha Candradeva mentioned the name of Paṭṭikera. From the second plate of Ladaha Candra, it came to light that Paṭṭikera was under Peranatana Visaya i.e. the district of Peranātana of Samatata Maṇḍala under Paundrabhukti.

A large number of silver coins were recovered from three hoards from Salvan Vihāra excavation. The coins are inscribed with the legends of Paṭṭikera. Another eight silver coins have already been recovered from Sylhet. The legend on the coins was first read by MacDowall⁸⁴ as *Yārikṛtya*. But Dani⁸⁵ later on read as Paṭṭikera. Phayre has published the coins of Arakan of Pegu and of Burma⁸⁶. There is a similarity among the coins of Arakan and Mainamati. In type, fabric and also on some of the coins have close similarity to these of the Arakanese Candra coins. Khan⁸⁷ seems to believe that some powerful local rulers issued these silver coins of Mainamati in 8th - 9th centuries A. D.

It is certain from the epigraphic evidences that the city of Paṭṭikera, flourished around the area of modern Comilla district between 900 to 1050 A. D. and was an important city during the age of Candra whose existence is now definitely established from the evidence of Candra inscriptions. We also have found the history of Candra dynasty from the history of Lama Taranaths. Though Taranatha mentions them during the period 6th -8th century A. D. But there is no clear evidence to corroborate this statement, yet the dynasty did exist in. It is learnt from the inscription, coins and Burmese chronicles that they ruled in the Arakan region in the seventh century AD even earlier⁸⁸. The existence of a line of Candra kings for 19

generations on a stone pillar, found on the platform of the Shittaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan⁸⁹.

The city of Pattikkera was well known to the 11 th -12 th century in Burmese and Arakanese chroniclers. Anoratha (1044 - 77 A. D.) was one of the most powerful kings in the political history of Burma⁹⁰. According to Hmannan, the kingdom of Anoratha was bounded on west by Patikkara (Arch. Sur. Report of Burma, 1928, P-31), the country Kalas i.e. foreigners⁹¹. Paul seems to think that in eleventh and twelfth centuries the kings of Burma had important political and social relations with the eastern part of Bengal i.e. the east of Brahmaputra⁹². Burmese chronicles also unmistakably show cultural and political relations of Burma with Pateikara. The same text narrates the romantic love story of the prince of Pateikkara whose love for Shweinthe the only daughter of king Kyanzittha (1084-1112 A.D.) cost him his life⁹³. In spite of the wish of the Burmese king, the marriage was impossible between the prince of Pateikkara and the princess of Burma due to the political issue, But Alaungsithu (1112-1187 AD) the son of prince Shweinthe, undoubtedly, had as one of his queens, a princess of Pateikkara⁹⁴. The king Narathu (1187-1191 A.D.) the son and successor of Alaungsithu, killed this Pateikkara princess, the widow of his father⁹⁵. After hearing the news of the death of the Pateikkara princess, the king of Pateikkara decided to take revenge of his daughter's murder and sent eight faithful and desperate soldiers as disguised Brahmins to Pagan the capital city of Burma. All the Brahmins went into the king's place as if to bless the king and they killed him. All the soldiers killed themselves⁹⁶. Pattikera Princes and Princesses figure in the romances and tragedies, has become subject matter of some extremely popular tales, annals, poems and melo-dramas in Burma which are popular even today. It is true that this chronicle shows the political and cultural relation between Burma and Pattikera.

According to Bhattacharya, "the city of Pattikera was apparently situated somewhere in the Lalmai and Mainamati Hills where the plate was discovered and gave the name to an important pargana in the district of Tippera, still known as Patikara or Paitkara which extends up to the same hills, though the Hills themselves now fall under a separate Pargana named Meherakula. In older documents of the 18th century

the name of the Pargana occurs regularly as either Paṭikera or and Paiṭkera, leaving no room for any doubt on the identification⁹⁷”.

From the epigraphic evidences i.e. copper-plates, coins, Manuscripts, the find-spot of these documents and the ancient structural monuments and the findings of other artifacts, show that Mainamati-Lalmai area was the forgotten city of Paṭṭikera of Samatāṭa Maṇḍala.

ROHITAGIRI

The name of the mountain, Rohitagiri has first come to light from the Rampal⁹⁸ copper-plate of Sri Candra. It is also noticed from the Dhulla plate of Sri Candra⁹⁹. From the Candra grants, it is now well established that Purna Candra was the founder king of Candra dynasty. Purna Candra and his son Suvarṇa Candra, both of them did not titled with *Parameśvara Paramabhāṭṭārake Mahārājādhirāja*. No invasion of them was recorded in any copperplate grants. It, therefore, shows that Purna Candra and his son Suvarṇa Candra were the local ruler of Rohitagiri respectively. Trailokya Candra, son of Suvarṇa Candra, made, first, invasion over Harikela and then Candradvipa and conquered. Ray remarks that Purna Candra ruled in the latter half of the 9th century and came from the Shahabad district of Bihar rests¹⁰⁰. Sircar suggests that the mountain, Rohitagiri, identified with Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar and Trailokya or one of his ancestors migrated to SouthEast Bengal¹⁰¹. Banerjee, identified Rohitagiri with Rotasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar¹⁰². Majumdar remarks that “The Chandras do not seem to have originally belonged to Bengal. In verse ‘2’ it is stated that they were rulers of Rohitagiri, which is identifiable with Rohitasgadh in the Sahabad district of Bihar. They emigrated to Eastern Bengal, and most probably taking advantage of the weakness of the declining Pala power carved out a kingdom for themselves¹⁰³”. Ganguly remarks that “The names of the kings of the Gahadavala dynasty of Kanauj end in Candra. Nobody, however, thinks that they had any connection with the Chandras of East Bengal¹⁰⁴”.

But it is undoubtedly clear from the Rampal and Dhulla copper-plate inscription of Sri Candra that Purna Candra founder of Candra dynasty and Suvarṇa Candra son of Purna Candra, were the rulers of Rohitagiri. After migration, from one place to

another, all on a sudden, nobody can become a king of that new area. It is also noted that no evidences have been found of any Candra kings as ever having ruled in Rohatasgarh of Shabad district in Bihar. But *Rohita* means red or red-coloured and *Giri* means mountain. *Rohitagiri*, therefore, means red-coloured mountain. Pascimbhag copper¹⁰⁵ plate of Sri Candra states that whose soldiers conquered Samatata where was situated the forest of Lalamvi traditionally said to have been filled with sure medicinal herbs". *Lāl* means red and *Ambā* or *Ambi* means mother. Lalambi, means red-mother. In Indian sub-continent, Earth or Bhumi or land is known as mother. The name, Lalmai, is still survived in Comilla district. *Lāl* means red and *māi* means mother. So, Lālāmvī means red-mother. So, there is no room for doubt that Lālmai is identical with Lālāmbi. It is also noted that the name of the *Lohita* (= *Lauhitya*) river is situated on the western side of the kingdom of Samatata and not far from Mainamati-Lalmai hill range. *Lohita* means red or red-coloured. There is a village named Rohitar-par still survived in the district of Candpur, a few miles west from Mainamati-Lalmai hill-range on the bank of the river present Meghna. Rohitar-par might be meant as bank of the river Rohita (= Lohita). From the map of Phon-den-Brook (in 1660 A.D), it appears that Mainamati-Lalmai hill rang was very very near to the river Lauhitya i.e. Brahmaputra in ancient time. The geological description of Mainamati-Lalmai states the colour of the soil is red. From the above discussion, it has come to light that *Rohita*, *Lohita*, *Lauhitya*, *Lālāmvī* and *Lālmai*, all are synonymous. Mitra suggests that Rohitagiri is identical with Rangamati in the Hill Tippera¹⁰⁶. Long ago Bhattasali¹⁰⁷ correctly identified Rohitagiri with the Lalmai range of Comilla district. From all probabilities, it can be concluded that Rohitagiri is identical with Mainamati-Lalmai hill range.

DEVAPARVATA

The name of Devaparvata was first noticed from the copper-plate grant Srīdhārana Rāta¹⁰⁸. It is also mentioned in the Mainamati copper-plate grants¹⁰⁹. Bālabhatta, Bhavadeva and Paścimbhāga copper-plate grant of Srī Candra¹¹⁰. The entire grant mentioned that Devaparvata was situated in Samatata Maṇḍala. It is also noticed that Devaparvata was situated on the bank of the modern river Kṣīrodā. The river Kṣīrodā

is the modern Khirā or Khirnāi a dried up river course still traceable as branching off from the Gumati, just west of the town of Comilla. It flows by the eastern side of the Mainamati hills and skirts the southern end of the hills near the Candi Mura peak, where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hill. The river thus surrounds the southern and of the Mainamati hills, where the ancient hill fort of Devaparvata seems to have been situated and then runs southwest to fall into the Dakatia river¹¹¹.

But Candi Mura is not to be seemed as an administrative center. The detail description of Candi Mura has given in Chapter II. The palace and Temple of Queen Mainamati (ST -1, Local name) is situated on the northernmost limit of the Mainamati Lalmai hill range. The inscription of Bhavadeva indicates that Devaparvata has a raised mound and a temple that reaches upward as if to touch the sky¹¹². Searching for traces of the Ksiroda, old river course, nothing was found within a quarter of a mile of the southern tip. However the old Khira River cut past the northern tip of the hills and drained down the western side of the hills towards the south and extensive deposits of sand were found below this mound in a broad track heading south. About four miles south the track was about one hundred yards in breadth and at least fifteen feet deep (a farmer was digging a well at that point). According to the inscription Devaparvata was the Camp of Victory or the Capital city. The Pakistan Department of Archaeology during 1965-66 excavation season had completed test excavation. From this excavation, it (ST-1) seems to be as an administrative center. So the palace of Queen Mainamati can be identified with Devaparvata.

BEJAKHANDA

The name of a village Bejakhanda was noticed from the Mainamati copper-plate grant of Rāṇavaṅkamalla Harikāla Deva. There is a village near the feet of the hills on the west, which may be identified with the Village Bejakhanda.

VIKRAMAPURA

The name of Vikramapura was found in the Mainamati copper-plate grants of Laḍaha Candra and Govinda Candra and all the Candra copper-plate grants. It is identified with the ruins of Vikramapura in Munshiganj district. Now a days, it is known as Vikramapura. It was the Capital City of Candra dynasty of southeast Bengal.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE RIVER NAMES

GAṄGĀ

The name of the holy River Gaṅgā was found in the Mainamati copper-plate grants of Laḍaha Candra. It is known to all from the very beginning to till today. It is mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda and Aitareya Bramana. (Ṛg-Veda, X, 75; Atitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII, 14,4). The course of the Gaṅges is described with some detail in the Brhat Dharma. P. (Madhya. Kh. ch. 22). The main stream¹¹³ of the river originally passed southwards, after leaving Jahnu Āsrama at Sultanganj, through the channal of the Bhagirathi when with the Jellinghi forms the river Hilgli from Shibganj above Boalia. There are six Jahnus which are allegorical representations of changes in the course of the Ganges: 1st, at Bhairavghati below Gaṅgotri at the junction of the Bhagirathi and Jahnavi (Ram. I. 43); 2nd, at Kanyakubja or Kanaij (Visnu-Dharmottara. P,I,ch,2 8); 3rd, at Jahngira in Sultanganj on the west of Bhagalpur (Arch. S. Rep Xv p 20 Brahad dharma. P, Purva. kh, ch. 6; J.A.S.B, XXXIII, 360); 4th, at Sibganj above Rampur Boalia; 5th, at Gour near Malda (Martin's Eastern India ; Hamiltion's East India gazetteer , S.V. Gour III, 81); 6 th, at Jannagar (Brahmanitala) 4 miles to the west of Nadia, (Navadvipa Parikrama, Chaunder's Travels of a Hindu).

The Ganges after flowing past Triveni, Chagda, Gorla, Baruipur, Rajganj and Diamond Harbour through Adiganga or Tolly's Nala falls into the sea near Sagar Island (Rev.J.Long's Banks of the Bhagirathi. In Calcutta review vi (1846. P. 403; cotton's Calcutta, Old and New)

YAMUNĀ

The name of the river Yamunā was noticed from the copper-plate of grant of Laḍaha Candra. It is also mentioned in the Ṛ. g. Veda and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 14. 4; Rg. Veda, x, 75)

LAUHITYA

The name of the river Lauhitya was found in the copper plate grant of Govinda Candra. The river Lauhitya Samatata, Prāgjyotiṣa and the Bhadrās are mentioned in Br̥hat Samhita to the east¹¹⁴. The Lauhitya is identified with the Brahmaputra. A tributary of this river is even now called Lohit¹¹⁵. It is also mentioned in Mahābārata and Raghuvamśa (Mbh, Bhiṣma. P, Ch. 9; Raghuvamśa, Ch. IV, V. 81). Paraśurāma's axe fell from his hand when he bathed in this river, owing to the sin of killing his mother. According to Kalidasa, the river was the boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa or Gauhati in Assam (Raghuvamśa, IV, V. 81)¹¹⁶

The Principal River of Assam was also known as Lohitya or Lauhitya (B. Ch. 64; Raghu. IV. 81; Yogini Tantra. 2. 2. 119) which formed the eastern boundary of Pragjyotisa¹¹⁷.

KṢĪRODĀ

The name of the river Kṣīrodā was found in the copper-plate grant of Balabhatta. Bhatasali pointed out that the river Ksiroda is the modern Khirā or Khirnāi, a dried up river course still traceable as brunching off from the Gomati just west of the town of Comilla. Sircar suggests that it flows by the eastern side of the Mainamati hills and skirts the southern part of the hills near the Caṇḍī Murā peak, where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hill¹¹⁸. But searching for traces of the Kṣīrodā, Old River course, nothing was found within a quarter of a mile of the southern tip. However, the old Khirā River cut past the northern tip of the hills and drained down the western side of the hills towards the south and extensive deposits of sand were found below this mound in a broad track-heading south. About four miles south, the track was about one hundred yards in

breadth and at least fifteen feet deep (A farmer was digging a well at that point) So. This Khirā could be identified with the Kṣīrodā River.

BUDÐHI GAṄGINĪ

The name of the river Buddhi Gangini was traced in the Mainamati copper-plate grant of Laḍaha Candradeva. According to Dani, "This River need not be the modern Buri Ganga, which flows by the city of Dacca¹¹⁹". There is a river named Budi Nadi (Old River) flows by the north-western side of the Comilla town. At present, it is known as a small river. There are so many big lakes by the side of this river. It shows that in ancient time, it was a big river in Samatata Mandala. Locally it is also known as Budi Ganga Nadi. This Budi Ganga Nadi could be identified with the ancient Buddhi Gaṅginī.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE FOREIGN COUNTRY

KĀMARŪPA AND PRĀGJYOTIṢA

It was mentioned in his travels by Yuang Chwang that from Kāmarūpa, he went to south and after a journey of 1200 li or 1300 li reached the country of 'Sa-mo-ta-ch' (Samatata)¹²⁰. He visited Samatata between 637-39 A. D. Brhat Samhitā, the work of 6th century A.D., it is mentioned that the river Lauhitya, Samatata Prāgjyotiṣ and the Bhadrās are to the east¹²¹. According to Pargitar, the early kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa comprised the major part of modern Assam together with the Jalpaguri, Cochbihar, Rangpur, Bogra, Mymensingh, Dhaka and Tippera districts and parts of the Pabna district in Bengal and probably also the eastern areas of Nepal¹²². The modern district of Kāmarapūr extends from Goalpara to Gauhati. Its capital is called Prāgjyotiṣa in the Pūrāṇa (Kālikā. P. Ch. 38), which has been identified with Kamakhya or Gauhati (J.R.A.S. 1900 p-25) Kamakhya is one of the pithas containing the temple of the celebrated Kamakhya Devi on the Nilla hill or Nilakuta- Parvata (Kālikā P. ch. 62); it is two miles from Gauhati Raja Niladhvaja found another Capital Komotapura (The

modern Kamatapur in Coohbihar, Imp. Gaz. S.V. Rangpur districts). On the opposite or north side of the river Brahmaputra, is situated a hill called Asva Kranta Parvata where Kṛṣṇa is said to have fought with Narakasura (Bṛāhat Dharma. P. Madhya Kh. ch. 10 and Brahma P. ch. 51; JRAS, 1900, p. 25). The temple of Tamresvaridevi or the copper temple called by Buchanan the eastern Kamakhya. On the river Dalpani is situated near the north eastern boundary of the ancient Kalmarupa (J.A.S.B, XVII, P-462). Buchanan suggests that Assam; on the north it included Bhutan on the south it was bounded by the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lakhya and Vanga and included Manipur, Jayantiya, Kachhar and parts of Mymensingh and Sylhet (Buchanans Account of Rangpur in J.A.S.B. 1838 P. I.). Barua refers to Pargiter's views and suggests that the western boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa was the Kosi River in Bihar and that the Purnea district was included in it¹²³.

The views of Pargitar and Barua, however clearly go against the epic and Puranic tradition regarding Vāsudeva (i.e. Vāsudeva, the king of Pūndras). Paundraka, the epigraphic and literary evidence about the location of the land of the Pundras in north Bengal and of Pragjyotisa or Kamarupa in the Brahmaputra valley and the Chinese Tang-Shu and the Kālikā Pūrāṇa and Yogini Tantra, stating clearly that the western boundary of Pragjyotisa-Kamarupa was the river Karatoya¹²⁴. According to Kalika Purana (ch. 38) compiled in the Assam region during the early medieval period Naraka. Son of the god Viṣṇu and the goddess earth was taken to Prāgjyotiṣa near the temple of Kamakhya in the heart of Kāmarūpa. It drove out the Kīrāta inhabitants of the country from the area between the Karatoya in the west and the Dikkaravāsini and Lalitakānta in the east¹²⁵.

According to Yogini-tantra, Kāmarūpa was bounded in the north by the Kanjagiri or Kancanadri (probably the Kaneanjunga) in Nepal in the west by the Karatoya, in the east by the Diksu river or Dikkaravasina, and in the south by the Brahmaputra Sangama or the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lakṣā¹²⁶. The Diksu is no other than modern Dikhu falling in the Brahmaputra near Sivsagar in Assam which the Lakṣā is the modern Lakhya, which joins the Brahmaputra in the Mymensing district of Bangal¹²⁷.

The Mahābhārata (V. 4. 11; xi. 23. 10) states that Bhāgadatta as purva sagarvasin while the Ramayana (IV. 42.30-31) states that Prāgyotiṣapura the city of Bhagadattas father Naraka was situated on the Vāṭha mountain in the sea. The Mahābhārata (II. 26. 9; 33. 9-10) also represents Bhagadatta as the leader of the Cinas, Kirātas, Mleccha and Sāgarānupavāsins. It is, therefore, interesting to note that, in the course of Arjuna's digvijaya in the north, he is said to have defeated Bhagadatta leading the Cinas, Kirātas and Sāgarānupavāsins (Mab.11.26.9) while Bhima in his expedition in the east is said to have reached the Lauhitya valley and defeated the Mleccha rulers and the Sāgarānupavāsins (Mb. II, 30-26-27).

We learn from the Mainamati copper-plate grants of Candras that they had hostile relations not only with the Gaudas but also with the Kāmarpūr. Śrī Candras army entered into the valley of the Lauhitya in order to conquer Kamarupa and evidently reached the interior of Prāgyotiṣa of the country. He is also said to have defeated the king of Prāgyotiṣa. Bhat suggests that Prāgyotiṣa is the region around Gauhati¹²⁸. According to Raghuvamśa (IV.81), it lays on the other bank of the river Lauhitya. Hemacandra tells in his Abhidhanacintamani (IV.22) that Prāgyotiṣa is the same as Kāmarūpa.

In all probabilities it might be suggested that Kamarupa was bounded by the old Brahmaputra on the south, the Karatoya on the west, Himalayas on the north and the Dikhu on the east of which the Capital City was Pārgyotiṣa.

SRIKṢETRA

The name of Srikṣetra was noticed from the Mainamati copper-plate grant of Ānanda Deva of early Deva dynasty. For instance in the Si-Yu-Ki, Hiuen Tsiang (Records ii 200) says that to the north east of Samatata is the country called Srikṣetra, to the south east of this is Kamalanigka, to the east of this is Darapati (read Dvarapti)¹²⁹

ODḌAYANA

The name of Odḍayana was noticed to our knowledge from the copper-plate grant of Ananda deva. There is difference of opinions about the location of oddayana or oddiyana (Uḍḍiyana, Oḍiyana, Oḍyana), region as mentioned in different works and some scholars attempted to located the place in Orissa region others in Kāmarūpa. But in the inscription of Ānanda Deva indicated that Jayabhauti and his forefathers beginning from Pusyabhuti, Pusyabhutis son was Somabhuti left his native land Odḍayana and at first settled in Magadha from where he again migrated to Bengal. From this fact, it most probably appears that Odḍayana is identified with well-known Orissa region instead of Kāmarūpa.

MAGADHA

The name Magadha is known to us from the copper-plate grant of Ānanda Deva. It is the province of Bihar or probably south Bihar (Rāmāyana, Adi. ch. 2, Mbh, Sabha P. Ch. 24). Its western boundary was the river Sona. The name of Magadha first appears in the Atharva Saṁhita, v 22, 14; xv. 2. The ancient capital of Magadha was Girivrajapura¹³⁰ (Modern Rajgir) at the time of Jarasandha who was killed by Bhima one of the five Pāṇḍavas.

The capital was subsequently removed to Pāṭaliputra, which was formerly an insignificant village called by the name of Pataligrama enlarged by Ajatasatru, King of Magadha and contemporary of Buddha, to repeal the advance of the Vrijiis of Vaisali Udayasva the grandson of Ajatasatru is said to have removed the capital from Rajagrah to Patliputra (Vayu P. II ch 37, 369). The country of Magdha extended once south of Ganges from Benares to Monghyr, and southwards as far as Singhbhum. The people of the neighbouring district still call the districts of Patna and Gaya by the name of Maga which is a corruption of Magadha. In the Lalitavistara (ch. 17) Gayasirsha is placed in Magadha. it was originaly inhabited by the Cheras and the Kols who were considered Asuras by the Āryans. After the Andhrabhrtiyas of Pāṭaliputra, the Guptas reigned in Magadha. According to Cunningham, the Gupta era commenced in 319 A.D, when Maharaja Gupta ascended the throne, whereas

according to Fleet¹³¹, it commenced in 320 A.D, when Candra Gupta- I ascended the throne of Magadha.

GAUDA

The name of Gauda is noticed in the Mainamati copper-plate grants of Laḍaha Candra and Govinda Candra. It is now well established. The whole of Bengal was denominated eastern Gauda from its capital¹³² of the same name, the ruins of which lie near Malda at a distance of about ten miles. It was situated on the bank of the Ganges. it was the capital of Palas, Senas and the Mhammadam rulers. Cunningham says, "Gonda, a suldivision of Uttara-Kosala forty-two miles south of Sravasti, is a corrupt form of Gauda¹³³.

VĀRĀNASĪ

The name of Vārānasī was recorded in the copper-plate grants of Laḍaha Candra and Govinda Candra. It is now well known to all. It is identical with Benares. Benares is situated at the junction of the river Varṇa and Asi from which the name of the town has been derived (Vamana. P, ch. III). It was formerly situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Gumti (Mbh, Anusasana, ch 30). It was the capital of Kāsi (Ramayana Uttara ch 48) At the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Kāsi formed a part of the kingdom of Kosala. According to James Prinsep, Benares or Kāsi was found by Kasa or Kāsirāja, a descendant of the Pururavas, king of Pratisthana. Benares was conquered by Muhammed Ghouri who defeated Jayachand of Kanauj¹³⁴. "In the 7th century, it was visited by the famous Chinese traveller Yuang Chwang. He has thus described the city and its presiding god Viśveśvara, one of the twelve Great Lingas of Mahadeva. "In the capital there are twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured with stone and cut wood. The foliage of trees combines to shade (the site) The statue of Deva Maheśvara, made of teou-shin (brass) is somewhat less than 100 feet high". The Padma P. (Uttara. ch. 67) mentions the names of Viśveśvara Bindumadhava and Jnanavapi in Kasi. Benares is said to be the birth place Kāsyapa Buddha, but Fa-Hian¹³⁵ says that he was born at Too-wei, which has been identified by

Cunningham¹³⁶, with Tadwa or Tandwa, nine miles to be the west of Sravasti. According to Buddhaghosha, Kasyapa was born at Banaras and died at Mrigadava or modern Sarnath¹³⁷. In Yuavanjaya Jataka (Jatakas Iv. 75), the ancient name of Banaras is said to have been Surandhana, Sudarsana, Brahmavarddhana, Pushpavati. and Ramya.

NON - IDENTIFIED PLACE NAMES OF THE MAINAMATI COPPER PLATE GRANTS

1. Gñagā Maṇḍala Viṣaya
2. Vātagaṇagā Viṣaya
3. Vansantapura
4. Guptinātana
5. Salihrada pattana
6. Dhaṇalakṣmitala pāṭak
7. Māyu pāṭaka
8. Campāvani
9. Pullahadā
10. Dollavāyikā
11. Govindoṇcama
12. Oḍa-Godhāni
13. Godhāni
14. Katakāśīla
15. Śāharatalāka
16. Karavatti Voraka
17. Sura Voraka Grāma
18. Brahmanadeva Voraka Grāma
19. Kaṇisārokaddpolaka Grāma
20. Vappasimha Vorak Grāma
21. Jayalambha Grāma
22. Mahādeva Grāma

23. Buddha Nandi Grama
24. Adhavaśa Grama
25. Mesvavarta Grama
26. Vaggura bhoga
27. Vallesvara
28. Naroraka
29. Dhrtipura Hattika

It has come to light from the copper-plate grants of Mainamati that all the above mentioned name are situated in Samatata Mandala. Most probably, all of them are located in the greater Comilla district near the findspot of these plates.

EXPLANATION AND MEANINGS OF THE TECHNICAL TERMS OF THE MAINAMATI COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

The following terms are found in Mainamati copper-plate grants of various dynasties. Most of the terms denoting officials titles are, at present, obsolete. The explanations and meanings are given here with the help of Kautiliya Arthasastra, the Sanskrit English Dictionary of M.M. Williams and V.S. Apte and rarely deviated from the context. The terms are arranged alphabetically. The five terms indicating land measurement units are given at the end, followed by a table of their relations.

1. अध्यक्ष - A departmental head; Director; Superintendent. According to M. M. Williams, preceptible to the sense observable; exercising supervision; an inspector, superintendent (Col- 1, P-23). According to Kautiliya Arthasastra, the *adhyaksas* may be clasifed as follows: (1) the assistants of the *samnidhatri* in charge of state goods; (2) those in charge of state establishment, *asvadyaksa*, *hastyadhaksa* and his assistants and the like; (3) Those in charge of mining and industry, *akaradhyaksa* and his assistants, *sutradhyaksa*, *suradhaksa* and so on; and (4) those who control trade, *panyadhyaksa*, *samsthadyaksa*, and others. It is to be noted that the writer of *sasanas* or decrees , a subject with which

Kautilya claims to have dealt with for the first time, is not named as *śāsanadhyākṣa*; he is referred to only as *lekḥaka* (2.10.3).¹³⁸

2. अमात्य - Minister. According to M.M. Williams, inmate of the same house, belonging to the same house or family, R.V, VII, 15,3; 'a companion (of a king)', minister, M.Bh. (col-2, P-81); According to Kautilya Arthasatra, Constitutionally, the state functionary next in importance to the king is the '*Amātya*'. The functions of the *amatya* are stated to be: *mantra*, consultations, *karmanusthana*, execution of undertakings, *daṇḍapranayana*, leadership of troops, *Śūnyanivesopacayall*, settlement and development of new territories, *daṇḍakaranugraha*, recovery of fines and taxes and so on (8.1.8,23). In a few places in the text, however, *amātya* seems restricted to the chief minister, who is in charge of the entire administration and is in fact in a position to be a King-maker, as in chapter 5.6. Such an *amātya* is evidently the same as the *mantrin*, who is the most prominent dignitary in the state, as in 9.3.12-13 and other places¹³⁹.
3. कोडपाल - Protector of a fort. According to M.M.Williams, the commander of a stronghold (Col-3, P - 312). Most probably, it is same as modern *Kotwal* for prefect of city police.
4. गौलिमिक - Military or police officer. According to Williams a single soldier of a troop, M.Bh. X, 359. X. 4.19; the chief of a troop, Inscri (10 th Century) (Col- 2, P- 370); "an overseer or superintendent of forests" - Kielhorn (E. I, Vol - IV, P- 253) and Fleet (C.I.I, Vol -III, P - 52).
5. चार - According to Williams, a cheat, rogue (Col - 3, P- 391). "The head of a *Parganā*" (Vogel's Chamba, PP- 130 32), flatterer (E. I, Vol- XI, P-176); rogue (E. I, Vol- IX, P-296- 299) and irregular soldiers (E. I, Vol- XI, P- 19); swindler (V.S. Apte, Col - 2, P- 431), frequently joined with *Bhata* in Inscription.

6. **चौरोद्धरणिक** - Police official. According to Williams, thief - extirpator; a thief catcher (Col- 1, P- 403); a class of police officers (Vogel's Chamba, P- 129).
7. **दण्डनायक** - Judge. According to Williams, rod applier, a judge (Col - 3, P- 466). Kangle, describes the meaning of *daṇḍa* in the light of *Kautiliya Arthas'astra*, "How is the ruler to ensure the protection of the subject ? That is to be done with the help of *daṇḍa* which is the symbol of the rulers authority (1.4.16) with the help of *daṇḍa*, the ruler is to prevent might from proving right and to enable the weak to hold thire own against the strong. In the absence of *daṇḍa* the strong would swallow up the weak and there would be anarchy everywhere (1.4.13-15). It is of course obvious that *daṇḍa* represents the coercive power of the state." ¹⁴⁰
8. **दण्डपाशिक** - officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals. According to Williams, *Daṇḍa Paśika* means" a policeman" (Col- 3.p-466 and Col -1 P- 467). According to Apte, "a head police officer" (Col -1, P- 490). a kind of police officer (Vogels Chamba, P- 130).
9. **दुर्गोत्तरा** - Buddist goddess. The form of Tara named in the *Sādhanaṃālā* as *Durgottārīna Tārā* (*Sādhanaṃālā*, Vol-1, PP- 237 - 8).
10. **दौस्ताधसाधनिक** - Officer in charge of difficult jobs, probably intelligence duties.
11. **धर्मचक्रमुद्रा** - A Buddhist seal. According to Williams, *Dharmacakra* means, "the wheel or range of the law," M.Bh, Buddha; Jain; (Col- 1, P- 511).
12. **नौवलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादि** - Fleet, infantry, elephant corps, cavalry, Cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, etc.
13. **परम** - The great. According to Williams. most distant, remotest, exterme, last; chief, highest, primary, most excellent, worst; Superior or inferior to, better or worse than, M.Bh; R; highest point, extreme limit, M.Bh. (Col -1, P-588).
14. **परम भट्टारक** - The great warrior. According to Williams, *Bhattāraka* means - a great lord, Venerable or worshipful person (used of gods and of great or learned

men, esp. of Buddhist teachers and of a partic class of S'aiva monks). (Col-2, P- 745).

15. परमसौगत - The great follower of Saugata i.e. Buddha. According to Williams, *Saugata* means Buddhistic, Kathas; Sarvad; N. of a son of Dhṛitarāṣṭra, M.Bh, (Col -1, P-1252).

16. परमेश्वर - The great lord.

17. पादीय सम्वत् - Regnal year.

18. भट - A royal servant. According to Williams, a mercenary hired soldier, warrior, combatant, M.Bh; (Col -1, P-745). Frequently joined with *Cata* in inscription.

19. भुक्ति- Province a largest administrative Division.

20. भूमिच्छिद्र - In the light of Kautiliya Arthasastra, Kangle seems to take the expression to mean "Land which can not be used for agriculture because it is unsuited for it is called *bhūmicchidra* a weakness in the land, i.e. inferior type of land. It is to be used either for pastures or forests (2.21. ff). Two kinds of forests are distinguished, the *dravyavana* for various kinds of forest produce and the *hastivana* as a sanctuary for elephants. The latter has little economic value, the elephants being mainly intended for purposes of war (2.2.13-14). The principal produce of the *dravyavana* would appear to be timber and wood of all kinds as well as base metals like iron, copper, lead etc. (2.17:4 ff.). There can be doubt that both kinds of forests belong to the state."¹⁴¹

21. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन - According to the law of *Bhūmicchidra*.

22 मण्डल - Division. It is smaller than *Bhukti* i.e. province e.g. Samatāṭa Maṇḍala was under Paundrabhukti. According to Williams, circular, round; a circle, globe, orb, ring, circumference, ball, wheel; the path or orbit of a heavenly body, suryas; a halo round the sun or moon, a ball for playing, M.Bh, a circular array of troops, M.Bh; Kam; a district, arrondissement territory ,

province, country (often at the end of the modern names, e.g. Coro mandala); a surrounding district of neighbouring, state the circle of a kings near and distant neighbours (with whom he must maintain political and diplomatic relations; 4 or 6 or 10 or even 12 such neighbouring princes are enumerated); a multitude, group, band, collection, whole body, society, company; a division or book of the Rg-Veda (of which there are 10, according to authorship of the hymns; these are divided in to 85 *Anuvakas* or lessons, and these again into 1017, or with the II additional hymns; the other more mechanical division is into *Ashtakas*, *Adhyayas* and *Varagas*).(Col-3, P-775).

23. मण्डलपति - Head of a division.

24. महा - the great.

25. महाप्रतिहार - High chamberlain. According to Williams, a chief door-keeper.(Clo-3, P-797).

26. महाराजाधिराज - the over lord of the great king. According to Williams, *Mahārājā* means, a great king, reigning prince, supreme sovereign (Col-3, P-799) and *Adirāja* meand a supreme king (Col-3, P-21).

27. महाव्यूहपति - The great general. According to M.M.Williams, *Vyūhapati* means - placing apart, distribution, arrangement, orderly arrangement of the parts of a whole, disposition, military array, an army, host, squadron (Col-1,P-1041).

28. महाश्वनिवन्धिक - The chief officer of the horses.

29. महासर्वधिकृत-Chief Superintendent. According to Williams, *Sarvā* means 'whole, entire, all, every (Col-3,P-1184) and *Adhikṛta* means placed at the head of; apointed; ruled, administered; claimed; a superintendent (Col-3,P-20).

30. महासन्धिविग्रहिक-High minister for war and peace or minister of foreign affairs. According to Williams, *Saṇdhivigrahika* means "a secretary for managing (foreign) affairs in making peace and war, the minister presiding over the

above affairs, superintendence over the affairs, of peace and war, a chief foreign minister (Col-1, P-1145).

31. महासेनापति -The commander in chief. According to Williams, N. of *Kārttikeya*; of Siva, MBh; of a son of Dhritarastra; the chief commander of an army (Col-3, P-1246). According to Kangle, " The designation Senapati is mentioned in the *Kautiliy Arthasastra*. The *Senāpati* in such a context is to be understood as the commander in chief of all armed forces."¹⁴²
32. महाक्षपटभक्तिक -Accountant General. According to Williams, a chief keeper of archives (Col-2, P-795). According to Kangle, *Akṣapaṭal* means 'the records and audit office.'¹⁴³ According to Stein, *Akṣapaṭala* means 'Accountant General's office' (Vogel's Chamba, P-133).
33. राजामात्य-Royal minister. According to Williams, inmate of the same house, belonging to the same house or family, R.V. VII, 15,3; 'a companion (of a king), minister, MBh. (Col-2, P-81). A minister or councillor attached to a chief' (Vogel's Chamba, P-122).
34. राज्ञी-the queen. According to Williams, a queen, princess, the wife of a king; of the wife of the sun, Pur;(Col-1, P-875).
35. राजपुत्र-Royal prince. According to Williams, prince-a Rajput (who claims decent from the ancient Ksatriyas). (Col -2, P- 873).
36. राजपुरुष-Royal servants. According to Majumdar N.G ; a state officer; (I.B, P-187).
37. राणक-The feudal king.
38. विधिवत्-Duly. According to Williams, according to rule, duly (Col-1, P-968).
39. विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं-Ceremoniously after doing the water rite.
40. विष्णुचक्रमुद्रा- the seal of disc of Visnu. According to Williams, Visnu's discus, R; a Partic mystical circle (formed from the lines in the hand) (Col-3, P-999).
41. विषयपति- the head of a district. According to Williams, *Viṣaya* means dominion, kingdom, territory, region, district Country (Col-1, P-997) and *Viṣayapati*

means the governor of a province (Col-2, P-997). "Officer in charge of a District". Vogel's Chamba, P-124, See Fleet, Corp. Ins. Ind, Vol-III, P-32.

42. विहार- :Buddhist monastery. According to Williams, distribution, transposition (of words) : arrangement or disposition (of the 3 sacred fires) ; also applied to the fires themselves or the space between them); a place of recreation, pleasure ground MBh; (with Buddhist or Jains) a monastery or temple (originally a hall where the monks met or walked about; afterwards these halls were used as temples); (Col-3, P-1003).
43. शकाब्द :- the Śaka era. According to Williams the Śaka era (beginning A.D. 778, and founded by king Salivahana; an expired year of the Śaka era is converted in to the corresponding year A.D by adding to it 78-79; (Col-3, P-1045).
44. शौल्कि- Customs officer. According to Williams, "relating to taxes or tolls, a superintendent of tolls or customs (Col-3, P- 1093).
45. सहजधर्म-Sahaja cult. According to M.M.Williams, born or produced together or at the same time as (gen), T.S; Congenital, innate, hereditary, original, natural, N.of various kings and other men, M.Bh; of a Tantric teacher; Buddha; (Col-3, P-1193).
46. स्कन्धावार-Camp According to Kangle, An encampment, a Cantonment, (Kangle R.P, The Kautitiya Arthas'astrā 1960, Glossary, P-79).

THE LAND MEASUREMENT UNITS

1. पाटक- It was a land measurement unit of South-Eastern Bengal. From the Gunighar Grant of Vainya Gupta: The year 188 current (Gupta era), it is concluded that "One Pāṭaka = 40 Dronāvāpas." ¹⁴⁴ But Laskar worked out the equation 1 Pāṭaka =50 Dronāvāpas from the Ashrafpur plates (Mem. A.S.B, Vol-1, P-87) but this is definitely disproved by the Gunaighar plate.

2. **द्रोण**- It was a land measurement unit of south eastern Bengal. It is noted that **Drona** and **Dronavāpa** are same unit. Sircar remarks that, "It is well known that 8 **Dronavāpas** made one **Kulyavāpa** and 5 **Kulyavāpas** were equal to one **Pataka**."¹⁴⁵ Dikshit also suggests that "8 **Dronavāpas** of land make one **Kulyavāpa**."¹⁴⁶
3. **यष्टि**-It was a land measurement unit of south-eastern Bengal. According to Roy, "Seven **Yaṣṭhi** make one **Poyā**."¹⁴⁷
4. **काक**-It is also a land measurement unit of south eastern Bengal. According to Roy "Four **Kāka** make one **Uyān**."¹⁴⁸
5. **विन्दु** It is a land measurement unit of south eastern Bengal. It is a very small unit. No further information has found.

Relations of these and some other units also are given below:

- 40 **Dronas** = 1 **Pāṭaka**
- 8 **Dronas** = 1 **Kulyavāpa**
- 1 **Kulyavāpa** = 32 **Ādhakas**
- 32 **Ādhakas** = 128 **Prasthas**
- 5 **Kulyavāpas** = 1 **Pāṭaka**
- 5 **Padas** = $1\frac{1}{4}$ **Pāṭakas**
- 3 **Krānti** = 1 **Kadā**
- 4 **Kadā** = 1 **Gandā**
- 20 **Gandā** = 1 **Pan**
- 4 **Pan** = 1 **Rekhā**
- 4 **Rekhā** = 1 **Poyā**
- 4 **Poyā** = 1 **Keyār**
- 12 **Keyār** = 1 **Hala**

4 Kāka = 1 Uyān

50 Uyān = 1 Ādhi

4 Ādhi = 1 Drona

4 Kuḍava = 1 Prastha

4 Prastha = 1 Ādha

4 Ādha = 1 Drona.

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