

Presented to Prof. Rangui Halder
with authors best regards.
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THE
SOCIAL HISTORY
OF
KAMARUPA

Vol. III.

BY

BAGH

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THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF KAMARUPA

Vol. III

CHAPTER I

THE BHAUMA DYNASTY IN EASTERN INDIA.

The first volume of this work was published nine years ago, but it was actually written more than a year prior to the date of its publication. Since then many stone and copper-plate inscriptions have come to light providing opportunities for a fuller investigation into the problems of the social and ethnological history of Eastern India. What is the nucleus of the Brāhmaṇa and Kayastha communities of the modern Kamarupa? What indissoluble ties bound them to the entire Eastern India from time immemorial? It will be my endeavour to answer these questions in the light of the materials that are available now.

The aristocracy of modern Kamarupa admit only the influence of the culture of Mithila on their country, but the data which we now possess conclusively prove that at one time there was a very close inter-relation between Kama-

New light
on the
history of
Kamarupa.

ra
a and
anka
Kama-va,

rupa and Gauḍa-Vaṅga. Besides Gauḍa, Kāmarupa entered into a very close association with Uḍra and Kalinga. From the contemporary epigraphic records we come to know that the Bhauma dynasty or the dynasty of Bhagadatta ruled for many years with absolute power not only over Pragjyotiṣa but also over Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala. The inscriptions found in many places in Orissa contain accounts of their rule for over four hundred years.

How the Bhauma dynasty of Kāmarupa extended its sway first to Gauḍa and then to the whole of Orissa is a story which no one has yet attempted to tell. It is essential that there should be an enquiry into the principles of social ethics that were evolved as a result of the merging of the manners, customs, usages and culture that were prevalent among the upper classes of the several countries that came under the rule of the Bhauma dynasty. A discussion of this subject will make it clear how the earlier standards of society were considerably modified not only in Kāmarupa but also in Gauḍa and Kalinga and how the various communities of Kāmarupa and Orissa still bear the stamp of the age of cultural union.

The emergence of Bhaskaravarma, the Lord of Pragjyotiṣa, marks a new era in the history of Eastern India. It is necessary to survey the political condition and to note the territorial divisions of the country before the rise of Bhaskaravarma. Sometime between 536 and 645. A.D. the Chinese traveller

The Bhauma
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Yuang Chuang visited Eastern India. It was then divided into the following provinces :

1. Magadha 5,000 li	6. Kamarupa, more
2. Iriṇa or Hiraṇya- parvata 3,000 li	than 10,000 li
3. Champa 4,000 li	7. Samataṭa 3,000 li
4. Kayangala 2,000 li	8. Tamralipti 1,400 li
5. Puṇḍravardhana 4,000 li	9. Karnasuvarṇa 4,450 li
	10. Uṇḍra 7,000 li
	11. Kongoda 1,000 li

At the time of Emperor Harsavardhana, the first five out of the above eleven provinces were held by the Guptas, Kamarupa was ruled by Bhaskaravarma of the Bhagadatta or Bhauma dynasty, Samataṭa or East Bengal by Rajabhaṭa and Karna-suvarṇa or the Raṭha country, Kongoda or Kalinga and Uṇḍra were the dominions of the king Saṅka.

In the Harsa-charita we find a General called Siṅhanāda speaking to Harsavardhana as follows:—

“দেব দেবভূয়ং গতে নরেন্দ্রে হৃষ্টগৌড়ভূজজজ্ঞজীবিতো চ
রাজ্যবর্ধনে বৃত্তেহস্মিন্ মহাপ্রলয়ে ধবণী ধারণায়াধুনাং শেষঃ।”

‘Lord Rajyavardhana has been murdered by Narendra a wicked serpent of Gauṇa.’ The Chinese traveller Yuang Chuang gives the following account of the murder of Rajyavardhana—“After the death of Prabhakaravardhana, Rajyavardhana (the elder brother of Harsavardhana) ascending the throne ably governed his territories. At this time Saṅka, the king of Karnasuvarṇa was reigning over Eastern India. His ministers used to warn him that evil would befall his kingdom if the province situated at its boundaries came to be ruled by a virtuous king.

Narendra
Gupta and
Saṅka
Deva,

Thereupon he invited Rajyavardhana to his kingdom. There the latter was assassinated." According to the testimony of Harṣa-charita, already referred to, Rajyavardhana met his death at the hands of Narendra, the ruler of Gauḍa, whereas the Chinese pilgrim tells us that he was treacherously put to death by Saśanka, king of Karnasuvarṇa. The Following words, uttered by Bhandi, occur in another place in Harṣa-charita :—

“দেবভূয়ং গতে দেবে রাজ্যবর্ধনে শুপ্তনাম্না চ গৃহীতে
কুশস্থলে”

‘When the godlike Rajyavardhana was transported to the abode of the Immortals, Kuśasthala or Kanauj was occupied by a person bearing the name Gupta.’ In the opinion of the late R. D. Banerjee Saśanka was a scion of the Gupta dynasty and a son of Mahasena Gupta and was also known as Narendra Gupta ¹. But the inscriptions and the coins, discovered up till now, do not furnish any evidence in support of the theory that Narendra Gupta and Saśanka were one and the same person. ² We do not come across the

(1) Banglar Itihasa, Vol. II, pp. 104-105.

(2) R. D. Banerjee goes still further to say—‘Vāna-bhatta expected favours from the royal family of Sthaneshvara and Yuang Chuang obtained presents and various kinds of help from Harsavardhana. Besides, the Chinese traveller was a sworn enemy of the Brahmins. For these reasons his account of the death of Rajyavardhana is untrustworthy. Most probably Sasanka attacked Rajyavardhana with a large army and after having defeated him made him a prisoner and put him to death’ (Banglar Itihas, Vol. II, p. 107). But the two copper-plate inscriptions of Harsavardhana state as follows :—

title 'Gupta' or the name "Narendra" along with the name 'Saśanka' in the Rohtasgarh seal of Saśanka, the Copper-plate inscription of his Mahasamanta Mādhavavarman or in any of his scions. He has always been mentioned as Saśanka Deva.

The distinguished orientalist Dr. Bühler says, 'In one of the Manuscript copies of the "Harṣa-charita the name of the murderer of Rajyavardhana is given as Narendra Gupta"³.

The king of Mālava had killed Rajyavardhana's brother-in-law Grahavarmā, the Maukhari chief and made his sister Rajyāśrī a prisoner. On receipt of the news Rajyavardhana marched forth with 10000 quick-footed soldiers and defeated the king of Mālava. It was probably at this time that Narendra Gupta, the king of Gauḍa, apparently seeking the friendship of the victorious Rajyavardhana invited him to his camp and put him to death at the counsel of Saśanka Deva, who was his principal Samanta. From a study of the Harṣa-charita we come to know that on ascending the throne, Harṣavardhana regarded it as his first and foremost duty to pursue his brother's murderer and to

“উৎখাত্য দ্বিতো বিজিত্য বহুধাং কুড়া প্রজানাম্ প্রিয়ঃ

প্রাণানুজিতবানবাতিভবনে সত্যানুৰোধেন যঃ ।”

'Rajyavardhan lost his life at the residence of his enemy for the fulfilment of his promise' This contemporary evidence bears out the statements of the Chinese pilgrim and Vanabhatta. The Chinese pilgrim was never an enemy of the Brahmins. If it were so Bhaskaravarma who was a friend of the Brahmins, could never have regarded him in such deep esteem as he did.

(3) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 1. p. 77.

seek out his sister. The throne of Kanauj probably remained vacant after the death of the Maukharī king Grahavarman. The lines, quoted from *Harṣa-charita* show that Kanauj was seized by Narendra Gupta after the murder of Rājyavardhana. His friend Saśaṅka Deva was at that time ruling over Magadha as a feudatory chief. This is evident from the seal of Saśaṅka Deva found in Rohtasgarh⁴.

Harsavardhana first recovered Kanauj by defeating and killing Narendra Gupta, who was the murderer of his brother. He then assumed sovereignty and founded an era which was known by his name.

Saśaṅka Deva's rule was at first confined to Karṇasuvarṇa. The region extending from Magadha to Puṇḍravardhana the territory lying to the west of the Karatoya and the north of the Ganges belonged to Narendra Gupta. But when having murdered Rājyavardhana Narendra Gupta seized the throne of Kanauj with the hope of becoming an emperor, the administration and control of the territories situated between Magadha and Puṇḍravardhana must have been vested in Saśaṅka. After the death of Narendra Gupta all these dominions were annexed to his kingdom. Not only Gauḍa but also Uḍra, Kalinga and South Kośala came under his sway: and the rulers of these places were reckoned as his vassals. In the copper-plate inscriptions of Maḍhavarāja of the year 300 of the Gupta Era, Saśaṅka Deva has been described *Maharajadhiraja* and as

Sasanka's
rule.

(4) Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 283.

“চতুর্ভুদধিসলিলবীচিমৈখলা-নিলীন-সদ্বীপগিৰিপত্তনবতী বসুন্ধরা” or the lord of the “whole universe including the four seas, the islands, the mountains and the cities.” In this inscription Mādhavarāja though declaring himself the Lord of Kalinga regards his allegiance to Saśanka as a matter of pride.⁵ This gives sufficient indication of the extent of Saśanka’s power. We are justified in concluding that from the year 606 A.D. in which Narendra Gupta was defeated and killed by Harṣa to 620 A. D. Saśanka Deva was the acknowledged ruler over the whole of Eastern India. The fact that Saśanka was not connected with the Gupta dynasty by any ties of relationship is proved by the evidence furnished by his seals and coins. The coins stamped by the earlier as well as the later Guptas all bear the image of the goddess Kamalā but the coins of Saśanka are marked on one side with the figure of Siva mounted on a bull and on the other with that of Kamalā seated on a lotus.⁶ This shows that the Guptas were the followers of the Vaiṣṇava religion while Saśanka was an adherent of Śaivism. The image of the Kamalā stamped on one side of the coins of Saśanka signify that the dominions of the Guptas had now passed into his hands. Though we are only familiar with the story of Saśanka’s hostility to the Buddhist religion, the splendid architectural monuments, relics of which still exist at Khiching and

Sasanka
not a
member of
the Gupta
dynasty.

(5) Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV, p. 143.

(6) British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasty, pp. 147-486.

Benusagar in the hilly regions lying in the southern part of Mayurbhanja bear testimony to his great devotion to the Saiva faith. He brought the Sakadvipi Brahmanas belonging to the ten gotras to the Rāḍha country where they settled down under his patronage.⁷

The rise of Sasanka frightened even the mighty Bhaskaravarma, the king of Kamarupa. From Vāṇabhaṭṭa's Harṣa-charita we get the following interesting story :—

'When Harsavardhana arrived in Gauḍa with a powerful force Bhaskaravarma sent a messenger with various presents to him. The message which was delivered runs as follows :— The Lord of Pragjyotiṣa has taken a vow that he would never bend his head before any one except the feet of Siva. This vow can be fulfilled in either of the three ways, viz, Conquest of the whole world, 2nd Death or Alliance with such a powerful King as Harṣadeva. Harsavardhana accepted the presents of Bhaskaravarma and there grew up a deep abiding friendship between them,

(7) Bāṇar Jātiya Itihāsa, Brahmana kanda, Part IV, p86.

(8) In the Rajanyakanda I have said that Sasanka Deva was overpowered and the king of Gauda killed, as a result of the combined attack of the two potentates. But on an analysis of the sequence of events it now appears to me that no friendship between Harshavardhana and Bhaskaravarma existed at the time of the Emperor's campaign against Narendragupta. When after the fall of Narendragupta, Sasanka Deva, assuming the title of the paramount ruler established his sway over the whole of Eastern India except Kamarupa, Bhaskaravarma forming an alliance with Harsavardhana marched forth in order to defeat his powerful adversary.

Harsha attacked Sasanka from the western side, while Bhaskaravarmā led the attack on the eastern side. Harassed by such powerful antagonists on both sides Sasanka sought shelter in the hilly regions of Mayurbhanja. R. D. Banerjee says, "In a later stage of the battle with Harsha, Sasanka probably obtained help from the Chalukya king Pulakesi II by whom the former was defeated."⁹ This statement is not supported by any evidence.

Harshavardhan was defeated by Pulakesi¹⁰ in about 620 A. D. when Sasanka was still ruling.¹¹ It may be presumed that having met with reverses in the South Harsha set out to conquer the East with the help of Bhaskaravarmā. The fight between Harsha and Sasanka probably took place between 621 and 625 A. D. Though at an earlier stage of the fight Sasanka lost the portion of his kingdom which was situated between Magadha and Karnasuvarna, he continued to rule for some-time over Kalinga and Kosala. Afterwards being defeated in a battle he died in Kalinga. After the overthrow of his enemy Harsha became the Emperor of Northern India. Meanwhile, Pulakesi was advancing towards the North with a view to conquer Kalinga and Kosala and thereby reduce the power of Harsha. We find this in the Aihole inscription

Harsha
and
Pulakesi.

(9) Banglar Itihasa, Vol. II, p. 109.

(10) V.A.L. Smith, Early History of India, 3rd Edition, p. 340.

(11) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 6.

Harsha's
ascendancy
in Northern
India.

of Pulakesi. Harsha was probably absent from Kalinga when it was attacked by Pulakesi. The long war with Harsha under the leadership of Sasanka had severely taxed the resources of Kalinga and consequently it failed to offer an effective resistance to the invader. But Pulakesi's occupation of the place was, like the ravages of the Marāthās in Bengal, only temporary. At the news of Pulakesi's expedition Harsha hurriedly came to Kalinga and was able to regain possession of it. It is superfluous to say that on this occasion also Bhaskaravarma rendered valuable help to his friend. / At the time when Harsha was busy setting up a stable government in Kalinga the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chuang was enjoying the hospitality of Bhaskaravarma at his capital in Kāmarūpa. While returning from Kongoda Harsha came to learn that the great Chinese scholar had been staying as an honoured guest at the Court of Bhaskaravarma. From the account of the Chinese pilgrim's travels we obtain the following information :—

"At this time king Silāditya was in a district Ka-chuon-kila (Kayangal). He had been on an expedition to a country called Kung-yu-tā (Kongoda) and on his way back to Kanauj to hold a great Buddhist Council there. Hearing of the Chinese pilgrim at the court of king Kumāra, he sent a summons to the latter to repair to him with his foreign guest. Kumāra replied with a refusal saying that the king could have his head but not his guest. "I trouble you for your head," came the prompt reply. Thereupon Kumāra became

submissive and proceeded with the pilgrim and a great retinue to join Silāditya."¹²

Near Kayangal or the modern Rajmahal Bhāskaravarmā met Harshavardhana accompanied by the Chinese pilgrim. They then parted, Bhāskaravarmā proceeding along the northern coast and Harshavardhana along the southern coast. They were united at Kanauj where a grand Buddhist Council and a splendid festival had been organised by the Emperor. The Chinese pilgrim was also present. At the invitation of Harsha 20 princes belonging to different parts of India attended the festival. A golden image of Buddha was carried amid a procession of 300 elephants accompanied by Harsha and the twenty kings. Dressed like Sakra or Indra, Harsha held an umbrella over the golden image, while Bhāskaravarmā, in the guise of Brahmā followed with a Chāmara in his hand. The latter probably dressed himself like Brāhmaṇa, as he was generally known as a Brāhmaṇa. This grand festival was celebrated in spring in the year 644 A. D. After it was over, Harshavardhana came to Prayāga and performed the *dānasagarā*. Among those who attended the ceremony there were Bhāskaravarmā accompanied by the Chinese pilgrim, and the twenty kings already mentioned as well as a large number of holy men. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the attendant Princes were all honoured according to their respective status. It was probably on this occasion that Bhāskaravarmā obtained from the

The
festival
at Kanauj.

Bhaskara-
varma
rewarded.

(12) Watters, On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India, Vol. I. p. 349.

The
testimony
of the
Copper-plate
grant.

Emperor, as a token of the latter's great regard for him, the provinces of Gauḍa, Kalinga, Uḍra and Kośala. If this presumption is correct Bhaskaravarmā was installed on the throne of Karnasuvarna in 646 or 647 A. D. From the inscriptions on the copper-plate which he issued from Karnasuvarna making grants of lands to a large number of Brāhmanas we learn that he resided in this part of his kingdom for a considerable period of time.¹³ The inscription tells us that during Bhaskaravarmā's stay in Karnasuvarna a number of Brāhmanas came there and represented the following case before Mahārāja Jyeshtha Bhadra:—'Mahārāja Mahā-Bhūta Varma, the great-great-grand-father of Bhaskaravarmā, had made grants of lands to some Brāhmanas, but on account of the loss of the copper-plate the officers of the State had proceeded to assess taxes on those lands. They therefore prayed that the grant might be renewed.' A new copper-plate grant was accordingly issued

(13) Mr. R. D. Banerjee does not agree that Bhaskaravarma lived in the Rarha country for a long time. According to him, Bhaskaravarma held Karnasuvarna in occupation only temporarily, in the course of his protracted war with Sasanka and the Nidhanpur Copper-plate grant mentioned above belongs to this period. (Bangalar Itihasa, Vol. II, p. 112.) Mr. Banerjee writes, "The king of Kamarupa being defeated by Sasanka sought help from Thaneshvar. Afterwards Sasanka was defeated by the combined forces of Harsha and Bhaskaravarma. Yuang Chuang visited Karnasuvarna sometime between 636 and 639 A. D. Sasanka was not then alive. (Banglar Itihasa, vol. II, pp 108 and 109.) The view that Bhaskaravarma sought the help of Harsha after having sustained defeat at the hands of Sasanka is not supported by any evidence and is based entirely on imagination

in the names of the surviving descendants and successors of those Brāhmanas to whom the gifts had been originally made. (From the above it is quite evident that Bhāskaravarmā lived in Karpasuvarṇa for a long time as the Brāhmanas would not have taken the trouble of travelling all the way from their distant homes mentioned in the inscription if it were possible for them to realise their object at the capital of Kamarūpa.)

The Chinese traveller Yuang Chuang visited the capital of Kamarūpa at the invitation of Bhāskaravarmā in 642 A. D. They both attended the famous festival of Kanauj in 644. A. D. Shortly after this Bhāskaravarmā was installed on the throne of Karnasuvarna.

The Emperor Harsha died in 648 A. D. After his death there were scrambles for the throne. Arjuna, the General of Harsha, seizing the throne, tried to get himself acknowledged as the Emperor. He was, however, vanquished by a powerful Chinese army led by a Chinese General who had come at the invitation of Mādhava Gupta and Bhāskaravarmā in 649 or 650 A. D. In the Chinese chronicles Bhāskaravarmā has been styled the Lord of Eastern India.

The death
of
Harsha.

Needless to say, under the influence of Bhāskaravarmā and his successors, the social customs, practices, education, culture and even the languages in Kamarūpa, Gauḍa and Kalinga tended to be similar. Though the social structure of Gauḍa underwent profound changes as a result of the great influence which the Varendra and Raṣṭriya Brāhmanas came to

The
unifying
influence
of
Bhaskara
varma and
his
successors

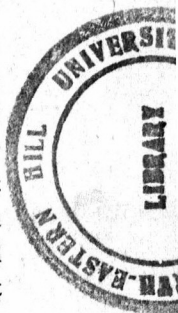
exercise over it in a later age the civilization and even the languages of Kāmarūpa and Kalinga are still reminiscence of the close association which existed at one time between these two provinces. Another reason for this is to be seen in the influence which the Bhauma dynasty of Kāmarūpa exercised over Kalinga even in a subsequent age.

The
prosperity
of
Kamarupa.

✓ From what has been said it is clear that Kāmarūpa's association with the Rāḍha country dates from the time of King Bhaskaravarmā. The Chinese pilgrim visited the capital of Kāmarūpa at the invitation of Bhaskaravarmā. He was struck with admiration at the sight of the numerous temples which stood there. In his time it enjoyed the reputation of being a centre of learning. "Students from all parts of India came here and received education in the various Śāstras." We may conclude that the prosperous condition of Kāmarūpa of which the Chinese pilgrim has drawn such a brilliant picture had been in existence long before the time of his visit.¹⁴ We find in the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhaskaravarmā that during the reign of Mahā-bhūtavarmā or Bhūtivarmā, Rigvedi, Yajurvedi, Śāmavedi and Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas of various denominations lived in the Agrahāra of Mayūrgālmala which was granted by him and which was situated in his territory called Chandrapuri. The number of these Brāhmaṇas, deeply versed in the Vedas, who were thus settled by King Mahābhūti-

varmā was not small. There is no doubt that they were called for the purpose of disseminating the knowledge of the Śāstras. In the Agrahāra mentioned above they lived for generations. When in course of time the original copper-plate was destroyed the officers of the State proceeded to levy taxes on the lands. Thereupon the descendants of the grantees came to Karṇasuvarṇa and explained their case to Mahārāja Jyeshṭha Bhadra, who was the officer-in-charge there. The new copper-plate which was issued by Bhāskaravarmā at the request of Mahārāja Jyeshṭha Bhadra has been discovered at Nidhanpur in the district of Sylhet. This is known as the Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarmā. In the first volume of this work, the English translation of a portion of the text relating to the royal dynasty has been published. I have not dealt there with the portion of the text in which there is a description of the various classes of Brāhmaṇas who received the grants. But as a matter of fact this is the most important section of the inscription as it throws a flood of light on the problems connected with the history of castes and sects in Eastern India. As I consider this to be very important I have reproduced in Appendix A Paṇḍit Padmanāth Bhattacharyja's reading of the text.¹⁵

Most of the surnames held by Brahmanas belonging to the various gotras and schools of Vedas which are mentioned in the Nidhanpur plate recur in the copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Lokanātha of the seventh century.



Brahminic
surnames
and
Maharaja
Lokanatha's
inscriptions.

(15) Vide appendix A at the end of this chapter.

Mr. Rādhagovinda Basākā who deciphered the above inscription, makes the following observation :—

“Another significant fact that may be brought to notice here is that in this plate, which we take to have belonged to the age of anarchy (*mātsya-nyaya*) in Bengal, i. e, the time after the death of Harsha and before the rise of the Pāla Kingdom in the eighth century, we do not find even a latent allusion to Buddhism, although the Pāla kings themselves were Saugatas (Buddhists). From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Chuang (Watters, Vol II, p. 186) we learn that during this time he could find no sign of Buddhism in Kāmarupa. We cannot possibly connect the plate with any of the Kāmarup Kings of that time. We have seen that the ancestors of Lokanātha were devotees of Saṅkara and that his own Brāhmaṇa mahāsamanta Pradosh Sarman (the grantee) wished to set up an image of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa. The prevalence of Brāhmanic influence in Eastern India at the time can be rightly inferred also from the mention in this inscription of the sacred fires, Pauranic deities, Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, etc. also from the fact that the Brāhmaṇas could be Sāmanta chiefs.”¹⁶

“The date of the grant is stated to have been in the 44th year (l. 29.) which we have taken to refer to the Harsha era, i. e. ascorresponding, therefore, to 650 A. D.—only two years after the death of the Emperor Harsha. Historians take Āditya-sena of the later Gupta

dynasty to have ruled Eastern India after Harsha's death. Are we then to suppose that Lokanātha, who is described as only a *nṛipa* (V. 7) and uses the title of Kumāramatya was a feudatory chief under Āditya-sena of Magadha? We know that Kumāramatya was a technical title, used during and after the Gupta period, not only with regard to ministers, but also with regard to feudatory chiefs. So it is not unlikely that Lokanātha owed his allegiance to Ādityasena or some other sovereign of later Gupta dynasty. Who is the *paramēśvara* (paramount sovereign), referred to in verse 7, and described as having lost a large number of soldiers in a battle? It seems plausible to suppose that this *paramēśvara* was Lokanātha's own liege-lord, who must have sent an army to help his feudatory, who, as we know from verse 9, had to fight against another *nṛipa*, named Jivadhāraṇa described as having made over to Lokanātha his own province and army by giving up battle. It seems that Jivadhāraṇa occupied Lokanātha's land.

"From the use of the title *nṛipa* only it seems that like Lokanātha, this Jivadhāraṇa also was a local chief in some part of Eastern India. This local chief gave up war against Lokanātha, perhaps because the latter obtained royal charter (*Sṛipaṭṭa*) from his sovereign."

The following genealogical chart is based on the copper-plate inscription of Maharaja Lokanātha :—

from the Emperor Harsha the provinces of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala, and that in 649 or 650 A. L. D., shortly after the death of Harsha he was known to the Chinese Emperor as "Lord of Eastern India." From the copper-plate grant made by Bhāskara Varma, while he was in Karnaśuvarṇa, it is clear, that he resided here for a long time. This was the reason why the descendants of the grantees had to undertake the long and arduous journey from Chandrapuri Vishaya. There can be no doubt that Bhāskara Varmā's period of ascendancy extended at least up to the year 650 A. D. He therefore appears to have been succeeded by Jayatūṅga Varma, liege-lord of Rājā Lokanātha.

In the copper-plate grant of Lokanātha his great-great-grandfather has been styled 'Adhimahārāja' or Sovereign. This makes us think that when after the downfall of the Gupta Empire, Dharmāditya, Gopachandra, Samacharadeva and other chiefs established themselves as independent rulers, the ancestor of Lokanātha also succeeded in asserting his sovereignty in his territory called Suvvaṅga. Apparently this position could not be maintained for a long time. His successors were all described as Samantas. From what has been said above there cannot, I think, be any objection against the view that Rājā Lokanātha was a feudatory chief under Bhāskara Varma's successor Jayatūṅga Varma. Mr. Basak says, "from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen tsang we learn that during this time he could find no sign of Buddhism in Kamarupa. We cannot possibly connect this plate with any of the Kamarupa kings of that time." But we can no longer subscribe to

Lokanātha's
liege-lord-
ship.

His

connection
with
Kamarupa

this view. We need not be surprised that Mahārāja Lokanātha was under the influence of Kamarupa when it is remembered that he ruled as a feudatory chief under Bhāskara Varmā or his successor. The jungly tract containing the lands which he granted to the Brāhmaṇa has been called by the name 'Suvvaṅga.' In the copper-plate inscription there is a reference to Lokanātha's fight with Jayatuṅga Varmā who was probably liege-lord and successor of Bhāskara Varmā.

While the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskara Varmā mentions the names, surnames and gotras of the grantees as also the respective Vedas to which they belonged, Lokanātha's inscription provides us with only the names and surnames of the Brāhmaṇas who obtained lands from him. It however mentions the Agastya gotra of Pradosha Sharma at whose instance the grant was made and records the names of his ancestors up to the fourth generation.

Though the surnames mentioned in Bhāskara Varmā's plate are above 26, they include more than fifty families. If the gotras and the different Vedas are taken into consideration, Lokanātha's inscription refer to forty families.

The question now arises, where did Lokanātha rule? It is difficult to answer the question with the help of the inscription only. The 8th śloka of the copper-plate runs as follows :—

“নির্ব্যাজোজিতস্বত্বসাবতুৰগঃ শ্রীলোকনাথো নৃপো

যন্ত্ৰীপৰমেখবন্ত বহুশো যাতং ক্ষয়ং সৈনিকম্ ॥

তুল্যৈৰ্য জয়তুৰ্জবৰ্ষসমৰে সত্ত্বঃ প্রয়োগোৰ্হিনাং

নীৰ্ত্তৌ নীতিবিধানতোতিচতুৰো নিন্ত্যপ্রহৃষ্টপ্রজঃ ॥”

From the above śloka it appears that Lokanātha was compelled to engage himself in a

war with his liege-lord Jayatuṅga Varmā. But later on there was reconciliation between them and this was rendered possible by his able statesmanship. We may ask, who is this Jayatuṅga Varmā? The distinguished orientalist A. Foucher refers to an image found in Samatāṭa called Jayatuṅga-Lokaṇātha in his "L' Iconographie Bouddhique".¹⁷

We know that the copperplate of Rājā Lokaṇātha was recovered from the district of Tipperah which formed part of Samatāṭa. We may suppose that the image of Jayatuṅga-Lokaṇātha was erected at the spot which witnessed the union between Lokaṇātha and Jayatuṅga Varmā. It may also be that Jayatuṅga set up an image of the deity Lokaṇātha or Avalokiteśvara which became subsequently known as Jayatuṅga-Lokaṇātha. Whatever the fact may be, the site of the image of Jayatuṅga-Lokaṇātha and the place from which the copper-plate was recovered both point to the conclusion that the territory over which Rājā Lokaṇātha ruled formed part of Samatāṭa. We find the earliest mention of the name Samatāṭa in the Vṛihatsamhitā by Varāhamihira. Before him Samatāṭa was known as Pravaṅga. The word 'Suvvaṅga' mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of Lokaṇātha appears to be a corrupt form of সুবব্ধ (Subhavaṅga). Though the image of Jayatuṅga-Lokaṇātha seems to indicate the existence of a connection with Buddhism the copper-plate of Lokaṇātha bears testimony to the predominance of the Brāhmanic influence. Prof. Basak truly remarks, "A remarkable fact gathered from this inscrip-

His kingdom a part of Samatāṭa.

Predominance of Brahmanic influence.

(17) Vide L' Iconographie Bouddhique de L' Inde, p. 108.

tion is that in ancient times even a Brahmana like Pradosha Sarmā could rise to the dignity of a Mahāsāmanta by the strength of his arm."¹⁸

Evidence
of inter-caste
marriage.

From the above copper-plate grant we learn that in the 7th century A. D. preparations were made for establishing one hundred Brahmanas in Samatāṭa by clearing the jungles. We further learn that inter-caste marriage was in vogue at this time. The following translation from the above copper-plate will illustrate this statement :—

(Verse 1.) Victorious is Sañkara, by whom evils are destroyed and who avoided Kāma (the God of Love) out of anger (?), (the God) whose image (is).....in all ceremonies.....and who for the three worlds' attainment of the happiness of stability divided his own person into eight forms, in each of which his greatness with regard to lordship, etc., was equally (present).

(V. 2.) There was a prosperous king, sprung from the good family of the sage Bharadvāja ...nātha, whose sanctified and brilliant consecration was performed on his head by means of a shower of dust from the lotus-feet of Sambhu, a king, of highly known fame, having right to (the use of) the majestic title of adhi-maharāja (or maharajādhirāja) who for the destruction of (his) mundane existence exterminated his sins.

(V. 3.) Of that high-souled person, who was an abode of virtues, the noble son, the great feudatory chief (Sāmanta), Srinātha, of known prowess, who had gained in battle the wealth of valour, who was the chief vehicle of virtuous deeds, and who, like Bhagavan, could

repel misfortunes by means of the delegates of his own supremacy, was a hero who displayed in this earth all attainable feats.

(V. 4.) This accomplished son also Bhavanātha by name whose one thought was to cross the waters of the ocean of existence, transferred his rule to his brother's accomplished son, and himself became glorious like a rishi.

(V. 5.) By him was begotten, for the continuation of the family, an excellent son, by his worthy (wife) Gotradāvi, as greatly glorious as the greatness of the family (herself) who was bright with the ornament of fidelity to her supporting lord, and who took her birth from Ashṭāyikā (her mother).

(V. 6.) Of whom the mother's (Gotradevī's) father's grandfather was the prominent Brahmana named Sthāvara; the respected (maternal) great-grandfather was the chief Brahmana called Vira; the grandfather was the Pāraśava Keśava, virtuous and noble, held in high esteem by the good, who, being placed in charge of the army, was in touch with the king, a famous man.

(V. 7.) That daughter's son of Keśava was king Lokanātha, who was accomplished, who had always truth for his only friend, whose army was victorious by reason of the intellect of his counsellor, the great sword shining on his postlike arms, and whose horses were the undisguised essence of great strength; against him large armies of the paramāivara (supreme ruler) were many times discomfited.

(V. 8.) 'In obstinate battle with Jayatuṅga

varsha¹⁹ he showed his readiness. He is expert in the matter of prescribing the right course to seekers (of instruction) in policy ; his subjects are always pleased, and he is happy in making friendship : this man of many qualities, dear to the learned, a resort to good people, and prone to (doing) universal good, of sharp intellect, has achieved majesty and prosperity.

(V. 9.) Thus reflecting, having the object of his action well settled in accordance with the advice of his trusted (men), king Jivadhāraṇa relinquished battle and gave away to that Karaṇa (Lokanātha), who obtained a royal charter (paṭṭa), his own territories (Vishaya) along with his army (sādhana)."²⁰

* We gather the following information from above ; Lokanātha's ancestor Adhimaharaja was born in the Bharadvāja Gotra. His son was Sāmanta Srinātha. Srinātha's son was Bhavanātha ; Bhavanātha's nephew was the father of Lokanātha. Lokanātha's mother was Gotra devī. Her mother's name was Ashṭāyikā and her father (Lokanātha's maternal grandfather) was Keśava. Keśava was a Pāraśava and was "virtuous and able, held in high esteem by the good, who, being placed in charge of the army, was in touch with the king, a famous man." Keśava's father Vira and Vira's father Sthāvara have been praised as Dvīja-sattama and Dvijavara respectively, both the terms meaning the best of the twice-

(19) Correct reading of the original plate is 'varma'.

(20) Consult Appendix B for the facsimile and reading of the copper-plate grant of Lokanatha.

born. Subsequently Raja Lokanatha has been described as Karapa.

“যত্নদদৌ স্ববিষয়ং সহ সাধনেন, ত্রীপটুপ্রাপ্ত কৰণায় বিহায় যুদ্ধম্।”

It will, therefore, be observed that Raja Lokanatha's maternal grandfather was Paraśava, but he was regarded as twice-born while his great-grandfather and the latter's father were highly respected Brahmanas. In Vanabhaṭṭa's Harshacharita which was written sometime before, we find that the author's father Chitrabhanu was a Sagnika Brahmana. Vanabhaṭṭa was his son by his Brahmana wife and Chandrasena and Matrisena were his other sons by his Sudra wife. Vanabhaṭṭa calls them his Paraśava brothers. This proves that in his time marriage between different caste was not uncommon. We also find that there was not much orthodoxy in religious matters. Raja Lokanatha was a devotee of Siva. But his Mahasamanta Pradosha Sarma who was an ardent believer in Vaishnavism obtained his permission to set up an image of Ananta-Narayana and settled more than one hundred Brahmanas in the jungly tract of land within the territory of Raja Lokanatha.²¹ Again, we find, JayatuṅgaVarma though born of the Brahmanic Bhauma dynasty as will be proved from the account of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa, had a deep faith in Buddhism to which the image of Lokanatha bears testimony. This toleration in religious matters had been in evidence since the time of Harshavardhana. The Emperor though a Buddhist granted lands to Brahmanas by issuing copper-

Social
freedom
and
religious
toleration.

(21) Consult Appendix B for the facsimile and reading of the copper-plate grant of Lokanatha

plates and was attached by ties of personal friendship to Bhāskara Varma who was a devout Saiva. The contemporary inscriptions all contain evidence to prove that matrimonial connections existed between princes belonging to Saiva, Śākta, and Buddhist creeds.

The revival
of
Brahminism

Bhāskara Varma's long copper-plate grant and also copper-plate grant of Lokanātha discloses the fact that through out the empire of Harshavardhana attempts were made to revive the cult of Brāhmaṇas and settle Brāhmaṇa families by granting them lands although the Emperor himself was a Buddhist. Both the Adhirājas or the independent rulers and the Śāmantas or the feudatory chiefs owning only nominal allegiance to them but their support to this movement. Not only these rulers but also the Buddhist princes of the Bhauma dynasty ruling over Kalinga and Kośala in a later age were actually settling Brāhmaṇas in their territories.

Avanti
Varma.

Mr. J. C. Ghosh in his article on Viśākha Datta, the author of the *Mudrā Rakshasa* writes,—
“In some manuscripts of the *Mudrā-Rakshasa*, the reading of Avanti Varma has been found in the last line of the last śloka in place of Chandragupta *** Although the history is silent about any descendants of Bhāskaravarma of Kamarupa, the reference to the Varāha Avatāra leads us to think that this Avanti Varma might be the immediate descendant of Bhāskaravarma, who claimed his descent from the Varāha Avatāra.²²”

But from the account already given we find

(22) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXVI, (1930) p. 244.

that the paramount ruler Jayatuṅga Varma was on the throne before 663 A. D. Under the circumstances Avanti Varma should be a descendant of Jayatuṅga Varma and predecessor of Śrī Harshadeva of Bhagadatta line.

It may be surmised that the province of Magadha was granted to Mādhava Gupta, another friend of Harshavardhana, on the occasion of the Dānasāgara ceremony at Prayāga in the same way as Karnaśuvarṇa fell to the lot of Bhāskara Varma. After the demise of Bhāskara Varma, Ādityasena, a son of Mādhava Gupta made an attempt to gain ascendancy in Āryāvarta by performing a horse-sacrifice. From the inscription found at Apsaḍ we learn that Ādityasena was alive in the 66th year of the Harsha era i. e. 671 or 672 A. D. His grandson Jivita Gupta was the last of the Guptas. It is generally believed that the Gupta dynasty came to an end in the last quarter of the 7th century or the first quarter of the 8th century. The Gauḍavadhā Kāvya by Vakpati contains the story of the death of the Lord of Magadha at the hands of Yaśovarma. This event probably took place in 728 or 729 A. D. On the other hand from the inscriptions of Jayadeva II the Lichchhavi king of Nepal, we learn that his father Sivadeva married the grand-daughter of the king Ādityasena and the daughter of the Maukhari king Grahavarma and that he himself was married to Rājyamatī, the daughter of Śrī-Harshadeva styled the Lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala. In this inscription, Rājyamatī has been respectfully mentioned as a Princess belong-

Aditya-sena.

Matrimonial
alliances
between
later king's
of the
Bhagadatta
dynasty
and the
Licchavis.

ing to the royal dynasty of Bhagadatta.²³ From the above inscription we learn that Jayadeva II was alive in 759 A. D. Srī-Harshadeva of Bhagadatta line must have, therefore, been alive at an earlier date.

The murder
of the King
of Gauda
by Lalita-
ditya.

Jivita Gupta died at the hands of Yaśovarma sometime in 728 or 729 A. D. While returning after his victory over the ruler of Magadha he was conquered by Lalitaditya, the king of Kāshmira. The king of Gauḍa, probably Srī Harshadeva, tried to win the favour of Lalitaditya by presenting him with a number of elephants. Lalitaditya invited him to Kāshmira and though he had taken a solemn vow before a god Parihasakesava who had a shrine in the city of Parihasapura that he would never do any harm to his guest had him murdered by a notorious 'Trigrami'.²⁴

The news soon spread to Gauḍa and a number of the faithful servants of the late king, determined to avenge the death of their master came to Kāshmira on the pretence of making a pilgrimage to the sacred shrine of Śaradāpīṭha. On arriving in Kāshmir they advanced towards the temple of Parihāsa-Keśava with the object of wrecking it. The priests, on receiving the news of their approach shut the gate of the temple. Mistaking an adjoining silver temple of Rāmasvami for the temple of Parihāsh-Keśava they destroyed it and shattered the image of god to pieces. In the meantime the soldiers hurried to the spot and surrounded them. When they

(23) "গৌড়োড়কলিককোশলপতিঃ ত্রিহর্ষদেবান্নজা ।

যেনোচা ভগদত্তবাজকুলজা লক্ষ্মীবিব স্নাত্তজা ॥"

Bhagavan Lal Indraji's Inscriptions from Nepal.

(24) Vide Rajatarangini. Chap. 4.

were busy breaking the image of the god the soldiers were cutting off their heads. But the men of Gauḍa were unperturbed. One by one they died at the hands of the enemies. How great was their loyalty! Kalhaṇa, the famous author of *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* referring to that event remarked, "What shall I say about the arduous journey from Gauḍa to Kāshmirā! What the men of Gauḍa did was even beyond providence. Even now the temple of Rāmasvami lying vacant, but the fame of those heroes of Gauḍa has spread to the whole Universe."²⁵

Vakpati's work does not mention the name of 'Magahanatha' or the lord of Magadha, neither does Kalhaṇa's *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* give us the name of the king of Gauḍa who was killed by the Trigrāmi at the instance of Lalitāditya. The view is held by many scholars that Magahanatha or the Lord of Magadha, who was defeated and killed by Yośavarma, the king of Kanauj, is no other than Jivita Gupta, the grandson of the paramount lord Adityasena. What then is the name of the king of Gauḍa who was slain by the Trigrāmi? In our opinion he is Sri-Harshadeva, the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala. From the large number of copperplate inscriptions that have been found in Kaliṅga it appears that after Bhāskara Varma, a certain relation of his also came to rule over Gauḍa, Uḍra and Kalinga and he was reputed to be a member of the Bhauma dynasty. We have seen that even the far-famed Lichchhavi dynasty which had entered into matrimonial alliances with the Gupta

Jivita Gupta
and
Harshadeva

(25) "অতাপি দৃষ্টতে শত্রুং বামস্বামিপুৰাঙ্গদম্ ।

ব্রহ্মাণ্ডং গৌড়বীৰাণাং সনাথং যশসা পুনঃ ॥" (বাজপতী ৪।৩৩০.)

Emperor and the powerful Maukhari Kshatriyas, felt proud of a connection with Sri-Harshadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty. The cause of this lies in the fact that their fame and prestige had grown enormously on account of the signal honour done to Bhaskara Varma and the long rule which they enjoyed over Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala. I am of the opinion that from the time of Bhaskara Varma to that of Sri-Harshadeva one member of the Bhauma dynasty ruled over the western portion of Eastern India and another over its Eastern portion represented by Kamarupa. In the first volume of this work I identified Sri-Harshadeva as Sri Harisha, relying on the copperplate-inscriptions of Vanamāladeva, the ruler of Kamarupa in which the brother's Pralamba and Sri Harisha have been mentioned as the successors of Vijayastambha. But it now appears to me that Sri Harisha ruled in Kamarupa only. The date of Sri Harisha is approximately 780 A. D. Sri-Harsha the king of Gauḍa and father in-law Jayadeva II flourished before 753 A. D. Hence Sri-Harshadeva the ruler of Gauḍa, Uḍra and Kalinga and Sri-Harisha cannot be the same person.

After the death of Sri-Harsha (in 732-733 A. D.) Jayanta styled Ādisura conquered Gauḍa and the successor of the Bhauma king Sri Harshadeva retired to Orissa. The Neulpur plate of Subhakaradeva who was known as a scion of the Bhauma dynasty, issued in the 8th year of his rule records the grant of lands to Brahmanas from Uttara Toshali.

R. D. Banerjee discussing the alphabet used in this inscription has come to the conclusion

that it is the Kayastha Nagari of the Eighth century A. D.

Dr. Sylvan Levi in his article entitled "King Subhakara of Orissa" Says :—

"Now at the end of the eighth century in 795 A. D. that is the 11th year of the period Cheng-yuan (785-805) the Chinese Emperor Se-tsang received as a token of image, on the 18th day of the eleventh month, an autograph manuscript addressed to him by the king of the realm of Wu-cha = Uṇṇa = Orissa (in Southern India), who had a deep faith in Sovereign law, and who followed the practice of Mahayana, 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion'. It is not doubtful that the last word was a translation of the king's name, 'fortunate' (Giles 909+4277) is the regular equivalent of Sri 'monarch,' lion is the translation of a word such as *Sinha*, here perhaps 'Keśari'.....The Manuscript presented to the Chinese Emperor contained the last section of *Avataṇṣakā*, the section treating of the practice and the vow of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra ; in other words it was the Gaṇḍavyūha. In conclusion Dr. Sylvan Levi says "the Chinese testimony proves that for the name of king we must read Subhakara and not Subhākara as Mr. Banerjee has done." 26

It would appear from above that Subhakara, the king of Kalinga and Kośala had friendly relations with the Chinese Emperor. He was a Mahayana Buddhist and was reported to have sent *Avataṇṣaka* to the Emperor of China. In his copperplate inscription he has been described

as the grandson of Mahārāja Kshemañkaradeva, who was a Saugata or a follower of Buddha and as a son of Mahārāja Sivankaradeva, who was also a Buddhist. He himself has been called a Saugata. If we take 795 A. D. as the year of the rise of king Subhakara, his grandfather Kshemankara must have flourished 60 or 65 years before this. I have already said that Harshadeva, the Lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra and Kaliṅga was murdered in Kashmira about 731-732 A. D. and he has been described as having belonged to the dynasty of Bhagadatta in the inscription of his son-in-law Jayadeva II, the king of the Lichchhavis. The dynasty of Bhagadatta which ruled over Prāgjyotisha was also known as the Bhauma dynasty. We may, therefore, take the king Kshemankara to be a successor of Sri-Harshadeva.

The active part which Bhāskarā Varma took in the grand Buddhist Council at Kanauj and his association with the great Chinese pilgrim probably made him a convert to Buddhism. The Lichchhavi king Jayadeva who was a son-in-law of his successor speaks of his dynasty as favouring the Law of Sugata. As Subhakara, the king of Trikaliṅga was known as a Saugata or an ardent follower of Buddha we may hold that his predecessor Harshadeva was also devoted to the same faith. Though a Saugata he regarded it as one of his principal duties to establish Brāhmaṇas in his territory.

After the death of Harshadeva in Kashmira, there was trouble over the throne in Gauḍa. The king Jayanta, rising to power, seized Gauḍa and proclaimed himself its ruler. Kshemankara, losing Gauḍa, came to Orissa. The princes of

the dynasty to which he belonged had so long enjoyed the proud distinction of being called the Lords of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala. After the loss of Gauḍa, they were known simply as the Lords of Trikalina or the king of Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala. With the establishment of the Bhauma dynasty in Orissa many of the descendants of the Brāhmaṇas to whom grants of lands had been made, migrated there. Though the Bhauma kings of Orissa were Saugatas, they welcomed these Brāhmaṇas and helped them in settling down in this country by granting them lands. From the Neulpur grant of Subhākara alone we find that he settled 200 Brāhmaṇas.

The Bhauma dynasty ruled over Orissa from the 8th century to the 13th century of the Christian era. A large number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions were left by them. Out of them the following copper-plate inscriptions and 2 rock-inscriptions have been published.

1. The Neulpur grant of Subhākara-deva (edited by R. D. Banerjee in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV).

2. The Chaurāsi grant of Subhākara-deva (Vol. XIV, pp. 292-306).

3. The Hindol grant of Subhākara-deva, edited by Pandit Vināyaka Sastri (Jl. Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83).

4. The copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī, edited by M. M. Haraprasād Sastri (Jl. Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, pp. 419-427).

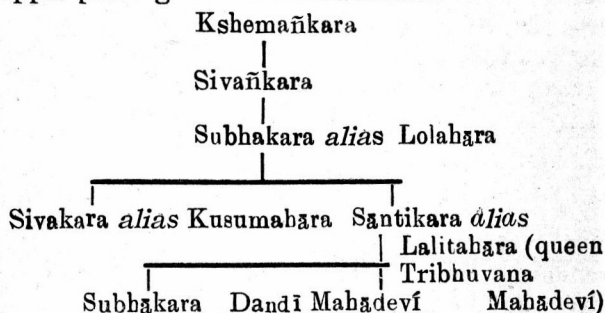
- 5 and 6. Two copper-plate grants of

Daṇḍī Mahādevī, edited by Prof. F. Kielhorn (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 133-142 and J. B. O. R. S., Vol. p. 564).

7. The Ganeśa-gumpha cave-inscription of Śrī Santikara (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV),

8. The Dhauli cave-inscription of Śrī Santikara in the year 93, edited by R. D. Banerjee (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX. p p. 263-264).

Pandit Vināyaka Misra has compiled the following genealogical table from the Hindol copper-plate grant of Subhakaradeva :—



But when the inscriptions enumerated above are studied in their bearing on one another Pandit Miśra's table would not appear to be an accurate one. In this connection I propose to discuss each of the inscriptions separately.

From the Neulpur copper-plate grant of the eighth year of the reign of Subhakaradeva, we learn that the father of Subhakara or Subhakaradeva was Kshemañkara (স্বধৰ্ম্মাৰোপিতবৰ্ণাশ্রমঃ পরমোপাসকানুগতাক শ্রীক্ষেমঙ্কৰদেবঃ). His son was Śrī Sivañkaradeva who was a follower of Tathagata and his successor was Subhakaradeva, an ardent Saugata. From the inscription it is clear that Kshemañkaradeva, though a scion of the Bhauma dynasty adopted the Buddhist

religion and became a follower of the Paramopāsakas or Buddhist apostles. He has not been designated a king as he kept aloof from the glamour of royalty. His son Sivañkara has been described as a Parama-tathāgata and to his name was affixed the title "Śrībhara."²⁷ He did not probably rule for a long time. His kinsmen were successful in their attempts to deprive him of his kingdom (অল্পচিঁতাধিপত্যভিলাষিত্ববৃত্তাদায়াদ-জনাধীযমানজগত্পল্লবঃ). But his son Subhakara recovered his father's possessions after quelling the usurpers by the strength of his arms and assumed the title and the position of Mahārāja.

Subhakara.

The Neulpur copper-plate relates "একত্র ব্রাহ্মণ-শতদ্বয়্য তাত্রপট্টেন আকবহেন অশ্বাভিঃ প্রতিপাদিতঃ" i.e., "By this copper-plate lands have been granted by me to 200 Brāhmaṇas at a time."²⁸ The Seal of Bhaskaravarma found at Nālanda²⁹ and the marriage of the daughter of Harshadeva with the Lichchavi king Jayadeva who was a Buddhist, go to show that the members of this dynasty did not bear any antipathy against the Buddhist religion or the Buddhist community. When we remember this tradition in their family we can understand how Kshemañkara became a follower of Paramopāsakas and how his son Sivañkara became a parama-tathāgata. His son Subhakara was described as a great Saugata. The Bhauma dynasty which was from

(27) The later Bhauma kings adopted 'Bhara' probably from the Bhara mentioned above.

(28) *Vide* Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 3-5 and Appendix B for the names of the 200 Brahmanas.

(29) *Vide* Journal Behar and Orissa Research Society, 1919, p. 302.

time immemorial devoted to the Saiva cult and deeply attached to the Brāhmaṇas thus inclined towards Buddhism and from the time of the kings Sivaṅkara and Subhakara became converted to the Buddhist faith. But the change of religion did not cause any diminution in their traditional respect for the Brāhmaṇas as is amply proved by the copper-plate grant of Subhakara and others.

The records in the library of the Chinese Emperor bear testimony to Subhakara's influence, power and devotion to religion. It has already been stated that in 795 A. D. a messenger from Subhakaradeva waited upon the Chinese Emperor. The Chaurāsi copper-plate grant of Subhakara's son tells us that Subhakara was a son of Sivaṅkara and Jayavali devī, and that Subhakara begot a son called Sivakara by Mādhavi-devī. The above-named copper-plate grant was made by Sivakara. The Neulpur copper-plate records the grant of land in North Tosali, while the Chaurāsi plate refers to grants made in South Tosali. While Subhakara of Neulpur plate gave lands to 200 Brāhmaṇas, Sivakara of the Chaurāsi plate made his grant to only one person named Jallu Bhaṭṭa, a Rīgvedī Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Kātyāyana Gotra (কাত্যায়নসগোত্রায় বৈশ্বানর-মিত্র-কার্ত্তিক প্রবরায় ঋগ্বেদচরণ জল্লভট্টায় এবমন্তাভিস্তাত্রশাসনীকৃত্য .)

Lakshmi-
kara,
Unmatta-
kesari
and
Gayada.

After the death of Sivakara his kingdom was probably seized by his kinsmen. The kings called Lakshmikara, Unmatta Keśari, Gayāda, etc., flourished during this time. Some indication of this is contained in the Hindol copper-plate grant and the copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana

Mahadevī. The latter says, "Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Lalitabharadeva married Purayidevī. Seated upon the lion-throne like Katyayani, Tribhuvana Mahadevī who inherited the prosperous kingdom of the Karas, made this grant."³⁰ She granted half a village in the Kankavira Vishaya the income from which was to be spent on incense, lights, flowers, sacrificial offerings, etc., required for the worship of the image of Vaidyanatha Bhattaraka installed in the temple of Pulindeśvara.³¹

Lalitabhara.

Tribhuvana
Mahadevi.

Pandit Vinayaka Misra's rendering of the first (fourteen lines) portion of the Hindol copper-plate grant is as follows :—

"When the kings such as Kamalākara, Bhaskara and Lakshmikara who sprang from Bhauma dynasty and who on account of their performance of hospitality were fondled by the Lord of gods eager to provide them with a place in this abode—had departed for heaven, in their family flourished the Paramasaugata (devout worshipper of Sugata Buddha), Paramesvara, Sri Subhakara who was the conqueror of enemies whose fame pervaded the three worlds who neither was heard of, being deserted by his soldiers, nor ever suffered defeat by enemy,—who was honest and truthful and who was also the best of men (Lines 6-9). His son the king Santikara who was an unsurpassable warrior in repressing the value of the invincible enemies, who excelled the former (kings) in intellect, who was famous in the world for his unique loving

(30) *Vide* copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahadevi in JI. B. O. R. S. Vol. II, p. 421.

(31) *Vide* Hindol plate of Sivakara.

appearance and who being kind-hearted rightly acquired the title *Nihṡamsaya Dhanadā* (unhesitating giver of wealth) by uncomparable charitable gifts praised in the heaven and even now has kept at a distance *Kuvera* (giver of wealth), was born like a king of heaven (Lines 9-14). His son *Subhakara* who meditates on his (father's) feet, who is born to queen *Tribhuvana Mahadevī*, daughter of the diadem of the *Naga* dynasty, who is the lord of day (Sun) in causing the lotus of pious men to bloom, who has acquired the profound knowledge of the internal essence of all the *Āgamas*, whose lotus of delight of every person to bloom and still is not an oppressor in taxation, unlike the glowing heat of the Sun—who has made arrogant kings to be afraid of his arms and deprived them of luxury from tribute—who resembles the full blossomed wishing tree (which grants whatever the suitor wants) who being delivered of the bad influences of the *Kali* age, though resembles the ocean of milk, but still produces the glowing heat of power and who has assumed the titles *Paramabhakṡaraka*, *Maharajadhiraja* (Lord of sovereigns) and *Paramesvara*."

In the above, '*Kamalākara*' has been taken as the first of the *Bhaumas*. But '*Kamalākara*' is an adjective, not a name. The text runs as follows :—

“ভৈমাৱবায়কমলাকৰভাস্কৰেষু লক্ষ্মীকৰাদিষু নৃপেষু শিবং গতেষু ।
আতিথ্য-সম্ভৱ-দেবৰাজ শ্ৰীমন্নিজাসনে নিবেশনলালিতেষু ।

তদৱশ্যে জিতাবাতিৰভূং পৰমসৌগত

ত্ৰৈলোক্যবিলসৎকীৰ্ত্তিনৃপতি শ্ৰীশুভাকৰঃ ॥”

‘When the kings such as *Bhaskara*, the *Kamalākara* or the source of prosperity of the *Bhauma* dynasty, *Lakshmīkara* and others departed to the region of the

Lord of Gods there was born devout in that dynasty Subhakara who was a Saugata.'

It is quite clear that in the above inscription Bhaskara has been called the Kamalākara of the Bhauma dynasty. I have already stated that the Bhauma dynasty of Gauḍa and Utkala first became prosperous at the time of Bhaskaravarma. Pandit Vinayaka Miśra has described Subhakara of the Hindol copper-plate and Subhakara of the Neulpur plate as one and the same person. But a discussion of the two inscriptions will show that this is not so.

From Pandit Vinayaka Misra's version of the text given above it will be seen that after the decease of Lakshmikara and other kings there was born in the same family Subhakara whose son was Santikara. Santikara had a son called Subhakaradeva by his wife Tribhuvana Mahadevi. The Hindol copper-plate, therefore, proves that there was more than one person bearing the name Subhakara in the dynasty. In the copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahadevi, Unmaṭṭa Keśari and Gayāḍa have been mentioned among the kings of the Kara dynasty. The inscription then, speaks of Purāyidevi, wife of 'Maharajadhiraja Paramesvarā Lalitabharadeva who succeeded to the throne by right of inheritance and ruled over the Kara kingdom. After Purāyidevi, mention has been made of 'Paramabhaṭṭarikā' (a great queen). Paramavaishṇavi (a devoted follower of Vaishnavism) Tribhuvana Mahadevi who sat on the lion-throne like Kātyāyanī with her feet placed on the heads of the Mahasamantas—who was, as it were, a support of the Kshatriyas and who meditated on the feet of her parents.³² As the

Subhakara
II
Santikara.

inscription distinctly says that the wife of Lalitabhāradeva was Purāyidevī and as the expression ‘মাতাপিতৃপাদাৰুধ্যাতা’ i.e., one who meditated on the feet of her parents and not the expression ‘পতিপাদাৰুধ্যাতা’ i.e., one who meditated on the feet of her husband has been used in referring to Tribhuvana Mahādevī, we cannot take the latter to be the wife of Lalitabhāradeva. The Hindol copperplate says :—“শ্রীমন্নাগোদ্বব-কুললমামভবায়াং মহা-দেবায়াং শ্রীত্রিভুবনমহাদেবামবাপ্তজন্মা” । According to this Tribhuvana Mahādevī belonged to the royal dynasty of the Nāgas. The term ‘Mahadevi’ was the characteristic designation of the Princesses of the Nāga dynasty.³³ In the copper-plate grant of Daṇḍī Mahādevī who belonged to the later period we come across the following :—

Dandi
Mahadevi.

‘The king Gyaṇḍa and others were the lineal descendans of Ummatṭasiṅha who having crushed his enemies became the rulers of the earth, just as the moon shines brightly dispelling darkness.’

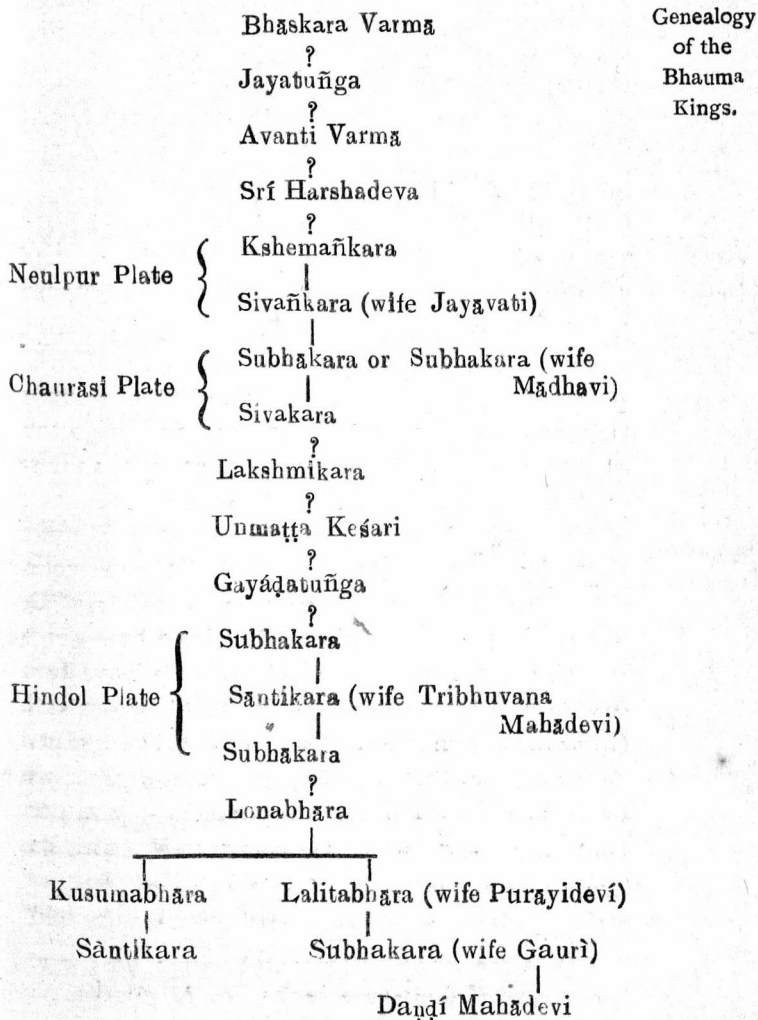
Lonabhara

King Lonabhāra was their descendant. Santikara was the son of Lonabhāra. This king reigned peacefully after having recovered his territories from Durmadakaṇṭaka. Subhakara was his youngest brother. After the death of Subhakara, his wife Gaurī ascended the throne. Daṇḍī Mahādevī was the daughter of Gaurī. From the Ganjam copper-plate we learn that she made this copper-plate grant to Pratihāra Dhavala, grandson of Apratida Ghosha and son of Vāsu Ghosha. The Banpur plate of Daṇḍī Mahādevī was granted in 387

(33) *Vide* Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX. pp. 161-164.

of an unspecified era to persons belonging to Bharadvāja and other Gotras.

On the basis of the inscriptions discussed above the following genealogical table has been prepared. The table is incomplete.



Pandit Vināyaka Misra remarks :—

“No such dynasty called Bhauma has hitherto been found in the epigraphic records discovered in India excluding Orissa. But we find in the Purāṇas that one Guha protected the peoples Kalingas, Mahishyas and Mahendra Bhaumas. (Dynasty of Kali Age, by Pargiter.) In the Purāṇas this Guha has not been said to be the offshoot of any Aryan family. I therefore suggest that the origin of the Bhauma dynasty may be traced to the Mahendra Bhaumas of the Purāṇas. This tribe most probably inhabited the hilly tracts of Orissa.”³⁴

Pandit Misra has probably no knowledge of the dynasty of Bhagadatta or the Bhauma dynasty of Prāgiyotisha; otherwise he could not have said, “No such dynasty called Bhauma has hitherto been found in the epigraphic records discovered in India excluding Orissa.” In numerous copper-plate inscriptions of Kamarupa, Bhagadatta and his descendants have been called Bhauma on account of the fact that the former owed his descent to Naraka Bhauma.³⁵ In course of his interpretation of the Neulpur copper-plate grant Mr. R. D. Banerjee says, “In the first line the kings mentioned in the grant are said to have been descended from the family of the Earth (Bhaumānvaya). Most probably they claimed descent from the Naraka, like the early kings of Kamarupa. This is supported by the fact that the first king has a surname which has

(34) J. B. O. R. S. Vol XVI. pt. I, p. 71.

(35) *Vide* The Social History of Kamarupa, Vol I, p. 164, foot-note; for particulars see pp. 39, 77, 80, 82, 86, 127 & 128.

The
Bhaumas
are the
lineal
descendents
or branch
of the
Bhauma
kings of
Kamarupa.

distinctly non-Aryan sound, e.g. "Nri(?)gatapha"³⁶ But in the original text there is no such word as Nri(?)gatapha. The correct reading is "nugatacha."³⁷ Moreover in the list of kings of the Bhauma dynasty there is not a single person bearing a Non-Aryan name. Pandit Vinayaka Misra also thinks that the Bhauma dynasty was derived from a Non-Aryan hill tribe of Orissa. But this dynasty could not have belonged to an indigenous tribe of Orissa. I have already shown that the Bhauma kings of Orissa were the descendants of Bhaskara Varmā of Kamarūpa. Speaking of the great ancestor, the Hindol plate says "ভৌমান্ববায়কমলা-কবভাস্কবেষ্ণু" *c. i.* this Bhaskara was the source of the lotus or the prosperity of the Bhauma dynasty. In the copper-plate grant of the Queen Tribhuvana Mahadevī who belonged to this dynasty we have the following:—"উন্নীলনৈকনিবতেষু ক্ষতস্থিতীনা-মুন্মটকেশবিগয়াড়পুৰঃসবেষ্ণু"³⁸ The above mentions the title "Kesari" as being held by this dynasty. Though in the line "শ্রীমানিন্দুৰিৰাবনীপতিৰ-ভুগুন্মটসিংহাহবয়ঃ"³⁹ occurring in the copper-plate grant of Daṇḍī Mahadevī we have "Unmaṭṭa Sinha" instead of "Unmaṭṭa Kesari" it is obvious that the word Siṅha was used in place of "Kesari" for the sake of the rhythm. According to the records of the Chinese Emperor referred to by Prof. Sylvan Levi, Subhakara of the Neulpur copper-plate bore the title "Kesari". The latter

The
Bhaumas
are not non
aryan or
indigenous
tribe of
Orissa

The
Bhaumas
styled as
Kesari line
of Orissa.

(36) Epigraphia Indica, Vol XV, p 2.

(37) *Vide* Original text in appendix C.

(38) *Vide* Jl. Behar-Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, :p. 76 (3rd line of the plate)

(39) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI. p. 133 & Journal of Behar & Orissa Research Society. Vol. V. p. 564.

The Bengal
origin of the
Bhaumas
or Kesari
dynasty of
Orissa.

lived in the 8th century A. D. It may therefore he concluded that after the Bhauma dynasty had come over to Orissa, some of the kings of this line also used the title of "Keśari." The copper-plate grants do not, however, show that this title was held by successive kings of the dynasty. On account of a difference in the reading of the text the dynasty has been called Soma instead of Bhauma by some scholars. The distinguished antiquarian Dr. Fleet calls the Keśari kings of Maḍala-pañji the Soma-Vaṅṣi kings of Kaṭaka.

The great Yayāti Keśari called in contemporary records Śrī Mahāsivagupta Śrī Yayāti-deva has given the following account of himself in his Marañjamura copper-plate inscription :—

“কর্ণাটলাটগুর্জবেশ্বর-দাড়জবীভুবিটকণৎ-কাঞ্চীকলাপাভবণ-
লম্পটঃ । কলিককোঙ্গদোৎকলককোশলাস্বয়ম্ববঃ প্রসিদ্ধগোড়-
রাঢ়াস্বব-প্রকর্ষণেৎঘাতমাকৃতশীতাজ-বঙ্গবিমলাস্ববপূর্ণচন্দ্রঃ স্বভূজো-
পার্জিত-ত্রিকলিঙ্গাধিপতিঃ পৰমমাহেশ্বর পৰমভট্টাবকঃ
শ্রীমহাভবগুপ্ত-পাদানুধ্যাত মহারাজাধিরাজ পৰমেশ্বর-প্রণমিত
বাজ্রোপসেবিতপাদাববিন্দযুগলঃ শ্রীমহাশিবগুপ্ত শ্রীষষাতিদেব
কুশলী ।”

The inscription concludes with the lines,

“অস্মদ্বজ্জায়য়ে কালে যঃ কশ্চিন্ন পতির্ভবেৎ ।

তস্তাহং পাদবজ্জোহস্মি যষাতিবাজ প্রার্থতঃ ॥”⁴⁰

In the above, Yayātiraja speaks of his Bengali origin and uses the expression ‘Vangavimalāmbarapurṇachandra’ when speaking of his father. All this conclusively proves that their ancestors came from Bengal. The inscription further shows that Mahābhava-gupta, the father of Yayātiraja conquered Trikalīṅga by the strength of his arms (স্বভূজোপার্জিত-ত্রিকলিঙ্গাধিপতি), The real name of

Mahābhavagupta was Janamejaya. We came across the names Janamejaya Keśari in Mādala-pañji.

We find the names of the kings Loṇabhara and Gayāḍa in the copper-plate inscriptions of Tribhuvana Mahādevī and Daṇḍī Mahādevī. According to the copper-plate inscription of Gayāḍatuṅga quoted below this king was a son of Loṇatuṅga.

Tunga
another
title of
Bhaumas.

“শাণ্ডিল্যগোত্রাছৎপন্নবোহিতাগিৰিনিৰ্গত বাজশ্ৰী জগত্তুঙ্গ
কপবীৰ্য্যবলান্বিত তস্তান্ময়ো সলোপতুঙ্গ শ্ৰীমানুজ্জিতবিক্রমঃ তস্মাৎ
বভূব ধৰ্ম্মজ্ঞো হুৎকাকৈৰিব চন্দ্রমা পৰমমাহেশ্বর সমধিগত পঞ্চমহাশব্দ
শ্ৰীগয়াড়তুঙ্গদেব কুশলী।”⁴¹

From Gayāḍatuṅga's copper-plate grant we also learn that he granted land in Orissa to one Manutadhan Sarmā, son of Deva Sarmā of the Kāsyapa Gotra, who was a Yayurvedi and who came from Bhaṭagrāma in Varendramauḍala.⁴¹

Gayadatunga

Again, the copper-plate inscription of Vinitatuṅga has the following :—‘The king Vinitatuṅga who was endowed with learning, physical beauty and prowess hailed from the region of the Rohita hills and belonged to the Saṇḍilya Gotra. His descendant was Khaḍgatuṅga. From him was sprung like the moon from the Ocean of milk, the guardian of faith, Parama-māhesvara, the holder of Pañcha-mahāśabda, the mighty Tuṅga king Mahārāja Rāṇaka Vinitatuṅga-deva.’ This Tuṅga king made copper-plate grants to Bhaṭṭaputra Chakra-Datta, Bhaṭṭaputra Chakrarakshita hailing from Puṇḍravardhana, Valabhadrapati, son of Sādharana of the Gautama Gotra and to Aṣṭakula.⁴²

Vinitatunga.

(41) Mayurbhanja Archæological Survey Report, Vol. I. p. 150.

(42) Mayurbhanja Arch. Sur. Report, Vol. I. p. 156.

In the copper-plate inscription of the Karāpa King Lokanātha we have seen that "against him large armies of the Parameśvara (supreme ruler) were many times discomfited. In obstinate battle with Jayatuṅga he showed his readiness!" In our opinion the above Jayatuṅga was the overlord of Lokanātha. The members of the ancient lunar dynasty of Chandradvīpa described themselves as being descended from the 'Rohitaśibhuja' dynasty.⁴³ The Vanīkakulakarikā of Vipra Govardhana also says "স্বৰ্ণবংশসমুদ্ভূতঃ চন্দ্রঃ
শ্রীৰোহিতাগিৰিঃ ।"⁴⁴

It has already been stated that an image called Jayatuṅga-Lokanātha has been found in Samatāṭa. The copper-plate inscription of the king Lokanātha was discovered in the district of Tippera which was formerly within Samatāṭa.

Rohitagiri
the original
home of
Tungas.

The famous Lalmai hills of Tipperah were probably called Rohitaśgiri in the olden times and this region was included in Samatāṭa. We may, therefore, presume that a branch of the Bhauma dynasty migrated from this place to Orissa. It seems reasonable to hold that the ancestors of the Bhaumas of whom Jayatunga was one originally ruled here. Like the Kesari dynasty, this Tunga family migrated with their kin to Orissa and established their sway in that country. With them also came Brahmanas from Varendra and Puṇḍravardhana. This is proved by the copper-plate inscriptions of Gayāṭunga and Vinitatunga mentioned above.

The Bhauma dynasty came to be subsequently known as the Kara dynasty. In the

(43) *Vide* Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 307, 311.

(44) Vangera Jatiya Itihasa, Rajanyakanda, p. 277.

copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahadevi the expressions “কবকুলকুমুদাকবেন্দু” and “প্রক্রমাগত কববাজ্যত্ৰী” have been used with reference to Lalitabharadeva and Tribhuvana Mahadevi respectively. In the copper-plate inscription of Daṇḍi Mahadevi the Queen Daṇḍi Mahadevi has been praised in the following words :—

“অবিচ্ছিন্নাৰতিপ্রাংশৌ বংশে কৰমহীভূতাম্ ।

ছিন্নভূতাপতাকেষু য়া বভূব বিভূষণম্ ॥

লাবণ্যামৃতনিঃস্যান্দ স্তন্দৰং দধতী বপুঃ ।

যা রাজচন্দ্রলেখেব বিলসৎ কীর্তিচন্দ্ৰিকা ॥”

She was like a piece of flag, the ornament of the extensive and undivided kingdom of the Karas.

Paṇḍit Vināyaka Misra in course of his discussion of the Hindol plate writes, “The Oriya Mahābhārata of Śārāla Dāsa of the 15th century. A. D. states that Viṣṇukara, founder of the Kara family, with the aid of Bhīma, brother of Yudhisṭhira established his rule over a holy land called Sivapura. This Sivapura is to be identified with Sivadasapura lying in the vicinity of Virajā temple in Jajpur where the ruins of a palace are now traceable” (J. B. O. R. S. VI. p. 73).

In my opinion, the hearsay derived from the Mahābhārata of Śārāla Dāsa has very little historical value. Nowhere in the numerous inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty there is any allusion to Viṣṇu Kara. There was probably a popular tradition that the Karas extended their power with the help of their Kinsmen of the Bhauma dynasty. It is not unlikely that the name Bhauma should have been changed to Bhīma. It appears to

me that after the disappearance of the Kara dynasty and the death of Daṇḍī Mahadevi, the last of the Kara rulers, the Mahā-sāmanta Janamejaya conquered the whole of Kalinga and adopted the name of Mahābhavagupta. In Orissa, he was probably known as Janmejaya Keśari. His son Yayātiraja seized Guhadevapaṭaka or Guhesvara-paṭaka, the ancient capital of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and founded the capital city of Yayātipura in his own name on the bank of Mahanadi, now popularly known as Kaṭaka.

Pandit Vināyaka Misra has raised many important topics in course of his discussion in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Kara kings :—

“Again according to the version of Virajā Mahātmya, shrines in Jajpur bear the names of Lalitesvara, Kusumesvara and Daṇḍisvara. These shrines probably took their names after Lalitahara, Kusumahara and Daṇḍī Mahadevi who flourished in the Kara family. Moreover, if from the expression Mandākinikulavāsakat prāpta-pancha-mahāsabda (the title ‘pancha-mahāsavāda’ obtained from one residing on the bank of Mandākinī), we can assert, that Jayasinha got the recognition of his lordship over the Goṇḍamaṇḍala from an overlord, who used to reside on the bank of Mandākinī (above Vol. II) then it can be said that the residence of that overlord was at Jajpur, for a stream called Mandākinī now flowing there. Besides, the accounts of Yuan Chuang who reached the capital of Orissa after proceeding Tamralipti or 130 miles from Tamluk (Life of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel

Beal) is in support of the supposition that Jajpur which is about 120 miles from Tamruk was then the capital of Orissa.

"The description given in the Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate also indicates that Guhesvara Patāka whence the plate was issued, was the capital of the donor's kingdom. As all the plates of Kara family were issued from one place, it can be maintained that that place was there permanent capital. In this case Guhesvara Patāka of the plates of Kara family can be identified with Godhaneśvara-paṭṇa which now forms a part of Jajpur town.

Guhadeva
patāka
capital of
the
Bhaumas.

"Another startling fact has been revealed by this plate. It states in line 5 on the reverse that the donor had a Lion-emblem (*simhadhvaja*). We find also the mention of Ummaṭṭa in Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate. It can be held now that this *simhadhvaja* also refers to the Kesari title of the donor. Consequently the Bhauma or Kara dynasty is identical with the Kesari dynasty of the temple chronicle of Puri. It can be said now that Dr. Sylvan Lèvy is quite right in his assumption that Subhakara Kesari (one who does what is pure Lion) of Orissa who presented the Avatamsaka, a Buddhist work, to the Emperor of China, belonged to this Bhauma dynasty (E. I. Vol. XV), since such name having Kesari title has been found now."⁴⁵

(45) Jl. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVI. p. 15-16.

THE GUHAS OF ORISSA.

The name "Guhadevapāṭaka" or "Guheśvara-pāṭaka" occurs in all the copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhauma dynasty. It has already been stated that the Neulpur copper-plate grant was made in the eighth century A. D. We may, therefore, hold that the name "Guhadevapāṭaka" or "Guheśvarapāṭaka" had been in existence even before this time. Apparently at a certain period of time before the establishment of the rule of the Bhauma dynasty the country had been governed by the family of the Guhas.

Guha kings
in Orissa.

They gave their name to the country which came to be known as "Guhadeva" or "Guheśvarapāṭaka." Now the question arises—when did the Guhas come into power? I have shown elsewhere⁴⁶ that in the fourth century A. D. Guhaśiva reigned at Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga. Dāthavaṅga, a Pali book by Dharmakīrti Thero of Ceylon gives an account of Guhaśiva in connection with the story of the preservation of the tooth of Buddha. We are told that a favourite disciple of Buddha collected his master's tooth from the funeral pile on which his dead body was burnt and presented the sacred relics to Brahmadatta, the king of Kalinga. At his capital, Brahmadatta built a golden temple overlaid with precious stones as the repository of the sacred tooth. This explains how the capital of Kalinga became famous as Dantapura or city of the tooth. (370-390 A. D.) Guhaśiva ascended the throne at Dantapura by right of

(46) *Vide* Bangerā Jatiya Itihāsa, Rajanyakanda, pp. 314-316.

inheritance. He was at first devoted to the Brahmanas. Influenced as he was by them, he was unlike his predecessors without any faith in the worship of the tooth. But a supernatural occurrence made him an ardent convert to the cult of the tooth. Annoyed at this, the Brahmanas complained against him to the king of Pataliputra. Acting on their advice, the king of Pataliputra despatched a *Sāmantā* chief named Chittayāna to bring Guhaśiva with the tooth. As soon as the tooth were brought there many extraordinary things began to happen as a result of which the king of Pataliputra became a firm believer of the tooth. After the death of the king of Pataliputra, Guhaśiva brought back the tooth to Dantapura. But he was not allowed to live in peace. The chief of a neighbouring country called Kshiradhara attacked his territory. Kshiradhara was defeated and killed, but his nephew renewed the attack on the territory with a large army. Perceiving that defeat was inevitable this time, Guhaśiva told his beloved son-in-law Dantakumara, the Prince of Ujjayini that he apprehended change of fortune and that in the event of his death in the battlefield the tooth-relic of Buddha should be sent to Ceylon. After his death in the battle, Dantakumara accompanied by his wife came in disguise to Ceylon via Tamralipta, taking with him the sacred tooth. Since that time the tooth have been preserved in Ceylon where they are still worshipped.

Tooth relic
of
Buddha.

Guhaśiva, Guheśvara and Guhadeva are synonymous expressions. It is not unlikely that Guhaśiva's capital should have become known as Guhesvara-paṭaka or Guhadeva-

paṭaka. According to some scholars, Dantapura, the holy land of the Buddhist, is to be identified as the modern Dantan in the District of Midnapore. Others hold that it is Puri. But in my opinion Dantapura and Guhadevapaṭaka or Guhesvarapaṭaka should be regarded as identical in view of the fact that Dantapura was Guha's paṭas or the capital of Guhaśiva's kingdom. The king Sivankara, a follower of Buddha or his son the Paramasaugata Subhakarā founded their capital here, knowing it to be a place of Buddhist pilgrimage. In the Guhavaṁśa-Kārika (genealogical account dealing with the family of the Guhas) by the Ghaṭaka Nandarama Mitra we have the following :—

“দশৰথগুহ এষ জ্ঞানবান্ শুদ্ধবেশো

গুহকুলবজনীশঃ কোটদেশক্ষিতীশঃ ।

দ্বিজবৰকুলসেবী বেদনিষ্ঠোপজীবী

শ্রুতগুহকুলভাষন্তত্ৰ সৰ্ব্বশ্ৰু হাসঃ ॥”

‘This learned, elegantly dressed, Daśaratha Guha is like the bright moon of the family of the Guha. He is the ruler of the Koṭa country, a follower of the Vedas and is devoted to the Brāhmaṇas. These words in which Guha was introduced made everyone laugh.’

From the above we learn that Daśaratha Guha was a prince of the Koṭadeśa. In Sandhyākara Nandi's commentary on the Rāmācharita a king named Viraṅga has been called a sovereign-ruler of the southern country and a necklace on the mighty tree of Koṭa (“কোটাটবাকীৰব-দক্ষিণ-সিংহাসনচক্রবর্তী”). This king had helped Rāmapāla. Rāmapāla flourished during the period 1057-1087 A. D. Again in a

treatise called *Saravali* which gives a genealogical account of the Baṅgaja Kayasthas we find that a Guha prince of Koṭa visited the court of the Gauṇa territory in the year 994 of Saka era (1072 A. D.) at the invitation of its king. The *Kula-karikā* or genealogical treatise collected from Idilpur contains the following verse bearing on the subject of the visit of the Brāhmaṇas to the court of the Vaṅga king which is referred to in the genealogical accounts of the Baṅgajas :—

“চল যাই বিৰাটবাড়ী, তবে সে যাইতে পাৰি,
 ৰাজা না বলি যাইবে কে ।
 শুনিবা যে নৃপবৰ, চলে যাই সত্ৰৰ,
 কহিতে লাগিলা ৰাজাকে ॥
 শুন ৰাজা নৃপবৰ, চল যাই সত্ৰৰ,
 আবাহন কৰিছে গোড়পতি ।
 বিৰাটৰাজা কহেন কথা, আমি না যাইব তথা,
 পৌত্ৰে পাঠাইয়া দিব সঙ্গতি ॥”

It appears from the lines quoted above that the founder of the royal family of the Guhas belonged to the royal dynasty of Virāṭa. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, Koṭadeśa was under the jurisdiction of Cuttack. Koṭa means a fort. The area covered by the principal gaḍ-jats of Orissa was known as Koṭa. Its ruler Vīra Guṇa has been described in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita* as the sovereign-ruler of the Southern country (দক্ষিণসিংহাসনচক্রবৰ্ত্তী). In Eastern Bengal some Guha families have the surname ‘Gu’ or ‘Guṇa’⁴⁷ It is, therefore, not improbable that Vira Guha mentioned as Vira Guṇa by Sandhyākara was the Guha king of Virāṭa.

(47) Of course there is a separate surname as Guna found in the list of Kayastha-Kula-panjika.

In certain genealogies of Baṅgaja Kāyastha we come across the words “অয়মগ্নিকুলোদ্ভব গুহবংশা-
ভিধানো মহান্।” ‘He belongs to the great family
of the Guhas who are descended from the
Agnikula’. Most of the leading royal dynasties
of Rajasthan claimed descent from the Agnikula.
Some were called Guhalot or Guhilot after the
name of Guhadatta, a remote ancestor of the Maha-
rajas of Udaipur. The Deopara inscription of
king Vijayasena tells us that he defeated a
prince named Vira. If this Vira and Viraguṇa
are regarded as identical then we may presumed
that this king on account of his hostility with
Vijayasena could not leave his territory at the
invitation of Syamalavarman in the year 994 of
the Saka era, but sent his grandson Daśaratha
Guha to his court. Syamalavarman had extended
his conquests to Vanga. Being honoured at his
court Daśaratha and his descendants were coun-
ted among the leading Kulīnas in the Baṅgaja
community.

After the defeat and death of Guhaśiva his
descendants or kinsmen took shelter in the
hilly tracts protected by forrest trees and ruled
there. As they belonged to the Virāṭa dynasty
they were known by the title Virāṭa-Bhujanga-
Mandhātā. Even now in the Gaḍajāt region
there are many glorious relics of the dynasty
of Virāṭa Bhujāṅga as also legends connected
with their rule. My observations regarding
the Bhujanga or Naga dynasty made elsewhere
are quoted below :—

“The Naga race once exerted great influence
all over India ; the traces of that influence are
still found in several places. Even at the time
of the 23rd Tirthankara Paśyanātha (8th

century B. C.) the Nagas dwelt near Mayurbhanja. They were very powerful until the time of the Gupta emperors. After they had been defeated by the Emperor Samudra Gupta they continued to wield considerable power till the early part of the seventh century of the Christian era. The Naga family of Mayurbhanja was known by the name of Vairata Bhujanga or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family. Evidences of serpent worship by the Vairāṭa dynasty are also found in many places of Mayurbhañja as far as Raibania in the district of Midnapur on the North, Virāṭagaḍa near Khiching on the South, Koptipādā and Nilgiri on the east and Sirsā on the West. This dynasty flourished in Mayurbhañja before the Bhañja Rājās rose to power there. The Naga kings probably took refuge in the hill tracts of Mayurbhañja and Chota-Nagapur on being driven out of their original home by the Emperor Harshvardhana. Hence it appears that the power of the Vairāṭa Rājās of Mayurbhañja dates from the seventh century A. D. The Pāṭamuṇḍi hill near Paraḍihā is known as the original seat of the serpent goddess, who was the tutelary deity of the Vairāṭa dynasty. There was near this hill a stone image of the goddess which has long since been removed. It is now preserved in the house of the sarbarāhkār of the Bhujanga dynasty of Koptipādā and is worshipped by him. The image of Kinchaka Naga carved on the Pāṭamuṇḍi hill is another proof of serpent worship by the Vairāṭa Rājās. The image known, by the name of Kinchakeśvari, or Khichingeśvari, now situated at Khiching in Panchpir and regarded as the tutelary deity

Naga-
worship in
garhjat.

Antiquity of
Naga
worship.

of the Bhanja Rajas was formerly worshipped by the Vairāṭa Bhujangas. The lower half of the image of the goddess Vairāṭapaṭa Thakuraṇi at Koptipadā and Raibaniā has the form of a serpent while the upper half of the image presents a human form. This image appears to be identical with that of Ella, the mother of the Scythians which was worshipped in central Asia, as described by Diodorus. A figure has been discovered, amongst the ruins of Koisari-gaṭa, which appears to be only a different form of this goddess. She wears a head-dress of serpent-hoods and clasping a bowl in both hands, presents with her closed eyes the attitude of meditation. The goddess, though once considered the chief object of worship of the Bhujanga family, is now neglected and receives worship only from a low class Dehuri of the village. It is known by the people of the place by the name of Koṭāsani. The figure was probably placed in the fort of this place and worshipped at the time of the ascendancy of the Vairāṭa dynasty, deriving probably from this fact its name Koṭavāsini or Koṭāsani. This figure is in all likelihood that of Manasa."⁴⁸

It is needless to say that after the establishment of its rule in Orissa, the Bhauma-Kara dynasty entered into matrimonial alliances with the members of the Naga dynasty. That dynasty was held in high esteem in Orissa has been repeatedly declared in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. The famous Queen Tribhuvana Mahadevī was

(48) For further particular *vide* the Mayurbhanja Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. I. pp. XXXVI-XXXVIII, and 72-73.

born in the Naga family. The title Mahadevi seems to have been applied exclusively to the Naga Queens. Though we have not yet found any copper-plate inscriptions of the Naga or Bhujaṅga dynasty of Orissa, many inscriptions issued by a branch of this family who ruled somewhere near Bastar have been discovered which describe the dynasty as “নাগবংশোদ্ভবভোগবতী-পূর্ববর্ষেখব সবৎস-ব্যাভ্রলাঞ্জন কাশ্মপগোত্র”. The following is a list of these inscriptions—(1) Narayanpal stone inscription of Queen Guṇḍa Mahadevī, the mother of Somesvaradeva, dated Saka 1033 (1111 A. D.) (2) Barsuri inscription of Gaṅga Mahadevī, wife of Somesvaradeva, dated Saka 1130. (3) Kuruspal inscription of Dhārana Mahadevi, second queen (?) of Somesvara, (4) Sunarpal stone inscription of Mahadevī, queen of Jayasiṅhadeva. (5) The Dantesvariguḍi inscription of Narasiṅhadeva, dated Saka 1140.⁴⁹

Though in later times the religion professed by the dynasty has been variously represented to be Vaiṣṇava, Saiva and Śākta, there is ample evidence to show that they actually followed the Mahāyāna school of Buddhist doctrine. Another royal dynasty of Orissa which has its headquarters at Nilgiri still uses the title ‘Virāṭa Bhujaṅga Maṇḍhātā.’ At Sujanagaḍa, 3 miles from Nilgiri there is a temple of the goddess Budhar Chaṇḍī who was regarded as the presiding deity of the Nilgiri rulers. The Nilgiri State provides for the daily worship of the goddess. I have seen the image of Budhar Chaṇḍī. It represented Maṛichī of the Buddhist Tantras. Budhar Chaṇḍī means a

(49) Vide *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX. p. 161-164, 311.

Chañḍi worshipped by the Buddhist. Though the royal family of Nilgiri now professes the Sākta religion the worship of the goddess Buddha Chañḍi reveals that their ancestors were Buddhists and that they themselves are Buddhists only in disguise.

From the brief history of the Bhauma dynasty given above one may realise to a certain extent the magnitude of its influence and power. With the expansion of the power of the Bhauma dynasty the whole of Eastern India extending from Eastern borders of Assam down to Ganjam coast of Orissa came under the influence of the ideals and the social customs and practices of Kamarupa. I have shown in the first volume of this work how this dynasty had been reputed since the time of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas for its heroism and what a high position it had all along enjoyed. The Raja-vaṅśavali by Raja Upendra Sinha of Rani, Assam, who is a lineal descendant of the ancient Bhauma dynasty writes, "Inspired by king Duryodhana, his father-in-law Bhagadatta invited Brāhmaṇas of the five gotras, viz, Kasyapa, Saṇḍilya, Bharadvāja, Upamanyu and Parāsara." From the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskara Varma we learn that 3000 years after king Bhagadatta or his son Vajradatta, Pushya Varma was born into this family. In the first volume I have said that Pushya Varma ruled approximately between 275--300 A. D. The son of Pushya Varma was Samudra Varma who married Datta Devī. The name of the queen of his great contemporary Samudra Gupta was also Datta Devī, probably both married in the same family. Though related

Samudra Gupta fought with and defeated Vala Varmā, son of Samudra Varmā, in connection with the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. This is recorded in Samudra Gupta's Allahabad Inscription. Just as Samudra Gupta founded an empire which included at last the whole of the Indian sub-continent, Samudra Varmā extended his power to the Eastern Peninsula the shores of which were washed by the Pacific Ocean.⁵⁰ Thus the influence of the Bhauma dynasty had made itself felt in distant Burma before it began to spread in Eastern India. The origin of the grand architectural memorials of the Saivas which still exist in Kamboj or Cambodia and Anga (Mahā-Champā) or Anam should be traced to the Brahminic ascendancy which was firmly established by the Saiva kings of the Bhauma dynasty. Mahābhata-Varmā or Bhāti Varma flourished in the fifth century A. D., who, as we learn from the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskara Varmā, gave an unique proof of his devotion to the Aryan religion by settling a large number of Brāhmaṇas in his kingdom. How under the influence of these Brāhmaṇas and their descendants Hindu society not only in Kamarupa but in the whole of Eastern India including Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Orissa was moulded would prove to be a story of absorbing interest to the students of Social Science. A fuller account of these Brāhmaṇas will be found in the next chapter.

Though settling under the patronage of Bhāti Varmā, the influence and status of these Brāhmaṇas increased from the time of Bhāskara

(50) *Vide* The Social History of Kamarupa, Vol. I. p. 141-142.

Varma. Some of the descendants of the Brāhmanas were established in the Rāḍha country by Bhāskara Varma when he was reigning at Kārnasuvarṇa. I venture to think that Bhāskara Varma was also called Ādiśura in the old Kulakārikas of Rāḍha on account of the fact that he was the first of the Bhaumas to rule over this country and was a Sura or a hero. More will be said about this in the following chapter.

Harshadeva, a later king of the Bhauma dynasty gave his daughter in marriage to a prince of the famous Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal. The Bhauma dynasty afterwards formed matrimonial alliances with the Nagas. Though this dynasty traditionally belonged to the caste called Mlechchha Dvija or Mech-Brahmana, it virtually became Kshatriya by reason of its association with various Kshatriya families. The dynasty which at one time held sway over the regions extending from the Himalaya on the north to the Mahendrachala on the south and from the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the east to the extreme limits of the province of Magadha in the west has almost passed into oblivion. The rulers of modern Kuch Bihar are descended from that ancient dynasty, but they have not any knowledge of it.

Before concluding this chapter, I think it necessary to elucidate something more. Prof. Rāḍha Govinda Basākha after discussing the Tippera plate of Lokanātha has written thus:—“Another significant fact that may be brought to notice here in this plate, which we take to have belonged to the age of anarchy (*mātsya-*

nyāya) in Bengal, i. e., the time after the death of Harsha and before the rise of Pāla kingdom in the eighth century. We do not find even a latent allusion to Buddhism, although the Pāla kings themselves were Saugatas (Buddhists). From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang we learn that during this time he could find no sign of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa. We cannot possibly connect this plate with any of the Kāmarūpa kings of that time. We have seen that the ancestors of Lokanātha were devotees of Saṅkara and that his own Brāhmaṇa mahāsamanta Pradosha Sarman (the grantee), wished to set up an image of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa. The prevalence of Brāhmanic influence in Eastern India at the time can be rightly inferred also from the mention in this inscription of the sacred fires, pauranic deities, Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vēdas, etc., as also from the fact that Brāhmaṇas could be *Sāmanta* chiefs".⁵¹ The fact that Mahārāja Bhāskara Varma joined the great Buddha-Yātrā at Kanauj as also the discovery of his Seal at Nālanda, establishment of Jayatuṅga-Lokanātha by his descendant Jayatuṅga Varma, and the connection of Harshadeva of this line with the Nepal Buddhist king bears testimony to the fact that they were admirers of Buddhist religion. Sir E. A. Gait, the famous historian of Assam, has written in his Census Report thus :—
"Traces of Buddhist architecture are discernible in the temple of Kāmākhyā, Sinheswar and Hajo,
 and the latter contains a statue of Buddha, which the common people called the Mahāmuni, and which is still visited by Buddhist pilgrims from Bhutan and Tibet. Another statue of Buddha

(51) Epigraphia Indica, Vol XV, p. 306.

is to be seen carved in the rock on the bank of the Brahmaputra below the dak-bungalow at Gauhati, and a ruined temple at Singri Parbat is like Hajo, in great repute amongst the Bhutias. In the life of Sankar Deb, we are told how he met with and converted two Buddhists in the Nowgong district, and the account of Ralph Fitch, who travelled in India in the sixteenth century, shows that Buddhist principles were still powerful amongst the people in the western part of the Koch kingdom. * * * During the years 629 to 645 A. D. Buddhism was unknown. * * * The Pal kings of Assam were ruled from 855 to 1040 A. D. and that Buddhism was at its zenith in Assam during their tenure of power.”²

From the above testimonies of the Buddhist influence, it is clearly understood that Buddhism was prevalent in Kāmarūpa from a very long time. I have noted it before that we have been intimated with Jayatuṅga Varma from the above Lokanātha plate. The image of Lokanātha at Samatāṭa was named after him. Even simultaneously with the advent of the Bhauma dynasty, one of their branch went to Orissa from Bengal, while the other seems to have gone to Kāmarūpa and spread Buddhist religion there. The Southern branch of the Bhauma dynasty openly declared themselves as pure Buddhist or Parama Saugata. The other branch in Kāmarūpa though had not declared openly as Buddhist, yet no one of them can be proved as hostile to the Buddhist religion.