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The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

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This copper-plate grant of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal has had an unusually chequered history. The salient points of that history are briefly noted below.

HISTORY OF THE FIND.

This single sheet of copper was dug up about 1790 A.D. by a Koñch cultivator from the vicinity of an old tank and the *Math* on its bank, called respectively Maggi's *Dighi* and Maggi's *math*, situated on the District Board road running from Kāpāsīā to Rājendrapur Ry. Station,—about 3½ miles west of Kāpāsīā, and 9½ miles north-east of the Jayadevpur Railway Station on the Dacca-Mymensing Railway line, Dt. Dacca, in the village of Rājāvāḍī.¹ The finder took the plate to Rājā Loknārāyaṇ Roy,² the then zamindar of Bhāwāl. His son, Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ Roy showed the plate in about 1829 to Mr. Walters, the then District Magistrate of Dacca. The keensighted Magistrate immediately realized the importance of the copper-tablet inscribed with ancient writing and obtained it from Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ. He then asked Paṇḍit Bhairab Tarkālañkār, the Court-Paṇḍit of the period at Dacca, to decipher the plate. The Paṇḍit fared very ill with the unfamiliar work entrusted to him and supplied the Magistrate with a reading, which was almost totally fictitious. Mr. Walters presented the plate to the Asiatic Society of Bengal along with the Tarkālañkār's reading. Dr. H. H. Wilson, who was then the Secretary of the Society, immediately gauged Tarkālañkār's reading at its proper value, pronounced it as 'exceedingly and unnecessarily defective' and employed three Paṇḍits to prepare a fresh reading. They took great pains and prepared an improved reading, but Dr. Wilson entertained 'strong doubts' about the correctness of even this reading and was not prepared to depend upon the results achieved. But he ascertained by comparison of portions, that it was a much more faithful copy than the one sent by Mr. Walters.

With the help of the version prepared by the Paṇḍits of the Society, Dr. Wilson read a notice of the plate in a monthly meeting

¹ The location of the tank can be seen on Fig. D, on p. 16, in the north-east corner of the village of Rājāvāḍī, just on the border of the village, south of the District Board road.

² Mr. Walters writes: 'Luckhenarian', from which I originally gave the name as Lakṣminārāyaṇ. The famous Sannyāsi Kumar Rāmendra Nārāyaṇ one day, in the course of a conversation, corrected my mistake.

of the Society held on the 6th May, 1829, giving all the details of the find and of the attempts at decipherment. Unfortunately, there was no official Journal or Periodical of the Society during this period and thus the Proceedings of this meeting failed to get recorded in any publication of the Society. Dr. Wilson went away to England after 1833 and took over the duties of the Librarian of the India House in London. Presumably, he took away the plate with him for better decipherment and left it at the India House Library. Thus all trace of the plate was lost from the Society, and the notice read by Dr. Wilson in Society's meeting of the 6th May, 1829, was left pigeon-holed to decay in the archives of the Society, undisturbed by any subsequent investigator. The fact of the find of such a plate was thus completely forgotten. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, General Cunningham, and others who subsequently wrote about the Sena Kings of Bengal, had no knowledge of the find of such a plate, relating to the Sena Kings.

One, Babu Nabin Chandra Bhadra wrote a history of the *Parganā* of Bhāwāl in Bengali (*Bhāoāler Itihāsa*), probably about sixty years ago. In this pioneering attempt at writing local history, the find of a copper-plate at Rājāvāḍī in the *parganā* of Bhāwāl is noticed on page 26. It is also recorded there that the plate was sent to the Asiatic Society for decipherment and thence to England.

The present writer long searched for any other notice of this mysterious plate in all possible quarters. In 1920, Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S., the then Commissioner of the Dacca Division and Chairman of the Dacca Museum Committee, handed over to him a volume of a Journal published from London, called the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, Vol. XXVIII, July to December, 1829, and pointed to a passage in it, containing a notice of the long-sought for Bhāwāl plate. The passage occurred on page 709, under the head 'Varieties'. It was a quotation from the Calcutta Government Gazettee of the first week of May, 1829, and contained a report of the Proceedings of the meeting of the Asiatic Society of the 6th May, 1829. On the basis of this report, the present writer wrote an article entitled— 'The lost Bhāwāl Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal'— in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1927, pp. 89ff. In this article, the report, as published in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, was quoted in full and the following points were sought to be established:—

- (i) The grant was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal.
- (ii) It was granted late in his reign and the draft was the same as found in the Mādhāinagar grant of the same King.
- (iii) The grant was probably issued in the 27th regnal year of the King.

The article was published in 1927 and it is rather curious that, no notice of the grant is taken all the same in the Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, edited by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and published in 1929, though this commendable publication is otherwise an exhaustive survey of the Chandra, Varma and Sena inscriptions.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1939, pp. 300ff., Dr. H. N. Randle of the India Office Library, wrote again on the Lost Bhāwāl copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Directly after he joined the services of the India Office Library, he found in a safe 24 copper-plate inscriptions, one of which was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva. In his article, Dr. Randle gave a description of the contents of this plate, which served to identify it as the Bhāwāl plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, lost from the archives of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The present writer, thereupon, drew the attention of the authorities of the Society to the fact that the plate belonged to the Society and a claim should be set up for it on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The claim was accordingly set up and admitted by the India Office. When difficulty was felt, due to war-conditions, in sending the plate from London to Calcutta, Sir John Herbert, our present Governor, volunteered to bring the plate to Calcutta in his personal care. The plate was thus safely brought to Calcutta and handed back to the Society, after an absence of more than a century, and His Excellency Sir John Herbert has earned the grateful thanks of all the members of the Society and all lovers of antiquities for his graceful act.

The authorities of the Society honoured the present writer by entrusting him with the preparation of an edition of the plate for their Journal. Excellent photographs prepared by the Zoological Survey of India and estampages prepared by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, were supplied for the prospective edition; but the authorities, in the face of the bitter memories of the past, were unable to issue the plate to the prospective editor, living at a considerable distance from Calcutta.

In deciphering the plate, I have thus been compelled to rely on the estampages and photographs supplied, which, though excellent in their way, could not be of much help in deciphering the rubbed-off portions. As the funds of the Society were rather low and the authorities were not willing to bear my travelling expenses, I took advantage of a short visit to Calcutta in May, 1940, to check my readings with the help of the original plate and to fill up the lacunae. But the brief visit was too short for clearing up all difficulties, and I have therefore to regret and apologize for the unsatisfactory nature of the reading in at least one *śloka* and in portions of a few lines.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

The grant is a single plate of copper, measuring $12'' \times 13\frac{1}{4}''$. A miniature figure of god **Sadāśiva**, the royal *lāñchhana* of the Senas, is affixed to an elliptical projection in the middle of the top-side. The figure of the god is inside a dotted



FIG. A. The seal of the Bhāwāl plate.

circle, and is $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in length. It is a ten-armed deity and has all the usual attributes of Sadāśiva in the ten arms. The figure has lost its sharpness through corrosion and some of the attributes are hardly recognizable.

The inscription has suffered badly in places by corrosion, the effect of which is particularly noticeable on the proper right side of the reverse, where, towards the middle, about a fourth of the lines is practically undecipherable.

The plate contains thirty lines of *Writing* on the obverse and twenty-nine lines on the reverse. The letters are generally about ¼th inch long, and would have been easy of decipherment, but for the corrosion in places. They belong to the proto-Bengali class of writing, to be met with on all the plates and inscriptions of the Senas.

As regards *Orthography*, the doubling of the consonants after a superscript *r* is the most remarkable feature.

The *Contents* of the plate are summarized below.

The plate begins with the spiral *Svastika* sign, explained in my article,—‘Some Image inscriptions from Eastern Bengal’ (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 352) as representing the symbol called *Āñji* and standing for सिद्धिरस्तु = May success attend. A salutation to the god Nārāyaṇa in prose follows. This is followed by thirteen verses.

Verse 1 invokes the god Siva in his *Umāliṅgana* and *Harihara* forms.

Verse 2 is in praise of the moon-god, from whom the Senas claimed descent.

Verse 3 says that in the lineage of the Moon, were born kings who were great conquerors, as well as performers of sacrifices.

Verse 4 says that in that line and descended from Virasena famed in the Purāṇas, *Sāmanta Sena*, a Kṣatriya from *Karṇaṇāta*, was born, who after conquering all his foes, washed his sword in the waters of the Ganges.

Verse 5 says that *Sāmanta’s* son was *Hemanta*, a hero worshipped by other heroes.

Verse 6 says that from *Hemanta* was born *Vijaya Sena*, who allowed the epithet ‘King’ to cling only to the Moon, because he was the progenitor of the family.

Verse 7 says that the fame of *Vijaya Sena* spread over the three worlds.

Verse 8 says that from *Vijaya* was born *Ballāla Sena*, who was a king of kings as well as a master-scholar among scholars.

Verse 9 says that he married a Chālukya princess, *Rāma Devī* by name.

Verse 10 says that from them was born *Lakṣmaṇa Sena*, as Nārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa) was born from Vasudeva and Devakī.

Verse 11 says of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena*, that forcible seizure of the fortunes of the *Lord of Gauḍa* was the play of his boyhood; in youth, he was made to imbibe a veritable abhorrence for women by the *King of Kaliṅga* (Orissa); (subsequently) he defeated the *King of Benares* in battle and the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* (Assam) made him abject submission.

Verse 12 says that even the Lords of the *Quarters* had submitted to *Lakṣmaṇa Sena*.

Verse 13 describes the **Capital**, where the mosses played in the shade of the trees of pleasure gardens, and the rice plants shivered among them; where princes gave up their lives but not their honour and round which the king granted villages to Brahmins in thousands.

Lines 25–28. From this capital called **Dhāryya-grāma**, the victorious King Lakṣmaṇa Sena, meditating on the feet of his father Ballāla Sena, thus addresses his royal officers.

Lakṣmaṇa Sena is given the following epithets:—

- (i) He had obtained the fortunes of Gauḍa by furiously churning with his arms the boundless sea of war.
- (ii) He was the sun which made the lotuses, viz. the heroes to bloom forth.
- (iii) He was a devotee of Viṣṇu in his Man-lion incarnation.

Lines 28–30 of obverse and lines 1–3 of reverse, contain the names of the officials addressed.

Lines 4–14 of reverse contain a description of the land granted. It was within the Division of **Paṇḍravardhana**, the Circle of **Bāṇḍana**, and the Quadrangle of **Vasu-Śrī** and consisted of parts of two villages called **Mādisāhamsa** and **Vasumaṇḍana** with four detached plots, south of the river **Bānahāra**, modern **Bānār**, probably not far from the find-place of the copper-plate. The area of the land, when measured with the *Nala* (reed) measuring 22 cubits in length, was six *Pātakas*, one *Drona* and twenty-eight *Kākinīs*. Its annual produce was four hundred *Purāṇas* (the money unit of those days, equivalent of the modern rupee) to be counted out in cowries.

Lines 15–20 give the name of the donee Brahmin and the motive for the donation. The donee was **Padmanābha**, son of **Mahādeva**, grandson of **Jayadeva** and great-grandson of **Kṛṣṇa Deva**. He belonged to the **Modgallya** clan of the five *pravaras* called **Aurvva**, **Chyāvana**, **Bhārggava**, **Jāmadagna**, and **Apnuvān**. He was an adept in the **Kauthuma** branch of the **Sāma-Veda**, and was a Reader of Holy Texts by profession.

The motive of the grant was to please the god **Nārāyaṇa** and to secure the spiritual and temporal welfare of the two major **queens Sryā Devī** and **Kalyāṇa Devī**.

Lines 20–27 contain injunctions to future kings to respect the grant and some imprecatory verses for those who would nullify it.

Line 28 gives the name of **Śaṅkaradhara**, the **Minister for Peace and War**, who was the mediator in the matter of this grant.

Line 29 contains the usual endorsements in initials, and the date in the 27th regnal year, on the 6th day of **Kārttika**.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE LAND GRANTED AND OF THE CAPITAL.

Though the description of the land granted contains a number of village-names, it would have been difficult to locate its place on the map, but for the fortunate occurrence of the name of the river Bānahāra in the northern boundary of one of the plots granted. We have no difficulty in recognizing in the name the river Bānār which lies about $3\frac{1}{4}$ th miles to the east of the find-place of the copper-plate.

The entire locality is of supreme antiquarian and archaeological interest, though at present it is so sparsely populated and contains miles and miles of *śāl* (Gajāri) plantations. The area is known to geologists as the Madhupur jungles, though the actual Madhupur jungles lie in the district of Mymensing. The river Bānār, which possesses such a significant name, viz. Bānahāra, i.e., one which steals or drains off a flood (in other words, carries off the spill-water of the mighty Brahmaputra in flood), was surely given this name in hoary antiquity by some keen-sighted observer, because it actually serves this purpose. Starting from the Brahmaputra about five miles below Jamalpur,¹ it runs direct south and skirts the western side of the red laterite formation in the Mymensing district, called the Madhupur jungles. It then turns east and forms for a considerable distance the boundary between the Dacca and the Mymensing districts and then it flows in a south-easterly course to join the old Brahmaputra at Lakhpur and to become practically the upper course of the Śital-Lakṣyā river. It will thus be seen that there is a considerable stretch of low alluvial land between the Madhupur jungles,—the patch of laterite formation in the Mymensing district, and the Bhāwāl jungles, the laterite patch in the Dacca district. The river Bānār flows east-west over this alluvial divide up to Trimohini, when it turns south, and flows to Lakhpur to reach the old Brahmaputra. The Trimohini-Lakhpur portion of the Bānār forces its way through the Bhāwāl laterite patch and divides it into two almost equal divisions. Both the portions are densely wooded in places and consist of undulating red laterite formations, sometimes rising into picturesque cliffs or *tillāhs*. This section of the Bānār flows through scenery which is mostly hilly in character, the steep red banks sometimes rising to 70 feet above the level of the water in the dry season, while the river itself attains a depth of 40 feet in places.

The two divisions of Bhāwāl separated by the Bānār both contain ancient river-beds, now mostly dried up. Through the eastern division flows the oldest course of the Brahmaputra. Though the main course of the Brahmaputra long ago went off

¹ This most interesting river has not even been mentioned in the Mymensing Gazetteer. Its ofttake can be traced to the Brahmaputra through the Police Stations of Muktagāchhā and Jāmālpur up to the village of Dengārgar, about a mile from the bank of the great river.

eastwards to meet the Meghnā at Bhairabbāzār, hardly any sanctity is ascribed to this new course. All sanctity still clings to the dried up course, which starts from Ārālīā on the main course, sends off the Lakṣyā at Lākhpur and again deflects eastwards to flow through the *Parganas* of Bhāwāl, Maheśvardī, Sonārgāon, and Vikrampur. The ancient town of Sonārgāon used to stand on this course, and the great annual bathing festival on the *Asokāṣṭamī* day is still celebrated on its banks, opposite the site of the town of Sonārgāon. The portion of the old Brahmaputra from Ārālīā to Lākhpur was erroneously marked as the old course of the Lakṣyā, probably on some early map of the locality. Major Rennel marks this course as a fairly strong river, but he does not give any name to the Ārālīā-Lākhpur portion. I find that this portion is called the old course of the Lakṣyā in the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58. Probably the mistake originated even earlier. A succession of scholars and investigators has pointed out this mistake again and again; but the Survey Department has, with characteristic apathy to rightful criticism, persisted in this mistake up to the present date.¹ The present writer pointed out this mistake in 1916 to Mr. Ascoli, then Settlement Officer of the Dacca district. Mr. Ascoli admitted the mistake, but was unable to correct it owing to the huge expenditure involved.

Two other streams in this region deserve mention. The stream to the east of the old Brahmaputra is called the Pāhāḍiyā river and further east is the Ārial Khān river.

There are a number of proofs to show that this stable laterite region was inhabited from very ancient times. The first proof lies in the nomenclature of the rivers and the villages on their either bank. Village names ending in Śrī are fairly common in this region. One of them Vasu-Śrī, occurs on the present plate. To the east of Trimohini lies the well-known village of Simha-Śrī, where a rather large hoard of silver coins of the Sultans of Bengal was found some years ago. The richness of this hoard may be gauged from the fact that the finder supplied no less than fifteen coins of Danujamardana and Mahendra (Rājā Ganesh and his son Yadu) to Mr. Stapleton in 1915-16,—coins which are extremely rare and are unrepresented in the otherwise rich Indian Museum Cabinet. Names like Bānahāra (stealer of flood) and Sitalalakṣyā (soother of the eyes) must have been given by literate people with poetic imagination.

The second proof lies in the frequent find of Treasure-troves from the region. The Trove from Simha-Śrī has already been referred to. Some years ago, a rather large Trove was found at Marjāl on the bank of the Ārial Khān, consisting entirely

¹ As an example of correction in works published by the Government of Bengal, see Mymerising Gazetteer, edited by Mr. Sachse. Ed. 1917-P.-7.

of Mauryya and pre-Mauryya punch-marked silver coins. I succeeded in obtaining about 90 of them for the Dacca Museum through the kind offices of Saiyyid A. S. M. Taifoor, then Sub-registrar of Nārāyanganj. Captain Martin of the Royal Engineers, prepared an exhaustive catalogue of the collection, while posted at Dacca, and I hope to publish the catalogue soon. The discovery of these coins of the 3rd-4th century B.C. from the bank of the Ārial Khān shows the early nature of the settlement on the banks of these rivers. It may be recalled in this connection, that the village of Ashrafpur from which the two copper-plates of Devakhaḍga were found, lies only about six miles east of Lākhpur, between the old Brahmaputra and the Pahādiyā rivers. The ruins of the Buddhist establishments referred to in these two copper-plates can still be traced at Ashrafpur.

As the third proof, I should refer to the places of antiquarian interest on either bank of the Bānār.

In the mauza of Rājāvādī itself, about a mile south-west of the find-place of the present copper-plate, there are remains of a Raja's house, which has given the village its name. The accompanying copy of the mauza map of the village prepared from the survey of 1911-14 on the scale 16"=1 mile will give a good idea of the royal residence. The place is rectangular in area and is surrounded by a moat 704 yds. \times 440 yds. in extent. There are four tanks inside the enclosure, measuring 182 \times 100 yds., 156 \times 66 yds., 100 \times 66 yds., and 88 \times 50 yds. respectively. Outside the moat, along the northern end of its western side, there is another tank which is the biggest in the area, measuring 242 \times 110 yds. The tank of Maggee, near the bank of which the present copper-plate was found is even bigger in area. It measures 340 \times 100 yds. This royal residence is associated in tradition with two brothers Pratap and Prasanna, who were Chaṇḍāla by caste and who are reported to have ruled the region as joint rulers. Maggee was their sister. I personally visited Maggee's tank and the mouldering *math* on its western bank in 1920 in the company of Mr. J. T. Rankin, the late Commissioner of the Dacca Division. The *math* had then almost fallen to pieces, but was even then being held together by the roots of the huge *Aśvatthva* trees that had grown on the temple, and held it as if in a vice. The temple was of the style of the Hindu temples of the Muslim period, square at the base, with hanging eves all round, surmounted by a single spire. If Pratap and Prasanna and their sister Maggee had any real existence, they appear to have flourished in the pre-Mughal age. Probably they went down when the Ghazi family occupied the Bhāwāl region and established their seat at Chaurā, twelve miles south of Rājāvādī.

But the discovery of the plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena from the vicinity of Maggee's *math* and the fact that land was granted by it on the bank of the Bānār river, three miles and a quarter

to the east, together with the statement contained in the plate under discussion (verse 13) that countless such villages were quickly given away by the Kings to Brahmīns in the vicinity of the capital, complicates matters. The presumption arises that these regions were well-inhabited during the period of the Senas and after all, the site of the Rajah's palace at Rājāvādī may be older than Pratap and Prasanna of the pre-Mughal period by a few centuries, and may have actually belonged to the Senas. The metropolis of the Senas was at Vikrampur at the junction of the Ichhāmatī and the old Brahmaputra, and all the earlier plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, up to the sixth year of his reign are issued from that capital. It is undoubtedly a remarkable fact that the last two plates, viz. the Mādhāi-nagar plate and the Bhāwāl plate are found issued from a new capital called Dhāryya-grāma. In 1202, Lakṣmaṇa Sena was surprised at Nadia by Ikhtiyāruddīn Muhammad *bin* Bakhtiyār, and had to retire to Eastern Bengal, leaving the western part of Varendrī and the northern part of Rādhā in Muslim hands. Even before this catastrophe, we find a *mahasāmanta* of his, Dommana-pāla, independently granting land in the southern part of the 24 Pargunās, by a copper-plate in 1196 A.D. (I.H.Q., X, pp. 321),—an encroachment upon the royal privilege, which would have been hardly tolerated in the palmy days of Sena rule in Bengal. When the Sena power thus declined and became shaky in Bengal, the old capital might have been considered insecure and too open to a sudden attack like the one on Nadia and a new royal seat might have been established in a more secure and well-protected place. The site at Rājāvādī, in a thickly wooded area, with a not-too-powerful river in the vicinity affording an easy access to Assam, the only province in Northern India still then under Hindu sway, was admirably suited for such an emergent capital.

If the traditions recorded in the Ballāla-charita are to be believed, the free-lance Ikhtiyāruddīn had a predecessor, named Bābā Ādam, or Ādam *Shahid*, who made a sudden onset upon the capital Vikrampur in the reign of Ballāla Sena; and Ikhtiyāruddīn only emulated his example by falling upon Nadia some years later and carrying it by assault. Ikhtiyāruddīn succeeded, but Ādam could not succeed, and his attempt has thus been lost to history. But the mosque built to his sacred memory in 888 H. = 1483 A.D. during the reign of Bārbak *Shāh* just outside the mote of the Ballāl-vādī at Rāmpāl, the site of the capital, is still standing. And the funeral pyre (Agni-Kuṇḍa) in which the ladies of the royal household, as well as King Ballāla himself, burnt themselves to death, is still shown inside the palace area, on the bank of a small tank. Thus the tradition with regard to this event may have some basis in history. This tradition is remarkably supported again by verse 13 of the present plate, where there is a reference to princes giving up

their lives but not their honour, though the applicability of the event to the new capital is not apparent. This event would have been sufficient to make the old capital unlucky and its vulnerability to attack from an enemy was another point against it. The capital thus may have been shifted to the secluded and wooded Bhāwāl region, which had all the advantages detailed above.

This region, in addition was defended by a strong fort. The fort is still known as Shāh Vidyā's fort and is situated on the eastern bank of the Bānār, exactly six miles above Kāpāsīā. I visited the site in the company of Mr. Rankin in 1920, and a cultivator told us that an inscribed plate of copper had been dug up within the fort by a man some years ago, but it was thrown into the Bānār through superstitious fear. The discovery of a copper-plate from the ruins would show that the fort dates from the pre-Muhammadan period. But even by themselves, the ruins look very old,—and the outlines have almost been obliterated. The inquisitive reader will find a description of this fort in the well-known work, Taylor's *Topography of Dacca*, pp. 112-113. In those days, there was constant rivalry between Kings of Kāmarūpa and Kings of Bengal and the necessity for guarding the water-routes leading from the Brahmaputra to lower Bengal will thus be easily understood. It appears clear that Shāhvidyā's fort (whoever he might have been) was erected on the bank of the Bānār in pre-Muhammadan days to serve this very purpose. The village on the opposite bank is called Gośīngā—(cow's horn), and the river bends here beautifully like the two horns of a cow,—a feature of the landscape which is undoubtedly responsible for this peculiar name of the village. At Gośīngā, the ruins of a town are still traceable, remarkable among the works of old being some old mosques and ruins, and two tanks, the bigger of which is $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{5}$ mile in area. Dr. Taylor in his *Topography of Dacca* thus observes about these two tanks:—'About two miles inland, there are two magnificent tanks, which are said to have been dug by the Booneah Rajas: they are of great depth and in all probability are supplied by springs' (p. 114).

Two more antiquities of this region deserve notice. One is the huge fort at Egāra-sindhu (sometimes also called Bara-sindhu). It is situated exactly opposite the Brahmaputra off-take of the Bānār river, on the eastern bank of the Brahmaputra, just at the point where it bends eastwards, deflected by the stable laterite soil of Eastern Bhāwāl. The peculiar name of the place is due to eleven streams (*Sindhu*) meeting the Brahmaputra in the locality. The use of the word *Sindhu* in the sense of a river is almost Vedic in date, and shows that the name must have been given to the place during the period when people on the Ārial Khān river, twenty miles south-east, were using punch-marked coins as their silver currency in daily

transactions. The fort at Egāra-sindhu is said to have been made by Isa-Khan, Masnad-i-Ali, who ruled all land east of the Brahmaputra and the Bānār like an independent sovereign during the reign of Akbar. I visited the site in 1916, and I found its outlines in as obliterated a condition as those of the fort opposite Gośiṅgā. These forts appear to be pre-Muhammadian in date, and were in all probability set up by the pre-Muhammadian sovereigns of Bengal as defensive works against invasions from the north, though the Muslim sovereigns may have subsequently made use of what was left of them. The fort of Egāra-sindhu occupies a rather extensive area,—very unlike the small forts on the Burigaṅgā, Sital-Lakṣyā and Dhaleśvarī which Mir Jumla constructed as defensive outposts against Arracaneso incursions, in the early years of the reign of Aurangzib. Three of these Mughal forts still stand almost entire, while the forts at Doordoorea (opposite Gośiṅgā) and Egāra-sindhu can be traced only in their faint outlines.

The last antiquity that I propose to notice here are the ruins at Kapāleśvar,—popularly pronounced as Kapālsahar.¹ These ruins are the remnants of some temples of considerable size, erected in picturesque surroundings in the heart of the red laterite *tillās* or hillocks, some five miles south of Egāra-sindhu, on the southern side of the Brahmaputra river. They are situated about four miles south of Ulsarā or Toknagar, both of them well-known villages on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. I visited the site in 1916, and a note on it was published in my article—‘Notes on Antiquarian Remains on the Lakṣyā and the Brahmaputra’. Dacca Review, Vol. VII, 1917-18, pp. 12ff. The following extracts are quoted from that article:—

‘Kapaleswar . . . is some four miles directly south of Ulsarā, west of Toke.

‘Kapaleswar, as the name implies, must be the ruins of a Saiva temple, and belongs to the pre-Muhammadian period. Four fine tanks, two of which are still deep and retain water, were dug in a line and temples founded on their banks. The northernmost one is the most interesting. Its banks are as high as the ramparts of a fort and on its west bank are the foundations of a big temple, the position of the walls of which are still marked by thick layers of mouldering bricks in a continuous line. Big slabs of stone lie scattered in the compound, as well as on the slope of the banks and the local people affirmed that they had seen several others in their childhood, which have been covered up by silt by this time. The most striking feature of the ruins is the great number of loose bricks. They lie scattered for a considerable distance like a thick layer of big hailstones after

¹ The ruins at Padumsahar (Pradyumneśvara) in Rajshahi District may be remembered in this connection.

a hailstorm. Nowhere in Bengal have I seen such a wild profusion, except in the ruins of Devkoṭ in Dinajpur. The people of the locality are mostly settlers, and they know nothing about the builder of these temples. Only an octogenarian Hajo told me that they had heard from the elders that Ballala Sena was the author of all these works.'

Thus we see that the Sena association with this area, over which passed the short-cut water-route to Kām̄rūp, evidenced by the Rājāvāḍī plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, is further corroborated by the tradition clinging to the remarkable ruins at Kapāleśvar. We may therefore seriously consider, whether the royal seat at Rājāvāḍī, is Dhāryyagrāma, the hitherto unidentified Jayaskandhāvāra of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, from which he issued at least two copper-plates late in his reign. As already pointed out, verse 13 of the present plate speaks of the King having quickly granted numerous villages to Brahmins near the capital, and the land granted by the Rājāvāḍī plate on the bank of the Bānār river, is only three miles east of Rājāvāḍī.

Identification of the villages granted by a copper-plate is always a difficult task and few copper-plates have turned out to be as helpful in this respect as the Kāt̄wā plate of Ballala Sena, or the Govindapur plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the villages mentioned in which exist up to the present time almost with unaltered names. The present plate also, as already pointed out, gives us an important clue as regards the locality of the land granted. The river Bānahāra, modern Bānār, flowing three miles east of the find-place of the plate, is spoken of as forming the northern boundary of one of the villages granted. As the river Bānār flows in a south-easterly direction, more south than east, it is difficult to get the river to form the northern boundary of a village, except when it forms a loop and turns directly eastwards. As will be seen from the map of the locality reproduced, exactly this is what happens at Kāpāsīā, directly east of the find-place of the plate. At the apex of the land enclosed by the loop, we find a village called Sāfāi-Śrī. With the rise of the city of Sonārgāon as a Muslim capital by about 1340 A.D., Buddhist and Brahmanical antiquities of this region suffered greatly and names of many villages were changed or Muslimized. The name of the village Sāfāi-Śrī is very curious. The first part of the name is without doubt non-Sanskritic and derived from Arabic *Shāfāi*, while the second part is without doubt Sanskritic in origin. Is this the changed form of the name Vasu-Śrī, which gave the name to the *Chaturaka* or Quadrangle in which the land granted was situated? For, it is only here that we can get a village, with the river Bānār directly to its north.

The villages granted were in the *Chaturaka* of Vasu-Śrī and in the *Avṛtti* (circle) of Bāṇḍana. *Avṛtti* and *Chaturaka* are well-known units of land-division of the Sena period, and

they first make their appearance in the land-grants made by Lakṣmaṇa Sena. It is difficult to be sure about the area of these units, but from the order of mention, viz. Bhukti, Āvṛtti and Chaturaka, the last naturally becomes the smallest unit.

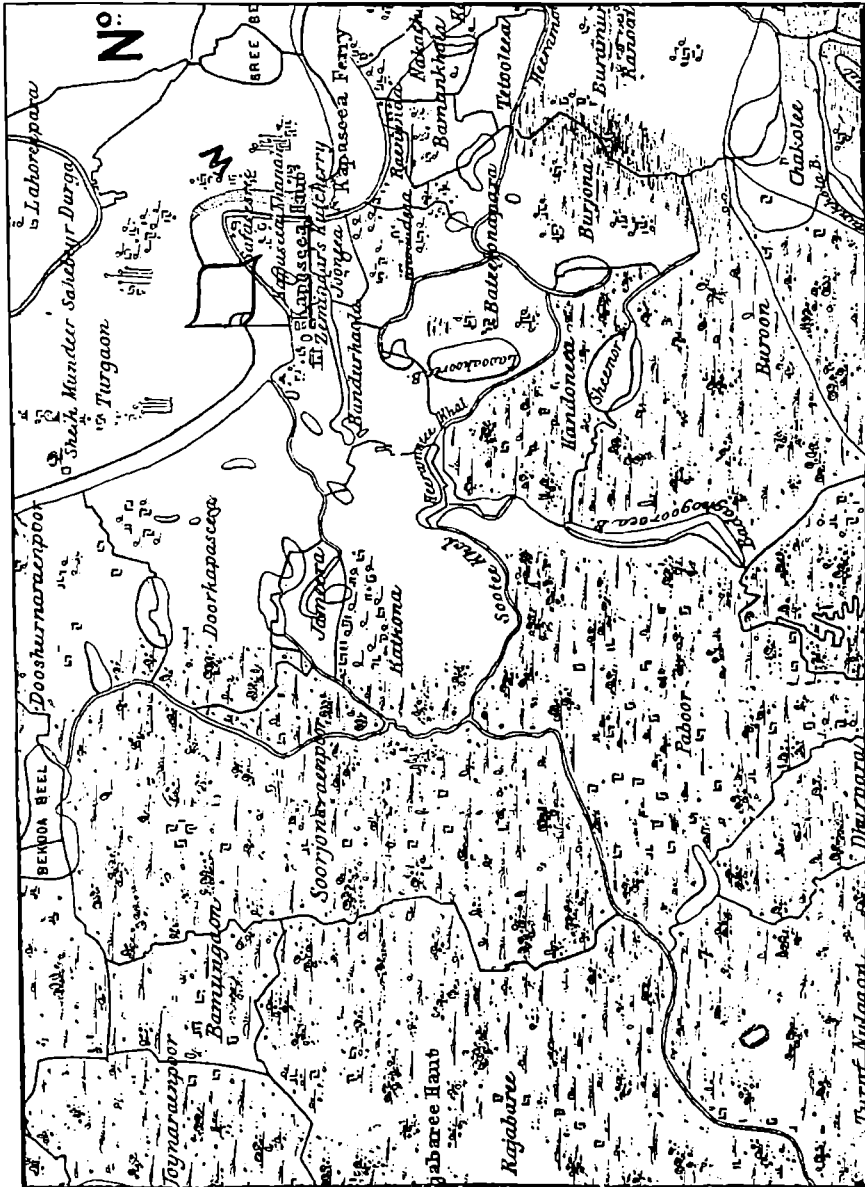


FIG. C. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1" = 1 m.
From the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58.

The name would suggest that it was roughly a quadrangular area and a number of such quadrangular areas undoubtedly went to form an *Avrtti*. The English word Circle exactly corresponds in meaning to the *Avrtti* of the Sena period. But the word circle is applied in different cases, to very unequal areas.

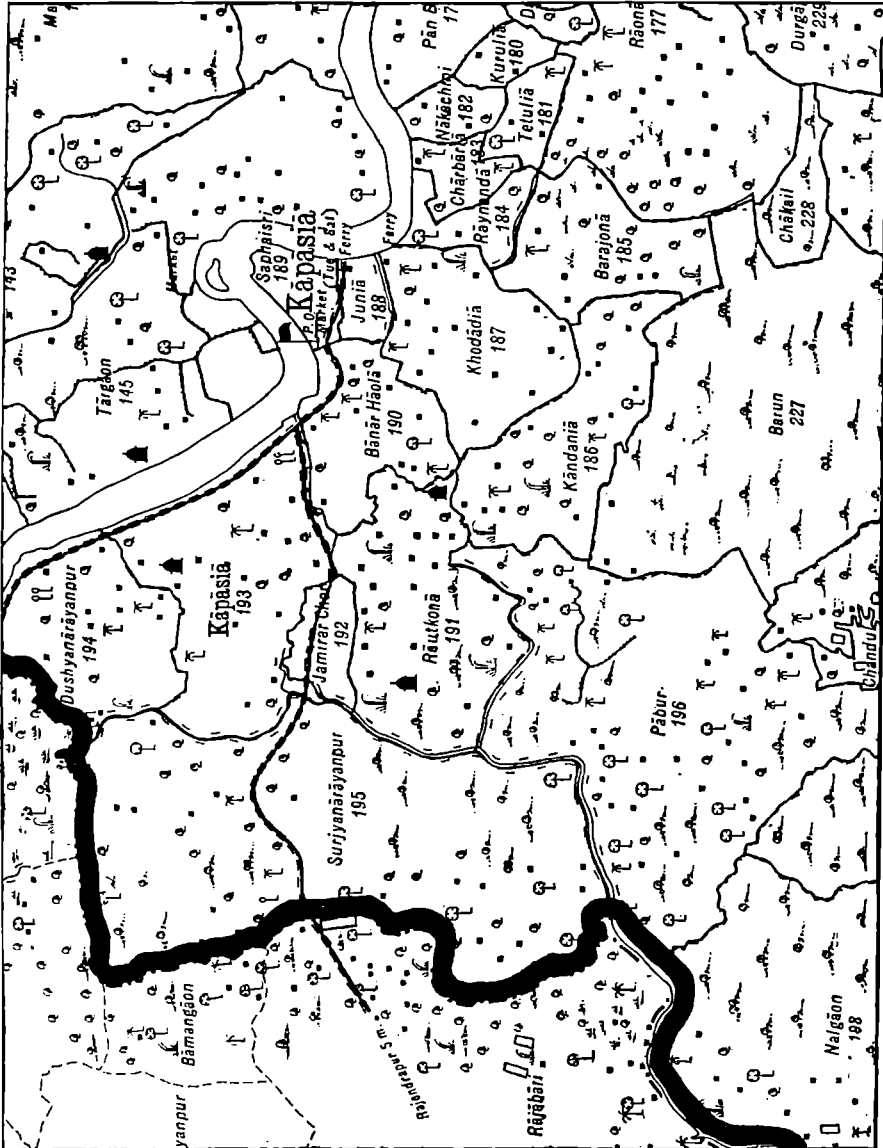


FIG. D. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1" = 1 m.
From the latest Survey Map.

A Circle Officer or Sub-Deputy Magistrate has jurisdiction over a few Police Stations; while the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, has jurisdiction over two provinces, viz. Bengal and Assam. Previous to the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the units of Land Division were Bhukti, Maṇḍala, Viṣaya and sometimes also Khaṇḍala. We meet with these terms in the land-grants of the Pālas as well as in those of the Chandras, Varmmans and the early two Sena Kings. When in the land-grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, we find them replaced by the terms Āvṛtti and Chaturaka,—it is only reasonable to conclude that Āvṛtti stands for Maṇḍala, and the two terms have the same meaning. *Chaturaka* would thus be a synonym for Viṣaya or Khaṇḍala. It should be made clear here that the use of the term Viṣaya in the sense of a very much larger-area equivalent to a modern district, is also familiar. Viṣaya in the sense of a much smaller unit and its equivalent Chaturaka would appear to be represented in the modern Revenue unit called *Tāluk*.

In the case of the present grant, if Sāfāi-Śrī is the modern representative of Vasu-Śrī, the big village of Bārun, about four miles south of Sāfāi-Śrī may stand for Bāṇḍana, after which the Āvṛtti was named.

Two villages called Vāsunandana and Mādisā-haṁsa were granted by the present plate, along with some detached plots from contiguous villages. In the absence of complete and convincing agreement in names, speculation regarding the modern representatives of these villages is of little use. I would all the same refer the reader to the two maps of the locality reproduced and would point out, that the village Bānār-Hāolā would answer to the likely position of Vāsunandana and Māndā (Roy Manda) to the likely position of Mādisā-haṁsa. The large village of Khodādia would answer to the position of the village of Jaladāṇḍi, which is named as the boundary of both the villages granted.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PLATES.

(1) *The contributions from the Mādhāinagar Plate.*

As made out in the first section, the present plate is almost a replica of the Mādhāinagar plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena discovered at Mādhāinagar in the Pabna district. No attempt has yet been made to glean all facts of historical importance from the plate, and such an attempt is made below. Unfortunately, that plate is also very much corroded. Sj. Prasanna Nārāyaṇ Choudhury's reading of the plate published in 1899 in Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of the now defunct Bengali Journal *Aitihāsik Chitra*, was the first serious attempt at a correct decipherment. Mr. R. D. Banerji's reading published in the J.A.S.B., 1909, pp. 467ff., contained little improvement. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his edition of

the plate in his 'Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III', pp. 106ff., made a few improvements, but still obvious mistakes were left uncorrected. At my request, Mr. T. N. Rāmachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, lately sent me three excellent sets of estampages of the plate. In checking the reading of the plate with their help, I have succeeded in finding a few important facts, which baffled the previous editors. This important plate has never been properly illustrated; the illustrations published with Mr. Banerji's article are reproductions of photographs and are thus too blurred to be of any practical use. I am sure that a fresh edition of the plate, accompanied by proper illustrations, would be welcome to all scholars.

In the earliest dependable edition, Mr. Choudhury correctly stated that the reverse contained 30 lines. Mr. Banerji first made the mistake of stating that both the faces contained 29 lines of writing and Mr. Majumdar repeated the mistake. In fact, the obverse does contain 29 lines, but the reverse has 30 lines inscribed on it. This erroneous dropping out of the last line of the reverse has been very unfortunate indeed, because the date of the plate is usually contained in the last letters of the last line. From the estampages so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I was easily able to ascertain the existence of this 30th line, and I believe I have succeeded in reading the date also.

The 30th line, like the three previous lines, is very much corroded. But on the analogy of the present plate, the date can be made out with more or less certainty as '*Sam* 25 *Bhādra* *Di-* -'. The last two letters are broken away and lost, taking away *ne* and the figure or figures for the day. In the regnal year, the figure for 2 is sure. The second figure, though made very hazy through corrosion, can be read as nothing else than 5.

We thus realize that the Mādhānagar plate has not really lost its date, but is a dated document. It was issued in the 25th year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The year of accession of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is now fairly well-established. Prof. Chintāharaṇ Chakravarty in a short, but valuable, contribution on the subject, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 186ff., made out that Lakṣmaṇa Sena came to the throne in 1178 A.D. This was supported by astronomical calculations by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, pp. 215-16, Editorial Note. Also *Annual Report*, Arch. Survey, 1934-35, p. 69). The 25th regnal year thus falls in 1203 A.D. The date of Ikṣṭiyārduddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār's invasion of Nādia and consequent Muslim occupation of the north-western part of Bengal was fixed as 1202 A.D. by myself. (Determination of the Epoch of the Parganāti Era. *Indian Antiquary*, 1923.) It thus becomes clear that the Mādhānagar plate was issued in the year following the disaster. .

This is strangely confirmed by the contents of the plate itself, the purpose of which has baffled all scholars up to the present time. The plate states that in that year, on the 27th day of *Śrāvana*, certain religious rites were performed by Govinda-veśārman, the priest in charge of *Sāntyāgāra* (House of Propitiation). Mr. Majumdar reads the passage as follows:—

L. 49.....सप्तविंश आबण दिवसे...पूर्वकमूलाभिषेकः

L. 50.....ऐन्द्री महाशान्ति...तगति...गिकादि...

उत्सुज्याचन्द्रार्कक्षिति

L. 51. समकालं.....

With the help of the estampages supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I can improve the reading thus:—

सप्तविंश आबण दिवसे अक्षतपूरकमूलाभिषेकः.....

It would appear thus that the rites were meant to correct some defects in the original coronation ceremony and for the performance of the Grand Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī*. What this rite was, no one has yet attempted to understand. Mr. Majumdar laconically remarks (p. 108)—‘*Aindrī Mahāsāntī* cannot be explained’. He probably did not realize that by failing to explain the term, he missed the whole purpose and historical importance of the plate.

It is only common sense to hold that the purpose of the Great Propitiatory Rites named after Indra must be to avert some misfortune or recurrence of some misfortune already suffered. As such, I thought, they are likely to be named and described in the great compilation by Ballāla Sena Deva, called *Adbhutasāgara* (i.e. an ocean-like compendium of strange happenings), which deals with all peculiar happenings and portents, and their remedies. A good edition of the work was published by the Prabhakari and Co. of Benares Cantonment in 1905 under the editorship of Paṇḍita Muralidhar Jhā, Jyautiṣāchāryya and my friend Mr. Pratap Chandra Barat, Teacher, Bulandshahar Govt. High School, had very kindly presented me with a copy. It is an extremely interesting work and in the preliminary discourse, it is stated that the work was begun by Ballāla Sena in Saka 1089 and was left incomplete at death. His son Lakṣmaṇa completed and published the work. In the last part of the work, presumably compiled and added by Lakṣmaṇa Sena himself, a passage on strange happenings and propitiatory rites for them is quoted from the *Matsya-Purāṇa*. The passage is found in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* also, Ch. 228, pp. 814; but unfortunately, there is some confusion in the reading. In the *Adbhutasāgara* also, as edited

by Sj. Muralidhar Jhā, the passage has suffered some confusion. But the lines about the *Aindrī Mahāsānti* can easily be reset correctly. The passage occurs on p. 733 of this edition of the *Abhūtasāgara*. After dealing with various misfortunes and their remedies, it has the following two lines:—

भविष्यत्यभिषेके च परचक्रभयेषु च ।

स्वराष्ट्रभेदेऽरिबधे ऐन्द्री श्रान्तिस्तथेष्यते ॥

Translation: In coronation ceremonies, when invasion from an enemy state is apprehended, when one's own kingdom is divided or torn asunder, and for killing one's enemies, the Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī* is prescribed and desired for.

The performance of the *Aindrī Mahāsānti*, for the *Dakṣiṇā* of which villages were granted by the Mādihānagar plate, is a clear indication of the fact that the kingdom of Lakṣmaṇa Sena had suffered lately from a disastrous invasion by an enemy, who had probably wrested a large portion of it. This can only refer to the invasion of Bengal in the year 1202 A.D. by Ikhtiyārūddin Muhammad, and the loss of the north-western corner of the kingdom to the enemy.

The course of events can now be clearly traced. It was shown in my article on the Parganāti Era (*Indian Antiquary*, 1923) that the years of the Era were *Kārttikādi* ones and it began in 1202. Thus presumably the invasion took place after the cessation of rains in the month of *Kārttika* of 1202. Lakṣmaṇa Sena, then probably in the 80th year of his age, retired to Eastern Bengal with his Court and shifted his capital to Dhāryya-grāma on the Lakṣyā, on the road to further retirement to Kāmarūpa, if necessary. On the 27th of *Śrāvaṇa* next, the propitiatory rites were performed in 1203 A.D., the 25th regnal year. In *Bhādra* the copper-plate was issued. In defiance of the invaders, and also probably with a grim humour, as if to test the efficacy of the rites performed, the villages were granted almost on the border of the limit of Muslim occupation.

The geographical position of Mādihānagar, the find-place of the plate, should be clearly comprehended. Sara-Sirajganj Railway is well-known. Chāṭmohar is a well-known place on the line, though the railway station that goes by the name is about 3 miles south of real Chāṭmohar. About 16 miles direct north of Chāṭmohar is Tārāsh inside the eastern slope of the famous depression known as the *Chalan Bil*. Tārāsh is well-known for its munificent zamindar family, and the road from Chāṭmohar to Tārāsh forms practically the eastern bank of the *Chalan Bil*. Mādihānagar is five miles north-east of Tārāsh. It is about 24 miles direct west of Sirajganj. Looking from the Rajshahi side, it can be said that *Chalan Bil* is reached by travelling 16 miles direct east of Nāṭore, and across the *Chalan Bil*, Tārāsh is exactly 24 miles direct east of Nāṭore.

The Mādhānagar plate grants the village of Dāpaniya in the circle of Kāṅṭāpura, within the region of the lake Rāvaṇa, in Varendrī, in the Bhukti of Paundravardhana. Kāṅṭāpura is probably to be identified with the well-known village of Kāṅṭābāri, inside the *Chalan Bil* area on the western limit of the Tārāsh P.S. and on the border of the Rajshahi district. Curiously, the *pargana* round Kāṅṭābāri is still known as Kāṅṭār-mahal, and this would suggest that it is probably identical with the old *Āvṛtti* of Kāṅṭāpura. The find of a village called Dāpaniyā in the locality would have confirmed the identification, but though the name appears to be rather common in Pabna district,¹ I find no Dāpaniyā near Kāṅṭābāri. Small villages often get merged into big *mauzas* and are thus left unnamed on the Settlement maps.

The mention of a lake in the locality to which the name Rāvaṇa is given is interesting. It would appear to be the name by which the fast silting up lake *Chalan Bil* was known in those days.

About two miles north of Mādhānagar lie the remarkable ruins of a considerable town at Nimgāchhī. At this place and at Gotithā and Khīrtalā close on the north, there are dozens and dozens of big tanks in close groups, some of them about half-a-mile long, a sure indication of the existence of an old town round them. Numerous sculptures and mounds lie scattered about and await exploration. The place very much deserves detailed inspection by the Archaeological Survey. Tradition connects the ruins with one Achyuta Sena of the Sena dynasty. It is quite possible that the place was made in those days a strong outpost against Muslim aggression and expansion.

(2) *Facts from the Bhāwāl plate.*

(a) The queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The present plate mentions two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena by name, viz., Sṛyā Devī and Kalyāṇa Devī.

The Mādhānagar plate appears to mention another queen. On line 49 of the reverse, in Mr. N. G. Majumdar's edition, the reading accepted is:

मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययज्ञोऽभिरुद्धये.....

But the correct reading would appear to be

सुश्रीदेव्यारात्मनश्च.....

¹ I have succeeded in seeking out three Dāpaniyās in the district. One is a well-known village on the road from Pabna to Sara bridge, about 7 miles west of Pabna. Another is 11 miles north-east of Pabna, in the Thana of Aṅghariā. The third is 5 miles north-east of Faridpur (Banwāri-nagar) and 5 miles north of Demrā, a well-known place, P.S. Faridpur, Dt. Pabna.

The first four letters may be महादेव्या also, but as far as I can make out through bad corrosion, these appear to be सुश्री देव्या. I am inclined to think that we get the name of a queen of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in सुश्री देवौ.

Three plates of the sons of Lakṣmaṇa Sena have hitherto been discovered, viz., the Idilpur plate of Keśava Sena, the Madanpād plate of Viśvarūpa Sena and the Sāhitya Pariṣat (Vikrampur-Madhyapādā) plate of Viśvarūpa Sena. In the first, Keśava's mother is named ताड़ा देवी. In the second, Viśvarūpa's mother is also ताड़ा देवी; but in the third, Viśvarūpa's mother is अरुणा देवी (E.I., XXVI, p. 9, Dr. Chakravarti's note on f.n. 4). It is only common sense to hold that a man cannot have two mothers, but this is hardly the place to solve the mystery. It will suffice for our present purpose, if we hold that we get the names of two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., ताड़ा and अरुणा from these records. So, we learn the names of at least five queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., सुश्री (?), प्रया, कल्याण, ताड़ा, अरुणा.

(b) The Sāndhivigrahika.

The name for the minister for peace and war is given as Saṅkaradhara. From resemblance in name, he would appear to be a brother of Umāpatidhara, the famous poet and courtier of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

(c) Date of the plate.

It is now clear that Lakṣmaṇa Sena survived the invasion of Ikhtiyārūddin and the consequent loss of the north-western portion of his kingdom by at least three years. The Kārtika of the 27th regnal year would be equivalent to October-November of 1204 A.D. The fact that Śrīdhara Das's *Saduktikarṇā-mṛta* was compiled in 1127 Śaka in the 27th regnal year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, is now confirmed by the Bhāwāl plate. How long the king survived (he was probably about 83 in his 27th regnal year) it is impossible to know. But the extraordinary number of endorsements on the plate would suggest that the donee did not feel secure of his grant without them, as the king was very near his end. The first endorsement is Śrī-ni. This probably refers to the deity, who is a witness of all transactions. The next is Mahāsām-ni, evidently the endorsement of the Mahāsāndhivigrahika. The next is Srimadrāja-ni, an extraordinary endorsement from the king himself, absent in any other previous record. But it is difficult to understand what

the next endorsement—‘*Śrī-Madana-Śaṁkara-ni*’ is, as Madana-Śaṁkara is the *viruda* or title of the king himself. The final endorser *Sāhasamalla* is probably none else than the crown prince himself.

(d) Historical events referred to in the plate.

The following historical facts are referred to in the Bhāwāl plate:

1. The play of his youthful days was the forcible seizure of the fortunes of the Lord of Gauḍa. By कौमारकेलि, it is reasonable to hold that we should count the feats of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, between his 15th and 20th years. In the Deopādā inscription, Vijaya Sena, grandfather of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, claims to have put the Lord of Gauḍa to flight. Vijaya Sena reigned approximately from 1095–1160 A.D. His son Ballāla reigned from 1160–1178 A.D. Ballāla is described in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* as the king whose powerful arms were like posts to which the Elephant, namely the lord of Gauḍa, was tethered. There are proofs to hold that Govinda Pāla, the last king of the Pāla line, was finally defeated by Ballāla Sena, and his kingdom occupied in 1161 A.D. Vijaya Sena also must have wrested a considerable portion of Varendrī from the Pālas, as the site of his famous temple of Pradyumneśvara, about 7 miles west of the present town of Rajshahi shows. As a *Kumāra* or young prince of 20, Lakṣmaṇa Sena appears to have fought in this campaign against the Lord of Gauḍa. This campaign may be dated in about 1140 A.D.¹

2. The next claim on behalf of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is his propitiation by the king of Kālīṅga, when he was a full-grown youth, i.e. when he was about 25. Vijaya claims to have driven away the king of Kāmarūpa and quickly conquered the king of Kālīṅga. Here again I am inclined to take these occurrences in Kālīṅga to have taken place during the Kālīṅga campaign in the reign of Vijaya Sena, about 1145 A.D.

3. Next, Lakṣmaṇa Sena is claimed to have defeated the king of Kāśī in battle. This must be a clear reference to the conflict of the Senas with the Gahaḍwārs of Kanauj. After Ballāla’s final conquest of the remnant of Varendrī and of Bihar from Govindapāla, the last of the Pāla line, in 1161 A.D., the Gahaḍwār and Sena power came into violent conflict. The Gahaḍwār king Vijaya Chandra, son of the famous Govinda Chandra, came to the throne in 1154 A.D. and reigned up to

¹ In *I.H.Q.*, XVII, pp. 207ff., I have shown that this encounter between the Pālas and the Senas took place in 1140 A.D. at Nimdighi, 26 miles direct north of Pradyumneśvara, and in this battle Gopala III lost his life.

1170 A.D. The reign of his son Jayaccandra extended from 1170 to 1193 A.D., when he fell in battle with the Muslims. It is impossible to say with whom Lakṣmaṇa Sena came into conflict but it is fairly clear that the results, in spite of the claims of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and the boast of his sons, were not altogether favourable to the Senas. The Sena hold over Bihar was not strong and the conflict turned it into almost a no-man's-land, which made it such an easy prey to the invasion of Ikṣṭiyāruddin.

4. The next feat of Lakṣmaṇa Sena claimed is the abject submission of the king of Prūgjyotiṣa or Assam. The Mādhāinagar plate further confirms it by adding an epithet—**विक्रम-वशीकृतकामरूप**,—one who had subdued Kāmarūpa (Assam) by his valour. It is possible that this also refers to the conflict with Kāmarūpa in the reign of Vijaya Sena, of which we have references in the Deopādā inscription of Vijaya Sena, as well as in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, with claims of victory from both the sides. If it relates to any subsequent campaign, we possess no other reference to it.

5. A most significant epithet in the Bhāwāl plate applied to Lakṣmaṇa Sena is the one which says that he obtained (recovered?) the royal fortunes of Gauḍa by furiously churning with the Mandara of his own arms the endless sea of war. This sounds like an intimate personal experience and is not probably a reference to his **कौमारकेलि** in the reign of his grandfather. This, occurring in the plate of a king who is definitely known to have been ousted from Bihar, western part of North Bengal and northern part of West Bengal by Ikṣṭiyāruddin, would suggest that he did put up a fight for his kingdom and finally retained what portion of it he could. It would appear from this that the accounts of Ikṣṭiyāruddin's invasion of Bengal, as recorded in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, have to be supplemented in the light of this epithet. The challenging grant of land by the Mādhāinagar plate in Varendrī, only ten months after the deplorable sack of Nadia, almost on the fringe of the limit of Muslim conquest; the ruins in its vicinity traditionally connected with the name of one Achyuta Sena; the undeniable arrest of any further progress of Muslim conquest in Bengal; the crushing disaster to Muslim arms in Kāmarūpa on the 7th March, 1206,¹ involving the fortunes of Ikṣṭiyāruddin in utter ruin;—all these would signify, that the Senas of Bengal did make a stand against Muslim aggression which had overwhelmed the rest of Northern India, and that successful stand did stem the tide for about a century.

¹ 'Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar's invasion of Tibet' by myself, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 49ff.

I edit the plate from the photographs and estampages supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹

TEXT

OBVERSE

- L. 1. ? ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥
यस्याङ्गे¹ शरदम्बदोरसि तडिल्लेखेव गौरौ प्रिया
देहाङ्गेन हरिं समाश्रितमभ्युदयस्याति-
- L. 2. चित्रं वपुः ।
दीप्तार्कद्युतिलोचनत्रयरुचा घोरं दधानो मुखं
देवत्रांस² निरस्तदानवगजः पुष्पातु पञ्चाननः ॥ [1]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Śārdḍūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads त्रांस, but the reading adopted is clear on the present plate. Dr. Randle (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 5) adopts the reading देवत्रांस But in benedictory addresses, it is customary to refer to the addressee in the plural as वः or युष्मान् । The verb त्रांस means 'to shine'.

Translation:

May success attend. (Expressed by a symbol.) Om Obeisance to Nārāyaṇa.

May the five-faced god (Śiva) advance (our affairs), on whose lap is his beloved Gauri like a streak of lightning on the bosom of the autumn clouds; whose person assumed variegated appearance by holding (the god) Hari by a half of his body; who holds faces which are awesome with the brilliance of three eyes resplendent like suns; and who makes the gods shine and is a subduer of the demon Gaja. [1]

स्वर्ग-

- L. 3. ङ्गा¹ जलपुण्डरीकममृतप्रापार² धारा गृहम्
ष्टङ्गारद्रुमपुष्पमीश्वरशिखालङ्कारमुक्तामणिः ।
द्वीराम्भोनिधिजी-

¹ After my article had been submitted to the R.A.S.B. for printing, Dr. Randle's edition of the plate came out in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1ff. In addition to checking with the help of the estampage of the Mādhānagar plate so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, my edition has therefore the advantage of a comparison with Dr. Randle's reading. Differences are noted in the footnotes. I am glad to find that Dr. N. Chakravarti, editor of the *E.I.*, suggested many improvements which tally with my readings. Dr. Chakravarti's valuable suggestions have enabled me to improve my readings in some important passages.

L. 4.

वितं कुमुदिनीन्दैकवैहासिको ३

जीयान्मन्मथराज्य ४ पौष्टिकमहाशान्तिद्विजस्वन्मः ॥ [2]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Śārdḍūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads प्रादार । But the reading here is clearly प्रापार । R reads प्रावार but the 2nd letter cannot be read anything else than प or य । अमृतप्राप gives good sense. I find from the estampage of the Mādhāinagar plate that the reading there also is प्रापार ।

(3) M reads वैहासको, but the reading वैहासिको is clear on the estampage.

(4) M reads राज, but राज्य, is clear on the estampage.

Translation :

May that moon-god prosper, who is a lotus in the waters of the Heavenly River; who is the reservoir of (i.e. from which flow) the streams that scatter nectar; who is the flower of the tree of love; who is the jewel on the crest-ornament of the lord Śiva; who took his birth from the Kṣiroda Sea; who is the only cheerer of the whole lot of water-lilies and who is the priest performing the great propitiatory rites for increasing the bounds of the kingdom of Love. [2]

त्रिभुवन १ जयसम्भू-

L. 5.

तानु २ क्लृप्तैः

क्रतुभिरवारित ३ सत्त्विनोऽमराणाम् ।

अजनिषत तदन्वये धरित्री-

वलयविशदङ्गलकीर्तयो नरेन्द्राः ॥ [3]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Puṣpitāgrā*.

(2) M reads अव and the reading there is without doubt अव । But it is clearly अनु here. R reads अर्थ—which is not warranted by the estampages.

(3) M reads अबाधित, but the reading there, as here, is without doubt अवारित, as noted by the editor, *E.I.*

Translation :

In his (moon's) lineage were born kings whose fame had run riot over the orb of the earth; kings, who had made the residence of the gods open to them by the performance of sacrifices which were caused by, and followed, their conquest of the three worlds. [3]

L. 6. पौराणोभिः¹ कथाभिः प्रथितगुणगणो वीरसेनस्य वंशे
कर्णाटक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुर्वाणरोदाम

L. 7. सामन्तसेनः ।
कृत्वा निर्व्वीरमुर्व्वीतलमपि न तरां² तप्यतानाकनद्यां
निर्गिराक्तो येन युध्यद्रिपुरुधिरकणा-

L. 8. कीर्णधारः कृपाणः ॥ [4]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Sragdharā*.

(2) M and R—अधिकतरां । Dr. Chakravarti, Editor, *E.I.*
is right in correcting it to अपि न तरां.

Translation :

In the lineage of Vira-Sena, whose virtues are recounted in the Pauranic stories, was born Sāmanta-Sena,—a garland bedecking the crest of the family of the Kṣatriyas of Karṇāṭa; who, not satisfied even after having made the face of the globe bereft of heroes, proceeded to wash in the divine river (Ganges) the edge of his sword besmeared with the particles of blood of the enemies who engaged him in battle. [4]

वीराणामधिदैवतं¹ रिपुचमूमारारङ्गमल्लव्रत-
स्तस्मादिस्मयनीयशौर्यमहिमा

L. 9. हेमन्तसेनोऽभवत् ।

क्षीरोदाधरवाससो वसुमतीदेव्या यदीयं यशो
रत्नस्येव सुमेरुमौलिमि-

L. 10. लितं क्षौमश्रियं पुष्यति ॥ [5]

Note :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

Translation :

From him was born Hemanta-Sena, who was an object of worship (like a god) to the heroes; whose mission in life was the destruction of the forces of his enemies; who was endowed with astonishing prowess and majesty; and whose fame shines like a jewel and thus appears like the silken scarf on the Sumeru-crest of goddess Earth, whose lower garment is made up of the Kṣīroda Sea. [5]

अजनि¹ विजयसेनस्तेजसां राशिरस्मात्
समरविष्टमराणां भृष्टतामे-

L. 11.

कशेषः ।

इहं² जगति विषेहे येन वंशस्य पूर्वः
 पुरुष इति सुधांशौ केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [6]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Mālinī*.

(2) Read इह ।

Translation :

From him was born the mass of energy (which was) Vijaya Sena, the last among the princes whose custom it was to go out on military expeditions. He tolerated the epithet king to cling to the Moon alone, because he happened to be the progenitor of his family. [6]

भूचक्रं¹

L. 12.

कियदेतदावृतमभूद्यदामनस्यांघ्रिणा

नागानां कियदास्पदं यदुरसा² लङ्घन्ति गूढाङ्घ्रयः ।

एकाहा-³

L. 13.

द्यदनूरश्चति कियन्मात्रं तदप्यम्बरं

यस्यातौव यज्ञो क्रिया त्रिभुवनं व्याप्यापि नो⁴ ढप्यति⁵ ॥ [7]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads व्याभ्युदर्यमुरसा, which is well-corrected by the present reading of R, which is the reading on both the plates.

(3) R. D. Banerji (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, pp. 467ff.) correctly read एकाहात् which M needlessly corrected to एकाहोत् ।

(4) M व्याप्यापि. R व्याप्यापि, which is the correct reading to be found on both the plates.

(5) The translation of the *Śloka* offered by R is far from happy. The intended sense is the smallness of the three worlds and consequent shame and dissatisfaction on covering such small areas.

Translation :

Very small indeed is the orb of this earth, which became covered (even) by the foot of the Dwarf: very small also must be the abode (nether region) of the snakes, which is covered even by those with hidden legs (i.e. the snakes), crawling on their breasts: and the heavenly sphere, again, must also be very small, which even the Thighless One traverses in the course of a day. (This is why) his profuse fame, even after encompassing the three worlds, does not feel satisfied through shame (of having not done enough.) [7]

तस्मादशेष-¹

L. 14. भुवनोत्सवपार्वणोन्दु-²

र्वल्लालसेनजगतौपतिरुज्जगाम ।

यः केवलं न खलु सर्वनरेश्वराणा-

मेकः स-

L. 15. मग्नविदुषामपि³ चक्रवर्त्ति⁴ ॥ [8]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Vasantatilakā*.

(2) M reads कारोन्दु । R also makes out the correct reading पार्वणोन्दु, which is also the reading on the Mādhāinagar plate.

(3) M reads विदुषाम्, but the reading on the Mādhāinagar plate is also विदुषाम् ।

(4) Read चक्रवर्त्ति. The Mādhāinagar plate has the correct reading.

Translation:

From him was born Ballāla Sena, the master of the earth, —a festival-creating moon who was the source of endless rejoicing in the worlds,—who was a lord not only over all the other kings, but over the entire circle of scholars as well. [8]

परापरान्तः¹ पुरमौलिरत्नं²

चालुक्यभूपालकुलेन्दुलेखा ।

तस्य³ प्रियाभू-

L. 16. दृजमानभूमि-

र्लक्ष्मीपृथिव्योरपि रामदेवौ ॥ [9]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Upendravajrā*. The correct reading is probably घराघरान्तः—, which the Mādhāinagar plates has and which M reads. But the reading here appears to be परापरान्तः—. But प and घ are easily confused on this plate. There is no justification for reading घराघरान्तः—, as Dr. Chakravarti proposes in E.I.

(2) R notes the correct reading रत्नं.

(3) तस्या, as read by M is clearly wrong. Noted also by R.

Translation:

His beloved wife was Rāmadevī, the crest-jewel of the king's seraglio, a streak of moon from the family of the Chālukya

king,—a lady beloved and deeply respected by even (her co-wives) the goddess of Fortune and the Earth. [9]

एताभ्यां¹ वसुदेवदेवकमुता देहान्तराभ्यामिव
श्रीमल्ल-

L. 17. क्षणसेनमूर्तिरजनि क्ष्मापालनारायणः ।

चक्रे यन्मयजन्मनिस्सहमिलनिद्रानुवन्धच्छलात्
व-

L. 18. छेनाधिपयोधि कञ्चुकमिव त्यक्तं² प्रमुग्धं वपुः ॥ [10]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partly deciphered by B and M. R also has not been able to make much of the last two lines. The suggestions of Dr. C have clarified the meaning to some extent. There is no doubt that the reference is to the birth of the Lord Nārāyaṇa under painful circumstances, and from the analogy drawn with the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, it would appear that his birth also was equally painful. This strangely supports the story recorded by Minhajuddin, author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, that the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena was attended with extraordinary happenings and the queen-mother was enveloped in eternal sleep in giving him birth. The meaning of the last two lines, all the same, is rather hazy. I have attempted a translation, but am not quite satisfied with it.

(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) The word reads like त्यक्ता; if so, it should be corrected to त्यक्तं.

Translation :

From them, as if from the bodies of Vasudeva and the daughter of Devaka, the figure of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the Nārāyaṇa, sprang forth. (That Nārāyaṇa) united that (figure) for the purpose of a painful (मय) birth, and when taken away (व्यष्ट), it left the dazed body under cover of sleep in the manner of the corset (on the breast) of the Sea of pain (fallen off during sleep).

दृष्ट्य¹ द्रौड़ेश्वरश्रीहठहरणकला यस्य कौमा-

L. 19.

रकेलिः²

कालिङ्गेनाङ्गनाभिः प्रतिसदनपदाञ्चक्रिरे³ यस्य यूनः ।

येनासौ काशिराजः समर-

L. 20.

भुवि जितो यस्य निस्त्रिंशधारा-

भीरुः प्राग्ज्योतिषेन्द्र⁴ श्वरराजर्जसा निर्भमे कार्मणानि ॥

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially deciphered by B and M. The attempts of R and C leave the second line unsatisfactory, while great credit is due to R for reading प्राग्योतिषेन्द्र in the last line, which I failed to read. The *Śloka* as now read above, will, I hope, give complete satisfaction.

(1) M reads आसीद्गौडेश्वर; but the present (as also made out by R) is undoubtedly the correct reading. प्य of दृष्यद्—is very clear even on the Mādhānagar plate.

(2) Metre—*Sragdharā*. M gives the metre as शार्दूलविक्रीडित, which is wrong.

(3) This is undoubtedly a better reading than those proposed by R and C. प्रतिसदन means 'abhorrence', and the word पद, ordinarily neuter, is also rarely used in the masculine gender, as here.

(4) This excellent and consistent reading was made out by R.

Translation :

His juvenile prank was the forcible seizure of the Fortunes of the haughty Lord of Gauḍa. Feelings of (veritable) abhorrence (for women) were engendered in him in his youth by the (conquered) king of Kāliṅga by (a too profuse supply of) women. That (well-known) king of Kāśī was defeated by him in the field of battle. The king of Prāgīyotiṣa, afraid of the edge of his sword, worked magic with the dust of his feet. [11]

आको-

L. 21. मारं¹ समरजयिना कुर्वतोर्वीमवीरा-
मेतेनामी कथमिव दिशामीसितारो² विमुक्ताः ।
युद्धोद्दीप्ते व-³

L. 22. पुषि कलया तस्य तेष्टौ⁴ प्रविष्टाः
प्रह्वीभूते⁵ प्रभवति नहि क्षत्रियाणां क्षपाणः ॥ [12]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially and defectively deciphered by B and M on the Mādhānagar plate. Of the text deciphered here, the first two lines appear to be sure and correct. The remaining two lines also yield good sense.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā*.

(2) Read ईशितारो. The Mādhānagar plate has the correct spelling.

(3) These five letters at the end of line 21 are very much rubbed off and the reading proposed is only a tentative one.

The fourth letter is either ते or ते and not ते, as made out by R and C. I first read स्तब्धीभूते but would prefer the present reading युद्धोद्दीप्ते, which yields better meaning.

(4) वपुषि and तेष्टौ are good readings made out by R.

(5) प्रक्षीभूते or प्रक्षीभूते, the first suggested by C, yields excellent meaning.

Translation :

By him, who had been the victor in battles from his boyhood and had exterminated heroes from the face of this earth, why (it may be asked) were those (अमी) Lords of the Quarters allowed to go scotfree? Those Eight (Lords of the Quarters) artfully entered (i.e. took shelter) into his body energized by battle and (it is well known that) the sword of the Kṣatriya does not function against the submissive. [12]

यत्रारामद्रुमदलरु-

L. 23.

चा¹ श्रैवलिन्यङ्गगन्ति²

सस्यव्याजाज्जयपदगुणे³ येषु रोमाञ्चिता भूः ।

प्राणान्मुञ्चन्धवनिपतयो

L. 24.

नो च नर्यावनेन⁴

ग्रामास्ते ते सपदि ददिरे कोटिभः प्रासनानि ॥ [13]

Notes.—Of this *Sloka*, only two fragments were deciphered by B and M. Engraver's mistakes have added to the difficulties of a correct decipherment.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā*.

(2) श्रैवलिनी has to be taken at its simple meaning of 'moss'. No river of that name appears to be intended. Of ङ्गगन्ति, the first letter is very peculiar. Metre requires a short syllable here. The reading proposed is probably correct and gives good sense. The readings proposed by R and C cannot be accepted or justified. The second letter ग is clear in the impression and C recognises this fact. Probably *rhr* is the correct reading and not simply *rhr*.

(3) My reading agrees with that of C except जयपद for his जनपद. The letter after ज cannot be न. It is clearly य or प.

(4) C suggested नर्यावनेन, i.e., नर्यौ + अनेन । But the third letter is certainly न. Therefore I agree with R in reading

नर्याननेन, i.e., नर्यान् + अनेन. नर्यान् is the plural of नर्य in the masculine, meaning manly qualities. The plain meaning is,— kings give up प्राणान् but not नर्यान्.

Translation :

Where the mosses play hide-and-seek by the side of the beauty of the trees of the pleasure resorts; where the thrill of victory (prosperity) of the earth is expressed in the guise of (shivering) corn plants; (where) princes give up their lives, but not their manly qualities; (where) were quickly given diverse villages by crores (i.e. in large numbers) as grants to Brahmins,—[13].

ते खलु¹ धार्य्य² ग्रामपरिसर-स-

- L. 25. मावासित श्रीमञ्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमेश्वर-परमसौर-³
परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री वल्ला-
L. 26. लसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-निजमुजमन्दरामन्दरप्रमथिता-
सीमसमरसागरसमासादितगौडलक्ष्मी-वीर-
L. 27. सकल⁴ कुशेषय⁵ विकास⁶ वासरंकर-गौडेश्वर-परमेश्वर-
परमनारसिंह-परमभट्टारक-महारा-
L. 28. जाधिराज-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः ।

Notes :—(1) M reads... निर्गते खलु. This is a mistake. The last letter नि of the last *Śloka* and the succeeding ॥ (double full-stop) were mistaken for निर्ग. The real reading is as given above.

(2) R throws doubt on the reading धार्य्यग्राम, the name of the capital. But the reading is fairly clear on the Mādhāi-nagar plate, as well as here. The name may be धार्य्या and not धार्य्य.

(3) R reads वैष्णव. The letters are corroded, but appear to read सौर.

(4) R reads सेनकुलकुशेषय.

(5) Read कुशेषय, meaning lotus.

(6) Read विकास । R fails to read most of line 26 and first half of line 27. C suggests better readings. But the reading offered here will, I hope, be found satisfactory.

Translation :

Verily from the victorious camp pitched across (that) Dhāryyagrāma, the victorious and illustrious lord Lakṣmaṇa-

Sena-Deva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Ballāla-Sena-Deva**, the great lord, the great worshipper of the sun-god, the great worshipful one and the great paramount sovereign; who acquired the Fortunes of Gauḍa by churning furiously the boundless sea of war by the Mandara (churning rod) of his own arms; who is the sun which makes all the lotuses viz: heroes, to bloom forth; the lord of Gauḍa; the great lord; the great worshipper of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu; the great worshipful one; the great paramount sovereign—

समुपगताशेषराज राजन्यक राज्ञी रागक रा-

- L. 29. जपुत्र राजामात्य महापुरोहित महाधर्माध्यक्ष महा-
सान्धिविग्रहिक महासेनापति महामुद्राधिक-
L. 30. तान्तरङ्ग बृहदुपरिक महाक्षपटलिक महाप्रतीहार-
महाभोगिक महापौलुपति महागणस्थ दौः

REVERSE.

- L. 1. साधिक चैरोद्धरणिक नौवलहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजावि-
कादिव्याप्तक गौल्लिक दण्डपाणि-
L. 2. क दण्डनायक विषयपत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च सकलराज-
पादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्ति-
L. 3. तान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरान्
ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथाहं मानयन्ति बोध-
L. 4. यन्ति समादिशन्ति च मतमस्व भवताम्

Translation :

[Thus] suitably persuades, explains to, and commands all the (following) endless (people) who make a living depending on the king's feet (i.e. the royal officers) [viz:]—

राज = Princes (probably dependent princes).

राजन्यक = Assemblage of Warriors.

राज्ञी = Queens.

रागक = Members of the king's family or kinsmen of the King.

राजपुत्र = Sons of the King.

राजामात्य = Ministers of the King.

महापुरोहित = The High Priest.

महाधर्माध्यक्ष = The Supreme Judge or Chief Justice.

महासान्धिविग्रहिक = The Supreme Minister for Peace and War.

महासेनापति = The Commander-in-Chief.

महामुद्राधिकृत = The Lord Privy-Seal.

अन्तरङ्ग = The Private Secretary (?).

बृहदुपरिक = The Rulers over large units like the Divisions of modern days.

महाक्षपटलिक = The Chief Record-Keeper.

महाप्रतौहार = The Lord Chamberlain.

महाभोगिक = The Chief Lord of Stables.

महापौलुपति = The Chief Lord of Elephant Stables.

महागणस्थ = The Divisional Commander of Forces.

दौःसाधिक = One who performs difficult tasks, probably, the Head of the Intelligence Branch of the Police.

चौरोद्धरगिक = The police officer in charge of investigation into cases of theft. A thief-extirpator. A thief-catcher. (Monier-Williams.)

व्याप्तक = Officers in charge of (the following) :—

नौ = Boats. बल = Forces. हस्ती = Elephants. अश्व = Horses.

गो = Cows. महिष = Buffaloes. अज = Goats. अविक = Sheep.

गोल्मिक = Superintendent of Outposts.

दण्डपाशिक = Holder of noose to catch offenders. Police Chief. (Monier-Williams.)

दण्डनायक = Rod-applier or Judge. (Monier-Williams.)

विषयपति = District Officers.

—and all other (officers) included in the List of Government Officials, but not mentioned here, (as well as) regular and irregular members of the Police Force and the tillers of the soil, the Brāhmanas and (members of society) other than the Brāhmanas, —let the consent of your honoured selves be (to the following transaction):—

L. 4 (Continued). यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति बाण्डनावृत्त्यन्त-
गर्गतवसुश्रीचतु-

L. 5. रके पूर्व्वे पोञ्चेषादाण्डिसीमा दक्षिणे जलदाण्डिसीमा
पश्चिमे मज्जनदीसीमा उत्तरेऽपि तथा

- L. 6. सौमा इत्थं चतुःसौमावच्छिन्नं कविल्की चुच्चली गाण्डोली
देहियाखण्डक्षेत्रसमेत राय
- L. 7. श्वकोटमजगहर्त्तराक पूर्वे गुडहाससम्बन्धिभूसूत्रद्वयं सिंह-
जाविल्की तथा केमतग्रावाटिपश्चिमका
- L. 8. शिङ्गलथा जलदाशिङ्गसम्बन्धीयचतुःसूत्रभ्रष्टजलनिर्गमजागः सौमा
दक्षिणे जलदाशिङ्गसौमा
- L. 9. पश्चिमायाञ्च जलदाशिङ्गसौमा उत्तरे वानहारनदः सौमा ।
इत्थञ्चतुःसौमावच्छिन्नो मा
- L. 10. दिसाहंसग्रामकियदेकदेशः इत्थमेतावूपरिलिखिताभूसौमा-
वच्छिन्नौ द्वाविंशतिहस्त-
- L. 11. परिमितनलेन तलवर्त्तसमेत काकिन्यष्टाविंशति षष्ठाधिक
पाटेको¹ समेत द्रोगैकान्वित-
- L. 12. समुदयभूपाटकात्मकाः सम्बन्धरेण कपर्दकपुराणप्रतचतुष्टयोत्-
पत्तिकाखण्डक्षेत्रचतुष्टय म²
- L. 13. समेता वासुमण्डग³मादिसाहंसकियदेकभूभागौ मभाटविट-
पौ सजलस्थलौ मगर्त्तो-
- L. 14. षरौ सगुवाकनारिकेलौ सङ्घदशापराधौ पङ्क्तिवत्सर्वपीडा-
वचट्टभट्टप्रवेशावकिञ्चित्प्र-
- L. 15. ग्राह्यौ त्रगपूतिगोचरपर्यन्तौ रुष्णदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय जयदेव-
शर्मणः पौत्राय महादेव-
- L. 16. देवशर्मणः पुत्राय मोदल्ला⁴सगोत्राय और्वच्यवनभागवजामदभ्र
आप्रवान् प्रवशाय सामवेदकौघुम-
- L. 17. शाखाचरणवधायिने पाठकश्रीपद्मनाभदेवशर्मणो पुण्ये अहनि
विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगव-
- L. 18. न्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य महादेवी प्रटया⁵ देवी महादेवी
कल्याणदेव्याः भूतिपोष्टिनि-
- L. 19. मितं वास्तुगोचराद्यां सम्बन्धेण प्रतचतुष्टयोत्पत्तिकां भूमिसुत्स्-
ज्याचन्द्रार्कक्षतिसमकालं यावत्
- L. 20. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रप्रासनीकृत्वा प्रदत्ता व्यस्माभिः ।

Notes.—The proper right side of the plate has suffered severely by corrosion, with the result that it is very difficult to decipher about a quarter of all the lines in the beginning. Some geographical names occurring in this obscure quarter

could not, therefore, be satisfactorily deciphered. The doubtful names and portions have been underlined in the text. The name of the **आवृत्ति** I have made out as **वाखन** and that of the **चतुरक** as **वसुश्री**. The latter name can be also read as **वसुश्री**. Names ending in **श्री** and its corruption **शी** are rather common in Bengal. The name of **चन्द्रश्री**, now called **चांदश्री**, a well-known village of the Bakarganj district, may be recalled in this connection. Many names ending in **श्री** are also to be found in the region where the plate was found, showing that the names were given to the villages by the early Aryan colonisers who had a keen aesthetic sense and a genius for poetical nomenclature.

R reads some of the proper names differently, as corrosion makes taking of different views possible. But his failure to read the identifying name of the river **वानहार** is regrettable. C has not failed to suggest the correct reading.

(1) Read **पाटक**.

(2) Delete this redundant **स**.

(3) The name of the first village, part of which was granted, is provisionally deciphered as **वासुमखन**. This name probably occurs at the end of line 6 and beginning of line 7, where the letters deciphered give no sense. These letters may, after all, be simply **वासुमखनग्रामकियदेकदेशः**.

(4) The name is spelt **मोदख** and not **मौदख्य**.

(5) The name can be read nothing else than **ऋया**. On this point, the note added by C (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 9, n. 3) is illuminating.

Translation :

Whereas in the **Bhukti** (Division) of **Paṇḍravardhana**, in the **Āvṛtti** (Circle or Enclosure) of **Bāṇḍana**, in the **Chaturaka** (Quadrangle) of **Vasu-Śrī**, (the village) **Rāpaśvakota**—**Majagaharttarāka**(?) with detached plots of (the villages of) **Kavilkī**, **Chunchalī**, **Gāṇḍolī** and **Dehiyā**, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the boundary of **Poñchesādāṇḍi**;

To the South, the boundary of **Jaladāṇḍi**;

To the West, the boundary of the dried up river;

To the North, the same; (and)

a part of the village of **Mēdisāhaṁsa**, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the canal (outlet) for the flow of spill-water skirting two sides of the (village of) **Gudahāsa** and slipping off the four sides of (the villages of) **Siṁhajāvilkī**, **Kemata-grāvātī**, **Paśchinkāṇḍi** and **Jaladāṇḍi**;

To the South, the boundary of **Jaladāṇḍi**;

To the West also the boundary of Jaladāṅḍi;

To the North, the boundary of the river Bānahāra;

These two plots of land, bounded as above, measured by the *Nala* (reed) measuring twenty-two cubits in length, and including the attached low land, (of the total area of) six *Pātakas* increased by one *Droṇa* and twenty-eight *Kākinis*,—the entire land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas*,—(viz:) parts of the villages of Vāsumanḍana and Mādisāhaṁsa with four detached plots of land,—

With all the shrubs and trees, with all dry land and water, with the ditches and fallow land, with the betel-nut and the coconut trees, with the toleration of (i.e. unforfeitable in spite of) the Ten offences, relieved of all taxes, (oppressive impositions), unencroachable by Chātṭas and Bhaṭṭas (regular and irregular Police Force) free from all (state) demands, even with the grass, wild herbs and pasture,—this land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* and consisting of habitable land and pasture, etc., has been given by us in dedication, by the promulgation of a copper-plate, in perpetuity to last as long as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth lasted,—duly consecrated with (holy) water and on an auspicious day, for pleasing the illustrious god Lord Nārāyaṇa, and for the welfare and advancement of the major queens Śrīyā Devī and Kalyāṇa Devī,—

To the Reader (of holy texts) Śrī Padmanābha Deva-Śarmman, son of Mahādeva Deva Śarmman, grandson of Jaya Deva-Śarmman and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa Deva-Śarmman belonging to the clan of Modgallya and with the (five) *Pravaras* Aurbba, Chyāvana, Bhārggava, Jāmadagna and Āpnuvān, versed in a quarter of the Kauthuma branch of the Sāma-Veda.

- L. 20 (*Continued*). तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्याः भावि-
 L. 21. भिरपि भूपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात्
 शासनमिदं पालनीयम् । भव-
 L. 22. न्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः प्रलोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
 यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नि-
 L. 23. यतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ बज्जभिर्ब्रह्मसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 L. 24. फलम् । आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वल्गयन्ति पितामहाः । भूमि-
 दाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ ष-
 L. 25. श्चिर्ष्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता
 च तान्येव नरके वमेत् । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो
 L. 26. हरेत् वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पिष्टभिः सह पच्यते ॥
 इति कामलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य

- L. 27. मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि पुरुषैः पर-
कौर्त्तयो विलोष्याः ॥ अरिराजमद-
- L. 28. नशङ्करनरपतिरकरोन्महौशतमुखं शङ्करधरमिह दूतं गौड-
महासान्धिविग्रहिकम् ॥
- L. 29. श्री नि महासां नि । श्रीमद्वाज नि । श्रीमदनशङ्कर नि ।
श्रीमत् साहसमल्ल नि । सं २७ । का दिने ६

Translation :

Therefore this (transaction) should be permitted by all of you venerable gentlemen. By the future kings also, this grant should be respected, as there is religious merit in respecting this grant and the apprehension of falling into the hell in misappropriating the land of this grant. Here may be cited the following religious distiches:—

One who accepts lands granted and the one who makes the grant of land,—both of these persons of meritorious deed constantly find their way to paradise.

Kings like Sagara and others extensively gave away land. Whenever and whoever (subsequently) became the proprietor of the land, the merit of the gift then accrued to them.

The fathers strike their arms (in challenging pride) and the grandfathers dance in joy by saying,—‘A giver of land has been born in our lineage (and) he will be our Saviour’.

The giver of land revels in paradise for sixty thousand years. One who destroys that grant or permits such destruction lives in hell for an equal number of years.

One who robs land given either by himself or by others, becomes a worm in ordure and putrefies there with his forefathers.

So, considering that good fortune is unsteady like a drop of water on a lotus leaf, and that human life is equally so, and also comprehending all that has been cited (above), a person should not destroy the good deeds of others.

The King who is called Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara appointed plenipotentiary in this transaction Śaṅkaradhara, the exalted among a hundred countries and the chief minister of Gauḍa for peace and war.

Endorsed by Śrī (Lord Nārāyaṇa?). By the Mahāsām (dhivigrahika). By the illustrious Sovereign (himself). By the illustrious Madana-Śaṅkara. By the illustrious Sāhasamalla. Year 27. The 6th day of Kā(rttika).¹

¹ The entire annotated text and translation were very kindly revised by Dr. P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in Sanskrit, Dacca University, resulting in some important improvements, for which the writer is sincerely grateful to Dr. Lahiri.

1 पठनमोनावाप। यथा यथादिपदयथाशुभित्ति। क्र। योनापोरीषिपादिमाह। ... 1

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The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

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The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.
REVERSE.