The different areas of what was known as Bengal in pre-partition days carried different geographical designations in ancient times. The boundaries of these territorial divisions varied in different epochs of history owing to the rise and the fall of the political powers under whom they were subjected. The principal among these territorial names which have survived till recently are Gauda\(^1\) and Vanga\(^2\). Indeed, these two broad politico-geographical divisions of ancient and medieval times and they roughly denoted Western and Eastern Bengal. From the 12th and 13th centuries onwards Gauda and Vanga were becoming interchangeable terms owing to their political unification under the same sovereign, styled both Vangapati and Gaudésvara, and the process was complete in the Mughal and British periods\(^3\).

1. This was in currency till the last century, as exemplified by its occurrence in Madhusudhan Datta's *Meghnadavadha Kavya* (1860): \textit{Rachiba e madhučakra Gauda-jana Yeh ānande karibe pān sudhā nirobadhi.}

2. It is still in use, e.g., Paśchim-vangā, Purva-vangā, Vangā-vasī, Vangā-bhashā etc.

The other geographical names of olden days include Pundravardhana¹ and Varendri (North Bengal), Suhma (Hooghly district, with Triveni-Saptagram-Pandua area of the Hooghly district of West Bengal as its core-area), Rādhā² (the Birbhum-Bankura-Hooghly, Howrah and Portions of Medinipur districts, thus including at times the ancient Suhma region), Tamralipti or Tamralipta (modern Tamluk in the Medinipur district) and Dandabhukti (Danton and its adjoining regions in the Medinipur district, occasionally including northern portions of Orissa).

1. Derived from the people called Pundra who finds mention for the first time in the Aitareya Aranyaka (VII. 13-18). The earliest reference to the capital or metropolis of Pundravardhana is found in the Mahāsthān Stone plaque inscription of the 4th or early 3rd century B.C. (Ed. XXI, p. 85). Mentioned as Puḍanagala, that is, Pundranagara, it is identified with modern Mahasthan in the Bogra district of Bangladesh. Later, Pundravardhana (from the Gupta period onwards as Pundravardhana-bhukti) came to include the major portions of undivided Bengal, except the Burdwan division, but its core-area known as Varendra or Varendri in ancient times, had always been the Rajshahi-Bogra-Dinajpur sector of Rajshahi division of the pre-partition days.

2. According to the Achārāṅga-sūtra (I.8.3), the land of Rādhā has two parts named Vajjabhumi and Subba (=Suhma-)

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¹ Pundravardhana
² Rādhā
Sanatata (South-Eastern Bengal comprising Chittagong, Comilla and Noakhali districts of the present-day Bangladesh), Harikela (Comilla, Srihatta and Chittagong districts of Bangladesh), Chandradvipa (Barisal district of Bangladesh) and Vangala (Chittagong, Noakhali and Barisal districts of Bangladesh). All these names have come down to us from ancient epigraphical and literary records and a careful analysis of the relevant data would show that they were geographically connected with either Gauda or Vanga, that is, West and East Bengal, and none of them was mutually exclusive. In other words, there were some geographical overlappings and not unoften the same region was known under different names in different historical epochs.

The two names were replaced by Dakshina-Radha and Uttara-Radha in the 9th or 10th century A.D. The Gauonri plates of Vakpati Munja of 981 A.D. (El, XXIII, p. 105) and other literary texts and inscriptions refer to Dakshina-Radha (JASB, 1912, p. 341; Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, 2nd ed., p. 72; IC, I, p. 502; Prabodha-Chandrodaya, Act. II.; Kavikankara-Chandi, Calcutta University Edition, Part I, p. 20) and include in it places called Bhurisr̥ṣhti or Bhurileshthika (modern Bhursut, Howrah district), Navagrām (Hooghly district) and Dāmuniā (to the West of Dāmodar, Burdwan district). Dakshina-Radha thus seem to have comprised considerable portions of Western Bengal lying between the Ajay and the Dāmodar rivers. Its southern limit was
Territorially, the area of our present investigation belongs to Bangladesh. This was represented collectively by two popular terms: Vanga and Samatā. Other designations like Vangāla, Harikela and Chandrāvīpa were closely associated, and either fully or partially coincided, with them. A few words now may be said of their significations, which understandably were not fixed throughout the history of ancient and medieval Bangal.

The earliest mention of the term Vanga has been traced in the Aitareya Aranyaka (II.1.1.) of the 7th - 6th centuries B.C. Other important notices of Vanga have been met with in the records, like the Indian Museum plates of the Ganga year 308 which is probably datable to the 9th century A.D. (Pola of Bengal by R.D. Banerji, pp. 61-62), the Belava copper-plate of Bhojarman (1137-45 A.D.; EI, XII, pp. 37-43) and the Naihati Grant of Vallālasena (1159-79 A.D.; EI, XIV, p. 159). The last mentioned inscription includes Uttara-Rādhā in the Vardhamāna-bhukti. The Saktipur Grant of Lakshaṇasena (1179-1206 A.D.) indicates that the mandala of Uttara-Rādhā included villages of the present-day Kandi subdivision of the Murshidabad district (EI; XXI, p. 211). Rādhā lying to the east of Birbhum and to the north of the river Dāmodar is referred to in the Diqvijaye-prakāsa (Vasumati, 1340 B.S., Magha, p. 610) of c. 1600 A.D.
Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra (4th - 3rd centuries B.C.), the Rāmāyana (2nd century B.C. - 2nd century A.D.) and the Mahābhārata (4th century B.C. - 4th century A.D.), the Milindapañha (1st century A.D.), the Nāgārjunakonda inscription (3rd century A.D.) and the Meherauli pillar (near Qutb Minar at Delhi) inscription (4th century A.D.) of a kind called Chandra. It also figures in the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Kīrttivarman I (567 - 97 A.D.), one of the earliest records of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi.

Some indications of the location of ancient Vāṅga are found in the Raghuvamsa of Kālidāsa of the Gupta period. The work seems to locate the Vāṅga people in the middle of the streams of the Ganges (Gāṅgāsrototāravātāraśu, IV. 36) with the Kapiśā or Kāśāī river, now in the district of Medinipur, as forming the western boundary of their territory. The Milindapañha referring to Vāṅga as an important seaport, seems to place in the littoral region.

The term Vāṅga was used in two senses, viz., wide and narrow. In a wide sense Vāṅga in addition to East Bengal tracts (see below) included the areas beyond the Hooghly to the river Kapiśā or Kāśāī in the Medinipur district, as evident from the description of

1. SBE, XXXVI, ii, p. 269 (Text 359).
2. El, XX, p. 22
3. J.F. Fleet, CII, III, p. 141
4. IA, XIX, p. 7.
Tamralipti (Tamluk) as a city of the Vangas in the Jain Upanga Prajnapana. But in its narrow and conventional sense in which it was used in the Gupta, and more particularly in the Pala and Sena periods, it was mainly restricted to the Dhaka and Chittagong divisions of the pre-partition days. Indeed, it embraced till recently the region lying to the east of the Padma, an important branch of the Ganges. The eastward extension of Vanga is apparent, among others, by the Adhichanachintamani of Hemachandra (12th century A.D.) and the Jayamangala commentary on the Kamasutra by Yasodhara (13th century). In the former text the people of Vanga have been equated with the inhabitants of Harikeli or Sylhet (Vangas = tu Harikelivya), while in the latter Vanga has been identified with the region (probably its major portion) lying to the east of the Brahmaputra (Vangā Lāhuīyāt Purvena).

With Vanga are connected the terms like Upavanga and Vangāla (see below). The designation Upavanga is mentioned in the A.D. Brihatsamhitā (XIV.8) of the 6th century and the Digvijaya-prakāsa (composed around 660 A.D.). The former text includes it in the list of countries of the south-east division without indicating its precise location. The Digvijaya-prakāsa includes Yasohar and its adjoining forest region in Upavanga (Upavanga Yāsorādyāh desāh Kānana - Samyutāh). And it thus places Upavanga to the west of Vanga proper.

1. IA, 1891, p. 376.
As regards the division of the Vanga country, it was divided into two sectors: northern and southern \( \text{(anuttara)} \), the latter figuring in the Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva,\(^1\) a minister of the Pala King Kumarapāla (1126-28 A.D.). The two divisions of Vanga seem to have corresponded broadly to the two divisions of the same territory mentioned in the later inscriptions of the Sena rulers styled the Vikramapura-bhāga and Nāvya. The Vikramapura-bhāga appears to have been wider in extent than the modern pargāną of the same name in the Dhaka division; most probably it stretched southward as far as the Kotalipāya and Edilpur pargānās in the Faridpur district (Bangladesh). The other division called Nāvya seems to have been included in the Bākarganj district. According to the Sena epigraphs in the east Nāvya stretched as far as the sea, that is, the head of the Bay and the estuary of the Meghnā. As nāvam means 'newness', apart from its primary meaning of a 'boat or ship', it may have had a connection with Nāvavakāsikā (new intermediate space or opening) of the Faridpur Grants of the 6th century A.D.\(^2\) Viewed as a whole, therefore, Vanga appears to have embraced practically the entire region lying to the east of the river Pādānā, in other words, major portions of the present-day Bangladesh.\(^3\)

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1. El, II, p. 350
2. El, XVIII, p. 76
3. The land which extended from the sea to the Brahmaputra river is known as Vanga as mentioned in the Saktisāngamantāntra of the 17th century A.D.
Towards the end of the 8th or early part of the 9th century A.D. a portion of Bengal seems to have been regarded as a specific territorial unit with the designation Vangāla. The earliest occurrence of this name is found in the Nesarika Grant of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Govinda III dated 727 Sak. (805 A.D.); where the Pāla monarch Dharmapāla (c. 775 – 810 A.D.) figures as a king of Vangāla. And hence it is reasonable to include Vangāladesa in the original territory of the Pālas. Other notable allusions to it are furnished by the Paschimbhāg (Sylhet) copper-plate of Śrīchandra (925 – 75 A.D.) and the Tirumalai inscription (1025 A.D.) of Rājendra Chōla; the latter describes Govinda Chandra (1020 – 55 A.D.), the last member of the aforesaid Chandra dynasty, as a ruler of Vangāladesa. And thus it appears from the combined testimony of these two records that the Chanda kings who ruled over an extensive area of Vanga and Samatata (see below) of the major portion of the present-day Bangladesh, were also known as the rulers of the Vangāla country.

Some idea about the location of Vangāla may be obtained from the Madhyapāṇ inscription of Viśvarūpaṇa (1206 – 25 A.D.). It mentions a place called Vangālabadhā and locates it to the south of Rāmasiddhi, the latter taken identical with a village in Gaurnadi in the Bakarganj district. The derivation of the name

Vangāla (Vanga + ā) from āli 'dike' suggests an area of Vanga intersected by creeks and canals and abounding in dikes and bridges and thus it appears that in the narrow sense Vangāla denoted South-East Bengal comprising the Khulna and Bakarganj districts of the present-day Bangladesh. The low-lying tracts of the Gangetic delta of the Vangāla country were known under the designation bhāti ('downstream', 'land of the ebb-tide'), which is reminiscent of 'bati' mentioned by Tāranātha as an island-region near the mouth of the Ganges. The connection of Vangāla with bhāti is indicated by the Maynāmatī-Gopīchānd legend which refers to long-bearded Vangāla people of the bhāti country ('bhāti haite āila Vangāl lambā lambā dādi').¹

Though Vanga and Vangāla were treated as separate geographical entities in earlier records (Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif)² they came to be regarded as interchangeable terms at least from the 16th century A.D. onwards. This is indicated by Abu'-l-Fazl. The Muslim historian further says that Subah-Bangla extended from Chittagong to Garohti. It is reasonable to believe that the present name Bangala-Bangla is derived from Hindu Vangāla and Muslim Banglah, and not from the older Vanga. Later, it appeared as Bengal in the accounts of the Portuguese writers of the 16th - 17th century A.D. The map of GaStaldi (1561) locates Bengal near

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1. JASB, 1878, p. 150.
2. EJ, V, p. 257.
the meeting of the course of the Padrni and the Meghna. Some scholars identify this Bengala with Chittagong, while others locate it in Dhaka. Probably it was somewhere near the Khadi of the Meghna. In any case, the term Vangala, derived in its turn from the still earlier Vanga seems to have been the source of Banglah of the Muslim writers and the Bengala of the Portugese tradition and ultimately it gave rise to the English Bengal.

Of the terms collaterally connected with Vanga and Samata are Harikela and Chandradvipa. Harikela seems to have come into currency from the 7th century A.D. onwards. This is indicated by some silver coins (bull : tripartite symbol) bearing on their obverse the legend Harikela in the 7th-century script discovered in the Belonia subdivision of Tripura, thus suggesting the inclusion of their findspot in Harikela. Besides, the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing who stayed in India from 673 to 687 A.D. describes Harikela as the eastern limit of Eastern India and his statement

2. These coins are similar to the silver coins of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan, but the latter coins had hardly any circulation to the east or north-east of Arakan. For a discussion of Harikela coins as well as the geography of ancient Harikela, see B.N. Mukherjee's articles in JAIH, X, 1976-77, pp. 166ff and BL I, 2, 1975, pp. 115ff.
3. I-tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion tr. by J. Takakusu, p. XLVI.
is supported by a later indigenous text called the Karpūra- 
mañjarī of Rājaśekhara (9th century A.D.) which refers to the 
Harikela girls as belonging to the east. Further, the 
Chittagong copper-plate of Kāntideva addressed to the 'future rulers' of Harikela-mandala, and the literary treatises like 
the Kalpadru-kosa and the Rupachintāmani-kosa identifying 
Harikela (VI. Harikeli, Harikola) with Srīhatta seem to testify 
to the inclusion of Chittagong and Sylhet within Harikela. 
Thus though the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa1 mentions Harikela, 
Vanga and Samatata as separate geographical entities, the 
combined testimony of the aforementioned coins and the literary 
texts suggests that in a broad sense Harikela denoted the 
present-day Comilla, Chittagong and Srīhatta districts, in 
other words, a large chunk of East Bengal. Herein perhaps lies 
the justification of Hemachandra's identification of Harikela 
with Vanga.2

The other geographical designation Chandradvīpa, bears 
a dynastic overtone. It is associated with a line of rulers 
with the chandra name-ending.3 One of the early members of

3. According to N.N. Dasgupta, the founder of this place is 
Chandragomin, see IC, II, p.151. The island of Sandwip 
may have had some connection with Chandradvīpa.
this royal family, Trailokyachandra (905-25 A.D.) is described in the epigraphs of his successors as a ruler of Chandradvīpa. Some idea about its location may be gathered if the name of the śvīpa including Gāgharakāṭṭi-pātaka mentioned in the Vangiyā Sahitya Parishat copper-plate of Visvarūpasena (1206-25 A.D.) is restored as Chandradvīpa.¹ The aforesaid Gāgharakāṭṭi may reasonably be connected with the stream Gāghār which according to the poet Vijayagupta (15th century A.D.) flowed past Phullāsī in North-West Bakarganj. In the 16th and 17th centuries, a small territory in the district of Bakarganj with the capital at first at Kachua and then at Mādhavpāśa was known as Chandradvīpa. Abul Fazl identified it with the pargāna of Bagla (Bakla) in the sarkār of the same name in his Ain-i-Akbari.²

Samatata is mentioned for the first time in the Allahābad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 335-75 A.D.). Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.) in his Bṛhatsamhitā separates Samatata (XIV.6) from Vanga (XIV.3) and it locates the former in the eastern division and the latter in the south-east division.³ Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.) locates San-mo-ta-ta or Samatata to the south of Kāmarūpa (Ka-ma-lu-pa). The Chinese pilgrim

². II, pp. 123, 134.
describes Samatata as a low and moist country on the sea-shore. The Ashrafpur (30 miles north-east of Dhaka) plates describe a certain Rājarājabhaṭṭa as the king of Samatata with the capital of Karmānta, taken identical Bāḍkamta, 12 miles west of the modern Comilla town in Bangladesh.¹ The Paśchimbhaṭ copper-plate of Śrīchandra (10th century A.D.) separates Samatata from Vikramapura and Vangala. In some of epigraphs of the Pāla and Chandra rulers of Bengal it is mentioned as a mandala and is included in Pundravardhana-bhukti. The combined evidence of the Ashrafpur copper-plates, Bāghaurā image inscription of the time of Mahipāla I (988-1038 A.D.)² and the Nēhar copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva of 1156 of the Saka era (1234 A.D.) proves a close connection between Samatata and the modern Comilla district of Bangladesh;³ and incidentally the last-named copper-plate by including Samatata within Pundravardhana-bhukti represented the easternmost extension of this bhukti. However, a careful analysis of the relevant data seems to indicate that 'in its widest extent Samatata comprised the delta of the Gāngā and Brahmaputra, and Tripura, Chattagram, Kumilla, Noakhali, Srihatta and Barisal, while in its narrowest extent it corresponded to Chattagram and Noakhali'.⁴

1. MASB, I, p.85.
2. EI, XVII, p.355.
Among Vāṅga and Samatāta, the latter has been specifically mentioned as a border (pratyanta) territory in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta (c. 350-76 A.D.). In the words of Harishena, the author of this inscription, the king of Samatāta along with rulers of Dava, Kāmarūpa, Nepal and Kartripura gratified the emperor Samudragupta by payment of all kinds of tribute, by obedience to his commands and by approach for paying court to him. It appears therefore that Samatāta became a vassal state under the Imperial Gupta monarch, while the rest of Bengal (at least major portions of it) including Vāṅga, probably had already formed an integral part of his empire. As regards Vāṅga, it figures in the inscription borne by the well-known iron pillar at Meherauli (near the Qutb Minar in Delhi). This epigraph states that a king called Chandra, who is generally identified with Chandragupta II (c. 376-413 A.D.), 'extirpated in battle in the Vāṅga countries his enemies who offered him a united resistance'. If so, the people of Vāṅga perhaps along with those of Samatāta, tried to shake off the Gupta yoke by offering a combined resistance to the imperialist Chandragupta II, but eventually had to bow before him.

* Well-known facts about the political history of Vāṅga and Samatāta have been generally mentioned without references to original sources. These sources figure in standard works like R.C. Majumdar's History of Ancient Bengal and A.M. Chowdhury's Dynastic History of Bengal.

1 J.F. Fleet and R.G. Basak have identified him with Chandragupta I. If this view is accepted, it is to be held that Chandragupta I was the
Nothing is heard about Vanga and Samatata till the first decade of the 6th century A.D. Meanwhile Pundravardhana or North Bengal was incorporated in the Gupta empire. However, Samatata, which was a semi-independent feudatory state during the time of Samudragupta, came to be included in the Gupta empire in later days. An inscription of the Gupta year 188 ( = 507-8 A.D.) found at Gunaighar (in the Comilla district of Bangladesh) records the grant of lands in this region by Maharaja Vainyagupta, a member of the Imperial Gupta family. It was issued from a place called Kripura (not yet identified), apparently the seat of his government.

Although Vainyagupta is endowed with the simple title of Maharaja in this record, he figures as a Maharajādhirāja in a seal discovered at Nalanda. He also issued gold coins with the biruda Dvādasādītya. It is therefore reasonable to hold that Vainyagupta was initially a de facto independent ruler and subsequently taking advantage of the political crisis set up himself as an Emperor. In any case, it is certain that Samatata was directly ruled over by him with the above-mentioned Kripura as his capital.

The first definitely known kingdom in the Vanga-Samatata region belongs to the first half of the 6th century A.D. Altogether seven inscriptions, five from the vicinity of the Kotalipada village in the Faridpur district (Bangladesh), one from Mallasarul in the Burdwan district (West Bengal) and one from Jayranpur in the Balasore first to annex Vanga to the Gupta dominion, and Samudragupta was satisfied with the nominal allegiance with its contiguous territory or a part of it called Samatata.
district (Orissa), have disclosed the existence of a line of three rulers, Gopachandra, Dharmaditya and Sanacharadeva. All of them assumed the title of Maharaja and Sanacharadeva issued gold coins as well. These facts, read in conjunction with the story of Vainyagupta, who assumed the subordinate title of Maharaja and who ruled over the contiguous region of Samatata (perhaps along with the same locality, see below) shortly before them, testify to the disappearance of the last vestige of the authority of the Imperial Guptas over the Vanga-Samatata sector of ancient Bengal on the one hand and the emergence of a new kingdom therein on the other.

The close proximity between Vainyagupta and Gopachandra in terms of time and place seems to have been brought out by the fact that one Maharaja Vijayasena probably served as a vassal chief under both Vainyagupta and Gopachandra; he appears as a dutaka in their Gunaighar and Mallasarul grants respectively. Whether this name Vijayasena was borne by the one and the same person is not definitely known, but it is not unlikely. And assuming the Vijayasena of these two grants as the one and the same person, most scholars are now inclined to regard Gopachandra as the immediate successor of Vainyagupta, the kingdom of the latter having included Eastern, Southern and Western Bengal (if Vijayasena of the Mallasarul grant is taken to be identical with the namesake of the Gunaighar grant). In other words, it was Gopachandra who succeeded in establishing a kingdom on the ruins of the Gupta empire. The core of this new kingdom embraced the Dhaka and Faridpur districts of Bangladesh and during Gopachandra's reign its boundaries extended as far as Northern Orissa.
We have no knowledge of the relationship of these three kings. Similarly, we are not absolutely certain about the sequence of their rule. But it may be plausibly held that Gopachandra was succeeded by Dharrafditya and the latter by Sanachāradeva. The chronological proximity between Gopachandra and Dharrafditya seems to be established by the mention of the officers of identical names, Nāgadeva and Nayasena, in two of their Faridpur charters. As regards the area of the political authority of Dharmaḍitya and Sanachāradeva, it is certain that they ruled over Eastern and Southern Bengal, but their hold over West Bengal and Orissa is as yet unknown. Chronologically, the rule of Gopachandra, Dharmaḍitya and Sanachāradeva, is placed between 525 A.D. The existence of a few kings after Sanachāradeva has been guessed by a number of imitations of Gupta gold coins hailing from different parts of Eastern Bengal, mainly from Koṭālipāḍa and Sābhār (near Dhaka). Whether they were related to Sanachāradeva in any way it is not known. We are also not certain whether Vanga and Samatāta formed integral parts of the kingdom of Saśānka (c. 606-38 A.D.). Even if Saśānka annexed them to his kingdom, they became independent shortly after his death. In any case, it is difficult to determine how and when this independent kingdom of Eastern Bengal of the Gopachandra group came to an end. From the claim of the Chalukya king Kīrttivarmam that he conquered Vanga, among other countries, it appears that his invasion hastened its decline.

The existence of another ruling family in the Vanga-Samatāta region is rendered probable by the combined evidence of the Nidhanpur
copper-plate of Bhaskarvarman and the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who came to Bengal in 637-38 A.D. The former refers to a vassal chief named Jyesthabhadra, and the latter to Silabhadra. The Chinese pilgrim, describes Silabhadra as the patriarch of Nalanda and a member of a Brahma family ruling in Samatata. It may thus be inferred that this minor royal family, consisting of members with bhadra-ending names, held sway over Samatata or South-East Bengal in the 7th century A.D. who were most probably ousted from power by a dynasty professing Buddhism.

Whatever we know of this new line of rulers with khadga as a part of the names of most of them, has been obtained from two copper-plates, found at Ashrafpur (30 miles north-east of Dhaka) and a short record inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Sarvaní recovered at Deulbādi (14 miles south of Comilla). They have revealed the names of four rulers - Khadgodyana, Jatakhaḍga, Devakhaḍga, and Rājarāja (or Rājarājābhaṭa) as well as the name of Prabhāvatī, the queen of Devakhaḍga and the mother of Rājarāja; but unfortunately they hardly furnish any historical information. Founded by Khadgodyana, called nripaḥhirāja (overlord of kings) in an Ashrafpur plate, the dynasty had its seat of power at Karmāntavāsaka, generally taken identical with modern Baṅkāntā in the Comilla district and not far from Deulbādi, the findspot of the inscribed Sarvāni image. The fourth member of the dynasty, Rājarāja has been described as a "king of Samatata" by Sheng-Chī, one of the fifty-six Chinese priests who

1. R.C. Majumdar (HAB, p. 79) derives this name from Khadka or Kharka clan living in the Gurkha district in Nepal, who claimed to be kshatriyas. But R.G. Basak (HNI, 2nd ed., p. 255) considers them to be autochtons of East Bengal.
visited India and the neighbouring regions in the latter half of the 7th century A.D. 1 Ṛṣṭirajabhata was perhaps succeeded by Balabhata, whose name has of late been disclosed by a copper-plate as well as by a few gold coins 2 found at Maināmati (Comilla district). The duration of the rule of the Khadga kings extended from about 650 to 700 A.D.

Chronologically close to, or contemporaneous with, the Khadgas were two more families, designated as the Nāthas and Rātas. A certain sāmanta Lokanātha is known from the Tippera (modern Comilla) copper-plate grant. Apparently the line he belonged to was that of a few feudatory chiefs in the Comilla region who were Śaivas by faith. The name of the founder of this family is lost, except the last two letters. Though he is mentioned as adhimahārāja, or paramount ruler, nothing is known about his achievements. He was succeeded by Śrīnātha described as sāmanta, and the latter by Bhavanātha, who ultimately forsook royalty in favour of his brother's son. The name of this ruler is not known. After him came Lokanātha, who might have been another nephew of Bhavanātha or a son of his brother's son. A copper-plate recently discovered at Kālapur (Sylhet district in Bangladesh) 3 furnishes us the name of Marundānātha: that he was a scion of the same family is indicated by the mention of sāmanta Śrīnātha in this plate, though the actual relationship (agnatic) between Marundānātha and Lokanātha is not known. However, as regards the particulars about Lokanātha, it

1. See E. Chavannes, Religieux Eminent-s (I-ting), p. 128, f.n.3.
2. One of them is of mixed alloy (imitation of Gupta Archer Type with goddess on the reverse), see BL, I, I, 1975, pp. 56-7.
appears reasonable to hold that initially along with Jivadhārāṇa and Jayatungavarsha Lokanātha acknowledged the suzerainty of a common overlord (Paramesvara). Later, Jayatungavarsha and Jivadhārāṇa rebelled against their overlord, while Lokanātha as a faithful feudatory stood by his side and by helping him to defeat the insurgents, was rewarded with the governorship of Samatāṭa. The overlord of Lokanātha has been variously identified with Khadgodyama, Jatakhadga and Adityasena.\(^1\) The date of Lokanātha's plate is fragmentary, owing to the obliteration of the figure for hundred, the extant part supplying the year 44. Restoring it as 344 and referring it to the Gupta era R.G. Basak gets the equivalent to 663-64 A.D., while according to D.R. Bhandarkar the date is 144 and referred to the Harsha era, it will be 750 A.D. Thus the Tippera and the Kalapur copper-plates testify to the existence of a line of feudatory chiefs with the nāṭha name-ending in the Samatāṭa region (which included Sylhet as well) in the 7th or 8th century A.D.

The history of the other family is known from the Kailan (a village in the Chandimau police station in the Comilla district) copper-plate of Śrīdhārāṇa Rāṭa of Samatāṭa, paleographically datable to the second half of the 7th century A.D.\(^2\) This record mentions

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1. R.C. Majumdar identifies him with Khadgodyama and Jatakhadga (HAB, p. 80); while R.G. Basak with Adityasena (HNI, p. 245).
2. According to D.C. Sircar, it was issued a few years after the Tippera grant of Lokanātha, IHQ, XXIII, p. 224.
Jīvadhāraṇa Rāṭa as the father of Śrīdhāraṇa Rāṭa, and the former may be plausibly identified with nṛpā Jīvadhāraṇa of the Tippera grant of Lokanātha. Śrīdhāraṇa is said to have received from his father 'Samatā or many other countries'. Though he has been described in the record as Samatāsvara, he has also been given the feudatory title praṇaptapāṃcha-mahāsabda. The inscription further refers to Devapārvāta as their provincial headquarter, which was probably situated to the south of the Maināmati hill near Comilla. Thus Jīvadhāraṇa and his son Śrīdhāraṇa-rāṭa acknowledged the normal suzerainty of an overlord, probably a Khāḍga king, but they were virtually ruling over the Samatā region as dependent kings.

It is known from three copper-plates and one gold coin that a dynasty of kings having the deva name-ending ruled in the Samatā region. Of the inscriptions, one has been found at Salvan Vihara in the Lalmai-Mainamati ridge near the Comilla town and the second plate of an unknown findspot in the Comilla region is preserved in the Asiatic Society. Three more inscriptions are reported from the Maināmati site, but they have not yet been

1. This coin ('imitation' of Gupta Archer Type of lotus reverse) found at Salvan Vihara bears on its obverse a legend Śrī-Vaṇgēla-Mrigāṅka in characters of the 7th-8th century A.D., which appears on the seal of the Maināmati copper-plate inscription of Bhavadeva of the 12th year of his reign. On this basis this coin has been assigned to the dynasty of Bhavadeva. BL, I, I, 1975, p. 50.
These plates give us the names of four generations of rulers, viz., Śrī-Śāntideva (720–35 A.D.), Śrī-Virādeva (735–50 A.D.), Śrī-Ānandadeva (750–75 A.D.) and Śrī-Bhavadeva (775–80 A.D.). That they enjoyed independent status is evidenced by their imperial titles of Paramasaguṭa, Paramabhattāreka, Paramesvara and Mahāraja-dhirāja. We have no information about Śrī-Śāntideva, mentioned as the first member of the dynasty in the Maināmati plates, while the Asiatic Society Plate indicates Śrī-Virādeva to be the founder of the greatness of the dynasty.

The epithet Śrī-Vanāla-Mrigāṅka, applied to Ānandadeva in the Maināmati copper-plate, seems to suggest that he was in occupation of Vangēla-deśa, which included inter alia portions of the Bakarganj district of Bangladesh. The Asiatic Society plate issued from Devaparvata and recording grant of lands by Śrī-Bhavadeva, endows the king with the title Śrī-Abhinava-Mrigāṅka.

Though no clear and positive information about these kings are known, Ānandadeva and Bhavadeva appear to have enjoyed power and prestige, which seemingly eclipsed after the death of Bhavadeva. The above-noted epigraphic and numismatic evidences, read in conjunction of the testimony of the extensive monastic establishment including a large tank near the Kotila Mura site in the hilly region of Maināmati, locally called Ānanda Rājā's palace, thus

2. This inscription also still remains unedited.
attest to the rule of the family of Anandadeva and Bhavadeva over Samatata sometime between 750 and 800 A.D., apparently after the extinction of the Khadga power. ¹

Not far from Comilla in the Chittagong region was ruling another Buddhist family which rose to power almost contemporaneously with the Devas. A copper-plate, paleographically datable to the early 9th century A.D., discovered at Chittagong, has disclosed the existence of this line of kings.² It has furnished names of three generations of this family, viz., Bhadradatta, his son Dhanadatta and the latter's son Kantideva who only assumed the full royal titles. The charter was issued from the city of Vardhamanapura and addressed to the future rulers of Harikela.³ Kantideva did not use the datta name-ending of his father and grandfather who was in all likelihood king Bhavadeva of the Deva dynasty. Going a step further it may be suggested that Kantideva inherited the kingdom of Samatata from him and he ruled sometime between 800 and 825 A.D.

In addition to these royal families, another dynasty reportedly enjoyed power and prestige in the Vanga-Samatata area in the 7th-8th century A.D. Lamā Taranātha, the 17th-century Tibetan historian, states that after the death of Lalitachandra, the last member of this dynasty, there was no ruler in the Vaṅgālā.

¹ Paleographically the inscriptions of the Devas and the above-noted gold coin are generally assigned to this period, the latter half of the 8th century A.D.
² El, XXVI, pp. 313 ff.
³ For location, supra, pp. 10-11.
Odiśa (Orissa) and other eastern provinces. Every Kshatriya, Grandee and Brāhmaṇa was the king in his own house. In this state of anarchy a certain Gopaḷa was elected by the general body of the people.

It was the renowned Pāla dynasty, founded by Gopaḷa (c.750-770/75 A.D.), son of Vapyata and grandson of Daityavishṇu, which ushered in a new epoch in the history of Bengal by putting an end to the anarchy and confusion which gripped Bengal for a considerable period. According to Tāranātha, Gopaḷa belonged to a Kshatriya family near Pundravardhana, but subsequently became a ruler of Vanga-adesa\(^1\) as well as of Magadha. On the basis of this statement it is assumed that after the accession to the throne of Vanga he proceeded to different parts of Bengal as well as South Bihar. The Tibetan historian further echoes the tradition recorded by the Khalimpur (Maldah district, West Bengal) inscription of his son Dharmapāla, according to which Gopaḷa was elected a king by the prakriti, probably a group of powerful leaders of the time. The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja, the grandson of the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa, refers to the defeat of Vanga-pati and if this Vanga-pati is identified with Dharmapāla (see below) it will appear to be not unlikely that Vanga was at first in the possession of Gopaḷa from whom Dharmapāla inherited this region. The sway of Gopaḷa over Eastern Bengal, is further indicated by a stone inscription recently found at Siyān (Birbhum district, West Bengal) of the reign of Niyapāla.\(^2\)

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1. For location of Vanga, supra, pp. 8-10.

Gopāla was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla (c.775-810 A.D.) who extended the boundaries of his patrimony in Northern India. He was engaged in a tripartite struggle, the other powers being the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Rāśtrakūtas. Dharmapāla became the paramount ruler of Northern India. But he shortly lost his position when the second phase of the tripartite struggle was opened. The Nesarika grant (805 A.D.) of Govinda III (c.794-814 A.D.) states that the Rāśtrakūta monarch took away the āhvaṇa bearing the figure of the goddess Tārā from Dharma (apparently Dharmapāla), the king of Vāṅgāla. Likewise, the Gwalior prāṣasti of Bhoja gives Nāgabhāta the credit of defeating the Vangapati who has been reasonably identified with Dharmapāla. Thus all these evidences clearly suggest that Vaṅga and Vāṅgāla were in the possession of Dharmapāla, who was the first member of the dynasty to assume the full imperial titles Paramēśvara, Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājakāñcāraja.

Dharmapāla was succeeded by his son Devapāla (c.810-47 A.D.). His reign witnessed the apogee of the Pāla empire. In the absence of any information about the dynasty or dynasties ruling in Vaṅga.

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1. This identification is supported by the Una copper-plate (899 A.D.) of Avanīvrama II, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, which states that Vāhukadhāvala, the great grandfather of Avanīvrama (most probably a feudatory of the Nāgabhāta II), defeated one Dharma; the latter being in all likelihood identical with Dharmapāla.
and Samatāta, it may be presumed that Vanga and Samatāta were also an integral part of the Pāla empire during this period. But these regions seem to have passed out of the hands of his weak successors. Sometime during the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla (c.861-917 A.D.) or Rājyapāla (c.917-52 A.D.) there arose an independent dynasty (see below), the greatness of which was founded by its third member called Trailokyachandra (c.905-25 A.D.).\(^1\) However, during the reign of Gopāla II (c.952-72 A.D.) the position of the Pālas in the Vanga-Samatāta region seems to have improved. That this Pāla king recovered a part of the Pāla kingdom in this sector is attested by an inscribed image of Gāneśa of the 1st regnal year of Gopāla found at Mandhuk (Comilla district).\(^2\) But there are reasons to believe that Gopāla's success against the Chandras was ephemeral (see below). The sagging fortunes of the family was in reality boosted by one of its ablest members, Mahipāla I (977-1027 A.D.). The Pāla rule in Samatāta was re-established by him in Vanga-Samatāta, as is borne out by two inscriptions, one engraved on an image of Vishṇu discovered at Bāghāurā (in the Comilla district) during the 3rd regnal year\(^3\) and another inscribed on an image of Gāneśa found at Nārāyaṇapur in the same district.\(^4\) But again this region

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1. It may be recalled here that the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla was inscribed by one Makhadāsa, who hailed from Samatāta.
2. IHQ, XXVIII, p. 55.
4. IC, IX, pp. 121-25.
went out of the hands of the Pālas during the reigns of Nayapāla (c. 1027-43 A.D.) and his son and successor, Vighrahapāla (c. 1043-70 A.D.). Like the Pālas, the Chandras also lost their power and with their decline there arose a kingdom named Pattikera in the Comilla region sometime in the middle of the 12th century A.D. (see below). However, during the reign of Rāmapāla (1072-1126 A.D.), the third son of Vighrahapāla III, the Pāla kingdom once again and for the last time revived and to a large extent its former glory was restored. In his fight with Bhīma, the son and successor of Divya, the rebel Kaivarta chief of Varendrī, Rāmapāla is said to have achieved success. We are told that Bhīma was imprisoned and his armies fled. We are further informed that a certain Hari as an ally of Bhīma led this battle, but eventually Rāmapāla succeeded in alienating him from Bhīma recognising him as the king of South-Eastern Bengal. If this Hari is identified with Harivarman of the Varman dynasty of East Bengal (see below), it is to be held that Rāmapāla enjoyed an indirect authority over Vanga-Sanatā. And herein may lie the justification of the epithet Vangesvara applied to the Pāla monarch by the author of the Sayadpradhāpa. A Tamil poetical work entitled, Kalingattu-Parani, credits the Chola king Kulottunga-Chola (1070-1120 A.D.) with the conquest of Vanga and Vangāla, among other countries, but this is uncorroborated by any other evidence. Within less than half a century after the

1. Rāmācharita (111.32 ff).
death of Rāmapāla the Pāla kingdom disintegrated and the Pālas were gradually losing their hold over Vanga-Samatāta along with other parts of their kingdom. Eventually in this region the Varman dynasty emerged as a notable political power with Vikramapura (Dhaka district) as their capital (see below). During this period we hear of East Bengal on one occasion only. The Rāmācharita states that at the behest of Kumārapāla (c. 1126-28 A.D.), a son and successor of Rāmapāla, his minister Vaidyadeva took part in a naval fight in South Bengal and achieved success. By the time of Madanapāla (1143-61 A.D.), another son of Rāmapāla, the Pālas appear to have lost sovereignty over Vanga-Samatāta, along with other parts of the kingdom. This is indicated by the Antichak stone inscription, according to which a certain Sāhur destroyed the army and naval fleet of the lord of Vanga as an ally of the lord of Gauda, the former being generally identified with Madanapāla and the latter with Vījayasena of the Sena dynasty.

Reference has already been made to a royal dynasty called the Chandras, which appeared on the political scene of Bengal sometime after the demise of Devapāla, apparently taking advantage of the weakness of his successors. As many as thirteen inscriptions hailing from East Bengal indicate that they ruled between c.825 and 1035 A.D. On the basis of the paleography of their inscriptions

1. Rāmapāla had four sons: Kumārapāla, Vittapāla, Rājayapāla and Madanapāla.
some scholars have placed them in the 10th and the 11th centuries A.D. Tārānātha alludes to one Chandra dynasty of pre-Pāla Bengal, the existence whereof is not known from any other source. The Chandras, of whom we will be speaking presently, were a contemporary line of rulers and occasionally they seem to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pālas.

The first two members of the Chandra dynasty (so-called because of the chandra name-ending of its member), viz., Pūrnachandra (865-85 A.D.) and his son Suvarṇachandra (885-905 A.D.), were petty local chiefs. They had their seat of power at Rohitāgiri, the Lalmai-Mainamati region of the Comilla district. Suvarṇachandra embraced Buddhism and all of his successors were Buddhists. Politically, Trailokyachandra (905-25 A.D.), the son of Suvarṇachandra founded the greatness of his family. From the records of his son Śrīchandra, it is known that he was the first to assume the title Maharājādhirāja; he defeated the Gaudas and conquered Samatata. The Mainamati plates of Laṣahachandra, great-grandson of Trailokyachandra, informs us that Trailokyachandra became a king of Vanga and assumed high-sounding titles. He extended the influence of his family over the whole of Vanga. He

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1. D.C. Sircar is inclined to identify Rohitāgiri with Rohtasgadh in the Shahbad district of Bihar. Ibid., p. 106. This view, first propounded by R.D. Banerji (Bengalar Itihāsa, 1, p. 233), was also accepted by N.G. Majumdar (IHQ, II, pp. 155-56) and B.C. Sen (Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 370).
is said to have been the first independent king of the dynasty. No inscription, issued by him or belonging to his reign, has so far been discovered. It has been suggested that the Chandra monarch occupied the whole or part of the kingdom of the dynasty of Kantideva or his successor (see below), under whom he had probably served as a sāmanta, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the foreign incursions.¹ The records of his son, Śrīchandra, testify to the expansion of the kingdom inherited from his father. Śrīchandra defeated the rulers of Gauḍa and Prāgjyotisha, reinstated Gopāla (II) on the throne and restored his queen. His kingdom comprised Chandraśīva and Harikela,² including Srihatta or Sylhet, which he inherited as patrimony, in other words, it covered approximately the whole of Eastern Bengal and the coastal regions of Southern Bengal. Vikrāmpura, being the place of issue of all his grants seems to be his capital. It is to be noted here that in two of his inscriptions the lands granted were situated in Pundravardhana-bhukti, but these lands were located in Eastern and Southern Bengal, and not in Northern Bengal which was initially denoted by the term Pundravardhana-bhukti.³ In other words, Śrīchandra's authority may be said to have been limited to Eastern and Southern Bengal.

¹. R.C. Majumdar, HAB, p. 203.
². For their denotations, supra, pp. 10-12.
³. For varying limits of Pundravardhana-bhukti, see supra, p. 2.
Srichandra was succeeded by his son, Kalyanachandra (975-1000 A.D.). He is credited with the victory over the Mlechchhas on the Laahitya (Brahmaputra) river as well as the Gandhas and he continued to rule over the kingdom, comprising Vanga and Samatata, inherited from his father. His son and successor Laññahachandra (985-1010 A.D.), initially seems to have lost a part of this kingdom comprising the present Comilla district, to Mahīpāla as attested by the image-inscriptions of the latter (supra, p. 26), but eventually recovered the same as indicated by an inscribed image hailing from Bhārellā (Comilla district) as well as by his Maināmatī epigraph recording the installation of an image of Vishnu in the name of Laññahachandra in Pātākera (modern Paitkara pargana near Mainamati hill) and the grant of lands in favour of the god. In other words, Laññahachandra's authority over Eastern and South-Eastern Bengal is a matter of certainty.

Govindachandra (1020-55 A.D.), the son and successor of Laññahachandra and the last king of the dynasty, has been mentioned as the king of Vangaladesa in the Tirumulai inscription of Rajendra Chola where he is said to have suffered reverses at the hands of the Chola monarch. This setback of Govindachandra was, however, temporary and his hold over Eastern and South-Eastern Bengal is testified to by two image-inscriptions, one discovered from Kulkupi (Faridpur district) dated in his 12th regnal year and the other from Betkā (Dhaka district) of his 23rd regnal year. His Maināmati copper-plate was issued from Vikramapura.

The defeat of Govindachandra soon after his accession in the hands of the Chola king Rajendra Chola was a serious blow to the Chandra empire. The illustrious Karna of the Kalachuri dynasty led a military campaign against Vaiga in which he gained success over the king of Vaiga sometime before 1048-49 A.D. and this attack dealt the last blow to the Chandra power. The Varmans who came in the train of Karna's expedition rose to power in South-Eastern Bengal in the last quarter of the 11th century A.D.

With the termination of the Chandra rule a line of rulers with the Varman name-ending carved out a kingdom in Vikramapura in the middle of the 11th century A.D. The way in which they came to power is not, however, known. They claimed themselves as the descendants of the Yadava dynasty ruling over Simhapura, the identification of which is a matter of conjecture. The marriage of Jatavarman (c. 1055-73 A.D.), with the daughter of the Kalachuri king Karna, seems to have facilitated his emergence as the first independent ruler of the dynasty. He augmented his power and prestige by conquering the Anga country, by humiliating the dignity of Kamarupa, by eclipsing the glory of Prithu, son of Vena, and by defeating the Kaivarta chief Divya. Harivarman (c. 1073-1127 A.D.), his son and successor, ruled over East Bengal with Vikramapura as his capital. He is generally identified with Hari of the Ramacharita

1. The Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman, the Bhuvanesvar inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva, the Vajrayogini plate of Sāmalavarman and the Sāmantasāra plate of Harivarman furnish us materials of the history of a line of rulers.
who was initially a friend of the Kaivarta chief Bhima in his contest with Rāmapāla, but later on propitiated the Pāla monarch by the presentation of chariot and elephants for his own safety. In exchange of his loyalty to the latter he was allowed to enjoy his suzerainty in East Bengal. A Buddhist manuscript copied during his 19th regnal year describes him as Parama-Vaishnava, Paramesvara and Paramabhattāraka. In two records of the family, namely, the Bhuvanesvar inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva and the Vajrayogini (Dhaka district) plate of Sāmalavaranman mention has been made of a son of Harivarman without name. According to some, this unnamed son of Harivarman ruled for a very short period. And thereafter Sāmalavaranman (c. 1127-37 A.D.) ascended the throne. He is generally assigned a rule of 10 years. Sāmalavaranman was succeeded by his son, Bhojavaranman (c. 1137-45 A.D.), who in a record of his family, has been described as a Parama-Vaishnava. The dynasty which was ruling over Vanga with Vikramapura as its capital was ultimately ousted from power by a notable line of kings whose names ended in sena.

This new royal family, designated as the Sena dynasty, which succeeded the Pālas and established the last powerful Hindu kingdom in Bengal, seems to have migrated from Karnataka in the train of the invasion of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.), the famous ruler of the Western Chalukya dynasty. The first historical figure of this dynasty, known as Sāmantasena (1060-80 A.D.), perhaps began to rule in Rāghā as the sāmana of the Pāla ruler Vighrahapāla III (1043-70 A.D.). He imposed his royalty over his son Hemanantasena (1080-96 A.D.) and spent his last days of his life
as a hermit on the bank of the Ganges. The 5th verse of the Barrackpur plate of Vijayasena, grandson of Sāmantasena refers to Hemantasena as Rājarakśasudakshah (skilful in the protection of kings). The real founder of the greatness of the dynasty was Vijayasena (1096-1159 A.D.), son of Hemantasena. He assumed the imperial titles Paramesvara, Paramabhattāraka, Mahārajādhirāja and the proud epithet 'Arirāja-Vrishabha-Saṅkara'. The Deopārā (Rajshahi district) prāśasti of this monarch informs us that he defeated the independent chiefs named Nānya, Vīra, Rāghava, Vardhana and the kings of Gauda, Kāmarūpa and Kalinga. He came to power in North Bengal between 1151-52 and 1159 A.D. by ousting the Pālas and shortly by supplanting the Varmans of East Bengal. The Barrackpur copper-plate of his 62nd regnal year was issued from Vikramapura of the Dhaka district. The plate refers to the lands granted in the Khādi mandala, roughly corresponding to the present-day Sundarban area, according to the measuring rod prevalent in Sāmatā. It is not unlikely therefore that South-Eastern Bengal which was included in the domains of the Varmans became an integral part of the Sena kingdom sometime in the middle of the 12th century A.D. The naval force of Vangapati who seems to be identified with Vijayasena was destroyed by Sāhur, the feudatory of Madanapāla (supra, p. 28).

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Vallaḷasena (1159-79 A.D.), who assumed the epithet Arirāja-Nihṣenka-Saṅkara. It is stated in the Vallāḷacharita (1520 A.D.) of Ananda Bhatta that his dominions comprised five provinces, viz., Vanga, Marendra,
Lakśmanasena (1159-1206 A.D.), the son and successor of Vallālasena, was the last great king of the dynasty. His suzerainty over the present-day West Bengal is amply borne out by his land grants, as for example, those found at Govindapūr (District 24-Parganas) and Saktipur (Murshidabad district). But that he also ruled over Vanga is proved by the land-grants hailing from places like Rāmpāl (Dhaka district) and Bhowal (Dhaka district), as well as by an inscribed image of Chandī recovered from the ruins of Rāmpāl in the Dhaka district. A great military leader with the conquests of Gaūḍa, Kaliṅga and Kāmarūpa and successes against the Cheti king and a Mlechhha ruler to his credit, Lakśmanasena enjoyed his power for about a quarter of a century, but in his old age, towards the close of his reign he faced troubles from refractory chiefs like Dommaṇapāla in the different parts of the kingdom. About the same time the Deva dynasty seems to have established an independent kingdom to the east of the Meghnā river. The invasion of the Turkish Ikhtiyāruddīn-Muhammad-bin-Baktyar Khilji in Nadia, where Lakśmanasena was living, brought his misfortune to a climax. He had to leave his capital Nadia and to take refuge in Vikramapura, which was probably his second capital, in the Vanga country. He seems to have ruled in Eastern Bengal at least for three or four years after the raid of Nadia as evidenced by his Bhowal plate which was issued towards the close of his reign (27th regnal year).
Lakshmanasena was succeeded by his son Visvarūpasena (1206-25 A.D.), who assumed Arirāja-Vrishabha-Śāṅkara and the latter by his son Sūryasena (c. 1210-15 A.D.). How long Sūryasena and his successors ruled in Vikramapura is not known. It appears from the evidence of the Muslim historian Minhājuddin that the Sena rule in East Bengal extended up to 1245 or 1260 A.D.

While the Senas were ruling in the Vikramapura region, another line of rulers is heard to have been in power in the sylhet

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1. The Madanapāḍā (Faridpur district) copper-plate was issued in the 2nd regnal year of Sūryasena and re-issued in the 14th regnal year of Visvarūpasena after corrections and addition of new words. It has been assumed that Visvarūpasena temporarily abdicated the throne in favour of his son Sūryasena, owing to protracted illness or discomfort at the hands of enemies or some such unknown reasons. Later he regained his throne. Another inscription found at Edilpur in the same district was issued also by Visvarūpa. The reading of the name of the issuer as Kesava is wrong. For the Madanapāḍā plate, see E., XXXIII, pp. 315 ff., also Sircar, Select Inscriptions, II, pp. 131 ff.; and for the Edilpur plate, see N.G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 121 ff. The other copper-plate of Visvarūpasena was found from Madhyapāḍā (Dhaka), Ibid., pp. 143 ff.
region, a part of Samatata. Two copper-plates,\(^1\) hailing from Bhatera, about 20 miles from the Sylhet town, have supplied us with the names of five kings of this dynasty of whom Kesava (c. 1220-30 A.D.) and Īśāna (c. 1230-50 A.D.) were seemingly eminent. Nothing of note is known about them. According to tradition one Fakir Shah Jalal established the Muslim rule in this region after deposing a certain kind called Gauragovinda from the throne, who was probably a member of this Hindu dynasty of Sylhet.

We hear of a certain Rāṇavaṅkamalla Śrī-Harikāladeva ruling as an independent king in Paṭṭikera (Comilla district). A copper-plate hailing from Maināmati\(^2\) dated Śaka year 1141 (A.D. 1220) issued in his 17th regnal year informs us that a piece of land was denoted by Dhadi-eba, a minister of the king, in the town of Paṭṭikera in favour of a Buddhist vihāra. Harikāladeva thus may be said to have reigned from 1204 to 1230 A.D. He was probably succeeded by one Vīradhara-deva (c. 1230-50 A.D.), the relation between them being unknown. However, Vīradhara is known from his Maināmati plate\(^3\) to have been an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu. The dynasty of Paṭṭikera seems to have been ousted by another dynasty of kings with deva-ending names. The history of this dynasty is known from five copper-plates, all found in Eastern and South-Eastern Bengal. The members of this line are as follows:

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1. Edited by Dr. R. Mitra in Proc. ASB 1880, pp. 141ff. No.1 was re-edited by Dr. K. Gupta (EI, XIX, pp. 277ff) and K. K. Gupta, op. cit., p. 153.
2. IHQ, IX, pp. 282-89.
Purushottama (1180 - 1200 A.D.), his son Madhusudana or Madhumathana (1200 - 15 A.D.), his son Vāsudeva (1215 - 30 A.D.), his son Damodara (1230 - 55 A.D.) and his son Dasaratha (1255 - 90 A.D.). The first three kings ruled over a comparatively small area as the feudatories of the Senas. Damodara, the first independent king of this dynasty, assumed the title Arirāja-Madhava, and as his records indicate, he ruled over the entire area of ancient Vanga-Samatata, corresponding to the districts of Comilla, Dhaka and Chittagong of Bangladesh. Either Damodara or his son and successor Dasaratha (1255 - 90 A.D.), ousted the aforesaid Viradharadeva from power. However, Dasaratha, continued to enjoy his authority over his patrimony. He assumed the titles Paramesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Mahārājāchirāja, and Arirāja-Danuja-Madhava. His capital was in Sonargaon near the ancient town of Vikramapura which was located in Munshiganj of the Dhaka district. He seems to have been the last Hindu king of South-Eastern Bengal, who bowed to the Muslim invaders towards the end of the 13th century A.D.

1. Mēhar (Comilla district) copper-plate; EI, XXVII, pp. 182ff; Shobhārāmpur (Dhaka district) copper-plate; EI, XXX, pp. 184ff; Chittagong copper-plate; IB, III, pp. 158 ff.