CHAPTER I

Population composition in ancient Bengal

Anthropological and linguistic studies have revealed so far various ethnic elements which, by stages, formed the population of Bengal. An attempt may be made to examine the inferences, drawn so far, in the light of epigraphic records discovered in Bengal.

The epigraphic data may be analysed thus: (a) words or expressions of Austro-Asiatic or Dravidian origin referring to names of places, commodities of everyday use and expressions of socio-economic and religious import; (b) references to some aboriginal tribes; and (c) references to some tribes of foreign origin. Most of the epigraphs are composed in Sanskrit and in some of them classical Kavya-style is found to have been introduced. The use of Sanskrit on a wider scale may be traced from the Gupta period onwards and indicates the advent of the Indo-Aryan-speaking people in a country that had been originally inhabited by the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian-speaking peoples.

Pre-Aryan element: Dravidian.

In the inscriptions of Bengal dated from 5th century A.D. onwards, we may trace geographical names, names of
places, rivers or hills, flora and fauna as well as proper names which seem to be of pre-Aryan origin. Apparently, there was an attempt to give those names a Sanskritised form, for which it is difficult to distinguish the pre-Aryan elements in the words or expressions concerned. But we may attempt to find out some Dravidian or Austric words used as either suffixes or prefixes in the formation of Sanskrit terms, words or expressions. The words like, hiṭṭi, bhīṭṭi, viṭṭi, hiṣṭi, gadda, gaddi, pola, vola and handa, kunda, kundi, vada, cavati, cavada seem to be of Dravidian origin.¹

The words like jolā, joli, jaṭīka jaṭa are used in the place-names, like Jolāri-kṣetra (Gunāighar c. p. of Vainya-gupta, G.E. 188 = 507 A. D.)², Vidyaḍharajotikā (Ghugrāḥāti c. p. of Samacāradeva)³ Khaṇḍajotikā (Mallasarul c. p. of Vijayasena, 6th century A. D.)⁴ Dharmajotikā, Piṇḍāraviti-jotikā (Khalimpur c. p. of Dharmapala)⁵, Naḍajoli (Kamauli

² C B I. P. 67.
⁴ C B I. P. 88.
⁵ Ibid. P. 99.
Grant of Vaidyadeva)⁶, Yolāmandala (Dhulla c. p. of Śrīcandra)⁷. These may be compared to Kanarese - jallu, Telegu dzōllu "saliva", also Kanarese joru, "drip, flow, trickle". The word Nāda in Naḍajoli seems to be derived from Dravidian NaQēr "walking" and the term should, therefore, mean "a stream that may be crossed on foot".

The word 'Nāda' has been shown as a specimen of non-Sanskrit word contained in the Dravidian languages⁸. The words bhitti and hitti occurring in the place-names like Śrīhastinibhitta (Bhuvaneswar Prāsaṭi of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva)⁹, Campahitti (Mānāhali Grant of Madanapāla)¹⁰, Pindāraviṭjotikā (Khalimpur c. p. of Dharmapāla)¹¹, Vāllahiti (Naihāti c. p. of Vāḷālasena)¹² Velahisti (Tar-pandighi Grant of Lakṣmanasena)¹³. The conjunct 'ṣt' seems to be the Sanskritised form of 'ṭṟ' which may be compared to Tamil viḍu, viṭṭu "house"¹⁴. In modern Bengali, bhitti

7. EI. XXXIII, P. 134.
9. CBI. P. 351.
10. Ibid. P. 216.
12. Ibid. P. 262.
13. Ibid. P. 293.
15. Ibid. P. 66.
is used as bhiti or bhita "homeland or homestead land".

We may also compare gaddi, gadda, gudi occurring in Ahua - gaddi, Sura - konā - gaddi (Naihāti c. p. of Vallāla-sena)\(^\text{16}\), Silagūdi (Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva, cf. modern Siligūdi, Jalpaigūdi)\(^\text{17}\) with the common Telegu affix gadda, Kanarese gaddē "lump, mass, clot". Again we may compare pōla, vōla "bank, brink, edge" with Telegu Pōlamū "field, corn-land", Kannāda pōlal "field". In the epigraphs we find place-names like Jayāratipola, Unaipola, Ajhāda - cauvola, Dhāravola (Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva)\(^\text{18}\), Ugravāraka (= vōla ?, Ashrafpūt c. p. no. 1 of Dēvakhaḍga)\(^\text{19}\) Sūpakāravāraka, Simhavāraka, karavatti-voraka (Maināmati c. p. no. 1 of Laḍahacandra)\(^\text{20}\).

Handa or Hādā is used in some of the place-names found in epigraphs as "Phullahalīqā" (Maināmatī c. p. no. 1 of Laḍahacandra)\(^\text{21}\), Tikṣṇahanda (Barrackpore c. p. of Vījayasena)\(^\text{22}\).

\(^\text{16}\) CB I. P. 262.
\(^\text{17}\) Ibid. P. 377.
\(^\text{18}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{19}\) MASB. Vol. I (1905-7), P. 85.
\(^\text{20}\) EDEP. P. 73.
\(^\text{21}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{22}\) IB. P. 57.
Lauhandā, Jayajahadā (Madhyapāḍā Grant of Viśvarūpasena)\(^{23}\).
The suffix seems to have an affinity with Tamil Andai
"nearness", "vicinity", "raised side of a field boundary"\(^{24}\).
The words like Kunda, Kundi are traced in Śriksikunda,
Silakunda (Farīdpur c.p.s. of Dharmaditya and Gopacandra)\(^{25}\),
Nandiharipākūndi (Tarpadighi Grant of Lakṣmanasena)\(^{26}\),
Mālikakūndaparīsaraśabhu (Saktipur c. p. Grant of Lakṣmanasena)\(^{27}\).
The suffixes resemble closely Telegu kōndā "hill, rock",
which may be compared to Bengali kūra "heap", "little hillock"\(^{28}\).

The word Cavati found as place-name in the Bāngarh c. p.
inscription of Mahīpāla\(^{29}\) seems to have been derived from
Telegu or Kanarese Čāvaḍi\(^{30}\).

There are several other place-names found in the
inscriptions bearing phonetic peculiarities of the Dravidian
language group. The use of cerebrals and double consonants
medially, which are characteristic of the languages of

\(^{23}\) CBI. PP. 326-327.
\(^{24}\) S.K. Chatterji, op. cit., P. 66.
\(^{25}\) CBI. PP. 76, 84.
\(^{26}\) Ibid. P. 293.
\(^{27}\) EI. Vol. XXI, P. 211 ff.
\(^{28}\) S.K. Chatterji, op. cit., P. 67.
\(^{29}\) CBI. P. 203.
\(^{30}\) S.K. Chatterji, op. cit., P. 67.
Dravidian origin are noticeable in some of the place-names like Nāgirattamanda, Palāsāṭta, Prsthima-pottaka (Pāharpur C. P. Inscr. of G.E. 157= 478 A.D.)\textsuperscript{31}, Suvvunga (Tipperā c. p. of Lokanātha)\textsuperscript{32}, Rollavāyi (Ashrafpur c. p. of Devakhadga)\textsuperscript{33}, Kōddāvāra (Tipperā c. p. of inscr. of Bhavadeva)\textsuperscript{34} Khedirāvilli, Tivaravilli, Ikkadāśi (Dhullā c. p. of Śrīcandra)\textsuperscript{35}, Śrīpattikeraka, Dollavāyi (Maināmatī c. p. no. 1 of Ladahacandra)\textsuperscript{36}, Vṛhaccattivanā, Kuntīra (Īrdā c. p. of Kāmboja Nayapāla)\textsuperscript{37} Vellāva, Tinnidi (Belwā c. p. of Vigrahapāla III)\textsuperscript{38}, Varaipada (Madanpara Grant of Visvarūpasena)\textsuperscript{39} Bhātāpada (Bhāterā c. p. of Govinda Keśavadeva)\textsuperscript{40}. Besides, words like Pattana (town) and Palli (village), Kōta (fort) used in the place-names also seem to have been borrowed from Dravidian words Patti which means "small village" (cf. Tamil Pettei, "suburb"), Palli stands for "agriculture village", "city" (cf. Trichinopoly) and Kōta for "fort" (cf. Telegu Kōta, Kanarese Koṭe, Tamil Kotei, "fort"). These are found in the place-names like

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} CBI. P. 54.
\item \textsuperscript{32} EI. Vol. XV, P. 306.
\item \textsuperscript{33} MASB. Vol. I (1905-7), P. 85.
\item \textsuperscript{34} JASB. Vol. XVII, P. 85.
\item \textsuperscript{35} IB. P. 349.
\item \textsuperscript{36} EBEP. P. 73.
\item \textsuperscript{37} EI. Vol. XXII, P. 150.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid. Vol. XXIX, P. 9 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{39} CBI. P. 317.
\item \textsuperscript{40} CPS. P. 159.
\end{itemize}
Adhapattanāmaṇḍala (Belāva c. p. of Bhojavarman)\textsuperscript{41},
Sūraṭtipperaka (Maināmatī c. p.s. of Ladahacandra)\textsuperscript{42},
Candragarma-kotakaṇa (Ghugrahāti c. p. of Samacāradēva)\textsuperscript{43},
Mahārājapallika (Jājilpādā c. p. of Gopāla II)\textsuperscript{44}, Čūta-
pallika and Kuratapallika (Bāngarh c. p. grant of Mahāpala I)\textsuperscript{45}.

Various commodities used in day-to-day life of the urbanised people are referred to in the epigraphic records. These can not be recognised as of Dravidian origin in their present Sanskrit form, although Indo-Aryan borrowings from the Dravidians are well-known. The Dravidians seem to have used various metals like gold, silver, copper, bronze and lead in making their ornaments, weapons, utensils etc. They knew the use of weapons like spear, scimitor (khaḍga), axe, bow and arrow. All these weapons find mention in the epigraphic records. The reference to "Khaḍgi", "swordsmen", in the Mallasārul c. p. of Vijayasena\textsuperscript{46} indicates the use

\textsuperscript{41} CBI. P. 238.
\textsuperscript{42} EDEP. PP. 73, 76.
\textsuperscript{43} EI. Vol. XVIII, P. 74.
\textsuperscript{44} JAS. Vol. XVII, P. 137.
\textsuperscript{45} CBI. P. 201.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid. P. 88.
of this weapon in ancient Bengal. Ornaments like valaya, keyūra find mention in the epigraphs (cf. Deopāra inscr. of Vijayasena)\(^{47}\). The word valaya seems to have been derived from the Dravidian root val-ei meaning 'to bend' metaphorically "to surround"\(^{48}\).

Similarly, keyūra meaning "armlet" might have been derived from Dravidian kei, "hand", "arm" and urn "to be used". The use of gold, silver and pearl in making ornaments and for the ornamentation of furniture and buildings as found in the inscriptions (cf. Deopāra inscr.) bears the stamp of an urban culture that was, in all probability, introduced by the Dravidian speaking people. Among the principal articles, fish is referred to in an epigraph (cf. sa-matsyaḥ, Monghyr c. p. of Devapāla)\(^{49}\). In this charter a village along with tanks abounding in fish has been donated to the Brāhmaṇa donee. Agricultural product like ginger might have been the contribution of the pre-Aryans, for the word śrīṅgavera "ginger" occurring in the Jagadishpur c. p.\(^{50}\) and Kalāikuri c. p.\(^{51}\) of the Gupta period (GE. 128 & 120 respectively) seems

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47. Ibid. P. 246.  
49. CBI. P. 119.  
50. EDEP. P. 61.  
51. IHQ. XXIX, P. 12.
to have been derived from Tamil(s)ingi-vera "bulbous root". The word hatta or haṭṭika occurring in the Dāmodarpur c.p.\(^\text{52}\) (G.E. 128 = A.D. 447) and the Khalimpur c. p. of Dharmapāla\(^\text{53}\) corresponds to Dravidian hatta. Various arts and crafts referred to in the epigraphs seem to have been of pre-Aryan origin. Crafts like carpentry (cf. Śūtradāra in Garuda pillar inscr. of Mārāyanapāla\(^\text{54}\); Śilpin in Bāngaḍh inscr. of Mahapāla-I\(^\text{65}\), metal-work (cf. Karmakāra in Paśchimbhāg c. p. of Śrīcandra\(^\text{56}\), Suvarṇakāra in Kurkihār Bronze Image inscr.\(^\text{57}\) of Mahīpāla-I Kāṅgsya(kāra) in Bhāṭerā c. p. of Govinda Keśavadeva\(^\text{58}\)) and weaving, spinning etc. are said to have been adopted by the Aryans from the Dravidians. Above all, the grandeur of urban life as depicted in the epigraphs (cf. Irdā c. p. of Kāmboja Nayapāla\(^\text{59}\); Deopāra inscr. of Vijayasena) bears testimony to the urban life of the pre-Aryan people of Bengal.

The antiquity of the important port of Tamralipti, known as Dāmalipti to the Dravidians, and the port Gāṅge,

52. CBI. P. 48.
53. Ibid. P. 100.
54. Ibid. P. 155.
55. Ibid. P. 204.
56. EDEP. P. 67.
57. JBORS. Vol. XXVI, P. 35.
58. CPS. P. 161.
59. EI. XXII, P. 150.
both of which were known to the Greek writers, indicates the beginning of an urban culture much earlier than the Gupta period.

The religious beliefs in Bengal seem to represent an admixture of Aryan and pre-Aryan elements. The Purānic cults centering round deities like Viṣṇu, Śrī, Umā, Mahēśvara as well as phallic worship of Śiva, referred to in the epigraphic records may be mentioned in this connection. The words Puṣpa and Pūjā are of Dravidian origin. The practice of worshipping (Pūjā) with flowers (puṣpa) - valicaru - satrapavartana - gavya - dhānya - puṣpa - prāpana in Dāmodarpur c. p. of 543 A. D. was not known to Vedic Brahmanism mainly based sacrificial rites and rituals.

Pre-Dravidian element : Austric.

The Dravidian elements seem to have formed a layer over and above the Austric stratum in the population of Bengal. It has been suggested by scholars like Przyluski, Levi, Bloch and S. K. Chatterji that the languages of Austro-Asiatic family chiefly dominated Northern and Central India and their

60. CBI, PP. 50, 62, 100, 112 ; EI. XVII, P. 357.
61. Ibid. P. 71.
remnants are still living in Kol, Santali, Khasi and Mon-Khmer groups of the family. Scholars have examined a great many words occurring in Sanskrit language which seem to be loan-words from Austro-Afroasiatic source. Many such words have also got entry into modern Indian languages. The linguistic approach adopted by Przyluski and other may be subjected to fresh examination in the light of epigraphic records of Bengal.


63. P. C. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian, Calcutta, 1929.
64. IHQ. XIX, P. 12 ; D. E. Singer, op. cit., P. 61, EDEP. P. 61
65. CBI. P. 54.
66. Ibid. PP. 46, 62.
67. Ibid. P. 72.
68. Ibid. P. 88.
69. CPS. P. 15.
(Tipperah c. p. of Lokanātha) 70 Udumbara "coloquintida"
in Audumbarika (Vappaghośavāṭa c. p. of Jayanāga 71),
sarsapa 72 in Sarsapayānaka (Vappaghośavāṭa c. p. of Jayanāga),
Pogāra 73" water channel for raising a sort of obstruction in
Pogāra - viṣaya (Paśchimbhāg c. p. of Śrīcandra) 74, accha
in Acchamāgopatha (Saktipur c. p. of Lakṣmaṇasena), 75 lau 76
in Lauhanḍā - caturaka (Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣad c. p. of
Viśvarūpasena) 77, mūnda in Khaṇḍa - mūnda mukha (Khalimpur
c. p. of Dharmapāla) 78, Namundika (Ibid.), Parkatīmūnda
(Dhullā c. p. of Śrīcandra) 79 and Helāvanamūnda (Kamauli
grant of Vaidyadeva) 80, Vāda used at the end of a number of
place-names like Hattavāḍā (Barrackpore c. p. of Vijayasena) 81,
Lengavāḍā, Siravāḍā, Lacchavāḍā (Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva).

70. EI. XV, P. 301 ff.
71. Ibid. Vol. XVIII, P. 60.
72. Malay Seswai, P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., P. XXI.
73. Mal. & Sant.: Pagar, Ibid. P. XXIX.
74. EDEP. P. 65.
75. EI. Vol. XXI, P. 211.
77. CBI. P. 326.
78. Ibid. P. 99.
79. IB. P. 349.
80. CBI. P. 377.
81. IB. P. 57.
Words referring to the things belonging to the material culture of the Austric people may also be derived from the epigraphic records of Bengal. Dr. S.K. Chatterji has suggested that the Austric speaking people were in the neolithic stage of culture and perhaps in India they learned the use of iron and copper. They introduced a primitive system of agriculture in which a "digging stick", *lag*, *lang* or *ling* (various forms of an old word *lak*), was used to till the soil. The word *lāṅgala* that may be traced in some epigraphs (cf. *Lāṅgalajoli* in Saktipur c. p. of Lakṣmanaśena) seems to be derived from *lang* or *ling*. The cultivation of rice was, in all likelihood, introduced by them. They introduced also, as some words belonging to their language would suggest, the cultivation of coconut (nārikela), plantain (Kadali), betel-vine (tāmbula), betel-nut (guvāka), turmeric (haridra), mustard (sarsapa) and vegetables like brinjal (vātiṅgana), gourd (alābu), pomegranate (dālimba), kamarāṅgā etc.

83. EI. XXI, p. 211.
84. cf. Sakei, Semang: niyor, P.C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, XXII.
We find in the epigraphs of Bengal that a village was often donated along with coconut and betel-grove (varaja)\(^88\) which became the sources of income to the donees\(^89\). The orchard of pomegranates (gālimba) finds mention in the Govindapur c. p. of Laksmaṇasena as the boundary of the donated land. Seeds of gālimba have been compared to jewels in the verse 23 of the Deopārā praśasti\(^90\) of Vijayasena. In the Mahāsthān Stone Plaque Inscription (3rd Century B.C.) sarśapa is found to have been distributed among the people in times of emergency (Sasapa dina ................. tiyāyike)\(^90\). The reference to Alābu-puṣpa (bottle-gourd flower) is found in the Deopārā Inscription\(^91\) of Vijayasena which bears similarity to pieces of silver.

The word karpāsa is derived from the Austric language\(^91\). Seeds of karpāsa have been compared to pearls in the Deopārā Praśasti of Vijayasena. Narikela and guvāka find mention in the Candra and Sena records.

The Austric speaking people gradually reached the stage of food-producing agriculture from the food-gathering

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\(^{88}\) Varaja is derived from Austro-Asiatic word balu(alak) = betel, Ibid., P. 15.
\(^{89}\) CBI., PP. 326, 328.
\(^{90}\) Ibid., P. 39.
hunting stage. The Niṣādas, Bhillas, Kols and Savaras were hunting people of the Austric group. Vanecaras mentioned in the Khalimpur c. p. of Dharmapāla seem to be the descendants of those primitive people. Terms like vāna "arrow", dhanuka "bow", pināka "bow-shaped musical instrument of Śiva", occurring in Sanskrit epigraphs of Bengal are derived from the Austric language.  

These primitive people seem to have used modern vessels for maritime business. The words donā or dingā "wooden-vessel" which are of Austric origin may be considered in this connection. In the Damodarpur c. ps. (of Kumārgupta and Budhagupta), the word donā, however, stands for a place-name, as it has already been mentioned.

The origin of Bengali numeracy system of Kuḍi (20) is traceable to the Austric source. The Bengali word pana or pon is also associated with the primitive numerical system, for four units of twenty (kuḍi) make one Pan (1 pana = 20 x 4 = 80) in computing, for instance, betel-leaves, betel-nuts, fruits etc. The use of pan or pon to mean 80 in Santali also points to the Austric origin.

92. Ibid. P. XXI.
93. Ibid. PP. XIII – XVI
of the system\textsuperscript{94}. Later, paṇa was accepted as a Sanskrit word and the Trikāṇḍaśesa (III. 3, 206) states that 20 cowries make \(\frac{3}{4}\) paṇa. Paṇa in Sanskrit has, therefore, the same value as Pan (80) in Sāntāli.

In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra we find that the royal officials were remunerated by cash payment in Paṇa currency\textsuperscript{95}. Paṇa is again said to be formed of 20 gaṇḍā or gaṇḍā which means a group of four i.e., tetrade. The word gaṇḍaka in Sanskrit which means a system of counting by 4 and money equal to 4 cowries also originated from the same source of paṇa. The reference to Gaṇḍaka coin in the Mahasthan Fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscr. suggests that the currency was prevalent in Bengal during the Maurya period. The currency system based on the unit of paṇa continued till the Pāla period as it is evident from the reference to Dramma in the Mahābodhi Inscr. of Dharmapāla. One Dramma is said to be equivalent to 16 paṇas in Bhāskarācārya's Lilāvati (\textit{Varātākānām dasakadyayām yat sā Kākinī tāśca paṇāscatasraḥ | Te sōḍāsa dramma ihāvagamya drammaistathā sōḍāsabhīśca niśkah})\textsuperscript{96}. It may be derived from the Lilāvati

\textsuperscript{94} Campbell, \textit{A Santali-English Dictionary}, Vol. II, Pokuria, Manbhum, 1899.


\textsuperscript{96} CBI, P. 114.
that Kākinī used as a unit of measurement in the Sena records originated from numeration-system of 20 as introduced by the Austric people. Some popular religious beliefs and practices prevalent in Bengal seem to have been derived from the Austric culture. The use of betel-leaf, plantain, turmeric in socio-religious rites may be cited in this connection. The cult of fertility that was later transformed into the worship of Sakti seems to have been contributed by the Austrics to Bengali culture. The prevalence of the worship of the goddess-like Pārvatī, Tārā, Caṇḍī, Śarvāṇi etc. is proved by the sculptures of those deities found in different parts of Bengal. Inscriptional evidence also bear testimony to this fact. The phallic worship seems to have been inherited from the Austric people. The word linga, referred to in some inscriptions, is of Austric origin.

From the above analysis of the epigraphic records it appears that in spite of the pre-dominance of Sanskrit as the court-language and also as the language of the educated elite, the words or terms belonging to either Dravidian or Austric families of speeches had to be retained and accommodated within the framework of Samskrta or the

97. cf. Śarvāṇi Image Inscr. of Prābhāvatī, EI. Vol. XVII, P. 357; Pārvatī Image Inscr. of Nārāyanapāla, XXXVIII, P. 110.

98. Dāmodarpur c. p. of the time of Budhagupta (476-495 A.D.) CBI. P. 62.
language of the cultured. The process that may be traced in the gradual formation of the Bengali language indicates how the Austro, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan elements formed, by stages, the Bengali people. It has been reasonably observed by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee: "Much of our popular religions, much of our material culture, social and other usages, e.g., the cultivation of rice and some vegetables and fruits, folk arts, our marriage rituals and the like would appear to be legacy from our pre-Aryan ancestors".

The theory of the non-Aryan origin of the Bengalis is also supported by some literary sources referring to the indigenous tribes of Bengal, viz., Vangas, Pundras, Suhmas or Radhas whom the Aryans tried to bring under their fold. The Aitareya Brâhmaṇa refers to Pundras as Dasyus (Tq. etendrāḥ Pundrāḥ Šabarāḥ Pulindā Mūtibā ityudantyā bahavo Vaisvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyisṭhāḥ ||) and the Aitareya Brâhmana refers to Vangas in contemptuous terms (Vayāmśi Vangāvagādāsčerapādāḥ). The Baudhāyana - Dharmasūtra (i.1, 2, 13 - 15) prescribes purificatory rites for a visit to Vanga and Pundra among other countries.

100. Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, VII, 18.
Even the Jaina-Sūtras describe the people of Rādha as uncultured and savage. According to the Jaina Ācārāṅga Sūtra, the country of the Rādhas was pathless (duccara) and the Jaina ascetics, while wandering through this country, were maltreated by the rude natives. It was perhaps due to the rude (rūdha) nature of the natives that the country was named Rādha. It is thus evident that Bengal remained for a long time outside the pale of Aryan culture and the Aryans regarded the original inhabitants of the country as savage till the process of their cultural conquest was complete. In the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata both the Vāṅgas and Pundras are called pure Ksatriyas. Elsewhere Karna is said to have vanquished the Suhmas, the Pundras and the Vāṅgas. The Rāmāyana includes Vāṅga as a part of Daśaratha’s kingdom and the Vāṅgas are said to have matrimony relations with the wealthy family of Ayodhyā. These accounts of the Epics and some Buddhist texts indicate the gradual expansion of Aryan culture in Bengal. While the Jaina Ācārāṅga-sūtra describes the people of Rādha at the time of Mahāvīra as barborous, the Jaina Prajñāpana includes Vāṅgas and Lādhas in the list of the Aryan people102. These data suggest that the Aryans had much more intimate knowledge of, and closer contact with, Bengal than in the

102. IA. 1891, P. 375.
days of the Dharmasūtras. Certain legends record the tradition suggesting how the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan blood occurred. It is said that Rṣi Dīrghatamas begot on the queen of the Asura king Bali five sons named Anāga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Pundra and Kaliṅga who founded the states named after them. All these significant changes must have been brought about between the ages represented by Baudhāyana's Dharmasūtra and the Mahābhārata, roughly between 5th century B.C. the assumed date of the former and 4th century A.D., the lower limit of the date of the latter. Significantly enough, while the Dharmasutras confine the land of the Aryans to the Upper Ganges, the author of the Mānava Dharmasāstra (C. 200 B.C. - 200 A.D.) extends it from the Western to the Eastern sea, though he labels the Paundrakas as degraded Kṣatriyas and ranks them with the outlanders (Paundrakasaudra - dravidāḥ Kāmbojā Yavanāḥ Sakāḥ | Pārada - Pahlavāścīnāḥ Kirātā Daradāḥ Khasāḥ X. 43, 45). While the Pāli Vinayapitaka places the eastern frontier of Āryavarta at Rajmahal, the Sanskrit version of the Vinayapitaka locates it in the Pundra country itself.

That the original inhabitants of Bengal imbibed elements of Aryan culture may be shown by the evidence of inscriptions. An inscription

Brāhmī of about 3rd century B.C. has been discovered at Mahāsthamāgarh in Bogra district. The record refers to Samvāngīyas (or, Saḍvargīyas, or Buddhist sect) dwelling near Pundranagara. The Susunia Rock Inscr. found near Bankura, West Bengal, written in Sanskrit and Brāhmī character of the 4th century A.D. records the local king Candravarman’s devotion to Cakrasvāmin, that is, Viṣṇu. In spite of the expansion of the Brāhmanical culture in Bengal on a wide scale during the Gupta period, the aborigines represented by the Medas, Andhras and Vanecaras survived even as late as the Pāla period.

Remnants of the original inhabitants:

In the Pāla epigraphs we find reference to the people like the Medas, Andhras and Candālas witnessing transactions of land, mostly donations. (Brahmanottaran mahattara - kuṭumbi - Puroga - Medāndhra - Candāla - Paryantān samajñā- payati, Monghyr c.p. of Devapāla, 11.36 - 37 )104. The expression Candāla-paryantān seems to signify all the lower castes including the Candālas. The Medas and the Andhras whose names are associated with that of the Candālas seem

104. Ibid. P. 119.
to represent some aboriginal tribes. The Medas may be identified with the Arimedas mentioned along with the Bhadras of Central India in the Brhatsamhita (Bhadra-rimedah).\textsuperscript{105}

It would not be unreasonable to assume that the Medas were originally settled in Medapäta (i.e., modern Mewar), referred to in the Mount Abu Inscr.\textsuperscript{106} of the Guhila king Samarasimha (v.s. 1342) or that they were connected with the Mers still inhabiting the Aravalli hills region on the boundary of Mevād.\textsuperscript{107} The people might have given their name to Medántakampuram which was the capital of Nāgabhaṭa known to us from the Jodhpur Inscr. (of Pratihāra Bauka)\textsuperscript{108} (v.s. 894). The city is identified with Merta\textsuperscript{109} lying to west of Ajmer in Jodhpur. The Kumaon plates\textsuperscript{110} of the 8th century A.D. refer to the Meds settled in the Punjab. Again, the Meds along with the Jats are found to have settled in Sindh as early as 7th century A.D. and they are said to

\textsuperscript{105} Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhita, Ed. Kern, Ch. XIV., Vs. 2-4.
\textsuperscript{106} IA. XVI, P. 345-355.
\textsuperscript{107} IA. VI, P. 191; Elliot and Dawson, History of India as told by its historians, Vol. I, P. 523.
\textsuperscript{108} EI. XVII, P. 95, 1.7.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid. P. 94.
\textsuperscript{110} E.T. Atkinson, Notes on the History of the Himalaya of the N.W.P. India, St. Leonards-on-sea, 1883, ch. III, PP. 43-44.
have been ruled by a Brāhmaṇa dynasty.¹¹¹

The Andhras, along with the Pulindas, appear as a tribe in the Brāhmaṇical texts¹¹², Epics and Purāṇas. They were the people who belonged to the southern region of India (Dakṣināpathajanmānaḥ)¹¹³. In the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka¹¹⁴, the Andhras, Palidas etc. have been referred to as those belonging to the bordering states (antesu).

The Andhras seem to have been settled in different parts of the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvari valley. According to Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, the Andhras were originally a Vindhyān tribe whose course of migration was from the west to the east down the valley of the Godāvari and the Kṛṣṇa¹¹⁵.

¹¹². cf. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18.
¹¹³. Mbh. XII, 207. 42.
¹¹⁵. IA. 1913, P. 276 ff. According to Bhandarkar, Andhrapura placed on the Televāha river as depicted by the Serivijayajātaka is identical with the modern Telingiri, IA. 1918, P. 71. Prof. H.C. Raychowdhury identifies Andhrapura with Bezwada, PH AI., PP. 92-93.
The *Maidāvalu Grant* of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman indicates that the *Andhrāpatha*, the original habitat of the Andhras, embraced the Kṛṣṇa district with Dhānnakaḍa or Bezwada as its capital.

In Kauṭilya's *Arthasastra*, the Candālas are associated with some aboriginal tribes like Savaras, Pulindas and Vāgurikas (Vāgurika - Śavara - Pulinda - Candālāraṇyacarāṇ rakṣeyuh) who are described as forest-dwellers. Descendants of these forest-dwelling aboriginal stocks seem to have been referred to in the expression *vane ca raiḥ* occurring in the Khalimpur c. p. of Dharmapāla (1.23).

Scholars are divided in their opinions regarding the Austric or the Dravidian origin of the Candālas. Candāla is a generic title of the tribe identical with the Mals of Dravidian origin settled in the Rajmahal hills. Przyluski's suggestion regarding the Austric origin of the Candālas leads us to believe that the Niśādas, Candālas etc. mentioned in the Vedic literature were of Austric origin.

116. EI. VI, P. 243.
as the Doms are said to be the descendants of the Caṇḍālas. It appears, however, that the Caṇḍālas like the Medas and Andhras belonged to some pre-Aryan aboriginal tribe.

References to such other tribal castes like Haddipas is found in the Bhāṭerā c. p. of Govinda Kesāvadeva (12th century A.D.). Haddipas or Haddis, often associated with Caṇḍāla or Domba (Dom) belonged to the menial and scavenger caste of Bengal, "the remnant of a Hinduised aboriginal tribe." 120

As suggested by Kautilya, the people belonging to the aboriginal tribes were often recruited for reclaiming the forest land and bringing the reclaimed land under cultivation and were regarded as Śūdra (Śūdrakārṣakapraṇyaṃ ... grāmam ... nivasayet) 121. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the tribal people migrating from one part of the country to another in search of new habitat and occupation came to settle in Bengal. Again, it may also be suggested that the military department of the Pālas recruited menials from among the tribes under consideration to serve in the army.

120. H. H. Risley, op. cit., P. 314.
Foreign elements in the population of Bengal:

The people who had emigrated in Bengal from time to time hailed from different parts of India. Some of them were of foreign origin from Indian point of view, but all of them were foreigners to Bengal.

Saka element:

Ptolemy in his *Geography*\(^{122}\) refers to a town named Murunḍoi on the eastern bank of the Ganga which was most probably inhabited by the Murunḍas, a branch of the Šakas, also referred to in some Chinese sources. Indian literary tradition (*Jaina Prabḥyaka - carita*) refers to the Murunḍa rule of Pāṭaliputra about the 2nd century A.D.\(^{123}\) The existence of a Murunḍa family in the eastern region of Bengal is proved by the reference to a feudatory chief (Sāmanta)\(^{\$}\)

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Marundanatha in the Kahlapur plate found in the Sylhet district. In the record Samanta Marundanatha is said to have donated land in favour of god Anantanarayana. Steen Kønnow states that Murunda is a Saka word meaning 'lord', Sanskrit 'svamin'. As the Murundas are believed to be of Scythian origin, their occupation of Bihar and Bengal may be explained by the assumption that they probably began to rule in the capacity of feudatories under the Kusana overlord and later asserted their independence in the 3rd century A.D. taking an opportunity of the decline of the Kusana power. The Kahlapur C. P. seems to suggest that the Murunda elements lingered on till the 7th century A.D.

Political disintegration after the death of the Gauda king Sasanka invited political aggressions from outside Bengal. It would not be unreasonable to assume that a section of the invader infiltrators ultimately settled in this country and became gradually merged in the population of Bengal.

Sailas:

The advent of Sailas in Bengal is furnished by the Rāgholi C. P. of Jayavardhana, which informs us that

124. CPS. P. 72.
125. PHAI. P. 483.
126. EI. IX, P. 41.
the brother of great-grand-father of Jayavardhana defeated
the Paundra king and conquered his dominion (Paundradhipam
kṣmāpatim hatvaiko viṁaya tameva sakalaṁ jagrāha sauryān-
vitah, V.2). According to the record, their original home
was in the Valley of the Himalayas, but they conquered
Gurjara ( Kailāsa-cala-tūṅga-śrṅga-vipuladrono-jayeśa-
prabhuḥ ( read javamsa - ) .... deśāṁ Gurjaramāsasāda, 11.
1-4). Two other branches of the Śailas were settled at Kāśī
(Benaras) and in the Vindhyan region.

The Paundra kingdom conquered by the Śailas has been
identified with North Bengal, as this region was known as
both Pundra and Paundra.127 The homeland of the Śailas in
the Himalayan region as indicated in the Rāgholi C. P.
seems to have a bearing upon their nomenclature. We have
no evidence to suggest that the Śailas who had settled in
North Bengal were ever ousted.

In the Pāla records of Bengal may be traced references
to a number of ethnic tribes like Gauḍas, Mālavas, Khaśas,
Kulikas, Karnātas, Lātas, Codas, etc. who appear to be
mercenary soldiers recruited in the Pāla army (Gauḍa -

127. cf. Belāva C. P. of Bhojavarmadeva; CBI, P. 238.
An attempt may be made to ascertain their positions, if any, in the population of Bengal.

Gauḍas:

Both literary and epigraphic sources commonly locate the Gauḍas in Bengal. But as they are represented to have been soldiers recruited in the Pāla army, their original settlement may be sought elsewhere. A.M.T. Jackson has pointed out that the Gauḍas seem to have been connected with Thānesvar as the place was called Guḍa - Thaneshar in Alberuni's work\(^{130}\). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also holds that Gauḍa is the name of a tribe, as there are different castes with the appellation of Gauḍa, namely, Gujar - Gauḍ (Brahmanas), Gauḍa - Rājput (Kāyasthas) and Gauḍatagas in Rajasthan and Central India. We may also refer to the five divisions of Brāhmaṇas, namely, Sārasvata, Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Utkala and Maithila\(^{131}\). Evidently different branches

\(^{128}\) Ibid., P. 215.

\(^{129}\) S.R. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*

\(^{130}\) JRAS. 1905, PP. 163-64.

\(^{131}\) IHQ. XIII, No. 1 (1937), P. 162.
of Brāhmaṇas derived their respective nomenclatures from the countries where they had been settled. It appears that the Gauḍa tribe came to settle in different parts of India. But the original home of the Gauḍašcan hardly be located with certainty. It is due to the growing importance of the Gauḍas in Bengal that the Gauḍaš settled in other parts of India were shaded into obscurity. Tradition has it that in early period there were Pāńca-Gauḍaš, viz. Gauḍa, Mithilā, (North Bihar) Utkala (North Orissa), Kānyakubja (Gangetic Doab) and Sārasvata (East Punjab). Martial occupation of the Gauḍas is known from Somadeva's Yāsatilaka-campu (955 A.D.)\(^{32}\). The martial character may be ascribed to the Gauḍaš inhab-iting any one of the Gauḍa countries referred to.

Mālavas:

In literary and epigraphic records, the Mālavas are associated with central, western and north-western parts of India. For the Classical writers' accounts it is known that the Mālavas (Malloi) of the Greeks were settled in the Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. From the Punjab they seem to have migrated to Rājputānā. The Mālava

\(^{32}\) B.P. Majumdar, The Socio-economic History of Northern India, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 48-49
occupation of the Nāgar area near Jaipur is upheld by the Nāsik cave Inscr.\textsuperscript{133} of Uṣavadāta. Coins with legend 'Malavānāṁ Jayāḥ' have been found at Nāgar, in characters ranging, in Cunnigham's opinion, from C.B.C. 250 - A.D. 250. In the Allahabad Praśasti\textsuperscript{134} of Samudragupta, the Mālavas along with the Ārjunāyanas, Ābhīras, Yaudheyas, Madrakas etc. represent tribal republics on the outskirts of the Gupta Empire. The Mālavas were ultimately settled in the western part of modern Madhya Pradesh with Vidiśā (Bhilsa) and Avanti (Ujjayin) as the two political and cultural centres in the eastern and western parts of ancient Malwā. The Samvat or era used by them was known as the Mālava Samvat which later came to be known as Vikram Samvat. According to the Kāśika, the Mālavas were amongst the 'Āyūdhajīvi - samghas' (organisations of those living by the profession of arms) mentioned by Pāṇini\textsuperscript{135}. The tribal organisation of this warrior class therefore existed even during the pre-Christian era and the military character of the tribe continued to a much later period.

\textsuperscript{133} E.I. VIII, P. 44.
\textsuperscript{134} S.I.I.P. 257\textsuperscript{--}.\textsuperscript{--}
\textsuperscript{135} Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī, V. 3.117.
Coṭas:

The Coṭas find mention along with the Gaudas, Mālavas and others only in the Manāhali C. P. of Madanapāla.

The kingdom of the Coṭas included the modern districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and parts of Pudukkattah State. The ancient capital of the Coṭas was Uraiyur (Uragapura). Kāviri - Pattinam on the northern bank of the river Kaverī was their great port, while Kāṇci was one of their chief towns. In the R. E. II of Asoka Coṭas and Pāṇḍyas are said to be the peoples of the border kingdoms.

Khasas:

It appears from different sources that the Khasas were the hill-tribes in the Himalayan region. In the Mahābhārata, the Khaṣa tribe finds mention along with other hill tribes of the Himalayan region (Khasāh ekāsanā yarhāh pradara dīrghavenavah, ii. 52. 3-4, cf. vs. 13-14). The Khasas may be connected with Ptolemy's Kasia towards the bending of Imaos to the east above the sources of the

Oxus. It follows from Ptolemy's description that the tribe inhabited the western part of the Himalayan range. But different enquiries go to prove that a wider area was connected with the tribe who might have left their name in Kasghar, Kashkara, the Hindukush, Kashmir and extended in the hills from Kashmir to Nepal. The Rajatarangini locates the Khaśas in the adjoining regions of Kashmir viz. Rajapuri (south of Kashmir), Lohara (north-west of Rajapuri), Viranāka (on the left bank of the Vitastā) and some other places nearabout. The Khaśas figure also in the Buddhist chronicles among the people subdued by Asoka in the Upper Punjab. In the Manusāṃhitā, the Khaśas are referred to as fallen warrior class (X. 43-44).

Hunas:

The Hunas (White Hunas or Epthalites) were the nomadic tribe of Central Asia who poured into India during the latter half of the 5th century and the first half of


138. S. B. Chaudhuri, op. cit., P. 128; The Brhatsāṃhitā locates the tribe in the north-eastern region.
the 6th century A.D. and played a dominant role in the history of India eclipsing the Gupta power in Northern and Central India. Later, they ceased to be a great power but ruled over one or more principalities. According to the Rājatarāṅgini, the Hūṇa king Mihirakula, being driven out from North and Central India by the joint efforts of Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya in the east and Yaśodharman in the west, established his kingdom in Kashmir. Later, they ceased to be a great power but ruled over one or more principalities. According to the Rājatarāṅgini, the Hūṇa king Mihirakula, being driven out from North and Central India by the joint efforts of Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya in the east and Yaśodharman in the west, established his kingdom in Kashmir. 

Bāṇa's Harsacarita locates a Hūṇa principality in the 7th century A.D. in Uttarāpatha near the Himalayas. It was probably the kingdom of the Hūṇas which was invaded by Devapāla (ḥṛta-hūṇagarvam). The Hūṇas seem to have settled in different parts of Northern and Central India. That the Hūṇas were gradually Hinduised is indicated by the legend (jayatu vrṣah) and emblem of Śiva (i.e. bull) on the coins of Hūṇa king Mihirakula as well as by the evidence of Māndāsore Inscri. of Yaśodharman in which Mihirakula is.

140. HAB., P. 113.
141. Bādal Pillar Inscri. of Nārāyanapāla, CBI., P. 153.
said to be a devotee of Siva (Sthanoranyatra yena Pramati-
krpanatam prapitaṃ nottamāṅgam, v. 6)\textsuperscript{143}. They were, however, regarded as Ksatriyas in the Manusamhitā presumably in recognition of their long-drawn military activities in India.

Kulika:

There is hardly any reference to Kulika as a distinct tribe. Kulika may be connected with the tribe named Kulūtas\textsubscript{144}, Kolūta or Kolūka referred to in the Epics and the Purānas. The country called Kulūta (named after the tribe inhabiting the land) was known to Hiuen-Tsang\textsuperscript{145}.

Scholars like Pargiter and Cunnigham identify the land of Kulūtas with modern Kulu valley\textsuperscript{146}. Coins of the Kulutas bearing the legend 'rājñā Kulūtasya Vīrayāsasya\textsuperscript{147} have been assigned to the first - second centuries A.D. The tribe seems to have represented a tribal republic like the Mālavas.

\textsuperscript{143} S.I.I.P. 314.
\textsuperscript{144} Markandeya Purāṇa, (LVII, 49, Mbh. Karna-parvan ;
Ramayana, Kiskindhyā Kānda, XLII.
\textsuperscript{145} Watters, On Yang Chwang, Pt. I. P. 298.
\textsuperscript{146} B. C. Law, op. cit., P. 90.
\textsuperscript{147} S.B.Chaudhuri, op. cit., P. 119 fn. 4 ; John Allan, Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India, London, 1936, P. C.
Thus, it appears that the tribe occupied the Kulu valley of the Kangra district.

Lātas:

The name of the Lātas as a people must have been known as early as the beginning of the Christian era and their country. Lāta or Lātavisaya was well-known till the 7th - 8th centuries A.D. The earliest definite reference to the tribe is made by Ptolemy who describes Larike lying to the east of Indo-Scythia along the sea-coast.148

According to K.M. Munshi, from about C.A.D. 150 the tract between Khambhāta (Cambay) and the Narmadā acquired the name of Lāta, which, thereafter, came to include the country south of the Narmadā upto the Damāna - gaṅgā. Under the Cālukyas of Anahilavāda, the name of Lāta was gradually replaced by that of Gurjara-bhūmi149. Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra describes the characteristics of men and women of the tribe but does not furnish any clue to their location. The Lātas were known to Rājasekharā who represents them as preferring Prākṛt to Sanskrit.

149. JASB. XVIII, PP. 2-3, PP. 20n., 36.
Karnāṭas:

The country of the Karnāṭas is said to have extended from Rāmanātha upto Śrīrāṅga. Śrīrāṅga is either Śrīraṅgam opposite to Tānjāvur on the other side of the river Kāverī (Tamilnadu) or Śrīraṅgapāṭṭana near Mysore. Rāmanātha seems to be Rāmanātha-puram district or the Rāmanātha-ī Maṭha in the Madurai District or Rāmesvara Tīrtha near the junction of the rivers the Tunga and the Bhadrā. The reference to Śrīraṅgam and Rāmanātha as a boundary of Karnāṭa suggests that it is in the Kannada-speaking areas, that is, the region in and around modern Mysore.

The infiltration of the Karnāṭas in Bengal continued even after the Pāla period till the advent of the Senas who are known as Karnāṭa - Ksatriyas. The Deopāra Inscr. of Vijayasena informs us that Sāmantasena, the head-garland of Brahma-kṣatriya (grandfather of Vijayasena) was born in the family of Vīrasena who ruled over the south (Dāksinātya - kṣaunidhair - Vīrasena - prabhṛtiramita - kirttimā - dbhirbhhuve ...... tasmin - Senānvavāye .... Brahmakṣatriyānāmaːṇi kulaśirodāma Sāmantasena, vv. 4–5). The same account is repeated in the Madhāinagar C. P. of Laksmanasena in a slightly modified form. Sāmantasena is said to be the head-garland of the Karnāṭa - ksatriyas.
(Virasena's statement about Karnataka in the Deopara Inscription confirms the Karnata origin. 

The Karnata origin is further confirmed by the statement in the Deopara Inscription that Samantasena 'slaughtered the wicked despoilers of the fortune of Karnataka' in a battle waged in the South.

All these leave little doubt that the original home of the Sena rulers of Bengal was in Karnataka, i.e., the region in modern Mysore and neighbouring regions inhabited by Kannada-speaking people and that they belonged to the Brahma-Kshatriya caste (those who exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits).

150. CBI. P. 278.
151. IB. P. 44 & fn. 3, P. 192.
Chālukyas sometime at the end of the 11th century A.D.\textsuperscript{152} The other suggestion is that the Karnāṭas in Bengal and Bihar were the remnants of Rājendra-cola's army\textsuperscript{153}. It is difficult to pronounce the last word on this issue due to lack of sufficient evidence at our disposal. Whatever we learn from the available records seems to suggest that the Karnāṭas who came to settle in Bengal were soldiers belonging to the Pāla army or that of the Cholas, or Western Chālukyas.

It is difficult to trace the circumstances in which different ethnic elements were accommodated in the Pāla army. One can not rule out the possibility that referring to the recruitment of soldiers from different tribes and peoples living in distant parts of India, the Pāla rulers indirectly attempted to indicate the extent of the vast territory in which their paramountcy had been established. However, it is not at all unlikely that at least some of those tribes migrated, in connection with their military service under the Pālas, to Bengal and settled over there permanently. The migration of the Karnāṭas, later known

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\textsuperscript{152} HAB, PP. 221-22.
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as Senas, to Bengal may be cited as an instance proved by epigraphic records. The amalgamation of different ethnic elements towards the formation of the Bengali people cannot be gainsaid.

Kāmbojas:

The advent of the Kāmbojas in Bengal at the end of the 10th century is proved by the evidence furnished by the Bāngaḍ Pillar Inscri. of Kuṇjaraghātāvaśa and the Irdā C. P. of Kāmboja Nayapāla. Scholars are divided in their opinions regarding the origin of the Kāmbojas. Kāmboja was the name of a well-known janapada located by the side of Gandhāra as early as 6th century B.C. It was famous for brilliant type of horses (Paṅcāladesa-mārabhya Mlecchāddakṣīnapūrvataḥ | Kāmbojasat deveśi Vājirāśi-parāyaṇaḥ v. 24). Horses of the Kāmboja-country are often found mentioned in literature and inscriptions. The Kāmbojas living in Asoka's time are mentioned along

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154. JRASBL. (N.S.) VII (1911), P. 619 ff.
155. BI. XXII, P. 150 ff.
157. cf. Kāmbojesu ca yasya vāji ... v-13, Monghyr C. P. of Devapāla, CBI. P. 117.
with the *Yavanas* of the Kabul valley and Kandahar where an edict in two versions meant for these two peoples have been discovered. Scholars like B. R. Chatterjee connect the Kāmbojas with Kambuja, modern Cambodia. R. P. Chanda took Kamboja to mean Tibet and suggest that the Kābojas invaded Bengal from there or a neighbouring hilly region. The Tibetan chronicle *Pag-Sam-John-Zang* locates a country called Kampatsa in the upper and the Eastern Lushai Hill tracts lying between Burma and Bengal.

The Tibetan tradition and the Chronicles of Ladakh inform us about the Tibetan invasions as far as the confluence of the Gāṅgā which might have taken place during the time of Dharmapāla and Devapāla.160

The *Bāṅgād Pillar Inscr.* bears testimony to the Kāmboja occupation of Varendra or North Bengal in the latter half of the 10th century A.D. (reign of Vigraha-pāla-II) Mahāpala-I claims to have recovered his father-land that had been lost owing to its occupation by enemies

158. HAB. P. 198, fn. 305.
159. IHQ. XV. 511.
160. JBORS. XLI (1975), PP. 136-37.
having no right to it. (Saṅgara Vāhudarpādanaḥdikṛtavi-putam rājyamāsādyapitṛyam, v. 12) 161. As Varendrī is called Janakabhū of the Pālas in the Rāmacarita 162, it had been lost to the Kāmbojas on the eve of Mahīpāla's accession. The Irdā C. P. grant suggests the rule of the Kāmbojas in Vardhamānabhukti, while Tiruvalangādu Plate of Rajendra Chola indicates their rule in Dāndabhukti. The advent of the Kāmbojas in Samatata shortly before the beginning of Candra rule is suggested by the verse 7 of the Paschimbhāg C. P. of Śrīcandra which reads that after having conquered Samatata, Trailokya - candra's soldiers exclaimed, "That prosperous Devaparvata lying on the Kṣīroda is this city where the visitor has the feeling of astonishment at the wonderful reports about the Kāmbojas" (Kṣīrodāmanu Dava-parvata iti Śrīanttadatāt Purāna yatrā-gantujanasya vismaya-rasah kāmboja - vārttādbhutaiḥ...v. 7).

These foreign settlers in Bengal, who according to the ethnologists, were the ancestors of the Koch people (Rājavāṃśī) of North Bengal 163, were influenced by the Brāhmanical culture. Both the Irdā C. P. of Nayapāla and

161. CBI, P. 201.
162. RC. Ch. I. 38, P. 26.
163. EDEP, P. 25.
Bāṅgaḍ pillar Inscr. of Kuñjaraghatāvarṣa undoubtedly prove the inclination of the Kamboja rulers to the Śaiva faith. The Ṛrdā c. p. begins with the salutation to Śiva (Om namaḥ Śivāya, 1.1.). The description of the temples in their capital at Priyāṅgu (vv. 1, 2) more convincingly exhibits the flourishing condition to Brāhmanical religion in the Kamboja realm in Bengal. The Bāṅgaḍ pillar Inscr. also records the erection of a magnificent temple of Lord Śiva by Gauḍa ruler of the Kamboja dynasty (Kamboja-vayajena Gauḍapatinā tenendumaulerayaṃ prāsādo niramāyi Kuñjaraghatāvarṣeṇa bhūbhūṣana, 11.2-3).

Varmans:

The Varmans succeeded to the power of the Candras in East Bengal. The Belāva C. P. of Bhojavarman states that the Varmans were descended from a branch of the Yādava family that originally ruled in Simhapura (Varmānotīgam-bhīra - nāma - dadhataḥ śālāghyau bhujau vibhrato bhejuḥ Simhapuraṃ gūhāmiva mṛgendrāṇām Harervāndhavāh v. 5)164. While R. G. Basak is of opinion that Simhapura was the

164. CBI. P. 237.
same as Sihapura in Lālaratta\textsuperscript{165}. (Rāqha) and identifies it with Singur in the Hooghly district\textsuperscript{166}, R. D. Banerji locates Siṃhapura in the Punjab\textsuperscript{167} and D. C. Ganguli suggests its location in Kalinga, that is, Siṅapuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeta\textsuperscript{168}. Although there is no such indication in the Belāva c. p. to suggest that Siṃhapura was the original home of the Varmans and lay outside Bengal\textsuperscript{169}, we can not rule out the possibility of the Varmans having come to Eastern Bengal from Siṃhapura in Kalinga in view of the geographical contiguity of Bengal and Orissa.

Burmese element:

An infiltration of some Burmese element, though in a lesser degree, in Eastern Bengal may be suggested on the basis of a single epigraph found in the Maināmatī Hill Range. The Maināmatī C. P. of Raṇavāṃkamalla\textsuperscript{170} (1141 Śaka = 1219 A.D.), records a grant of land measuring 20 dopas

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{165} Mahāvamsa, VI, P. 35 ff.
  \item \textsuperscript{166} EI. XII, P. 37 ; JASB. 1910, P. 604.
  \item \textsuperscript{167} R. D. Banerji, Bāṅglār Itihāsa, Vol. I, P. 275.
  \item \textsuperscript{168} EI. XII, P. 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{169} THQ. XII, P. 608.
  \item \textsuperscript{170} Ibid. IX (1933), Pp. 282- 86.
\end{itemize}
in a village named Bejakhanda by an official (Aśvani-vandhika) named Dhadi-eva in favour of a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Pattikera. It has been suggested that the nature of the names of the granter, 'Dhadi-eva', his father, 'Heḍi-eva' and the writer 'Medini eva', all apparently belonging to the same family smells of Burmese origin of the family for 'ba' and 'ye-ba' (modified as e-va) seem to be the characteristic feature of Burmese names even to-day. The inscription seems to suggest that a respectable family of Burmese origin had close contact with the kingdom of Pattikera sometime in the 13th century A.D.

This finds confirmation in the Burmese chronicle informing us that a healthy intercourse existed between Burma and the kingdom of Pattikera in the 11th - 12th centuries. We are informed that the vast kingdom of the Burmese king Anoratha (1044 - 77 A.D.) of Pagan, who advanced in the West as far as Bengal, was bounded by the foreign kingdom of Pateikkara, identified with

171. Ibid. P. 285.
Paṭṭikerā, or Paṭṭikeraka in the Tipperāṅ district as mentioned in the Tripurā.Rājamālā as well as epigraphic records. The healthy intercourse between the two neighbouring states developed through matrimonial relations for more than one generation. Members of the respectable family holding ministerial position under Harikāladeva, king of Paṭṭikerā, seem to have been of Burmese origin.

The Bengali people were formed by accommodating Pre-Aryan, Pre-Dravidian and Indo-Aryan-elements one after another. Those who were foreign to India and to Bengal were the Sakas, Khasas, Hūnas, Sāilas, Kāmbhojas, Burmese etc. Bengal did not find it difficult to accommodate any foreign people within the fold of her social structure, as by the early centuries of the Christian era Manu and Yājñavalkya had devised the theory of Varnaśamkhara to justify the inclusion of any people within the caste-society of India.

174. (a) Mainamati Grants of Laḍahacandra, EDEP. PP. 73, 76; (b) Mainamati C. P. of Ranavanakamalla Harikāladeva, IHQ. IX. P. 286 ff.
Appendix I

Select Place-names occurring in the Inscriptions of Bengal.

1. Mahāsthān Fragmentary Stone Inscription (3rd century B.C.)
   Puṇanagala (town)

2. Susuniā Rock Inscription of Candravarman
   Puskaraṇa (administrative head-quarters)

3. Dhanāldaha C.P. Grant of Kumāragupta I (G.E. 113 = A.D. 432-33)
   Khāmdāta pāra (viṣaya or district)
   Kṣudraka (village)

4. Kalāikuri Sultānpur C.P. Inscription of Kumāragupta I
   (G.E. 120 = A.D. 440)
   Dhānyapatālikā
   Gulmagandhikā
   Hastisīrsabhibhītaki (village)
   Purṇakauśika (administrative head-quarters)
   Sanjehāli (village)
   Śrīṅgavera (vīthī, administrative unit)
   Vāṭa (river)

5. Damodarpur C.P. Inscription (No. 1) of Kumāragupta I
   (G.E. 124 = A.D. 444)
   Doṅgā (village)
Koṭivarsa (viṣaya or district)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or Province)

6. Damodarpur C.P. Inscription (No. 2) of Kumārgupta. I
(G.E. 128 = A.D. 448)
Airāvatagorājya

Pañcanagarī (viṣaya or district)
Śrīgohāli (village)
Trvīta (village)
Bāigrāma (subdivision).

Gulmagandhikā (village)
Mecikāmra-siddhāyatana
Mūlavastukā (village)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Pūrnakausika (head-quarters of an administrative unit)
Śrṅgohāli (village)
Śrṅgavera (vīthī, an administrative unit).

9. Pāhārpur C.P. Inscription (G.E. 159 = A.D. 479)
Dakṣiṇāmśaka (head-quarters of Vīthī, an administrative unit)
Nāgīraṭṭa (maṇḍala, an administrative unit)
Nītvagohāli (village)
Palas̄ṭṭa (subdivision)
Prsthimapottaka (village)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Vaṭagohāli (village)

10. Damodarpur C.P. Inscription (No. 3) of Budhagupta
(G.E. 163 = A.D. 482)
Candagrama (village)
Palas̄avrndaka (administrative head-quarters of a village)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)

11. Damodarpur C.P. Inscription of Budhagupta (A.D. 476-495)
Donga (village)
Kotivarsa (visaya or district)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)

Ambilāgrāma (village)
Gopālibhoga (village)
Jangoyika (village)
Khaṭapurāṇa (agrahāra, a village donated to the brahmins)
Nandavīthī (administrative unit)

Cūḍāmanī-nauyoga (port)
Guṇeκa (agrahāra, village donated to the brahmins)
Kripura (administrative head-quarters)
Midvvilāla (village)
Nādaḍadaka (village)
Nāgījōdāka (village)
Naḍaraśrī (port)
Nakhaddārcarika (village)
Pakkavilāla (village)
Pradāmāra (port)
Udakagrāma (village).
Uttara-mañḍala (administrative unit)

Ardhaṭī (village)
Koṭivarsa (viṣaya or district)
Lavamgasikā (village)
Paraspatika (village)
Puṇḍravardhana (bhukti or province)
Puraṇavṛndikahari (village)
Sātvanaśramaka (village)
Svacchandapātaka (village)

15. Faridpur C.P. Inscription of Dharmāditya, regnal
year 3 (6th century A.D.)
Dhruvilāti (village)
Himasenapātaka (village)
Silakunda (village)
Trgarttika (village)
Vārakamandala (visaya or district)

16. Faridpur C.P. (No. 2) of Dharmāditya (6th century A.D.)
Navyavakāsikā (administrative head-quarters)
Vārakamandala (visaya or district)

17. Faridpur C.P. (No. 3) of Gopacandra (6th century A.D.)
Dhruvilāti (agrahāra-village)
Karanakā (village)
Navyavakāsikā (administrative head-quarters)
Silakunda (village)
Vārakamandala (visaya or district)

18. Mallasārul C.P. of Vijayasena, regnal year 3 (6th century A.D.)
Āmrāgarattika (village)
Ardhakaraka (agrahāra-village)
Godhāgrama (village)
Kapisthavataka (village)
Khāndajotikā (village)
Koddavira (agrahāra-village)
Madhuvataka (village)
Nirvrtavataka (village)
Sālmalīvāṭaka (village)
Vakkataka (vīthi, an administrative unit)
Vardhamāna (bhukti or province)
Vatavallaka (agrahāra-village)
Vetragartṭā (village)
Vindhyapūra (village)

19. Ghugrāhāti Grant of Sāmācaradeva (6th century A.D.)
   Candragarmakoṭakona (fort town)
   Gopendracoraka (village)
   Nāvyāvakāsikā (administrative head-quarters)
   Suvarṇavīthī (administrative head-quarters)
   Vārakamaṇḍala (visaya or district)
   Vidyādharajotīkā (village)
   Vyāghracoraka (village)

20. Tipperā C.P. Inscription of Sāmanta Lokānātha (6th century A.D.)
   Pāṅga (village)
   Suvvungā (visaya or district)
   Tāmra-pāthara-khaṇḍa (village)
   Vāpikā (village)

   Aḍvāgaṅgā
   Devaparvata (capital)
Guptināṭana (district)
Karala (vihāra or monastery)
Karolakāta
Khaḍovvālikā
Metoñcama
Nausīva
Nāyavidddika-villa
Nidhanakhaḍova
Pātalāyikā (district)
Śrīdānkella
Veloñcama

22. Bappaghoṣavāta Grant of Jayanāga (6th century A.D.)
Amalapautika (village)
Audumbarika (visaya or district)
Karpasuvarna (administrative head-quarters)
Kuṭkuta (village)
Sarṣapayānāka (village)
Vakhanta-e-Umālika (devakhāta)
Vappaghoṣavāta (village)

23. Midnapore C.P. Inscription (No. 1) of the time of Śaśānka (6th century A.D.)
Dandabhukti (provincial unit)
Mahākumbhārapadraka (village)

24. Midnapore C.P. Inscription (No. 2) of the time of Śaśānka (6th century A.D.)
Dandabhukti (provincial unit)

Ketakapadrikadesa (village)

Kumbharapadra (village)

Tāvīrakaraṇa (administrative head-quarters)

25. **Nidhānpur C.P. Inscription** of Bhāskararavman (7th century A.D.)

Candrapura (viṣaya or district)

Karṇasuvarna (victory camp)

Mayūraśālmala (agrahāra village)

26. **Ashrafpur C.P. (No. 1) of Devakhaḍga** (7th century A.D.)

Dronimothikā (village)

Jayakarmāntavāsaka (victory camp)

Peranāṭana (viṣaya or district)

Rollavāyikā (village)

Śiva-hradika-sogga-vargga

Tisanāda-jagatta katāka

27. **Ashrafpur C.P. Inscription (No. 2) of Devakhaḍga**

Cāṭaprāpi

Darapāṭaka (village)

Markaṭa-dāsī-pāṭaka (village)

Midikillikā

Śālīvardaka

Vvāramugga
28. **Tippera C.P. Inscription** of Bhavađeva (7th century A.D.)

Ekkarakotta (village)

Kōḍḍavāra

Peranātana (visaya or district)

Vāhakakhanda

Veṇḍamatī (vihāra, Buddhist monastery).

29. **Khalimpur C.P. Inscription** of Dharmapāla, regnal year 32 (8th century A.D.)

Āmrasandikā (maṇḍala, administrative unit)

Dharmāyo-jotikā

Gopippalī (village)

Jenandāyikā (village)

Kālikāśvabhra (village)

Kāṇādvipaṅkā (sand-band)

Khauḍamunḍamukha (village)

Konṭhiā (stream)

Krauṇcāśvabhra (village)

Mādhāśalamalī (village)

Mahāntapraṅkāśa (visaya or district)

Nalacarmaṇā (village)

Nāmundikā (village)

Pālītaka (village)
Pindaraviti jotika (village)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or district)
Rohitavati (village)
Sthali katta (district)
Subhasthal (village)
Udra grama (village)
Vesanika (ditch)
Vedasavilvik (village)
Vyaghratati (mandala, administrative unit)

30. Monghyr C.P. Inscription of Devapala (9th century A.D.)
Krmila (visaya or district)
Mesik (village)
SrInagara (bhukti, provincial unit).

31. Nalanda C.P. Inscription of Devapala (9th century A.D.)
Acala (naya, administrative unit)
Ajapura (naya, administrative unit)
Gay (visaya, or district)
Hastigrama (village)
Kumudasutra (vithi, administrative unit)
Manivataka (village)
Nandivanaka (village)
Natika (village)
Pālamaka (village)
Pilipinkā (naya, administrative unit)
Rājagrha (visaya or district)
Srīnagara (bhukti or province)

32. Bādal Pillar Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla
   (9th century A.D.)
   Devagrama (village)

33. Chittagong C.P. Inscription of Kantideva (9th century A.D.)
   Harikela (mandala, administrative unit)
   Vardhamanapura (victory camp)

34. Bhāturiā Grant of Rājayapāla (10th century A.D.)
   Madhuśrava (village)

35. Jājilpāda C.P. Inscription of Gopāla.II (10th century A.D.)
   Ānandapura (agrahāra or donated village)
   Kośthagrha (village)
   Kuddālakhāta (visaya or district)
   Mahārājapallikā (village)
   Muktāvastu
   Purṇdravardhana (bhukti or province)
   Samatata (geographical division)
   Sīhagrāma (village)
   Vataparavatikā (victory camp)
36. **Bāngaḍa C.P. Inscription** of Mahīpāla. I (10th century A.D.)
   Cavāṭi (village)
   Cūtapalikā (village)
   Gokalikā (maṇḍala, administrative unit)
   Koṭivarsa (viṣaya or district)
   Kūraṭapalikā (village)
   Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)

37. **Belwa C.P. Inscription** of Mahīpāla. I, regnal year 5 (10th century A.D.)
   Pañcanagarī (viṣaya or district)
   Poṣaligrāma (village)
   Pundarikā (maṇḍala, administrative unit)
   Saṭṭāpanāyichatra (administrative unit under Pundarikā maṇḍala)

38. **Paschimbhāg C.P. Grant** of Śrīcandra, regnal year 5 (10th century A.D.)
   Candrapura (visaya or district)
   Devaparvata (capital city)
   Indresvara(port)
   Kāligrāma (village)
   Kṛṣnasikharin (village)
   Pogāra (viṣaya or district)
   Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Sāla-Varendri
Samataṭa (geographical division)
Sātalavargga (administrative unit)
Śrīhatta (mandala, administrative unit)
Vangāla (geographical division)
Vedikā

39. Dhullā C.P. Grant of Śrīcandra, regnal year 35, (10th century A.D.)
Durvāpatra (village)
Ikkādāsī (visaya or district)
Khedirāvalli (visaya or district)
Loniyājodāprastara
Mūlapatra (village)
Parkatimunda (village)
Paundra (bhukti or province)
Tivaravilli (village)
Vallimunda (mandala, administrative unit)
Yolā (mandala, administrative unit)

40. Edilpur C.P. Inscription of Śrīcandra (10th century A.D.)
Kumāratalāka (mandala, administrative unit)
Leliyā (village)
Satatapādmāvatī (visaya or district).
41. Rāmapāla C.P. Grant of Śrīcandra (10th century A.D.)
   Nānya (maṇḍala, administrative unit)
   Nehakāsthī (village)
   Paundra (bhukti or province).

42. Maināmatī C.P. (No. 1) of Lādahacandra, regnal year 6
   (11th century A.D.)
   Balesvāravardhakivoraka (village)
   Buddhanandigrāma (village)
   Campāvanī (village)
   Dhṛtipurahāṭṭikā (market place)
   Dollavāyikā (village)
   Guptināṭana (village)
   Jayalambhagrāma (village)
   Karavattivoraka (village)
   Mahādevagrāma (village)
   Odagodhānikā (village)
   Paundra (bhukti or province)
   Phullahadā (village)
   Samataṭa (maṇḍala, administrative unit)
   Śrīpattikeraka (town)
   Sūpakāravoraka (village)
   Vaggurabhoga (village)

43. Maināmatī C.P. (No. 2) of Lādahacandra
   Brāhmanadevavoraka (village)
Kāmsārakaddapolaka (village)
Paundrabhukti (province)
Peranātana (viśaya or district)
Samatata (mandala, administrative unit)
Sūravoraka (village)
Vikramapura (victory camp)

44. **Maināmatī C.P. (No. 2)** of Govindaendra (11th century A.D.)
Peranātana (viśaya or district)
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Samatata (mandala, administrative unit)
Sāharatalāka (village)

45. **Irda C.P. Inscription** of Kamboja Nayapāla (11th century A.D.)
Dandabhukti (mandala, administrative unit)
Droṇa
Kanti
Kuntira
Priyāngu (capital)
Vardhamāna (bhukti or province)
Vṛhaccattivanā (village)

46. **Belwa C.P. Inscription** of Vigrahapāla III (11th century A.D.)
(Lo)vaniṅkāma (village)
Phañita-vithī (viṣaya or district)
Pundarika-mandalikā (māḍala, administrative unit)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Tinnidigrama (village)
Vaheṇa-grāma (village)
Vellāva-grāma (village)
Vilāspura (victory camp)

47. Āmgachi C.P. Inscription of Vigrahapāla-III, regnal year 12 (11th century A.D.)
Brāhmani-grāma (māḍala, administrative unit)
Chatragrama (village)
Haradhāma (victory camp)
Koṭivarṣa (viṣaya or district)
Krodañoṭi
Matsyavāsa
Poṣali-grāma (village)
Pundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Visamapura (village)

48. Bongaon C.P. Inscription of Vigrahapāla-III, regnal year 17 (11th century A.D.)
Hodreya (visaya or district)
Ittāhaka (village)
Kāṇcanapura (victory camp)
Kolāṃca (village)
Poṣali-grāma (village)
Tirabhukti (province)
Vosukavartta

49. Ramganj C.P. Inscription of Isvaraghosa (11th century A.D.)

Candavara
Dhekkari (administrative head-quarters)
Digaghasodika (village)
Gallitityaka (visaya or district)
Piyolla (mandala, administrative unit)

50. Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva (11th century A.D.)

Ajhadā-cauvola (village)
Bhāvagrāma (village)
Buddhipokhiri
Dhravolasā (village)
Digdandidhara (village)

Hamsakohi (visaya or district)
Helavana-mundā (village)
Jayaratipola (village)
Kamarūpa (mandala, administrative unit)
Koltuvadongi-nadjoli
Kontahada
Lacchavada (village)
Lengavada (village)
Mandāra (village)
Naḍajoli (village)
Pipā-munda (village)
Prāggyotīsa (bhukti or province)
Pūrvadhara kulacāpaḍī (village)
Śāntivaḍā (village)
Śilagūḍi (village)
Singiādhara (village)
Śīravaḍā (village)
Ūnaipola (village)
Vaḍā (viśaya or district)
Vareṇdrī (geographical division)
Velāvanī-patānavapala

51. Sāmantasār C.P. Inscription of Harivarman (12th century A.D.)
Mayūra-vidja (viśaya or district)
Pañcavāsa (mandala, administrative unit)
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Varaparvata (village)

52. Bhuvanesvar Prasāsti of Bhatta Bhavadeva (12th century A.D.)
Bālabalabhī
diddhala (village)
Srihastinībhīttabhūmi (village)
Vandyaghāti (village)
53. **Belāva C.P. Inscription** of Bhojavarman, regnal year 5 (12th century A.D.)
Adhapattana (mandala, administrative unit)
Kauśāmbī-Ąstāgacchakhaṇḍala (administrative unit)
Paundra (bhukti or province)
Siddhala (village)
Upyalikā (village)

54. **Manāhali C.P. Grant** of Madanapāla, regnal year 8 (12th century A.D.)
Campāḥiti (village)
Halāvarta (mandala, administrative unit)
Koṭhagirī (village)
Koṭivarsa (visaya or district)
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Rāmavatī (victory camp)

55. **Barrackpore C.P. Inscription** of Vijayasena (12th century A.D.)
Bhāttavaḍā (village)
Khāḍi (visaya or district)
Kantijonga
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Samatata (geographical division)
Tīksnāhanda
Vikramapura (victory camp)
56. Naihāti C.P. Inscription of Vallālasena, regnal year 11 (12th century)

Ahuāgaddiā (village)
Ambayillasāsana (land of Ambayilla)
Jalasothīsāsana (land of Jalasothī)
Khāndayillasāsana (land of Khāndayilla)
Molādondīsāsana (land of Molādondī)
Nāddināsāsana (administrative unit) (land of Nāddinā)
Nādicāsāsana (administrative unit) (land of Nādicā)
Singatiā
Surakoṇagaddiā
Svalpadaksinaṇīthi
Uttararādha (mandala, administrative unit)
Vāllahittagrāma (village)
Vardhamāna (bhukti or province)
Vikramapura (victory camp)

57. Govindapur C.P. Inscription of Laksmanasena, regnal year 2 (12th century A.D.)

Dharmanagara
Lenghadevimandapi
Pascimakhātikā (administrative unit)
Vardhamāna (bhukti or province)
Vetaddcaturaka (village)
Viddarasaṇasana (land of Viddara)
Vikramapura (victory camp)
58. **Madhainagar C.P. Inscription of Laksmanaśena (13th century A.D.)**

Cadaspasapataka (village)
Dāpaniya-patika (village)
Gayānagara (village)
Gungi-dāpaniya (village)
Gungi-sthirapatika (village)
Kāntapura-vṛttti (village)
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Varendri (geographical division)

59. **Tarpanidhī C.P. Grant of Laksmanasena, regnal year 2**

(12th century A.D.)
Mollānakhādi (ditch)
Nandihiarpākundi
Nicadahāra (tank)
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Varendri (geographical division)
Velahisti (village)
Vikramapura (victory camp)

60. **Sunderban C.P. Grant of Laksmanaśena, regnal year 2**

(13th century)
Kantallapuracaturaka (administrative unit)
Mandalagrāma (village)
Pātikhādi (mandala, administrative unit)
Paundrvardhana (bhukti or province)
Vikramapura (victory camp)

61. **Anulia C.P. Grant** of Laksmanasena, regnal year 3
(12th century A.D.)
Jalapilla (village)
Matharandiyakhandaksetra (village)
Paundrvardhana (province)
Santigopisasana (land of Santigop)
Vikramapura (victory camp)
Vyaahrataiti (administrative unit)

62. **Saktipur C.P. Grant** of Laksmanasena, regnal year 6
(12th century A.D.)
Acchamagopatha
Bhagadikhanda (village)
Daksinavithi (administrative unit)
Damaravadha (village)
Kankagrama (bhukti or province)
Kumarapura-caturaka (administrative unit)
Malikundaparisarabh (village)
Parajanagopatha
Raghavahaddapataka (village)
Vallihitapataka (village)
Varahakonavallihitanimapataka (village)
Vijaharapurapataka (village)
Vikramapura (victory camp)
63. Rāksākālī Island Plate Inscription of Madommanapāla
   Saka Era (A.D. 1196)
   Purvakhatikā
   Śrī-dvārahātaka (village)

64. Rājāvaḍī C.P. Grant of Laksmanasena (13th century A.D.)
   Madisāhānsa
   Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)

65. Maināmatī C.P. Inscription of Ranavāṇkamalla of
   Harikaladeva, regnal year 17 (13th century A.D.)
   Pattikera (city)
   Vejakhandā (village)

66. Madhyapādā C.P. Grant of Viśvarūpasena (13th century
   A.D.)
   Ajikulapāṭaka (village)
   Bangālavadābhū
   Deulahastī (village)
   Ghagarakattipataka (village)
   Janghāla (village)
   Jayajāhadā (village)
   Kandradvīpa
   Lāuhaṇḍācaturaka (administrative unit)
   Madhukṣīrakavṛtti (administrative unit)
   Navasamgrahacaturaka (administrative unit)
   Navya (geographical division)
   Pāṭilādivika (village)
Pranullībhū (village)
Rāmasiddhipatāka (administrative unit)
Urācaturaka (administrative unit)
Varāhakunda (village)
Vāṇga (geographical division)
Vikramapura (an administrative unit of that name)
Vinayatilaka (village)

67. Madanapāda C.P. Grant of Visvarūpaśena, regnal year 14
(13th century A.D.)
Athapagagrāma (village)
Kandarpaśāṅkara (village)
Nāraṇḍapa (village)
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Phalgugrāma (victory camp)
Piṅjakosthi (village)
Unckosthi (village)
Vāṇga (geographical division)
Vāryipadagrāma (village)
Vikramapurabhāga (administrative unit)
Vīrakatthi (village)

68. Edilpur C.P. Grant of Kesāvasena (13th century A.D.)
Paundravardhana (bhukti or province)
Śāṅkaraagrāma (village)
Satrakādvigrāma (village)
Tālapatāka (village)
Vāgulivittagado (village)
Vāṅga (geographical division)
Vikramapurabhāga (administrative unit)

69. **Adavādi C.P. Inscription** of Daśarathadeva, regnal year 3
(13th century A.D.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>(village)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antarvāti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāndikhaṇḍā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhāṅganiyā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dīṇḍī</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaṇāgrāma</td>
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<td>Karanāja</td>
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<tr>
<td>Māhāntiyādā</td>
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<td>Māntahatā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masacatāka</td>
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<td>Mūla</td>
<td>(&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
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<td>Mūladāva</td>
<td>(&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Navasamkhaha</td>
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<td>Nayanāva</td>
<td>(&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
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<td>Pāli</td>
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<td>Sehandāyi</td>
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<td>Vadayyla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Visayipādā</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
70. **Mehār C.P. Inscription** of Đāmodaradeva, Saka Era 1156 (A.D. 1234)
- Dindisāya (village)
- Kānyamala (village)
- Keśarakoṇa (village)
- Mehāra (village)
- Paralāyi (visayā or district)
- Pauṇḍravardhana (bhukti or province)
- Pūrvagrāma (village)
- Samataṭamandala (administrative unit)
- Siddhala (village)
- Vāyisagrāma-khandala (administrative unit)

71. **Sobhārāmpur C.P. Inscription** of Đāmodaradeva, Saka Era 1158 (A.D. 1236)
- Cchāṭiharakhaṇḍala (administrative unit)
- Midillivisāya (district)
- Pauṇḍravardhana (bhukti or province)
- Rājajanghāli
- Samataṭamandala (administrative unit)
- Sundaraya (village)
- Vāṇduragrāma (village)
- Vāṇdurajaṅghāli (village)
- Yāśyāga (village)
72. **Chittagong C.P. Inscription** of Damodaradeva (13th century A.D.)

Baghapokhira (village)
Kamanapindiyaka (village)
Ketangapalabhidapallika (village)
Lambasasanabhū (land of Lamba)
Lovanotsavāśramasambadhāvāti
Mṛtaccada
Nabrapālya (land of Nabrapālya)

73. **Bhātera C.P. Inscription** of Govinda Kesavadeva (13th century A.D.)

Ādalakaṇḍhi (village)
Ākhālikula (""
Amatāli (""
Anvāvi (""
Bhāsanāṭengarī ("
Bhāskaraṭengarī ("
Bhāṭapadā (""
Bhoṭhilahāṭā ("
Bobācchadā ("
Cēngaccari ("
Degigāma ("
Dohāliā Aḵhālicchadā ("
Guḍāvāyi ("
Hattavadā (""
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<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Jagāpāntara</td>
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<td>Kalvāma</td>
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<td>Karagama</td>
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<td>Kāṭā-khālā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kharasonti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kauḍiya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Langajoṭṭi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahurāpurā</td>
<td>(village)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manganapāvi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meghāparāka</td>
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<td>Mūlikāndhi</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nāṭayāna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nāтиваста</td>
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<td>Pamsiro</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parākonā</td>
<td>(village)</td>
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<td>Pithāyinagara</td>
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<td>Sālācapadā</td>
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<td>Simhadara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaṭagrama</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vadāso</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Varapañcāla
Varuni
Vasendigama (village)
Venuragrama ("")
Yodatithāka ("")