Chapter VI

SAKTA-PITHAS IN BENGAL

A study of the Śaṅkta-Pithas is unavoidable and is an investigation into the development of the Cult of Mother goddess in Bengal. The expression Śaṅkta-Pitha literally means 'seat for Devi' or 'place suitable for Sakti-Sadhana'. The socio-religious life of Bengal is characterised by the recognition of a large number of Śaṅkta-Pithas attributing many local female deities the status of the Puranic Great Goddess Durga. The Pithas are often found to be the centres of Tantric culture belonging to the Vamācāra fold.

The Puranic and Tantric texts and, in some case, the Mangala-Kavyas of medieval Bengal finish the lists of Śaṅkta-Pithas. It appears that the authors of the texts had prepared those lists without going deep into the accuracy of their geographical position. That probably explains the variations in those lists. The lists include the names of such famous places of pilgrimages as Varanasi (a Saiva Tirtha), Kanci, Prayaga, Ayodhya, Hrsikesh etc. along with some obscure places of Eastern India like Yugadya, Ujani, Karatoyatata, Kanci, Kiritakana etc.

There are myths and legends in various Puranic and Tantric texts which are intended to explain the connection of the great goddess Sati (wife of Śiva) with some renowned places of pilgrimages as also with some places of goddess-worship of regional fame. It is said that Sati, being unable to tolerate her husband's insult by her father Daksha, left her mortal coil at
the place of sacrifice arranged by the latter. Siva, enraged, moved frantically with Sati's dead body upon his shoulder. There was earth-quake and the destruction was imminent. To make Siva quiet, Visnu cut with his Sudarsan-Cakra Sati's lifeless body on Siva's shoulder into pieces which scattered over a vast area. The places which thus received bits of Sati's person came to be known as Sakta-Pithas. It is believed that the Mother-goddess lives with her consort Siva in such places, assuming different names. Such Pithas might have been set up under the influence of the Caityas or Stupas containing the relics of the Buddha.

The original number of Sakta-Pithas was four, but, in due course of time, the number gradually increased. The Matsya-Purana (ch.13), an early mediaeval text, contains a list of 108 holy places claimed to be associated with the Mother-goddess. But actually those are renowned Tirthasthanas of India. The same list is found to be quoted in the Devibhagavata (VII, ch.30). The account of 51 Pithas seems to be developed later probably to make a settlement of the discrepancies in the number of Pithas found in different texts. The text known as Pithanirnaya or Mahapithanirnirupana (Nos.196,3400 and 5303 in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) describes 51 Pithas together with the names of particular forms of the Devi and, of the accompanying Bhairava (form of Siva) and also the particular limb of the goddess which fell there.

The Pitha nirnaya, as it is noticed by D.C.Sircar, has made an unfounded claim to be a part of an earlier Tantric text, Tantracudamani. It is supposed to be composed during the late
mediaeval period. As the text was used by the author of the Annadamangala kavya (composed in 1752 A.D.), the date of the former might be assigned to the closing years of the 18th century A.D. (c.1690-1720 A.D.) The special feature of the above text is that the list recorded in it includes a number of places in the rural areas of Bengal. The language is, in some cases, greatly influenced by Bengali. D.C.Sircar has observed quite reasonably "The history of the literature on the Pithas no doubt points unmistakably to the great contribution Bengal must have made to the Tantric literature and culture in the mediaeval period".

An attempt may be made to examine the list of the Pithanirnaya, as it contains a remarkable number of places of Sakta-Tantric culture situated in Eastern India. Some Pithas in Eastern India are referred to in ancient, early mediaeval and mediaeval texts. Those are still maintaining their existence, whereas some Pithas found in the early, early-mediaeval and mediaeval texts are gradually being lost in oblivion. Again, there are places of Sakta-pilgrimages which are found only in late mediaeval texts, but epigraphic or archaeological evidence would help us to trace their history from the date as early as in the 9th-10th century A.D..

No doubt, most of the Pithas mentioned in the Pithanirnaya-list had their emergence during the mediaeval period. Another list of Sakta-Pithas is found in the mediaeval text of Sivacarita, which furnishes names of 51 Maha-Pithas.
(pithas of greater importance) and 26 Upa-Pithas (pithas of lesser importance), most of which are located in Eastern India. Those are also found in the list of Pithanirnaya with negligible variation. The author of the Sivacarita refers to Tara (pitha), where the goddess is named Tarini, but remains silent about Kamarupa, one of the most important centres in north-east India. It mentions the pitha of Bakresvara thrice. Both Tarapitha and Bakreswar are located in Birbhum district in West Bengal. The Sakta-Pithas in Birbhum district had earned by that time great fame as centres of Tantric culture. That does not necessarily indicate the decline of Kamarupa as a centre of Saktism. It was from the time of the Mahabharata (i.e. 4th century B. C. -- 4th century A.D.) that Kamarupa attained the pre-eminent position of a Tantric centre and still retains the same position.

**LOCATION OF THE SAKTIPITHAS IN BENGAL**

The following places in Eastern India are found mentioned in the list of the Pithanirnaya:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Pitha</th>
<th>Identification of the places</th>
<th>Goddess</th>
<th>Limb (Anga) of Sati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virajaksetra</td>
<td>Puri, Orissa</td>
<td>Vimala</td>
<td>Nabhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahula</td>
<td>Bahula, Burdwan</td>
<td>Bahula</td>
<td>Bama-Vahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ujani</td>
<td>Mongalkot, Burdwan</td>
<td>Mangala</td>
<td>Kurpara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattala</td>
<td>Chattagram</td>
<td>Bhavani</td>
<td>Daksina-Vahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>Tipperah</td>
<td>Tripua-</td>
<td>Daksina-pada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sundari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trisrota</td>
<td>North Bengal</td>
<td>Bhramari</td>
<td>Vama-pada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamagiri</td>
<td>Kamarupa, Assam</td>
<td>Kamakhya</td>
<td>Mahamundra (Yoni)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANTIOQUITY OF SOME PITHAS IN BENGAL

To trace the antiquity of some of the Pithas mentioned in the *Pithanirnaya* and the *Sivacarita*, we have to take into
account the evidence furnished by the earlier texts. Early literary texts, containing the tradition of four Pithas, invariably refers to Kamarupa; Kamarupa again finds mention as one of the Pithasthanas in the early mediaeval texts which furnish names of seven, eight or ten Sakta centres. The Tirtha-
vatra-section in the Vana-parvan of the Mahabharata refers to at least three Sakta holy places of which two, namely Gaurisikhara and Udyataparvata, are situated in Eastern India. D.C. Sircar identifies Gaurisikhara with a place of that name in Kamarupa and Udyataparvata with Banga region (Bihar). The Hayagriva-Tantra, a work of the 8th century A.D. enumerates four holy places of which Kamarupa is one. The Kalika-Purana (ch.64, 43-45) follows the same tradition and mentions the name of the deity of Kamarupa as Kamesvari. The Buddhist Tantric text Sadhanamala (a work of the 11th century A.D.) gives four names of which two located in Eastern India are Kamarupa and Sirihatta (Srihatta or Sylhet). In another chapter of the Kalika-Purana (ch.18, V.42-51) we find mention of seven centres of Sakti-worship of which three are situated in and around Kamarupa. Those are Devikuta (modern Bangarh, Dinajpur), Kamagiri and the other, not named, is situated on the eastern limit of Kamarupa where the goddess is named Dikkaravasini (probably the name of the place also was given according to the name of the goddess or the name of the river Diksu flowing on the eastern limit of Kamarupa). The author of the text might have intended to point out a large tract of land as inhabited by the worshippers of Tantric female-deites. The tendency of extending the land of the Sakti-worshippers is more conspicuous in the Rudravamala (composed before 1052 A.D.).
It makes mention of ten *Sakta-Pithas* of which the first one and the only one in Eastern India is Kamarupa. But a passage from this work quoted in the *Kularnava-Tantra* speaks of some other Pithas of Eastern India as Devidaikotha (Devikuta), Vanga, Radha and Gauda. It shows that by the 11th century A.D. a vast region of ancient Bengal came to be considered as the land of the 'Sakti' (Mother-goddess)—worshippers or Saktas. The *Jnanarnava-Tantra*, a text of the mid-sixteenth century A.D., mentions eight Pithas of which two are Eastern Indian centres, namely Kamarupa and Devikuta. In another section of the *Jnanarnava-Tantra* we find list of fifty Pithas including those in Eastern India, such as Kamarupa, Paundravardhana (Bogra), Ekamra (Bhuvanesvar, Orissa), Trisrota (some part of north Bengal, bank of river Tista), kamakotta (Kamarupa), Sripitha (probably Srihatta), Devakotta (Devikuta, Bangarh), Atahasa (in Radha), Viraja (Puri, Orissa).

Thus the literary evidences upto the 16th century A.D. seem to suggest that apart from Kamarupa, two other Sakta centres in Eastern India attained prominence by the 9th-10th century A.D., Srihatta and Devikuta. We may assume that Kamarupa, being recognised as the chief Tantric centre in Eastern India since an early period gradually exerted its influence in the adjacent regions. As a result, Sakta-Tantric sub-centres were established in some places in North-Eastern India. Later, the influence extended beyond the borders of Assam and during the mediaeval period some Pithas of Radha-region (especially Tarapitha and Kalighat) rose into prominence and claimed a status equal to that
of Kamarupa. This might have been the reason why the author of Sivacarita ignores Kamarupa and mentions Tarapitha at the top of the list.

Srihatta (identified with Sylhet), being a part of ancient Samatata region is known from epigraphic records as a place where Saktism had its stronghold as early as the 7th century A.D. The Nidhanpur Copper-Plate of Bhaskaravarma, king of Kamarupa (c. A.D. 600-650) informs us that some Puranic female-deities gained much prominence early. The findspot of the Copper-plate, Srihatta, seems to indicate cultural expansion along with political dominance in the region concerned. The earliest extant image of the Puranic goddess Sarvani (eight-armed war-goddess killing a demon), dated in the 7th century A.D. was found from Tipperah in the Samatata region. Thus, Saktism appears to have been established in South-East Bengal, when the Devimahatmya section of the Markandeya Purana was in the process of composition (the period of composition of this part of the Markandeya-Purana is assigned by the scholars from the 6th to the 9th century A.D.). The Buddhist Sadhanamala, (11th century A.D.) records the name of Srihatta as one of the early centres of Tantric culture should be noted in this connection that in earlier times the political boundary of Kamarupa (Assam) changed from time to time and included the region upto the eastern limit of the river Karatoya, and Manipur, Jayantiya, Kachhar, parts of Mymansingh, Srihatta, Rangpur and parts of Bhutan and Nepal. Pargiter has shown that ancient Kamarupa consisted of Kochbihar, Rangpur, Bogra, Mymensingh, Dacca, Tripura, Pabna and
Nepal. The political dominance of the Kamarupa rulers over a vast region in North-Eastern Bengal might have paved the way towards an expansion of the Sakta culture from Kamarupa in that region. It may be reasonably held that the Pithas like Karatoyatata, Devikuta Paundravardhana, Srihatta, Chattala (Chattagram), Tripura (ancient Tipperah), Trisrotah were recognised as Sakta-centres in the pre-mediaeval period. References to those centres in the late mediaeval texts indicate their continuity as strongholds of Tantric religious culture over a long period.

Devikuta or Devikotta (modern Bangarh, Dinajpur) is another early Sakta-Tantric centre which rose to prominence by 10th century A.D., as it is known from the Kalika-Purana and Rudrayamala, the texts of the 11th century A.D.. But as the name is not found in the Pithanirnaya or Sixacarita, it may be held that the pitha later lost its position. From archaeological evidences it is learnt that Bangarh was a flourishing centre of culture in the Maurya-Sunga period. The site has yielded some archaic terracotta figurines of Mother-goddess, suggesting Sakti-worship was in vogue since very early times. Further, the Bangarh Prasasti of Murttisiva of the reign of Nayapala (A.D. 1027-1043) gives us to understand that the findspot of the epigraph was a renowned Saiva-Tantric centre. As the Prasasti begins with an obeisance to a Tantric goddess Carcika, whose name is found in the Jayadratha yamala and in the list of astamatrikas, there remains little doubt about the status of the fierce Tantric goddess in the region concerned. In addition, we are informed that a temple of goddess Bhavani was situated within the Saiva
monastery of Bangarh.

In this connection, we may refer to 'Bodesvari fort' situated on the northern end of Deviganj p.s., Dinajpur district. The ruins of the fort, have yielded ancient bricks, broken parts of earthen wares and remains of a temple. According to the local tradition, the place is one of the fifty-one pithas where the heel of the goddess fell and the fort was constructed to protect the temple of the goddess. It is learnt from the Ijabat-i-nasiri of Minhaj-i-Siraj (12th century A.D.) that Bakhtiyar Khilzi took shelter in the above fort after his retreat from Tibet. N.K.Bhattasali, during his tour in Dinajpur district in 1913 witnessed the ruins of a magnificent stone temple of Siva in the vast ruins of Devikot. It might be taken as the temple referred to in the Bangarh record. It is also held that at the time of some disasters, the female-members and properties of the Kamarupa royal family used to be sent to this said fort for safety. It indicates close relation between Kamarupa and Dinajpur in North Bengal.

Some Pithas mentioned in the 16th century Jnanarnaya Tantra and 18th century Pithanirnaya might claim antiquity. Only one Pitha of Radha found mentioned in the former text is Attahasa containing the Osiha (upper lip) of the great goddess and the Pithadevi is Phullara with Visvesa or Visvanatha as her Bhairava. There is a problem in regard to the identification of Attahasa, as there are two Pithas of the same name, one at Ketugram in Burdwan district and the other at Labhpur in Birbhum district.
In both the places the Devi is known as Phullara. It is difficult to locate the actual place referred in the *Joanarnava Tantra*. However, on the basis of the *Sian Stone Inscription* of the reign of King Nayapala (A.D. 1027-1043) found from a place near Bolpur (Birbhum), recording the installation of a golden-pitcher on the temple of Jaganmata at Attahasa, it may be suggested that the *Pitha* of Birbhum was the original one, which earned fame as early as the 9th-10th century A.D. But at present it has lost its glory. The Pitha of the same name in Burdwan district, that is, Attahasa, although not recognised in the Tantric text, was not without importance, as a fine image of Dantura (a form of Camunda) hailed from this place. Besides, in the region concerned a notable number of images of female-deities have been found. Those images are now preserved in different museums of West Bengal. It may be reasonably held that the considerable part of Radha that includes the district of Burdwan and Birbhum is the land where are located at least ten *Sakta-Pithas* which more or less are still enjoying the status of Tantric centres since the mediaeval period.

The *Pithas* of Varendri region, that is, Paundravardhana, Karatoyatata and Trisrotah might have emerged in the pre-mediaeval period. The epigraphic records found from this region record the expansion of Saktism in this region under the Pala rule. The region has a long tradition of worshipping Siva-Sakti, as the ancient ruins of Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bogra yielded a number of *Jauri paddas* (lower portion of the Siva-linga, representing female generative organ). A good number of
images of Brahmanical female goddess and Tantric divinities have been found from Varendri region. It would not be therefore, unreasonable to hold that there might have been some places in North Bengal which attained prominence in the field of Tantric culture during the Pala-Sena period and the author of *Joanarnava-Tantra* included those places in the *Pithatalika*.

Some *Sakta-Pithas*, found in the late mediaeval text of *Pithanirnaya*, might have come into prominence during the Pala-Sena period. Regarding the *Pitha* of Jessore (Jessere), where the presiding goddess is named Yasoresvari, it is said that the image of the goddess Yasoresvari had seen as half-buried condition and Pratapaditya (a contemporary of Akbar, the great Mughal), after recovering the image, constructed a temple for the goddess. According to the local tradition, there was a temple of the goddess in the 8th century A.D., although we have hardly any historical evidence in support of this tradition. It may, however, be mentioned, in this connection that a beautiful image of goddess Bhuvanesvari (a Tantric-deity, one of the ten *Mahavidyas*) of the Pala-Sena period was found from Sekhati, sixteen miles south-east of Jessore town.

Vibhasa, a pitha situated at Tamluk (district Midnapur), is known to have a past tradition. The presiding goddess is named Bhimarupa (at present famous in the name of Bargabhima). The temple is known to be an old one and was reconstructed perhaps in the 11th century A.D. The legend of the introduction of the worship of the goddess Bargabhima by Kalu Bhunia, whose date has been assigned to the 12th-13th century.
A.D. suggests that the goddess gained recognition by that time. The image is carved on a single slab of stone with hands and feet attached to it. The goddess is conceived of as a curer of diseases, and giver of success and human fertility. The daily worship (thrice) and annual worship (last day of the month of Pausa i.e. mid-January) occur in honour of the goddess. It is said that the legendary Kalapahar (a converted Muslim of the 16th century A.D.) recognised the greatness of the goddess Bargabhima and the Maratha Bargis paid offerings to this goddess. The 16th century Bengali poets like Manikram Ganguli, Ruparam (both poets of Dharmamangala Kavyas), Mukundaram (Candimangala) respectfully refer to the goddess Bargabhima of Tamluk. All these establish that the fame of the goddess Bargabhima has continued over a long period.

**SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAKTA-PITHAS OF BENGAL**

While undertaking the study of the Sakta-Pithas of Bengal mere dependence on the mediaeval and early mediaeval texts should not be considered sufficient enough to furnish all the relevant data having bearing upon the Pithas. The present author, therefore, visited almost all the Pithas of West Bengal. Some of the centres are recognised in the Puranik-Tantric texts and others are not. Those which are not recognised by the authors of the Puranas and Tantras are found to have been developed on the basis of a long-continued local tradition and belief. A survey of all the centres leaves no scope of doubt that the cult of Mother-goddess was upheld finally by the people of Bengal, after having gained much
experience with other sects and cults — Brahmanical and Buddhist.

In a Sakta-Tantric site the main attraction of the devotees is no doubt drawn to the exact seat of the goddess, where a particular limb of Sati is believed to have fallen. The main seat of the goddess invariably comprises a block of stone underneath a tree. The stone block is usually covered over with red cloth or in some cases besmeared with vermillion. In modern times, the block of stone which is regarded as the most important object of worship is found to be installed in a shrine. In this connection one may recall what Hiuen-Tsang records in his Si-Yu-Ki about a great mountain 'had a likeness (or image) of Mahesvara's spouse Bhimadevi of dark blue stone. According to the local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess, it was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India. At the foot of the mountain was a temple of Mahesvaradeva in which the ash-smearing Tirthikas performed much worship'. In this connection Watters remarks: "The image or likeness of Bhimadevi here mentioned was apparently a dark blue rock in the mountain, supposed to have resemblance of that goddess". However, the Bhimadevi's shrine referred to in Hiuen-Tsang's account is identified with the Bhimasthana beyond panca nada mentioned in the Mahabharata and probably also with Bhisana of the Mahamayuri text. According to Mahabharata there was a Yoni-Tirtha at the place mentioned above and a dip into the Kunda of the Yoni-Tirtha was regarded as highly auspicious in character. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Yoni-Pitha (the symbol of Mother-goddess) may also be found at Kamakhya mountain near Gauhati.

227.
(Assam). So, it appears that in the early period there was a close association of the Mother-goddess and the mountain. The blocks of stone that we find in the Saktas-Pithas might be regarded as the symbol of the mountain containing the Yoni-Pitha, i.e., the symbol of Mother-goddess.

In primitive religious belief stone worship is very much recognised, as the primitive tribes believed in animism as well as aniconism. In primitive belief stones are imbued with life, for they seem to grow from Mountain to rise. "The stones are believed to climb up from below and work their way up of their own volition. They are often taken as children of Mother Earth, and are worshipped, cared for, cajoled and propitiated to bring happiness to society". So the block of stone may also be regarded as the representative of the Earth, i.e. the stone itself represent symbolically Mother-Earth or Earth-goddess. As pointed out by S.C.Roy to the Birhor tribe of Chotanagpur the Mother-goddess known as Devi-Mai or Burhi-Mai is generally represented by a piece of wood, daubed red with vermillion. Whereas the Birhors use a piece of wood other tribes might have chosen piece of stone to represent the Mother-goddess. The tribal mythology handed downwards reveals the sanctity to the Mountains. In the Santali religious belief the spirit of hill is denominated as Bury Bonga which is closely related to Bir Bonga, i.e. the spirit of the forest. Therefore the association of hill with the forest is quite apparent in the tribal religious belief. It may be held that the block of stone, with a tree by its side in a Saktas-Pitha represent in miniature forms the mountains and forests.
In primitive religious belief, the cult of trees is a very old one, they are regarded as 'symbols of productivity' or 'emblematic of divinity'. It has been pointed out by Allchin that a very large part of modern folk religion is extremely ancient and contains traits which originated during the earliest period of Neolithic-Chalcolithic settlement and expansion. The Santals regularly observe the ritual of Erksin by sacrificing fowl to appease the spirit of forest (Bir Bonga) which helps grow corn and plant. In the Orar religious belief Barandanath, that is, the spirit of hill is closely associated with Dhartinath and Khelhelnath. The latter is worshipped by the Oraons with a sacrifice of fowl in order to appease the spirit of vegetation.

The districts of Burdwan and Birbhum where the Sakta-Pithas are predominant, are found to be inhabited by the aboriginal people like the Santals, Oraons, who are known to be descendants of Austrics and Dravidians respectively. There is no difference of opinions among the anthropologists that the lower castes inhabiting the villages of Bengal mostly derive their origin from different branches of the aboriginal tribes. We have to make a study of the Sakta-Pithas in this background. It appears reasonable to assume that the tribal people as well as the lower castes in the rural areas used to segregate a place of worship of Mother-goddess, the place where were invariably found a block of stone by the side of a tree. In course of time the place of worship, popularly known as Mayer than in the villages
of Bengal might have been attributed to status of a Pitha, when an advanced Sakti-Sadhaka achieved spiritual attainment in or around the place concerned. In fact the authors of the early mediaeval or mediaeval texts made a survey of such sacred places of worship of Mother-goddess and included the names of those places in their lists. In other words, the origin of the Sakti-Pithas is to be traced to the tribal religious belief and practices. There is no denying the fact that the Cult of Sakti (female-energy) or Mother-goddess was originally the cult of fertility which used to be invoked by the tribal people through the medium of magic and religion.

W.W. Hunter reviewed the religion of the aborigines as practised among the mountaineers of Birbhum and concluded that "the Hindus have borrowed their house-hold god (Salgram) and its secret rites from the primitive races... they have borrowed their village-gods (gramadevatas), with the ghosts and demons that haunts so many trees". Further it has been observed by the surveyor of the Birbhum district, the land of Sakti-Sadhana, that the Santali system had a tendency to divide the supreme god into a 'triad' (Supreme god, Great Mountain) as in the religion of the Aryan tribes, one of whom is in abstract conception, where the other two represent the male and female principles. The First Male is named Maniko who is the husband as well as brother of the female deity in the triad Jaber Era, the First Female. The Santals derive their descent from Maniko and Jaber Era. Therefore, the union of the First Male and First Female, Siva and Sakti in the Puranic and Tantric language was of great importance.
not only in the primitive society and economy but also in the civilised society of the elites. That explains why the Saktar-Pithas representing the union of Siva and Sakti in one place were found relevant in early and mediaeval times and are still relevant in modern times.
References


2. SP, p. 84

3. Ibid. Pp. 23-24

4. Ibid. p. 24

5. Ibid. Pp. 8-9

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid. p. 12


9. SP, p. 18


11. Anandasrama ed., Patala V, Verses 66-67; SP, p. 18


14. JASR, 1887, p. 106


17. Ibid.

18. *IRBSDM*, XIII


21. *VSP-Cat* 84, pi XX; HAE, p.553

22. Tarapitha, Vakresvara, Nalhati, Nandipur (Sainthia), Kankali (Bolpur), Attahasa (Birbhum), Ujani (Mongalkot), Bahula, Ksiragrama, Attahasa (Ketugram, Burdwan).

23. *ASIR*, vol.XV, p.107


29. Quoted in *DHI*, p.83

31. Mbh, Vanaparvan, ch.82, verses 84-85

32. Majumdar, D.N., Races and Cultures of India, New Delhi, Reprint 1973, p.399.


34. Majumdar, D.N., op.cit., p.399


36. Chatterjee, Bhaskara, Coins and Icons, Cal., 1977, p.37