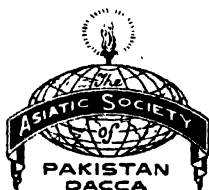


ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN PUBLICATION NO. 23

EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE PALA EMPIRE

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MATERIAL REMAINS

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Published by : ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN, DACCA.
Ramna, Dacca-2, East Pakistan.

Published by :
S. M. ALI
General Secretary,
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN
DACCA.

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First Published
June, 1968

Printed by :
Mobarak Ali Khan
Barnarupa Mudrayan
124, Fakirapool, Dacca-2.

PREFACE

This book aims at reconstructing the everyday life in the Pāla empire with special reference to the material remains unearthed in the sites of Pāhārpur, Mahāsthāngarh, Maināmatī and Nālandā. The abundant wealth of terracotta plaques and sculptures found on these sites seem to give a panoramic vision of the life of the people in Bengal and Bihar during the glorious period of Pāla rule and are in themselves monuments of Pāla glories. But these remains do not seem to have been fully utilised by historians writing on the social life of the people in Bengal and Bihar during the Pāla period, and in all the books written hitherto on this subject the archaeological source seems to have received only subsidiary importance. It was with the intention of utilising fully the archaeological sources of the history of Bengal and Bihar that I started to do research work as a student in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, from October, 1958, and this book is the unaltered M. A. thesis submitted in the same University in September, 1960. It remains now for the readers to judge how far I have been successful in my aim.

The gratitude I feel for the invaluable guidance and assistance that I received in the preparation of this thesis from my supervisor, Prof. A. L. Basham, formerly Head of the Department of South Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, and now Professor of South Asian History, Australian National University, Canberra, is inexpressible by mere words, and to him I offer my sincere gratitude, respect and thanks.

(ii)

I would also like to express my gratitude and sincere thanks to Dr. F. R. Allchin, formerly of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, and now in the Churchill College, University of Cambridge, who helped me in dealing with the archaeological materials, Dr. J. G. de Casparis, Reader in South Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, who supervised my work for a few months while Prof. Basham was away on a tour of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and my teacher Prof. Ahmed Hasan Dani, Chairman, Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, who first suggested the possibility of writing a thesis on the social history of Bengal and Bihar by fully utilising the available archaeological materials.

I am also much indebted to the library staff of the School of African and Oriental Studies, Senate House Library, University of London, the India Office Library, the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

It remains for me to record my sincere gratitude to my teacher, Mr. S. C. Bhattacharyya, Senior Lecturer in History, Dacca University, who cheerfully undertook the painstaking task of reading the proofs and preparing the index. To him I remain for ever grateful. I would also like to thank the Asiatic Society of Pakistan for kindly undertaking the publication of my work.

To my parents I offer my gratitude, appreciation and affection for enduring my absence for long two years and for financing my studies abroad.

Lastly I would like to offer my husband, Dr. A. B. M. Hussain heart-felt gratitude for his constant encouragement and never-failing companionship without which it might have proved very difficult for me to complete the work under so many difficult circumstances.

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XIV	1. Jambhala	„	XLV, c
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	2. Manjuśrī	„	XLV, f
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XXIV	1. Śiva holding a <i>triśala</i>	„	XXXI, b
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XXXIII	1. Gandharva riding rhinoceros	„	XLVI, e
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<i>Plate</i>	<i>Fig.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
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	2. Gandharva couple flying	„	XLVII, c
XXXV	1. Gandharva (?) holding sword and noose	„	XLVII, f
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XXXVI	1. Standing ascetic with bow	„	XLVIII, c
	2. Ascetic with bow and arrows	„	XLVIII, b
XXXVII	1. A man pulling down hillock, with hands from clouds below	„	XLVIII, b
	2. Fight of Vāli and Sugrīva	„	XXXIII, a
XXXVIIa	1. Monkey carrying stones	„	XXXIII, b
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XLI	1. Lifting of Govardhana by Kṛṣṇa.	„	XXVIII, c
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<i>Plate</i>	<i>Fig.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
XLIV	1. Yamunā	Pahārpur	By courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan.
	2. Balarāma	„	Do
XLV	1. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (?)	„	<i>M.A.S.I.</i> , 55 XXVII,c
	2. Two men in a boat	„	XLIII,a
	3. Persons peeping from windows	„	XLIII,e
	4. Woman standing in a half-open doorway	„	XL,a
	5. Woman standing in a half-open doorway	„	XL,e
	6. Monkey holding a bunch of mangoes	„	XXXIX,c
XLVI	1. Headless standing female image	„	<i>M.A.S.I.</i> , 55 pl. XXVIII,f
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XLVII	1. Dancing female	„	XXXIV,a
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XLIX	1. Amorous couple	„	<i>M.A.S.I.</i> , 55 pl. XXXVII,a
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L	1. The meddlesome monkey	„	LII,a
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<i>Plate</i>	<i>Fig.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
LII	1. Lion looking into well	Pāhārpur	<i>M.A.S.I.</i> , 55 pl. LII,d
	2. Lion in a cave	„	LII,e
LIII	1. Terracotta head	Mahāsthāngarh	<i>A.S.I.</i> , <i>A.R.</i> 1936-37 pl. XV,b
	2. Human head with <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> and flower over ear	„	XVI,g
	3. Amorous couple	„	XV,d
LIV	1. Elephant with riders	„	<i>A.S.I.</i> , <i>A.R.</i> , 1930-1934, Part II, pl. CXXXII,a
LV	1. Padmapāṇi	„	Drawing from the copy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan.
	2. Buddha in <i>bhūmiśparśamudrā</i>	„	Do
	3. Dream of Māyā Devī (?)	„	<i>A.S.I.</i> , <i>A.R.</i> , 1936-37 pl. XV,a
LVI	1. Hara-Gaurī	„	By courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan.
	2. Śiva and Durgā	„	Do
LVII	1. Śiva and Durgā	„	<i>M.A.S.I.</i> , 55 Drawing from the copy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan.
	2. Yama (?)	„	<i>A.S.I.</i> , <i>A.R.</i> , 1936-37 pl. XVI,c

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Fig.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
LVIII	1. Nāginī	Mahāsthāngarh	Drawing from the copy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan.
	2. Yakṣa	„	A.S.I., A.R., 1936-'37 pl. XVI,a
LIX	1. Acrobat	Maināmatī	B.C. Law Volume Part II, pl. IX,7
	2. Brahmin	„	XI,7
	3. Woman in pensive mood	„	XI,8
	4. Emaciated ascetic	„	XI,5
	5. Boy with a top knot of hair	„	XI,3
	6. Two figures	„	XI,2
	7. Woman bearing a standard	„	XV,6
LX	1. Man playing a flute	„	XI,4
	2. Gandharva playing side drum	„	VIII,2
	3. Gandharva playing a <i>ḍamuru</i>	„	B.C. Law Volume part II, pl. VIII,7
	4. Gandharva beating time on an earthen pot or small drum	„	IX,8
	5. Warrior holding a dagger and large oblong shield	„	XI,6
	6. Elephant with a rider	„	XIV,3
	7. Archer	„	IX,1
LXI	1. Warrior with a dagger	„	X,1
	2. Warrior with an oval shield and dagger	„	X,2
	3. Warrior with a round shield and dagger	„	X,3

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Fig.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
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	2. Sūrya	„	XII,b
LXV	1. Vidyādhara	„	VII,1
	2. Vidyādhara	„	VII,3
	3. Vidyādhara	„	VII,4
	4. Vidyādhari	„	IX,2
	5. Vidyādhara	„	IX,3
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	2. Vidyādhara holding a garland	„	VIII,9
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	5. Vidyādhara holding a garland	„	XI,1
	6. Vidyādhara	„	XVIII,9
	7. Vidyādhara	„	XVIII,8
	8. Tree spirit	„	XV,5

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Fig.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
LXVII	1. Avalokiteśvara	Nālanda	<i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> 1926-27, pl. VIII,d
	2. Tārā	„	<i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> 1930-30 pl. XXXIV,b
LXVIII	1. Avalokiteśvara	„	XXXIV,a
	2. Padmapāṇi	„	XXXIV,c
LXIX	1. Buddha in <i>varadamudrā</i>	„	<i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> 1930-34 Part II, CXXXIV,c
	2. Buddha in <i>varadamudrā</i>	„	CXXXIV,c
	3. Unidentified goddess	„	CXXXVI,d
	4. Tārā (?)	„	CXXXVII,e
LXIXa	1. Avalokiteśvara	„	<i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> 1930-44 Part II, pl. CXXXVIII,a
	2. Crowned Buddha	„	CXXXVIII,b
LXX	1. Tārā	„	<i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> 1935-1936 pl. XXXVIII,a
	2. Vajrapāṇi	„	XXXVII,d
	3. Vasudhārā	„	<i>M.A.S.I.</i> ,66 XIII,d
	4. Mahāśarasvatī	„	XIII,c
LXXI	1. Avalokiteśvara	„	<i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> 1930-34, part II, pl. CXXXV,b
	2. Sculpture representing the birth of Gautama	„	<i>A.S.I., A.R.</i> 1934-35, XVII,f
	3. Aarcher	„	XVII,e

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Fig.</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Source</i>
LXXII	1. Vajrapāṇi	Nālandā	A.S.I., A.R. 1930-34, part II, pl. DXXXV,b
	2. Preaching Buddha	,,	A.S.I., A.R. 1928-29, LVII,a
LXXIII	1. Trailokyavijaya	Nālandā	M.A.S.I., 66 XII,a
	2. Aparājita	,,	H.D. Sankalia <i>The University of Nalanda</i> , VIII
LXXIV	1. Eighteen-armed goddess	,,	A Ghosh, <i>A Guide to Nalanda</i> , VII
	2. Nāgārjuna	,,	M.A.S.I., 66 XLI,f
	3. Mārīcī	,,	H.D. Sankalia <i>The University of Nalanda</i> , VI
LXXV	1. Śiva and Pārvatī	,,	M.A.S.I., 66 XII,b
	2. Sūrya	,,	XII,d
	3. Caṇḍikā	,,	XII,c
	4. Viṣṇu	,,	XII,e
LXXVI	1. Snake-hooded deity	,,	A.S.I., A.R. 1930-34 Part II, LXVIII,b
LXXVII	2. Ornaments	Pāhārpur, Maināmatī and Nālandā	M.A.S.I., A.S.I., A.R. and A.S.I. (N.I.S.) Vol. XLVII
LXXVIII-LXXXIII	Cloth Designs	From the illustrated Ms. of <i>Aṣṭasāh- asīkāprajñāpāra- mitā</i> (V. and A. Museum Room 41, Bay 1.)	

ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.I.—Archaeological Survey of India.

A.S.I., A.R.—Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.

*A.S.I., (N.I.S.)—Archaeological Survey of India,
(New Imperial Series).*

A.S.I.R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.

B.C. Law Volume—Bimala Churn Law Volume.

C.P.—Copper-plate.

D.R.B. Volume—D.A. Bhandarkar Volume.

E.I.—Epigraphia Indica.

I.A.—Indian Antiquary.

I.H.Q.—Indian Historical Quarterly.

J.A.S.B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.D.L.—Journal of the Department of Letters.

M.A.S.I.—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

V.R.S. Monographs—Varendra Research Society's Monograph.

V.R.S.M.—Do.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

The whole life of men and their institutions are in close relations with their environment and so a proper study of the history of any country requires a knowledge of its geography, at least of those physical features which may be regarded as likely to have some effect on shaping the history of its people.

Bengal was the name given to the eastern province of British India. On the north it is hemmed in by the mountain wall of the Himalayas. Southwards lies the Bay of Bengal. It is bounded on the west by the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, and on the east by Assam and Burma. It lies roughly between $27^{\circ}9'$ and $20^{\circ}50'$ north latitude and $86^{\circ}35'$ and $92^{\circ}30'$ east longitude. Almost entirely flat-surfaced, with hills only on the fringe in the extreme north, east and west, Bengal, with the exclusion of the States of Hill Tippera, Cooch Bihar, and Sikkim, and the surface area covered by large rivers and estuaries, stretches 77,521 square miles—a land of scores of rivers lazily wandering over a dead level plain.

Bengal may be roughly divided into two main physical divisions: (a) The vast plain and (b) the marginal hills in the north, east and west. An overwhelming proportion of the surface of Bengal is a vast, flat, even, alluvial plain and this plain is a dominant feature of its topography. The plain of Bengal, though characteristically flat, has been unequally aggraded, with the result that some parts of it lie above flood-level, and others remain below the water-level. The Bengal plain can be broadly

divided into three classes: (a) The older deltaic and flood plain lying north of the Ganges-Padmā-Meghnā axis; (b) the younger deltaic and flood plain lying south of the axis, and (c) the erosional and flood plain lying west of the Bhāgrathī-Hooghly river.¹

In the Bāriind, Madhupur and Lālmāi hills the surfaces of the older delta have been partially preserved. In many respects the younger delta is typical. Extremely low-lying and with a web of distributaries, especially in the south, it is a combination of flood and deltaic plains. If the sea were to rise some twenty-five feet its greater part, including the City of Calcutta, would be submerged under water.² The erosional and flood plain lying west of the Bhāgrathī river is older and its general slope is somewhat steeper. Here a number of terraces extend from north to south. These flats grade into mild undulations, and wherever harder rocks like granites or gneisses or quartzites come to the surface, they have been dissected into hills or riggles. In the north-west of Midnapur district and south-west of Bankura district the most conspicuous hills are found. These hills rise to a height of over 1,000 feet. In Bankura district Susunia hill and the Bihārīnāth Parvat dominate the landscape.³

The typical piedmont plain of the Terai and Western Duars is porous and lies at the foot of the Himalayas. Several ranges of the Himalayas rise behind the Terai plain to the stupendous height of over 10,000 feet in Darjeeling district. In the east, the hills of the Tripura and Chittagong Hill Tracts run from north to south, increasing in height towards the east. These hills are divided by valleys with an average width of ten miles.

Only in limited areas of Bengal hard consolidated rocks outcrop. In the western uplands and also in the extreme north the oldest of these are found, forming the Darjeeling Himalaya

1. S. P. Chatterjee : *Bengal in Maps*, 1949, p. 8.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

and Buxa hills. The rocks in the east are much younger and less compact. Tertiary rocks occur as a narrow band along the foot of the Himalayas in the Darjeeling area. A belt of Archaean gneisses and schists along with intrusive granites runs in the western part of Bengal. In the Birbhum district the inliers of the Rājmahal basalt trap are found. There are deposits of iron, coal, copper, and tungsten ores in the upland region of the western part of Bengal. The eastern hills are composed mainly of upper Tertiary sandstones and shales.

The soils of Bengal have been derived from alluvial deposits, forming flood and piedmont plains, and deltas. They have been divided into sands, loamy sands, sandy loams, river silts or silt loams, clay loams and clays on the basis of texture. Mainly along the coast pure sands occur and they form coastal sand dunes. Loamy sands occur along the northern band of the Ganges. The alluvial plains in the north are covered by sandy loams. Silt or silt loams predominate along the banks of the Brahmaputra, Meghnā and Tistā. Clay loams predominate in other parts of the Bengal plains. In swamps and lakes clays with or without much soil are found. The alluvial plains along the coast and especially in the Sundarban area are impregnated with saline soil, which is one type of intrazonal soil.

Older deposits in the Bāring region and Madhupur Jungle area, and the metamorphic and gneiss rocks in the west got laterised under the climatic conditions of Bengal. This laterisation gave rise to younger red earths in the Bāring region and Madhupur Jungle area, and older red earths or typical lateritic soils and laterite in the last area.

The normal rainfall of Bengal is 78.06 inches and next to Assam it is the rainiest metrological division of India. The basis of the economy of Bengal is agriculture.

The most significant feature of the landscape of Bengal is its rivers. As far as ancient Bengal is concerned, the main changes in its physical features at different ages have been caused

by the shifting of the beds of its rivers and the erosion and accretion, mainly in the deltaic region, caused by the courses of those rivers¹. In the more easterly portion of the Himalayas all the snow and water falling upon the Kumaon, Nepal, Bhutan and Assam sections find their way ultimately into the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghnā, the three largest river systems of India, and through these mighty rivers they are washed down to the sea across the surface of Bengal. The Ganges and the Brahmaputra with their numerous branches and tributaries have always been a great factor in shaping the destiny of Bengal. By the vast deposit of silt carried from the uplands, they have created the huge areas of deltaic lands and the process is still going on. The constant shiftings of river-beds have also resulted from the same fluvial action. The changes thus occurring in the river-courses are responsible for the making and unmaking of flourishing cities and thriving trade centres and it is in the history of these rivers of Bengal that a chronicle of its past civilization can be built up.

The Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghnā receive between them the waters of all the other streams of Bengal, except the Suv-araṇalekhā in the west, and the Karṇaphulī and a few others which flow south of it, in the east and on their seaward march they go on distributing their waters through a large number of channels. Of these three rivers the Ganges is by far the most important one. The Ganges enters Bengal at the point where the low-lying Rajmahal hills almost touch its waters. There is a great difference between the present course of the Ganges, after it has rounded the Rajmahal hills, and its course before the sixteenth century. Then the Ganges flowed further north and east and probably the city of Gauḍa was situated on its right bank and after more than one shift towards the south and west it reached its present course.

The Ganges divides itself into two branches, about twenty-five miles to the south of the ancient Gauḍa. These two branches are the Bhāgrathī and the Padmā. The Bhāgrathī is the western-most channel of the Ganges and the lower reach of the former

1. *D.R.B. Volume*, p. 341.

was named the Hooghly by the English sailors in the seventeenth century, no doubt on the basis of a local name. The Padmā, the present principal channel of the Ganges, flows in a south-easterly direction. The Bhāgrathī is dying in its upper reaches and the conditions of its left-bank feeders, the Bhairab-Jalangi and Māthābhāngā are no better. But formerly, in all probability, the Bhāgrathī and not the Padmā, was the principal channel of the Ganges. From time immemorial a great sanctity has been attached to the Bhāgrathī river which is not the case with the Padmā. In the Naihati copper plate of Vallālasena we find that the Bhāgrathī was regarded as the "heavenly river" or the Ganges, and the queen-mother performed a great religious ceremony on its banks on the occasion of the solar eclipse.¹ In Sanskrit literature the whole course of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the sea has been referred to as the Bhāgrathī and in many inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. we find references to the upper course of the Ganges beyond Bengal as the Bhāgrathī. But these evidences do not disprove the existence of the Padmā at a very early date.²

The determination of the date when the Padmā became the principal channel of the Ganges is difficult, but there can be hardly any doubt that by the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. the Padmā was already the principal stream of the Ganges.

The earlier course of the lower Ganges, as it flowed down the channel of the Bhāgrathī, was somewhat different from it is now.³ At "Trivenī (near Hooghly) the Ganges divides into three streams: (1) "The Sarasvatī flowing south-west past Sātgaon and emerging into the present Hooghly at Sankrail, with a main branch running past Amta into the Dāmodar and probably also the Rupnārāyaṇ and so into the lower Hooghly; (2) the Yamunā following the direction south-east along the present route;

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1. N.G. Majumdar; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p.74.
 2. For a full discussion of this point see *D.R.B. Volume*, pp. 347-348.
 3. *History of Bengal*, vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar, Dacca University, 1943, p.3.

(3) a middle branch which was the Bhāgrathī proper flowing south along the present Hooghly channel to Calcutta and then through Tolly's Nullah to the sea, before reaching which it split up into a number of branches, one running into the lower Hooghly at Diamond Harbour. This view is supported by Chānd Sadāgar's voyage along the Bhāgrathī (acc. to Kavikaṅkan—A.D. 1577) past villages, Tirveṇr, Khardah, Konnagar, Kutrang, Kalighat, Baripur, and Magra".

After its confluence with the Yamunā above Goalundo the river Ganges is almost invariably known as the Padmā. The enormous volume of the water of the Ganges is carried mainly by the Padmā and it is generally very wide. The main channel of the Padmā river is constantly shifting except at places where it is confined by high banks and the changing course causes rapid silt formations every season and *char* lands (freshly formed silt and sand deposits) and islands are thrown up after the seasonal inundations.

Change in the courses of the main rivers is one of the important features of the river system of Bengal and during the last four centuries considerable shifting has also taken place in the course of the Padmā river. According to the Stevenson-Moore Committee it first flowed past Rampur Boalia, through Chalan-Jhil, the Dhaleswari and the Buḍigangā rivers past Dacca into the Meghnā. The lower course of the mighty Padmā lay much further to the south in the eighteenth century. The combined waters of the Ganges and the Yamunā undoubtedly led to the development of the Kṛtināśā channel of the Padmā, south of Rajabari, and thereby above Chandpur a junction was brought about with the Meghnā* and the great intermingling of the mighty rivers Padmā

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1. *Report on the Hooghly River and its Head-waters*, vol. I, by Stevenson Moore and others (quoted in *D.R.B. Volume*, pp. 343-344).
 2. La Touch : "Relics of the great Ice Age in the plains of Northern India" in *Geological Magazine*, New Series, vol. VII, 1910, p.43.

and the Meghnā does not appear to have taken place more than about 125 years ago¹. Gradually the Padmā adopted its present course.

Apart from the Bhāgrathī and the Padmā rivers the mighty Ganges gives off many other distributaries and numerous spill channels in the Bengal plain. Among these distributaries the Garain-Madhumatī is the largest and the most active river between the Māthābhāṅgā and the Ārial Khān. The Ārial Khān is another important branch of the Ganges which was the main channel of the latter before it turned east to join the Meghnā. Many old branches like the Kumār and the Bhairab are now dying. There are a number of estuaries, each of which resembles an arm of the sea, between the mouths of the Hooghly and Meghnā.

The Brahmaputra perhaps carries more water than the Ganges. At present the main volume of the waters of the Brahmaputra rolls down the Yamunā, which meets the Padmā river near Goalundo. But its present course runs much to the west of its former channel, which still flows past Mymensingh town and especially in the wet summer season carries some Brahmaputra water. The Brahmaputra river is notorious for its shifting channels and formation of *chars*. In between the Yamunā and the Meghnā flow the Dhaleswari, the Buḍigaṅgā and the Lakhyā.

The Meghnā river is entirely fed by rainwater which is not the case either with the Brahmaputra or the Ganges. By the union of the two rivers of Assam, the Surmā and the Kusiārā, the chief part of the Meghnā is formed. After the confluence of the Meghnā with the old Brahmaputra at Bhairab Bazar it grows rapidly and begins to flow as a wide meandering river with offshoots and branches. Near Munshiganj it receives the combined waters of the Buḍigaṅgā-Dhaleswari-Lakhyā. Later the Meghnā receives the Padmā at Chandpur. Then the left-hand branch meanders in the flat country of Tippera.

1. N. Ahmed : *An Economic Geography of East Pakistan*, London, 1958; *History of Bengal*, I, p. 4.

Bordered on the east by the Brahmaputra (Yamunā), on the south by the Ganges (Padmā) the plain of North Bengal has many rivers, the most important being the Tistā and the Mahānandā. Before the year 1787 the Tistā river used to flow into the Ganges through the Ātrāi channel and its waters were also distributed through the Karatoyā and Punarbhavā. A few words must be said here about the river Karatoyā because of its great historic importance. The Karatoyā river was once a large and holy one and a *Karatoyā-Māhātmya* still testifies to its sanctity. On the banks of the Karatoyā stood the city of Puṇḍravardhana, the antiquity of which goes back to the Maurya period and which gave its name to the big territorial division (*bhukti*) stretching at one time from the Himalayas to the sea and comprising the former Rajshahi Presidency, and a considerable part of the Dacca Division.

Since the diversion of the Tistā river most of the rivers of North Bengal are dying, the Mahānandā being an exception. The present Tistā and all the other rivers flowing east of it are Himalayan rivers.

The change in the course of the river Kosi is also a remarkable one. The Kosi now flows through the district of Purnea and unites its waters with the mighty Ganges at a point much higher up above Rajmahal. But modern experts on the changes in the course of rivers in North Bengal are generally of the view that originally it ran east-west and fell into the Brahmaputra. Therefore right across the whole breadth of northern Bengal the channel of the river Kosi must have been steadily shifting towards the west and even further beyond. Dr. W.W. Hunter states that the Karatoyā marks an ethnical frontier clearly defined even to the present day and observes : "If we assume that the Kusi and the Mahānandā formerly joined the Karatoyā, we have at once an explanation of the great size the latter river once undoubtedly had, and we shall also be able to account for the process by which the great sandy plain was built up between the Barendra of Rajshahi and the Madhupur Jungle of Maimansingh, through which the Brahmaputra made its way

at the beginning of the century. The ethnical frontier which begins to be uncertain in Dinajpur district will be completed by adopting the above course for the Kusi. On the left bank we shall have the Koch peoples still found in such numbers in the Kissengunge subdivision of Purneah district and in the north of Dinajpur, on the same side of the river would be the Kingdom of Kirat, Kichak, and Kamrup".¹

".....great changes have taken place in the courses of some of the important rivers in Bengal during the last four or five hundred years. Judging from the extent of these changes we must presume the possibility of similar changes during the preceding centuries, though at present we have no means to determine the nature and extent of these changes. In other words, the courses of the rivers in Bengal during the ancient period, ending in 1200 A.D., might have been very different, not only from those of the present time, but even from those in the recent past for which we have some positive evidence. This point is to be borne in mind when we discuss any geographical question concerning ancient Bengal on the basis of river-frontiers".²

The Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna with their numerous branches and adjuncts intersect the land of Bengal in such a variety of directions as to form perhaps the most complete and easy system of navigation found anywhere in the world thereby providing remarkable facilities for interprovincial communications as well as communications with the outer world. This navigation system fosters commercial and other contacts with the peoples of other lands. But this is only one side of the case. By dividing the province of Bengal into so many divisions, by forming the boundaries between different districts, the rivers of Bengal, to some extent, have isolated one part of the country from the other. Hence dialects vary between one part and another and constant contact within the province is hampered.

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1. *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Furnea, 1877 (quoted in *D.R.B. Volume*, p. 354).
 2. *D.R.B. Volume*, p. 359.

We now turn to the chief traditional political and geographical divisions of Bengal.

(a) Gauḍa: This region emerges from obscurity before the final eclipse of the Guptas.¹ Its extent varied in different ages and its precise location is a controversial issue. Pāṇini, who flourished before the third century B. C., mentions a Gauḍapura and in his time Gauḍa seems to have been known as situated in the east.² Gauḍa was also known to Vātsyāyana, the author of *Kāmasūtra*.³ In his work on poetics reference is made by Daṇḍī to the style of composition used by the Gauḍas (*Gauḍīya*) in the east (6th century).⁴

From the Haraha inscription, dated 664 A. D., we know that the Gauḍas were compelled by Śānavarman Maukhari to live on the sea-shore.⁵ Karṇasuvarṇa, situated some twelve miles to the south of Murshidabad and near Rāṅgāmāṭī, was the capital of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka in the 7th century A. D.⁶

According to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang, the country of Karṇasuvarṇa was about 4,450 *li* (1,460 or 1,500, Beal) in circuit and well cultivated. Its climate was temperate. The land was low and moist, farming operations regular with abundant flowers and fruits.⁷ In the *Brhat-Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira⁸, a work of the sixth century A. D., Gauḍaka is restricted to a part of Bengal which is distinguished not only from Pauṇḍra (North Bengal), Tāmraliptika (part of the Midnapore district), Vaṅga and Samatāṭa (Central and Eastern Bengal), but also from Vardhamāna (Burdwan). In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* it is sta-

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 12

2. VI. 2. 99-100 (quoted from *History of Bengal*, I, p. 10).

3. Benares ed. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Book Depot), pp.115.294.

4. *Kāvya-darśa-Pariccheda* 1,40,42,43,46, etc.

5. *E.I.* XIV, p. 177.

6. *History of Bengal*, I, p.13.

7. Beal, *Records of the Western World*, II, 201; Watters, II, 191.

8. XIV. 6-18.

ted that Gauḍa lies to the north of Burdwan and south of the Padmā and this corresponds to the kingdom of Gauḍa-Karṇasuvarṇa described by the writers of the seventh century A. D. In the *Anargha-rāghava*¹ of Murārī, a work of the latter half of the eighth century A. D., mention is made of Campā as the capital of the Gauḍas in the time of that poet. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* mentions Campānagarī in the Sarkar of Mardan, which stood on the left bank of the Damodar river, north-west of the city of Burdwan² and it is probable that the city of Campā is identical with this Campānagarī.

From the time of Devapāla, the third king of the Pāla dynasty and possibly from that of his father Dharmapāla himself, the title Gauḍeśvara became the official style of the reigning emperors. The earliest epigraphical mention of the Pālas as Gauḍeśvara is to be found in the Bādal pillar inscription of Guruva Misra, in which this title is applied to Devapāla.³ But we learn from a Kānheri inscription⁴ of Amoghavarṣa I (814-877 A. D.) that Gauḍa was still referred to as a *viṣaya* or district.⁵

(b) Vaṅga : In the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*⁶ the earliest reference to Vaṅga is to be found, followed by its mention in the legal treatises of the Vedic schools. References to Vaṅga are also found in the ancient epics and Dharmasūtras.⁷ In the story of Vijaya's landing in the island of Ceylon the Ceylonese Chronicles refer to Vaṅga. In the *Purāṇas*⁸ the Vaṅgas are

1. J. A. S. B. 1908, p. 279; for the period of the poet, see Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 225.
2. Hunter : *Statistical Account of Bengal*, I, p. 368.
3. *E. I.*, 11, 163, line 14.
4. *I. A.* XIII. 134.
5. For Gauḍa's connection with Rāḍhā and Vaṅga and other details, see *History of Bengal*.
6. Keith, *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 200.
7. See *History of Bengal*, I, p. 8.
8. See B. C. Sen: *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, Cal., 1942, p. 37.

mentioned as allies of the Aṅgas, Sumhas, Puṇḍras and Kaliṅgas and from this we can conclude that the Vaṅgas lived in the eastern part of India as the neighbours of the above-mentioned tribes. In the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa, who is generally believed to have flourished in the fourth or fifth century A. D., the Vaṅgas are placed amidst the streams of the Ganges.¹ It is probable that at times the western boundary of the Vaṅga country extended beyond the Kapiśa or Kāsāi in the district of Midnapore. The Jaina Upāṅga, *Prajñāpana*,² also admits the inclusion within Vaṅga of an area beyond Hooghly, according to which Tāmra-līpti (Tamluk) belonged to the Vaṅgas. But in literature the Tamluk territory is usually mentioned as a distinct region. In the second apsidal temple inscription (F.) at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (3rd century) and the Meherauli inscription of Candra the earliest epigraphical references to Vaṅga³ are found. In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription Vaṅga is mentioned as having been converted to Buddhism by monks who came from Tambapanna or Ceylon. The Meherauli iron pillar inscription, a posthumous eulogy of a king called Candra, mentions that Canōra "extirpated in battle in the Vaṅga countries his enemies who offered him a united resistance."

But it seems that Vaṅga of Pāla and Sena records was smaller in extent than the old territory known to Kālidāsa or the Jaina *Prajñāpana*.⁴ This region could not have extended as far as Tamluk, the latter now being a part of the Vardhamāna-bhukti. Even a part of the delta embracing Jessore and certain adjoining regions came to be known as Upavaṅga and reference to Upavaṅga was made by Varāhamihira in his work, the *Br̥hat-saṁhitā*, of the sixth century A.D.⁵ To the eastern part of the Gangetic delta Vaṅga proper was now restricted. Hemacandra

1. *Raghuvamśa*. IV. 36.

2. *I. A.*, 1891, p. 376.

3. *E. I.* XX, pp. 22-23., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. III, p. 141

4. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 15

5. XIV. 8.

uses Vaṅga and Harikela (Sylhet) as synonymous terms in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.¹

In the later period of Pāla rule Vaṅga was divided into two parts, northern and southern (*anuttara*). In the Kamauli Grant² of Vaidyadeva, a minister of Kumārapāla, a distinct reference is made to *anuttara* or southern Vaṅga. In later Sena inscriptions two *bhāgas* of Vaṅga are mentioned, namely Nāvya and Vikramapura, and the two divisions of Vaṅga implied in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva may have corresponded roughly to Nāvya and Vikramapura.³ A copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena⁴ makes it clear that Nāvya was a part of Vaṅga. According to J. Ghosh Nānya-maṇḍala of the Rāmapāla plate is a mistake for Nāvya-maṇḍala⁵ and he also identifies Nehakāśṭhi in that maṇḍala with Naikāthi in the district of Bakarganj. The Nāvya-bhāga of Vaṅga extended to the head of the Bay of Bengal and the estuary of the Meghnā in the east.⁶ *Nāvya* means navigable and it is a fitting designation of the south-eastern part of the Gangetic delta which is a labyrinth of rivers and creeks.⁷ Besides Nāvya, Vikramapura was another sub-division of Vaṅga. In the military annals of Bengal Vikramapura occupied an important place. Successive rulers issued grants from this place. To give only one instance, Śrīcandra issued four grants from Vikramapura. The Vikramapura *bhāga* seems to have been bigger in size than the modern *pargaṇā* of Vikrampur in the Dacca district, and it seems to have stretched southward as far as the Koṭālipāḍā and Edilpur *pargaṇā*.⁸

1. (IV.23)

2. *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā*, p. 140

3. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 16

4. *IHQ.*, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 84-86.

5. *Pañcapuṣpa*, 1339 (B.S.) Phālguna, p.369

6. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, 146,194.

7. *History of Bengal* Vol. I, p. 16

8. *History of Bengal*, I, p.16

(c) Samataṭa : In the Allahabad *Prasasti* of Samudra Gupta Samataṭa is mentioned for the first time as a border kingdom grouped with Kartripura, Kāmarūpa, Davāka and Nepāla.¹ In the *Brhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, a distinction is made between Vaṅga and Samataṭa and the latter appears as an eastern country.² References to Samataṭa can also be gleaned from several inscriptions which date from about the 9th to the 12th century A.D.³

Hiuen Tsang visited Samataṭa in the 7th century and the narrative in his record describes it as a low and a moist country with frontier bordering on the Bay of Bengal and it lay to the south of Kāmarūpa (in Assam).⁴ According to a statement made by I-tsing, a junior contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, in the late 7th century A.D. Rājabhaṭa was the king of Samataṭa. If the Rāyarājabhaṭa of the Ashrapur copper plates is identical with Rājabhaṭa, mentioned by the Far Eastern travellers as the king of the Samataṭa then the capital of Samataṭa was at Karmānta.⁵ This place has been identified with the modern village of Baḍkāmtā, twelve miles to the west of Comilla. The connection of Samataṭa with the Tippera district in later ages is also shown by the Nārāyaṇa Image Inscription⁶ of the reign of Mahāpāla (10th century A.D.) found at Bāghāurā in the Tippera district which mentions Samataṭa. "The exact limits of Samataṭa cannot be ascertained, but it may be taken as roughly equivalent to eastern Bengal."⁷ Hiuen Tsang's description of Samataṭa suggests that it might have included even part of central Bengal.⁸

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 8

2. XIV. 6-8

3. B. C. Sen : *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 90

4. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 17

5. See *History of Bengal* I, pp. 86-87

6. E: 2., XVII, 353-55.

7. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 47

8. *Ibid.*, p. 17

(d) Harikela : I-tsing, the Chinese traveller of the latter half of the 7th century A.D., mentions Harikela as the eastern limit of East India.¹ Rājaśekhara in his *Karpūramañjarī* includes Harikela girls among women of the east.² Thus the evidences of both I-tsing and Rājaśekhara show that Harikela was situated in the east. "It marked in reality the easternmost limit of Bengal as it was constituted in those days".³ Vaṅga and Harikela are used as synonymous terms by the lexicographer Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.⁴ But in the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakaḷpa* mention is made of Harikela, Vaṅga and Samatāṭa as distinct entities and in two manuscripts in the collection of the Dacca University, Harikola, that is possibly Harikela, is synonymous with Sylhet.⁵ But from these evidences we cannot come to a definite conclusion that Harikela was not associated with Vaṅga in all ages. In the epigraphic records of the Candradynasty of eastern Bengal Trailokyacandra, ruler of Candradvīpa (Bākar-ganj district), is described as the mainstay of the king of Harikela.

(e) Puṇḍravardhana or Puṇḍravardhana and Varendr : Puṇḍravardhana was, as the name suggests, a settlement of the Puṇḍras. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we find mention of the Puṇḍras who lived beyond the frontiers of Aryandom and were classed as *dasyus*.⁶ In the *Digvijaya* section of the *Mahābhārata* the Puṇḍras are placed in the east of Monghyr and they were associated with potentates who ruled on the banks of the Kasi river.⁷ "This accords with the evidence of Gupta epigraphs and the records of the Chinese writers which agree in placing the territory of the Puṇḍras—then styled Puṇḍravardhana—in North Bengal."

1. I-tsing, XLVI.

2. Konow and Lanman's ed. and tr., pp. 226-227.

3. B.C. Sen, *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 83.

4. (IV. 23)

5. Pramode Lal Paul, *The Early History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1939 I. iii IV.

6. VII. 13.18.

7. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 20

The Damodarpur and Dhanāidaha copper-plates dating from 143 to 224 of the Gupta era prove that Puṇḍravardhana was the name of a large territorial division in the possession of the Guptas at least from the second quarter of the fifth to about the middle of the sixth century A.D.¹ From the time of Dharma-pāla it was an important province of the Pālas. During a long period extending from the 8th to the 12th century A. D. Puṇḍravardhana witnessed political vicissitudes of different dynasties. The metropolitan district of the Puṇḍravardhana territory was Varendrī or Varendra-maṇḍala, as the city of Puṇḍravardhanapura was situated within its area. The Tarpaṇḍīghṛ grant of Lakṣmaṇasena (12th century) assigns Varendrī to Puṇḍravardhana.² The inclusion of Varendrī within Puṇḍravardhana is also proved by the Madhainagar grant of Lakṣmaṇasena and the Silimpur inscription of the time of the Kāmarūpa King Jayapāla.³

(f) Rāḍhā : According to the Jaina legend in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*⁴ the land of the Lāḍhas (Rāḍha) in West Bengal was a pathless country inhabited by a rude folk who attacked peaceful monks. In the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*⁵ we find two divisions of the land of Lāḍha, namely, Vajrabhūmi, and Subbha (Suhma)-bhūmi. The name Vajrabhūmi, "Land of Diamond", reminds us of the sarkar of Madāran in south-west Bengal, mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* in which there was a diamond mine. The sarkar of Madāran corresponds to parts of the modern Birbhum, Burdwan, and Hooghly districts. The westward extension of Vajrabhūmi, the land of diamond, may have been as far as Kokrā on the borders of Bihār, which was famous for its

1. B. C. Sen : *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 104.

2. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 102, n.4.

3. For details see B. C. Sen : *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 111 and for the geographical limits of Vārendrī, *History of Bengal*.

4. 1. 8. 3.

5. 1.8.3.; Jacobi in *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Harvard XXII (*Jaina-sūtras*, Part I) p.84

diamond mines in the days of the Mughal emperor Jahāngir.¹

Rāḍhā was divided into two parts, namely *Dakṣiṇa* or South Rāḍhā and *Uttara* or North Rāḍhā. "This mode of division which can be traced back to the ninth century A.D. apparently replaces the older segmentation of the area into Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi".²

Mention is made of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā in the Gaonri plates³ of Vākpati Muṣja (981 A.D.). It is also mentioned in the *Pra-bodha-candrodaya-nāṭaka* by Kṛṣṇa Miśra (11th century),⁴ and in the *Nyāyakandalī* of Śrīdhara-cārya⁵ written in 991 A.D. References to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā occur in the Amareśvara Temple inscription⁶ of Māndhātā and the *Caṇḍī* of Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukundarāma.⁷ According to the above-mentioned records Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā included Bhūriśreṣṭhi or Bhūriśreṣṭhika (modern Bhursut) and Nava-grāma in the districts of Howrah and Hooghly and also Dāmunyā (to the west of the Dāmodar) in the Burdwan district. From this we can conclude that Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā embraced considerable portions of western Bengal lying between the Ajay and the Dāmodar rivers.⁸ The western boundary of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā may have extended beyond the Dāmodar far into the Arambagh sub-division and the southern boundary may have reached the Rūpnārāyaṇ. But according to tradition recorded in the *Diḡvijaya-prakāśa*⁹ Rāḍhā lies to the north of the Dāmodar.

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 9

2. *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 20-21

3. EL. XXIII. 105

4. Act. II, p. 43.

5. *J.A.S.N.* (N.S.), Vol. VIII p.341, n.1.

6. Hiralal : *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar* (2nd. ed.), p.72; lc.1. 502f.

7. Cal. Univ. ed., Part I, p. 20.

8. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 21.

9. *Vasumatī*, 1340 (B.S.), Māgha, p.610. The work is attributed to a contemporary of Pratāpāditya (S. Mitra, *Yāśor-Khulnār Itihāsa*, 132).

Uttara-Rāḍhā is mentioned in the Belāva copper plates of Bhojavarman (11th century A. D.),¹ and the Naihāti copper plate of Vallāḥasena (12th century A.D.).² A place called Siddhalagrāma is referred to in the Belava grant as being situated in Uttara-Rāḍhā and in the Naihāti grant of Vallāḥasena the village Vāllahiṭṭhā is mentioned as being situated in the same territory. Siddhalagrāma has been identified with Siddhagrama in the district of Birbhum and Vāllahiṭṭhā with Bālutiya on the northern borders of the Burdwan district. The Śaktipur grant of Lakṣmaṇasena suggests that the maṇḍala of Uttara-Rāḍhā also embraced villages in the Kandi sub-division of Murshidabad.³ Generally the Ajay river is regarded as the boundary line between Uttara and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā. "But the inclusion of a part of the Katwa sub-division within Uttara-Rāḍhā may imply that at times the Khari, rather than the Ajay, separated northern Rāḍhā from southern Rāḍhā".⁴

On the north the province of Bihar is bounded by the Nepalese Terai, and on the east by the province of west Bengal. Southwards lies the province of Orissa. The states of Uttara Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh are to the west of Bihar.

Almost the whole of Bihar is an alluvial plain watered and drained by the Ganges and its tributaries, such as the Gandak, Son, Gogri and Kośī, the region of Chhota Nagpur plateau being an exception. The climate of Bihar is drier than that of Bengal.

The province of Bihar falls naturally into three main divisions : North Bihar, South Bihar and Chhota Nagpur. North Bihar lying north of the river Ganges is separated from the rest of the province by the Ganges. It is a flat alluvial plain and is drained by many rivers and numerous rivulets. Among the main rivers mention may be made of Sarayu or Ghaghra, Gandakī, Bāgmālī, Kośī, Kamalā, Panara, Mahānāṇḍā and above all the Gaṅgā

1. *E.I.* Vol. XII, pp. 37-43

2. *E.I.* Vol. XIV, pp. 156-63

3. *History of Bengal*, 1, p.22

4. *Ibid.*

into which all the main rivers fall directly or through a larger river. The alluvial soil of North Bihar has made its land soft and hence the rivers frequently change their courses. The alluvial filling in South Bihar is shallow. Here and there we find groups of small, craggy hills. All the rivers here are hill streams. Of these rivers mention may be made of Śona, Karmanāśa, Pūnpun, Morahar, Phalgū Mohana all of which flow from the south to the north and fall in the river Ganges. South Bihar contains a greater number of rivers than North Bihar but for the most part of the year there is little water in them, the river Śona being an exception.

The plateau of Chhota Nagpur is full of forests and hills and the land is not fertile. The most important hills of this region are the Rājmahal and Pareśnāth hills. A large number of lesser ranges like Khairā hills, Brijkā hills, Dalma, Swai, Karnati are also situated here. All these above-mentioned hills are actually spurs of the Vindhya range. Among the rivers of this region mention may be made of Barakar, Dāmodar, Mayurākṣī and Ajay.

There are four administrative divisions of the modern province of Bihar viz., Tirhut, Patna, Bhagalpur and Chhota Nagpur. But the chief traditional political divisions of Bihar are Mithilā and Magadha. Separated by the river Ganges, Mithilā lay to the north of this river and to the south lay Magadha. A major portion of North Bihar corresponds to the Mithilā of ancient fame. Magadha was the region of South Bihar. The former was the seat of Brahmanical orthodoxy, but the latter was the cradle of Buddhism. There was also a linguistic difference between these two regions. The Maithili language was spoken in Mithilā and an early form of Hindi in Magadha.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE PALAS

THE RISE OF THE DYNASTY

GOPALA (C. 750-777 A.D.)

The death of Śaśaṅka which took place shortly before 637-638 A.D. was followed by the disruption of his dominions. From the middle of the 7th century down to the middle of the 8th, internal disorganisation and invasions from abroad characterised the history of Bengal and anarchy and chaos reigned supreme. Bengal was torn between internal dissensions and the rivalry of local rulers and taking advantage of this chaos ambitious rulers from far and near invaded Bengal. There are records of Bengal being overrun by the forces of Kāmarūpa, Kanauj and even distant Kashmir. This state of political disintegration is described in the Khālīmpur copper plate of Dharmapāla as *mātsyanyāya*, i. e., "practice of fishes"¹. The term "*mātsyanyāya*" denotes, according to the explanation offered in ancient texts, the absence of a central ruling authority, resulting in a condition of chaos, where every local chief assumes royal authority and might alone is right.² The natural reaction to the *mātsyanyāya* referred to above was the selection or election of Gopāla as the king. But who made him a king is still a subject of great controversy. The Khālīmpur copper-plate reference³ that Gopāla was chosen king by the "*prakṛtis*" is problematic. *Prakṛti* has often the meaning of subjects and hence the general belief is that Gopāla was made king by the

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1. *E. I.*, IV, text, p. 248, trans., p. 251.
 2. For details see B. C. Sen, *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, pp. 290-292; *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 79-90.
 3. Khalimpur c. p., V.IV, E.I., IV, Text, p.248, Trans. p.251.

general body of the people of Bengal.¹ This view, although it has met with general acceptance, is doubtful. It is hardly conceivable that such a systematic selection or election by the people "was at all practicable in those days and in such abnormal times".² According to some, the word *prakṛti* should not be taken literally, but in the technical meaning of "principal officers" and they assert that Gopāla was placed on the throne by the "principal officers" of the state.³ But this view is also doubtful. The question arises as to who were the "principal officers" of the state. In a time when there was no unifying central authority exercising power over the whole of Bengal and when the kingdom was divided into a number of petty principalities, the suggestion seems to be dubious and misleading. Who else then could be the selectors of Gopāla as the king? The answer is probably the petty independent ruling chiefs.⁴ The suggestion seems to be the most reasonable. Weakened as they were by internal strife, it was perhaps a necessity for them to become united when there were threats of external enemies.⁵ Fearful of the dangers and aware of their weaknesses, it is not unlikely that they came to a sort of agreement and surrendered their rights to Gopāla, a similar ruling chief, who eventually became the sovereign head. The selection of Gopāla is epoch-making; it ended the *matsyanyāya* on the one hand, and on the other laid the foundation of a dynasty which ruled Bengal for over four centuries. The ancestry of Gopāla cannot be traced too far. In the Khalimpur copper-plate he is mentioned as the grandson of Dayitaviṣṇu and the son of Vapyaṭa.⁶ Vapyaṭa is called the "destroyer of foes"⁷ and

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1. R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, Part I, 2nd ed., pp. 151, 162, 171.
 2. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1st. ed., p. 97.
 3. Pramode Lal Paul, *The Early History of Bengal*, Cal., 1939, p. 112.
 4. *History of Bengal*, p. 98.
 5. Nihara Ranjan Ray, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, Vol. I, Cal., 1952, p. 475.
 6. Verses 2, 3, 4, E 9, IV, Text, p. 248, trans. p. 251. For the whole inscription and other details about it see *ibid.*, pp. 243-254.
 7. *Ibid.*, V. 4.

R. C. Majumdar is of opinion that "this does not imply anything more than that he was, perhaps, a military chief."¹ The description of Dharmapāla, the son of Gopāla, as *Rājabhāṣādi-Vaṁśa-patita*,² and that of Daddadevī, the wife of Gopāla and mother of Dharmapāla, as *Bhadrātmapā*³ are controversial⁴ and do not give us any definite idea about the origin of Gopāla or of the dynasty founded by him. In the Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva, who was originally the minister of a Pāla king, the Pālas are mentioned as belonging to the solar dynasty.⁵ The commentary of Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacarita* describes Dharmapāla as *Samudrakuladīpa*, i. e., descended from the ocean.⁶ A similar description is given by Tāranātha⁷ when he tells that Gopāla was succeeded by a son whom Nāgarāja Sāgarapāla, the sovereign of the ocean, begot on his younger queen. In the *Dharma-maṅgala Kāvya* of Ghanarāma there is also a similar description.⁸ These stories again lead to nothing, and do not help us in the least in tracing the ancestry of the Pālas. Mr. J. C. Ghosh has tried to reconcile the two different traditions of Sūrya and Samudra origin of the Pālas by holding that *Samudra-Kula* means *Surya-Kula* or solar race to which Samudra, the son of the mythical king

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1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 98.
 2. The description is in a commentary to *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* composed by Haribhadra during the reign of Gopāla's son, Dharmapāla.
 3. This is mentioned in the fifth verse of the Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla. See *E.I.* IV p.248.
 4. For further details see *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 98-99.
 5. V.2. E.I., Vol. II, Text, p.350, trans. p.254.
 6. *Rāmacarita* ed. and trans. by R. C. Majumdar, Radhagovinda Basak and Nanigopal Banerji, I, commentary to V.4, p.4.
 7. Tāranātha, pp.208-9; *History of Bengal*, I, p.100.
 8. See Nihar Ranjan Ray, *Bāṅgālir Itihāsa*, p. 476. Nihar Ranjan Ray is of the opinion that there might have existed some relation between the Pālas and the peoples of Australia and Polynesia.

Sagara belonged.¹ As to the caste of the Palas the sources differ. The commentary on a verse of *Rāmacarita* (I.V.17)² and Tāranātha³ inform us that they were Kṣatriyas. But the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* declares them to be of menial caste.⁴ Abul Fazl differs further, and says that they were Kāyasthas.⁵ In the absence of definite historical information it is difficult to say as to which caste they belonged. But since most of the ruling families in medieval India were Kṣatriyas, it is not unlikely that they also belonged to the same caste.

The location and extent of the original kingdom may be known from the contemporary sources. The *Rāmacarita* refers to Varendrī as the *Janakabhūṣ* or ancestral home of the Palas⁶ and the Gwalior inscription refers to the adversary of Nāgabhaṭa (Dharmapāla) as Vaṅgapati.⁷ The two informations, though apparently dissimilar, in reality suggest that Gopāla rose to power from Varendrī where he was perhaps a ruling chief, and soon become the king of the whole of Bengal by the support of the other ruling chiefs. Tāranātha's account suggests a similar thing "that Gopāla was born of a Kṣatriya family near Puṇḍravardhana, but was subsequently elected ruler of Bhaṅgala.⁸ Magadha (South Bihar) and Mithilā (a major portion of North Bihar) also seem to have been under the rule of Gopāla.⁹

1. *I.H.Q.*, IX, pp. 484-485.

2. *Rāmacarita*, p.14.

3. Tāranātha, p. 202. *History of Bengal*, I, p.101, footnote.

4. *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, V.883.

5. *Āin*, trans. by Blochman and Jarret, II. 145.

6. *Rāmacarita*, *op. cit.*, I.V.38.

7. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 102. Vaṅga means the eastern and south-eastern parts of Bengal.

8. *Ibid.* Bhaṅgala is the form of the word given by Tāranātha. According to R. C. Majumdar it is a corrupt form of Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla.

9. See M.S. Pandey, *The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, from the Vedic period to the Muslim invasion*, Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, 1958, p.34.

The reign of Gopāla was one of peace. He suppressed the elements of disorder and did not undertake any adventurous military expedition.¹ His reign-period is not exactly known. According to Tāranātha he ruled for forty-five years,² but according to *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* the period was only twenty-seven years.³ If Gopāla ascended the throne sometime in the middle of the 8th century as suggested by historians, and ceased to rule in c. 770 A.D. when his son Dharmapāla became the king, the latter information seems to be nearer the truth.

THE ZENITH OF THE PĀLA POWER

Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.)

Devapāla (c. 810-850 A.D.)

With the accession of Dharmapāla, the Pāla dynasty entered in its glorious phase of history. The political condition of India at the time was mainly responsible for many of his achievements. Taking advantage of the struggle between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan⁴ and the Pratīhāras of Mālava and Rājputānā⁵ for the supremacy of Northern India, Dharmapāla tried to extend his kingdom towards the west. Though unluckily for him

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 103.

2. Tāranātha, p. 204, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 103, footnote,³.

3. *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, *op. cit.*, V. 690.

4. For the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, see *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, by A. S. Altekar.

5. For the history of the Pratīhāras see B. N. Puri. The very confused history of the struggle for Kanauj admits of various interpretations. The version followed above is that of Prof. R. C. Majumdar (see *Gujara-Pratiharas* in *JL*, No. X). Other interpretations are to be found in the works of Altekar and Puri above. See also R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Benares, 1937. pp. 219ff.

he was at first defeated by the Prāṭīhāra king Vatsarāja somewhere in Doab, eventually he was saved from further humiliation by the advent of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva against Vatsarāja. Vatsarāja was utterly defeated by Dhruva, and he fled to the deserts of Rajputana.¹ In the circumstances Dharmapāla also did not escape : he was defeated by Dhruva. But owing to the hurried return of the Deccan king to his dominion this did not inflict any serious loss to Dharmapāla. The political vacuum of Northern India thus created now rather helped Dharmapāla to extend his kingdom towards the west. Some Pāla inscriptions give us important details about the military campaigns of Dharmapāla. The Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla dated in the 32nd year of his reign describes² how Dharmapāla installed the king of Kanyakubja in the presence of the chiefs of Bhoja (part of Berar), Matsya (Alwar state with parts of Jaipur and Bharatpur), Madra (central Punjab), Kuru (eastern Punjab), Yadu (perhaps Simhapur in the Punjab), Yavana (probably some Arab principality either in the Indus Valley or in the North-Western Frontier province), Avantī (Malawa), Gandhara (western Punjab), and Kīra (Kangra district in the north-eastern part of Punjab) who acclaimed this act of patronage bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling. Verse 3 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla again states that having defeated Indrarāja (Indrāyudha) and others, Dharmapāla acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya (i.e. Kanauj) and later conferred it upon his own nominee, Cakrāyudha.³ "The establishment of his authority in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab was the crowning act of Dharmapāla's career, which had begun rather ingloriously with the humiliating defeat inflicted upon Gauḍa by Vatsarāja."⁴

1. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 477

2. V. 12. For text and trans. see *E. I.*, IV, pp. 248 and 252 respectively.

3. V. 3. For text and trans. see *I. A.*, XN, pp. 305 and 307 respectively.

4. Quoted from B. C. Sen's *Historical Aspects of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 321.

Verse 7 of the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla mentions the performance of religious rites at Kedāra, Gokarṇa and various other holy places by the attendants of Dharmapāla in the course of his victorious campaign.¹ According to R. C. Majumdar this verse "leaves no doubt that Dharmapāla practically overran the greater part of Northern India."² If we believe in the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, Dharmapāla was also the suzerain of Nepal.³ R. C. Majumdar thus summarised the extent of the Pāla empire under Dharmapāla in the following words: "Bengal and Bihar, the nucleus of the empire, were under the direct rule of Dharmapāla, a long stretch of territory between the borders of Bihar and Punjab formed the dependancy of Kanauj, while a large number of principalities in the Punjab, Eastern Rajputana, Malwa, Berar and probably also Nepal formed the vassal states, enjoying internal autonomy but paying homage and obedience."⁴

Dharmapāla, however, was yet to suffer a serious setback though he got over it soon by good fortune. The Pratīhāras again rose to power under Vatsarāja's son and successor, Nāgabhaṭa II, who did not give up the political ambitions of his father. Having made alliance with various other kings he proceeded towards the east to recover the lost grounds. Kanauj was attacked and its ruler Cakrāyudha was defeated and fled to Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla faced the formidable confederacy near Monghyr, but suffered a crushing defeat. Luckily for him, however, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Govinda III, again appeared in Northern India and inflicted a serious defeat upon Nāgabhaṭa. Nāgabhaṭa's power was thoroughly crushed, and the victorious Rāṣṭrakūṭa king made a triumphal march right across his dominions at least up to the Ganges-Yumna Doab.⁵ Dharmapāla and

1. *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 305

2. *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 106-107

3. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

4. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 109

5. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 231

Cakrāyudha were wise enough to see the imminent danger, and submitted, of their own accord, to Govinda III.¹ The submission in reality meant nothing. "For, as they anticipated, Govinda III soon returned to the Deccan, and Dharmapāla was left free to reorganise his empire".²

Little is known about Dharmapāla after this event, but historians are in general agreement that his empire "did not suffer any considerable diminution during the rest of his life, and power of the Pratīhāras was mainly confined to Rājputāna"³ Dharmapāla probably spent the last days of his life in peace, and the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla states that there was no disturbance in the dominions when he succeeded his father to the throne at about 810 A. D.⁴

Devapāla inherited the prowess and qualities of his father and he not only kept the empire of his father intact, but also extended it. With the help of his brilliant minister, Darbhapāni and the latter's grandson, Kedāramisra, Devapāla exacted "tributes from the whole of Northern India, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya mountains and from the Eastern to the Western seas"⁵ and enjoyed "the sea-girt earth after having exterminated the Utkalas, curbed the pride of the Hūṇas and destroyed the haughtiness of the Drāviḍa and Gurjara lords".⁶ Devapāla's general, Jayapāla (his cousin), compelled the king of Utkala (Orissa) to flee from his capital city, and the king of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

2. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 112.

3. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 113.

4. Monghyr copper-plate, V. 12. *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 305.

5. Badal pillar inscription V. 5, quoted from *History of Bengal*, I, p. 116.

6. *Ibid.*, V. 13. Quoted from *History of Bengal*, I, p. 116.

Prāgjyotiṣa¹ submitted to him without any fight.² Devapāla's victorious marches are said to have carried him as far as Kāmbhoja in the west and the Vindhya mountains in the south.³ It is not exactly known whether Devapāla had any fight with the Pratīhāra king, Nāgabhaṭa II. Nāgabhaṭa's son, Rāmabhadra was not energetic like his father and he suffered defeats at the hands of his enemies.⁴ But his son Bhoja tried to recover the lost territories of his father and had occupied Kanauj and recovered Kālanjara-Manḍala by 836 A. D., and Gurjarātra, "his ancestral territories in Rājputāna", by 843 A. D.⁵ But his successes were short-lived, and he was defeated by Devapāla sometime between 840 A. D. and 850 A. D.,⁶ and by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas sometime before 867 A. D.⁷ Devapāla also defeated the Drāviḍa king who is generally identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Amoghavarṣa.⁸

The boundary of the Pāla empire under Devapāla thus reached its furthest limits and he extended his father's dominion by the addition of Assam and Orissa on the one side, and

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1. The Brahmaputra Valley. A part of it was called Kāmarūpa (see *History of Bengal*, I, p. 117). Some are, however, of the opinion that the same country was known as Prāgjyotiṣa in ancient times and as Kāmarūpa in medieval times (K. L. Barua, *History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 166).
 2. Bhāgalpur cp. of Nārāyaṇapāla, V. 6. For text and trans. see *I. A.* XV, pp. 305 and 308.
 3. Monghyr cp. of Devapāla, V. 13, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 305.
 4. R. C. Majumdar, *Gurjara-Pratīhāras* published in *J. L.* X, pp. 45-6.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 49-50.
 7. R. C. Majumdar, *Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, *JL*, X, pp. 48-50.
 8. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 479. Some are, however, of the opinion that the Drāviḍa king was not Amoghavarṣa, but the Pāṇḍya king, Śrī-Māra Śrī-Vallabha. See *History of Bengal*, I, p. 120.

Kamboja and Hūṇa principalities on the other. According to the Monghyr copper-plate, the extent of the Pāla empire under him reached as far as Rāmeśvara Setuvandha in the south.¹ But this is obviously a formal exaggeration.

Devapāla's name and fame spread even outside India and the Nālandā copper-plate grant says that king Balaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty ruling in Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula sent an ambassador to him asking his permission for the grant of five villages with which the Śailendra king proposed to endow a monastery he had built at Nālandā.² This is the "only available record that reveals the existence of a contact between the Pāla empire and a power outside India"³ but "there was no political basis of the relationship between Devapāla and Balaputra".⁴

As the above-mentioned copper-plate grant is dated in the 35th or 39th year of Devapāla's reign it is evident that he ruled for at least 35 years and his long period of rule may be placed between 810 and 850 A. D.⁵ The nature of Devapāla's kingdom was presumably like that of his father and it seems that he did not exercise any direct administrative control over any territory outside Bengal and Bihar.⁶ The rest of the imperial territories were governed by the local rulers who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pālas.⁷

1. Monghyr cp., V. 15, *E. I.*, XV, p. 305.

2. Nālandā copper-plate grant of Devapāla, *E. I.*, XVII, p. 325.26.

3. Quoted from B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-49.

4. Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 351.

5. *History of Bengal*, I. p. 121.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

7. *Ibid.*

THE DECLINE

Vigrahapāla I	(c. 850—853 A. D.)
Nārāyaṇapāla	(c. 854—908 A. D.)
Rājyapāla	(c. 908—940 A. D.)
Gopāla II	(c. 940—)
Vigrahapāla II	(c. 960—986 A. D.)

The ascendancy of Vigrahapāla I (c. 850—853) as the successor of Devapāla, ushered a period of decline which continued up to the reign of Vigrahapāla II. The relation between Devapāla and Vigrahapāla is not exactly clear : probably Vigrahapāla I was the son of Jayapāla, the great general and cousin of Devapāla and not his son.¹ Why there was this change in the line of succession inspite of the fact that Devapāla had a son named Rājyapāla who was installed as the crown prince is a mystery. Probably there were internal disputes, and Jayapāla getting the opportunity placed his own son on the throne with the help of the army.² Vigrahapāla I whose other name was Śarapāla³ was a man of pacific and religious disposition. Very little is known about him except some stories which have little historical importance. We know from the Bhāgalpur copper-plate grant of Nārāyaṇapāla that Vigrahapāla abdicated the throne in favour of his son Nārāyaṇapāla and adopted a life of austerities.⁴

Though Nārāyaṇapāla ruled for more than half a century he could not maintain the original dignity of the empire. There is no evidence of any military victory during his reign⁵ and

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 126.

2. *Ibid.*

3. R. D. Banerjee, *Bāṅgalār Itihāsa*, p. 217. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 127.

4. Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, V. 17. 9. A., XV, text and trans. pp. 306 and 308 respectively.

5. The Bādāl pillar inscription does not record any glorious military achievement of Nārāyaṇapāla nor does the Bhāgalpur copper-plate grant issued in his 17th regnal year.

the empire began to slip away gradually. We learn from the Sirur inscription dated 866 A. D. that the ruler or rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha paid homage to the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Amoghavarṣa (c. 814—880 A. D.).¹ "The conquest of a portion of Rāṣṭhā by the Sulki king Mahārājādhirāja Raṇastambha of Orissa may also be assigned to the same period."² It was also during the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla that the Pratīhāra king Bhojadeva occupied the Pāla empire as far as Magadha.³ The Kalacuri king of Gorakhpur, Guṇāmbhodhideva, the Kalacuri king Kokkalla I of Dāhala, the Guhilot king Guhila II seems to have sided with the Pratīhāra king and shared the conquests.⁴ Bhojadeva's son and successor Mahendrapāla relentlessly followed up the victory and proceeded as far as Pāhārpur of Puṇḍravardhana. An inscription of the fifth year of Mahendrapāla, recently found at Pāhārpur, testifies to this fact : Mahendrapāla's inscriptions found in Patna and Gaya districts shows that Magadha was also annexed by him.⁵ Further, the records of Assam and Orissa leave no doubt that both these neighbouring kingdoms which were once subjugated by Devapāla had again become powerful and in Orissa the Śailodbhava dynasty re-established its supremacy on the ruins of the Karas.⁶

Though at the end of his reign Nārāyaṇapāla seems to have recovered northern Bengal and Bihar at about 908 A. D.,⁷ he was probably subservient to the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Kṛṣṇa II (880—914 A. D.)⁸ whose command according to the Deoli copper-plate inscription⁹ was obeyed by Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga and Magadha.

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1. *History of Bengal*, I. p. 127.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
 4. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 480-481, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 128-129.
 5. *History of Bengal*, I. p. 129.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
 8. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 481.
 9. Deoli cp. V. 13. E. 9. V, Text, p. 193.

The long and inglorious reign of Nārāyaṇapāla ended with his death in about 908 A. D. and he was succeeded by his son Rājyapāla who ruled for thirty-two years.¹ He married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Tuṅga and was thus his ally. In the Bāngarh copper-plate of Mahīpāla I he is credited with works of public utility, such as the excavation of tanks, and construction of lofty temples.²

Rājyapāla's son, Gopāla II ruled for about 17 years, and the extent of the Pāla empire during his reign was probably up to Magadha on the west. But the reign of Gopāla's son, Vīrahapāla II (C. 960-985) again saw the loss of Magadha for the Pālas. Though the Pratīhāras were weak about this time, and the Pālas were in good relationship with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, fresh danger appeared in Northern India with the rise of two great powers, the Candellas and Kalacuris. The Candella king Yaśovarman is said to have dominated the whole region from the Himalayas to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal³. According to two Khajuraho inscriptions Yaśovarman "was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure creepers", and his son Dhaṅga, who ruled from sometime before 954 A. D. to about 1000 A. D., kept in prison the queens of Rāḍhā and Aṅga.⁴ In the Kalacuri records the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja I is said to have had amorous dalliances with the women of Gauḍa, Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāsmīra and Kalinga.⁵ His son and successor Lakṣmaṇarāja is said to have been "skilful in breaking Vaṅgala".⁶

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 131.

2. Bāngarh cp., V. 7. *E. I.*, XIV, p. 329.

3. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 132.

4. Khajuraho Ins. No. II, Verse 23; *E. I.*, I, p. 132, No. IV, Verse 46, *E. I.*, I, p. 145,

5. Bilhari Ins. V. 24, *E. I.*, I, text and trans. pp. 256 and 265, respectively. "This is a poetical way of describing military raids." See *History of Bengal*, I, p. 132.

6. Goharwa cp. V. 8, *E. I.*, XI, 142.

Some parts of north and west Bengal during this time were probably in the hands of the Kāmbojas.¹

At this time the Pālas also lost control over east and south Beṅgal. Several independent kingdoms rose in this region, of which the earliest was the kingdom of Harikela ruled by a Buddhist king, Mahārājādhirāja Kāntideva², whose capital was Vardhamānapura—a place probably somewhere in Sylhet, Tippera or Chittagong.³ Kāntideva probably ruled during the first half of the tenth century A. D.⁴ We know from one inscription⁵ found in Bhārellā village of Tippera district about a king called Layahacandradeva who ruled the territory round about modern Comilla sometime between 900 and 1000 A. D.⁶ He ruled at least for 18 years as the Bhārellā inscription is dated in his 18th regnal year.

Another dynasty of the name of Candra had set up an independent kingdom in Eastern Bengal. Hitherto we knew only the names of four rulers of this dynasty from the four copper-plates of Śrīcandra,⁷ viz. Pūrṇacandra, Suvarṇacandra, Mahārājādhirāja Trailokyacandra and Mahārājādhirāja Śrīcandra. But the discovery of three copper-plates of this dynasty in Maināmatī⁸ has thrown a new light on the geneology of the Candra kings. Two Candra plates refer to Laḍahacandradeva.⁹ The third plate issued by Govindacandra traces the geneology

1. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

2. *History of Bengal*, I, 134.

3. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Bhārellā inscription of Layahacandra, E. 9, XVII, p. 349 ff.

6. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 193.

7. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 369; *History of Bengal*, I, p. 193. These four copper-plates are Rāmpāl cp. of Śrīcandra; Kedārpur cp. of Śrīcandra, and Edilpur cp. of Śrīcandra.

8. F. A. Khan, "Mainamati excavations—An interpretation", *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 37

9. *Ibid.*

of the Candra dynasty in this order : Śrīcandra, Śrī Kalyāṇacandra, Śrī Laṇḍahacandra and Śrī Govindacandra.¹ So we can now reconstruct the geneology of the Candra dynasty thus :

Pṛṇṇacandra
 Suvarṇacandra
 Mahārājādhirāja Trailokyacandra
 Mahārājādhirāja Śrīcandra
 Śrī Kalyāṇacandra
 Śrī Laṇḍahacandra
 Śrī Govindacandra

Govindacandra was no doubt identical with Govindacandra of *Vaṅḡāladeśa* mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription (1021 A.D.) of Rājendra Cola as fleeing from his territory having lost his fortune in the hands of Rājendra Cola.² From the Rāmpāl and Dhulia copper-plates of Śrīcandra³ we know that the Candras were originally rulers of Rohitagiri and Trailokyacandra added Candradvīpa and Harikela to his paternal dominions. As the land-grants made in the three Maināmatī copper-plates are in Samataṭa, so it can be inferred that at one time Samataṭa was also included in the dominions of the Candras. Govindacandra, the last known king of this dynasty, also ruled in Southern Bengal (*Vaṅḡāladeśa*).⁴ The Candra dynasty may be regarded as having ruled during the period between 900 and 1050 A. D.⁵

1. *Ibid.*

2. *E. I*, IX, p. 229 ff.

3. Rāmpāl cp., V. 2, 2, 5, Dhuliā cp., V. 2 and 5. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii, pp. 6, 7 and 165.

4. Candra kingdom seems to have been destroyed by the invasion of the Kalacuri king, Karṇa (1041-c. 1070 A. D.) and we do not hear of it after the middle of the eleventh century A. D. See *History of Bengal*, I, p. 197.

5. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 196. According to Prof. R. C. Majumdar it is not unlikely that Layahacandradeva was a member of this Candra dynasty. See *ibid.*

The history of the Pālas from Vigrahapāla I to Vigrahapāla II can therefore be rightly termed as a "period of decline". The Pāla empire built by Dharmapāla and Devapāla was no more, and instead of one there were by now three well-defined kingdoms, "the Chandra kingdom comprising East and South Bengal, the Kāamboja-Pāla kingdom comprising North and West Bengal, and the Pāla kingdom proper, comprising Aṅga and Magadha."¹

REVIVAL UNDER MAHIPALA (c. 988-1038 A. D.)

Vigrahapāla II's son, Mahīpāla I, however, revived the "paternal kingdom"² to some extent. Within three years of his rule he recovered northern and at least a part of eastern Bengal.³ From the account of Rājendra Cola's invasion of Bengal⁴ it seems that he was able to recover the northern part of Rāḍhā, i. e., "approximately that portion of the present Burdwan division which lies to the north of the Ajay river."⁵ The findspots of Mahīpāla's inscriptions show that he was also in possession of

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 135.
2. In *Rāmacarita* (I, V. 38) Varendrī is said to be the fatherland (*janakabhū*) of Rāmapāla. But the expression "paternal kingdom" found in Verse 12 of the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I (see *History of Bengal*, I, p. 136) should not be taken to mean Varendrī alone as at that time practically the whole of Bengal passed out of the hands of the Pālas. It would, therefore, perhaps be better to take "paternal kingdom" as generally meaning Bengal (see *History of Bengal*, I, p. 136-137).
3. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 137.
4. For the account of the Cola expedition see *The Colas*, by K. A. Nilkantha Sastri, p. 247 ff.
5. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 139.

north and south Bihar.¹ An inscription found in Sarnāth near Benares dated *Samvat* 1083 records the construction and repair of sacred structures on that site by the order of Gauḍa king Mahīpāla.² We can infer from this that Mahīpāla's empire might have extended up to Benares in 1026 A. D.³ Shortly after 1026 A. D. Mahīpāla I came into conflict with the Kalacuri king, Gaṅgeyadeva and suffered reverses in his hand.⁴

Mahīpāla did not join the Hindu confederacy organised by the Sāhī kings of the Punjab against Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna when he invaded India. Probably the preoccupation of his energy and resources towards the recovery of the paternal kingdom and the restoration of internal peace and order were the reasons for his not participating with the confederacy. Though he has been much criticised by some writers⁵ for his inactivity against Sultan Mahmud, he was probably right in his own way not "to fritter away his energy and strength in a distant expedition to the west"⁶ when it was a primary necessity for him to restore his paternal kingdom.

Mahīpāla has been regarded by some historians "as the greatest Pāla emperor after Devapāla".⁷ "He not only saved the Pāla kingdom from impending ruin," writes R. C. Majumdar,

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 140. Inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla, Rājyapāla, Gopāla II and perhaps also of Vighrapāla II are found in South Bihar which shows that South Bihar was in continuous possession of the Pāla dynasty since about 908 A. D. when Nārāyaṇapāla recovered Bihar. But whether Mahīpāla inherited or conquered North Bihar is not clear.
2. *A. S. I.*, A. R. 1903-4, pp. 222-223.
3. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 140.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See Ramaprasad Chanda, *Gauḍa-rājamālā* (in Bengali), pp. 41-43. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
6. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 142.
7. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 142.

“but probably also revived to some extent the old imperial dreams. His success in the limited field that he selected for his activities is a sure measure of his prowess and statesmanship and it is neither just nor rational to regret that he had not done more.”¹

THE LATER PALAS AND THE FINAL COLLAPSE

Nayapāla	(c. 1038-1055 A. D.)
Vigrahapāla III	(c. 1055-)
Mahīpāla II	(c. 1070-)
Śarapāla II	(c. 1075-)
Rāmapāla	(c. 1077-1119 A. D.)
Kumārapāla	(c. 1120-)
Gopāla III	(c. 1125-1140 A. D.)
Madanapāla	(c. 1140-1144 A. D.)
Goviṇḍapāla	(c. 1155-1159 A. D.)

Mahīpāla was succeeded by his son Nayapāla who ruled for about 17 years (c. 1038-1055 A. D.) One of the important events of his reign was the struggle with the Kalacuri king, Karṇa or Lakṣmīkarṇa, the son and successor of Gāṅgeyadeva. Nayapāla was probably at first defeated by Karṇa, but later on, according to a Tibetan account, a treaty was concluded between the two hostile kings.² The treaty, however, did not last long, and in the reign of Vigrahapāla III (c. 1055-1070 A. D.), Karṇa again attacked the Pāla kingdom, and proceeded at least up to the district of Birbhum in Western Bengal.³ Again a peace was concluded and “the

1. *Ibid.*

2. *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 144-145.

3. Karṇa's record on a pillar at Paikor in the Birbhum district proves that he advanced up to the district of Birbhum. See the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1921-22, p. 115 ; also H. K. Mukhopādhyāya's *Birbhum Vivaraṇa* (in Bengali).

alliance was cemented by the marriage of Karṇa's daughter with Vighrahapāla III".¹ West Bengal was saved for the time being but it did not remain long in the hands of the Pālas. Soon a chief calling himself Mahāmāṇḍalika Iśvaraghoṣa became an independent king in Burdwan district. His centre of government was at Dhekkarī in the same district.

East Bengal was also out of the hands of the Pālas at that time. The Candra kings or the Varmans who succeeded them might have been ruling there when Karṇa invaded Bengal. In the Tippera district the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā arose about the same time and existed throughout the second half of the eleventh and twelfth century A. D.²

The invasion of Bengal during the time of Vighrahapāla III by the Cālukyas of Karṇāṭa, led by prince Vikramāditya which probably took place not long before 1068 A. D., was disastrous for the Pālas. Other Cālukya raids in Bengal are also referred to in their records.³ The establishment of the Karṇāṭa Kṣatriya family, the Senas, as the ruling power in Rāḍhā or Western Bengal, and of the Varmans of Simhapura in Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal were probably not unconnected with these events.

"Another foreign invasion of Bengal which may be referred approximately to the eleventh century A. D., was that of the Somavarmśī ruler of Orissa, named Mahāśivagupta Yayāti."⁴ The invasion no doubt weakened the kingdom, and another Orissan king, Udyotakeśarī (c. eleventh century A. D.) even claims to have defeated the forces of Gauḍa.⁵

The Pāla power in Magadha was also being reduced at about the same time by one Śūdraka whose son Viśvarāpa was called *nṛpa* or king.⁶ By the middle of the eleventh century A. D.,

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 146.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

"the fabric of the Pāla sovereignty was thus crumbling to dust." "Eastern Bengal, West Bengal and Southern Bengal had definitely passed from their hands, and their suzerainty over Magadha was reduced to a mere name."¹

The death of Vīgrahapāla III was a signal for disunity among the members of the Pāla family itself. He had three sons, Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla, the eldest among the sons of Vīgrahapāla III, succeeded him, but fearing danger from Rāmapāla, he imprisoned both of his brothers. But this did not save him from dangers. Mahīpāla's chiefs revolted and in a fight between his ill-equipped army and the rebels he was defeated and killed and Varendrī passed into the hands of Divya, a high official of the Kaivarta caste.

In Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacarita*² this revolution, the defeat and death of Mahīpāla II and the subsequent recovery of Varendrī by Rāmapāla are described in detail. But before Rāmapāla could recover the lost ancestral home, Divya and his successors Rudoka (brother) and Bhīma (Rudoka's son) ruled Varendrī.

While Varendrī was ruled by Divya, Rāmapāla "ruled over the remaining part of the Pāla kingdom, which probably included at first parts of Magadha and Rāḍhā, and was later confined to Vaṅga or a part of it."³ Before Rāmapāla his elder brother Śūrapāla ascended the throne⁴ but no event of his reign is known to us.

For some time Rāmapāla remained inactive⁵ but then some new danger arose⁶ and Rāmapāla in sheer despair began to search for allies to recover his ancestral home Varendrī. By

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 149.

2. For details about this work see below, p. 267.

3. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 155.

4. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

5. *Rāmacarita*, *op. cit.*, I, V. 40 text, p. 30, trans., p. 31.

6. *Ibid.*, I, V. 42, text and trans., p. 32.

presenting land and enormous wealth he was able to make alliance with a number of powerful chiefs, who were nominally his vassal chiefs and who possessed well-equipped forces.¹ With the help of his allies Rāmapāla defeated Bhīma and subsequently Bhīma and all the important members of Bhīma's family were killed.²

Rāmapāla fixed his capital at Rāmāvatī and after restoring internal order in Varendrī, he made an attempt to re-establish the old glory of the Pāla dynasty. From a verse of *Rāmacarita* we know that a Varman king of the East acknowledged the suzerainty of Rāmapāla.³ This Varman king was probably Harivarman of the Varman dynasty of East Bengal. In any case the Varman king mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* undoubtedly belonged to the above-mentioned Varman dynasty. Rāmapāla also brought Kāmarūpa under his control. In the south he invaded Orissa and by the help of the feudatory chiefs of Rāḍhā he extended his conquests up to Kaliṅga.⁴ It was probably during these campaigns that Rāmapāla had to face the Cola king Kulottuṅga (c. 1070-1118 A. D.)⁵

Rāmapāla, however, suffered a reverse in Mithilā (North Bihar). Nānyadeva, a feudatory chief of Karnatic origin who ascended the throne of Mithilā in 1097 A. D., "claims to have broken the powers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa", and "it seems certain that Mithilā definitely passed out of the hands of the Pālas during the reign of Rāmapāla."⁶ Rāmapāla also came into conflict with the king of Kāśī-Kānyakubja, Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla. The result of this conflict is not definitely known,

1. *Ibid.*, I, V. 45, text and trans., p. 34.

2. These are narrated in detail in *Rāmacarita* (see Canto I, V. 47-50 and Canto II V. 5, 6, 8 and 9 ff.)

3. *Rāmacarita*, III, V. 44, text, p. 109, trans. p. 110.

4. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 161.

5. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

6. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 165.

but it seems that Rāmapāla kept in check the growing power of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom.¹

Rāmapāla ruled for at least forty-two years² and during this long period of rule he, no doubt, revived the Pāla kingdom to a great extent. But this was, as R. C. Majumdar puts it, "the last flickering of a lamp before its final extinction."³

Rāmapāla had at least four sons.⁴ Of these Vittapāla and Rājyapāla did not ascend the throne. Of the two others, Kumārapāla and Madanapāla, both ruled over the Pāla kingdom but not consecutively. Between the two was the son of Kumārapāla, Gopāla III, who ruled for about fifteen years (c 1125-1140 A. D.). It is not exactly known why there were such irregularities in succession, but the probability is that there were internal troubles immediately following the death of Rāmapāla.

The period covered by these three rulers saw the final collapse of the Pāla kingdom. Though the circumstances leading to this are not very clear, yet it is not perhaps unjustified to conclude that internal disruption and invasions from outside were the main causes that led to the downfall of the kingdom. According to the Kamauli plate⁵, during the reign of Kumārapāla, his minister Vaidyadeva went to Kāmarūpa to put down a rebellion. He successfully suppressed the rebellion but himself assumed independence probably after the death of Kumārapāla.

Though the Varmans of East Bengal acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pālas during the reign of Rāmapāla, now, under Bhojavarman, they again became an independent dynasty.⁶ From the

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 165.

2. This is shown by the Candimau image inscription, dated in the 42nd regnal year of Rāmapāla. P. B. 93-94, According to Tāranātha, however, he ruled for sixty-four years (see *History of Bengal*, I. p. 166, footnote 1).

3. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 166.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

5. Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva. *E. I.*, II, p. 354 ff.

6. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 168.

south the Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga, taking the opportunity carried his victorious arms right up to the bank of the Ganges, as far as Midnapur.¹ Taking advantage of the conflict between the Pālas and the Gaṅgas the Senas now established their position in south Bengal. Undoubtedly their task was facilitated by the invasion of the later Cālukyas.

The Gāhaḍavālas also now began to push forward their conquests. By 1124 A. D. they advanced up to the district of Patna,² and by 1146 A. D. they occupied Monghyr.³ The Pālas were now confined to Varendrī, and to some parts of central and eastern Bihar. But these last holds did not long remain in their hands. Within ten years of the death of Madanapāla they were taken by the Senas and the Pāla kingdom collapsed for ever.

Madanapāla was perhaps the last king of the Pāla dynasty. But there are some references⁴ of a Pāla, named Govindapāla, who ruled in the Gayā district. If he was a Pāla king "he must have ascended the throne shortly, if not immediately after Madanapāla".⁵

1. *History of Bengal*, I.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 169. This is according to the Manar plates (see *J. A. S. B.*, 1922, p. 81 ff.)

3. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, 449. This is according to the Lār plates of Gāhaḍavāla king, Govindacandra (see *E. I.*, VIII, p. 98).

4. For further discussion see *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 171-172.

5. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

PĀHĀRPUR

Pāhārpur is a village situated in the Rajshahi district of East Pakistan, three miles to the west of Jamalganj railway station. Its latitude is 25°2' north and longitude is 89°3' east.¹ It lies in the midst of the flat alluvial plain of the northern part of East Pakistan at a distance of 29 miles to the north-west of Mahāsthān and over 30 miles to the south-east of Bāngarh, the site of Koṭivarṣa of ancient fame.² In contrast to the monotonous level of the plain, there stands out the mound called by the local people *Pāhār* or hill from which the village of Pāhārpur derives its name i. e. "hill town". The height of the mound is not more than 80 feet above the surrounding country and only 70 feet above the level of its own court-yard.³

The first notice of the great mound of Pāhārpur was given by Hamilton Buchanan,⁴ who surveyed Eastern India between the years 1807-1812 by order of the East India Company. The next to visit the Pāhārpur mound was Westmacott. But his description does not materially differ from Buchanan.⁵

Sir Alexander Cunningham visited Pāhārpur in the cold season of 1879-80. He intended to undertake extensive excavations in the Pāhārpur mound, but was prevented from carrying out his plans by the zamindar and owner of the land, Raja Kishen Candar Rai of

1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

3. Cunningham, "A Tour in Bihar and Bengal", *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XV, p. 117.

4. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. II, pp. 669-670.

5. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 1.

Balihar. He then made all the skilled labourers brought by him clear the jungle which he found both on the surrounding embankments of the central mound and the low grounds inside the enclosure. After the partial clearance of the jungle, Cunningham was able to climb the top of the mound and here he made a few superficial excavations. In contrast to Buchanan Hamilton he concluded after these excavations that the mound was the ruin of a large Brahmanical temple because "one of the terracotta sculptures represented the skeleton goddess Kali."¹

In 1919 the Pāhārpur mound with its enclosure was declared a protected monument under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act and after that it came under the supervision of the Archaeological Department. In February and March of 1923 excavation of the Pāhārpur site was started by the Archaeological Survey Department with the co-operation of the Varendra Research Society in Rajshahi. The work was continued during the year 1925-26 and from that year onwards work at Pāhārpur was carried on every season until it was brought to completion in 1933-34.² Thus a great monastic establishment, the Dharmapāla vihāra of Somapura, and a temple of Tārā were discovered.³

The earliest antiquity discovered in the Pāhārpur site is the copper-plate dated *Māgha* 159 of the Gupta era (479 A. D.)⁴ which records the purchase and grant of certain lands by a Brahmin couple for the maintenance of the Jain monks

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1. Cunningham, "A Tour in Bihar and Bengal", *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.
 2. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pp. 2-3.
 3. The temple of Tārā was laid bare in the year 1932-33 when the Satyapīr Bhiṭā mound, situated at a distance of 300 yards to the east of the main temple, was excavated. The work was carried on in the next season and completed. For details see *A. S. R.*, 1930-34, pp. 122 ff.
 4. *E. I.* Ed. by K. N. Dikshit, XX, pp. 61 ff. Cf. also D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Calcutta University, 1932.

(*nirgranthaśramaṇa*) at the *vihāra* of Guhanandin. This discovery shows the probability of the existence of a Jaina *vihāra* or temple on the spot or in the immediate vicinity of the main temple at Pāhārpur.¹ In the western hall one of the stones used for the pillar base contains a beautifully carved fragment of a pillar with base and foliage moulding and geese holding strings of pearls on either side of a lotus plant in the upper registrar of the central medallion.² This work, apparently belonging to an earlier structure standing close to the spot and attributable to the 7th century A. D. together with the copperplate of the 5th century A. D. shows the great antiquity of the Pāhārpur site. The rise, development and decay of the Buddhist monastic establishment at Pāhārpur are closely connected with the history of the Pāla dynasty which extends over four centuries.

The Pāla rulers were great devotees of Mahāyāna Buddhism and promoted the cause of Buddhism both in Bengal and Bihar. During their rule Buddhism prospered in these two provinces, which were among its last strongholds when it gradually lost hold in India. Many famous Buddhist *vihāras* such as those of Vikramaśīlā, Odantapurī and Somapura were founded by them. The absence of traces of any site corresponding to the lofty temple and monastery of Pāhārpur in the itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang,³ who travelled in India during the years 629-645 A. D. would make it likely that there was no Buddhist monastery at this site in the 7th century A. D. and that the main fabric of the Pāhārpur temple and monastery is to be attributed to the early Pāla period. The discovery at Pāhārpur of terracotta sealing of the "community of monks from the great *vihāra* of Dharmapāla at Somapura" leaves no doubt that its ruins represent the famous Somapura *vihāra*. The seal-legend referred to above also shows that Somapurā *vihāra* was founded not by Devapāla as related

1. *M. A. S. I.*, 55, p. 7.

2. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

3. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, new ed. Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 403-404.

by Tāranātha¹ and the author of the *Pag Sam Jan Zong*² but by his father Dharmapāla, sometime in the latter half of the 8th century A. D. Dharmapurī, the name of the village which nowadays adjoins the *viḥāra*, seems to retain the name of the founder of this great monastery.

The Dharmapāla *viḥāra* received patronage from the early Pāla kings. The defeat of the Pālas at the hands of their hereditary enemies, the Pratīhāras, is indicated by an inscription³ dated in the 5th year of Mahendrapāla Pratīhāra inscribed on a pillar found at the site of Pāḥārpur. The revival of Pāla power under Mahīpāla I (c. 988-1036) also affected the monastic establishment at Pāḥārpur. At this period "about the end of the 10th century or beginning of the eleventh century, the prosperity of the establishment was reflected in a wholesale renovation of the Main Temple and in the monastic cells and at the shrine of Tārā in the Satyapir Bhiṭṭa numerous votive stupas were constructed."⁴ A Bodhgaya inscription⁵ recording in 10th century characters the gift of a Buddha image by the elder (*sthavira*) Vīryendra, the monk of the great *viḥāra* of Somapura, shows how the fame of this *viḥāra* had spread far and wide. The power of the Pālas again declined after the reign of Mahīpāla I and the incendiarism of an army of Vaṅgāla at Somapura referred to in the second verse of the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra,⁶ palaeographically to be assigned to the first half of the 12th century A. D., seems to have occurred in this period. Rāmapāla again retrieved the fortunes of the Pālā dynasty. The Nālandā inscription referred to above records a donation by Vipulaśrīmitra, a monk hailing from Somapura, to the Nālandā

1. Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, by Schiefner, p. 299.

2. *V. R. S. Monographs*, No. 5, p. 27.

3. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 75.

4. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 6.

5. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1908-09, p. 158

6. *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 97ff. Cf. also Hirananda Sastri, "Nalanda and its Epigraphic materials" *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, 1942,

monastery, and also mentions the renovation of the inner and other parts of four cells¹ and the building of a temple of Tārā. As this inscription is assigned to the first half of the 12th century A. D. it points to the flourishing condition and general prosperity of the Somapura monastery during this period. After Rāmapāla the final collapse of the Pāla dynasty took place and the whole of Bengal came under the rule of the Senas. But they were strong advocates of orthodox Hinduism and their patronage helped it to attain supremacy in Bengal. Deprived of royal patronage the monastic establishment at Pāhārpur seems to have suffered decline. After the overrunning of the whole of north Bengal by the Muslims in the beginning of the 13th century the decay and desolation of the Somapura *vihāra* began. A late temple to the south-east of the monastery and a few bricks with lotus rosette decoration found on the surface are the only traces of occupation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A. D.²

The Somapura *vihāra* at Pāhārpur is the largest single monastic building so far discovered in the whole Indian sub-continent.³ During the Pāla period this place gained considerable repute as an important centre of Buddhism as evidenced by contemporary epigraphic records such as the Bodhgayā inscription of Vīryendra-bhadra and the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra. The memory of the great Somapura *vihāra* lingered in Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition down to the 17th and 18th centuries A. D. as references to this *vihāra* are found in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* and *Pag Sam Jan Zong* written by another Tibetan author. Both of these are late works and are known to have been completed in 1608⁴ and

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1. See also *E. I.*, XXI, p. 101 n.
 2. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 6.
 3. J. E. van Lohmizen de Leeuw, "The Ancient Buddhist Monastery at Paharpur", reprinted from *Antiquity and Survival*, Vol. II, No. I, 1957, p. 30.
 4. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 182.

1747¹ respectively. References to the monastery at Somapura are also found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e. g., the *Dharmakāyadīpavidhi* and the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*.² The latter was translated by the great scholar, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (11th century A. D.) with the help of Vīryasimha and Jayasīla in the Somapurī *vihāra*.³

The most numerous remains from the Pāhārpur site are the terracotta plaques which decorate the faces of the walls or have been picked up loose from the site. They cover all conceivable subjects of human interest. The terracotta art in India is as old as the Indus valley civilization; the decorative plaques of Pāhārpur have their counterparts in the plaques from Hanumangarh in Bikaner, the plaques decorating the stūpas at Mīrpurkhas in Sind, and those found in large number in a temple at Sahet. But in richness, variety and exuberance the Pāhārpur plaques can only be compared with the plaques from Maināmatī; both of these places are situated in Bengal and approximately of the same period. The various movements of men and women engaged in different occupations, Śābaras inhabiting the outlying regions of Bengal, Brahmanic and Buddhist gods, scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Kṛṣṇa legend, semi-divine and semi-human beings, the flora and fauna of Bengal, several of the popular stories of the *Pañcatantra*—all are represented by the artists of Pāhārpur. The Pāhārpur artists working with simple tools and abundant but less durable materials of clay and mud do not and cannot claim any technical perfection, or higher emotional and intellectual experience. But free from the trammels of iconography and canons of religion these plaques excelled in rendering passing phases and moods of everyday life and give us some idea of the social and religious conditions of Bengal during the Pāla period and the life of the common people.⁴

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1. V. R. S. *Monographs*, No. 5, p. 27.
 2. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetan de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Part II, p. 166 and Part III, p. 299.
 3. *E. I.*, XXI, p. 98.
 4. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 528.

Most of the Pāhārpur plaques are of the same period as the temple itself; they must therefore be dated not later than the latter half of the 8th century A. D.¹ But the manufacture of plaques continued for at least two centuries later.²

The lower part of the basement wall of the main temple is decorated with no less than 63 stone sculptures, representing almost without exception the Brahmanic pantheon. They exhibit extraordinary variations from the point of view of both style and subject-matter. Some of the stone reliefs represent Hindu gods such as Indra, Śiva, Agni, Yama and Kuvera. Others illustrate scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* or episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa. Besides, a considerable number of sculptures depict women in dancing poses, *dvārapālas* and amorous couples.

Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic basis for dating the Pāhārpur sculptures and we are to depend solely on the testimony of style. Almost all of them are in contrast to the products of the Pāla school of art. The only undoubted Buddhist image among the reliefs is that of Padmapāni. But this Buddhist sculpture shows a slight advance over the other specimens found at Pāhārpur and must be attributed to the 8th-9th century A. D.³ Another relief may represent the birth of Buddha. But apart from these two specimens all the other stone reliefs depict Hindu subjects. According to Dr. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw these Hindu reliefs fall into two groups, one of which shows a decidedly better style of sculpture.⁴ And this last group was not originally intended for the temple at Pāhārpur but the plaques must have belonged to some Hindu temple from which they were taken after it was destroyed and pulled down.⁵ According to Dr. van

1. *Ibid.*

2. *M. A. S. I*, No. 55, p. 58.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

4. J. E. van L. de Leeuw., *Ibid.*

5. For her arguments regarding this point, the reader is referred to page 34 of the above-mentioned article.

L. de Leeuw, comparison with other sculptures seems to date the stone reliefs of the better type within the second half of the 7th or the first half of the 8th century. About the cruder type of Pāhārpur sculptures she only remarks that perhaps it could also be said of them that they were not originally intended for the temple¹ but she does not enter into details.

S. K. Saraswati classifies the Pāhārpur sculptures into three distinct groups on the basis of style, workmanship and quality.² In the first group of sculptures we find fine and smooth modelling, soft linear rhythm, inner spirituality, beautiful and naturalistic folds of the neck and of the belly, beautiful ornaments and carvings, etc,—all of which are features of the Gupta school of art. The second group of sculptures shows a gradual weakening of the Gupta features of the first group. Marked by a general heaviness throughout, the drapery is a little heavy. The features are devoid of the refinement and delicacy noticeable in the first group and the ornaments are often rather coarse. But the sculptures belonging to the second group are sometimes marked by lively action. The third group of sculptures containing by far the largest number shows the complete disappearance of the Gupta features of the first group. Though almost invariably marked by most lively, naturalistic and unsophisticated movements, the figures are exceptionally heavy and ill-proportioned. The drapery is heavy and hangs down, completely covering the body. In most of the plaques one finds a close-fitting garment, looking like a pair of shorts and fitting close to the waist and the thighs. But though technically crude and imperfect, they exhibit the pleasures and sorrows of every-day life in a most wonderful way.

According to Saraswati, these three groups can be clearly distinguished on stylistic grounds, each having its own material

1. *Ibid.*

2. S. K. Saraswati, "Early Sculpture of Bengal", *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXX, 1938, p. 33. For the discussion that follows see pp. 34-41 of the above-mentioned article.

which is used in the majority of the sculptures of that particular group—e. g., grey sandstone in the first group, bluish basalt in the second and black basalt in the third. In view of the diversity in style, workmanship and material and the gradual deterioration and ultimate extinction of the Gupta features of the first group in the second and third groups, we have to acknowledge the great probability of these three distinct groups belonging to separate periods. "In that case we may fix the chronology thus—sixth century for the first group, seventh for the second and eighth for the third".¹ Saraswati also suggests that, possibly, the first and third groups belong to the same period, say, the 7th century A. D., and the distinction in style and workmanship between the two groups should be explained by the assumption that the first is an eastern version of the Gupta trend and the second the result of the indigenous trend coming into contact with that of the first and evolving a new form.

Nihar Ranjan Ray also distinguishes three different groups in the Pāhārpur sculptures and maintains that they belong to at least two different periods.² He tries to explain the presence of the stone images of the Brahmanical deities of the late Gupta period in the basement wall of the temple by postulating later insertions of sculptures gathered from the remains of earlier monuments.³ He bases his theory on the irregular disposition of the sculptures and the unequal distribution of the niches and opines that these irregularities cannot in any way reflect the original scheme of decoration, which must have been conceived according to logical and ordered plan. Whereas the northern half of the basement has only twenty-two niches filled in with sculptures, the southern one has as many as forty-one. Irregularities also occur in the disposition of the sculptures between each arm of the cross⁴ and in the main walls at the three

1. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

2. *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 525, 526, 528, 529, 530, 531.

3. *Ibid.*, 108-109.

4. The ground plan of the Pāhārpur temple is a gigantic square cross with angles of projection between the arms. See *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 504-505.

cardinal points.¹ Only the projecting angles are invariably provided with sculptured niches on both faces, except at the southern end of the main western wall, where there is no corresponding sculpture facing south. But the niches, intermediate between the projecting angles, are most unequally distributed. They occur most frequently in the south-eastern sector, there being no intermediate niche in the north-western sector, and only four each in the north-eastern and south-western. Dikshit suggests two possible explanations for this irregularity² : (a) Direct sunlight was not obtained in the walls facing north; (b) there was only a limited number of stone reliefs available. But neither of these explanations is satisfactory, so that Ray concluded that "the intermediate niches and sculptures, whether on the main walls or between the projecting angles, did not form part of the original plan, which admits of stone sculptures only at the angular projections, one on each face, as *pieces de accent*". All sculptures in these projections are of approximately the same size, executed in the same kind of material,³ the style of the sculptures being completely different from that of classical art, but closely related to the vast number of terracotta plaques-undoubtedly part of the original scheme of decoration-stylistically as well as iconographically. "These sculptures, as binding the corners of the stupendous monument, come in the logic of a planned decorative arrangement, and the construction of the main temple in all its essential features during the period of Dharmapāla in the latter part of the eighth century A. D. may safely be inferred. The intermediate niches, mostly filled in with sculptures of Brahmanical deities of the late Gupta epoch, appear to have been provided for in later times to accommodate sculptures, as gathered from the earlier monuments at the site or in the neighbourhood."⁴

1. For details see *ibid.*, p. 508.

2. *M. A. S. I.*, No 55, p. 9.

3. They are executed in greyish or white or spotted sandstone. See *History of Bengal*, I, p. 525.

4. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 509,

From the above discussion it is clear that only an approximate dating of the Pāhārpur sculptures is possible. Basing our conclusion on the testimony of style and also on the disposition of sculptures and distribution of niches the sculptures showing Gupta features and those showing a compromise between the tradition of Gupta sculptures and an indigenous art tradition may be dated as belonging to a period between 6th century A. D. to the beginning or the first half of the 8th century A. D. The third group of sculptures "though in stone, ...is terracotta in technique."¹ They belong to the same trend of art as the terracotta plaques themselves and like these also seem to form part of the original decorative scheme of the temple. In view of these facts it appears that they were executed at the same time as the building of the monument itself some time in the latter part of the 8th century A. D.

Among the loose stone images and bronze sculptures mention may be made of (a) the head of a stone Bodhisattva, (b) Hevajra with Śakti, (c) a mutilated torso of a Bodhisattva, (d) a standing female figure and a bronze image of Hara-Gaurī. All of these belong to the Pāla school of art.

From the discussion of the history of the Pāhārpur site it is clear that it dates back to the 5th century A. D., when most probably a Jaina *vihāra* existed there. There is also evidence of the existence of a structure of the 7th century. The Sompura *vihāra* founded by Dharmapāla sometime in the latter part of the 8th century A. D. continued to flourish almost up to the Muhammadan conquest towards the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. Thus the history of the Pāhārpur site extends over almost eight hundred years, i. e. from the 5th to the beginning of the 13th century A. D.

2. Saraswati, *Early Sculptures of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 39.

MAHĀSTHĀN

The site of Mahāsthān or Mahāsthāngarh is situated in the Bagura district of East Pakistan "in 24°57' north latitude and 89°25' east longitude."¹ Standing on the west bank of the Karatoyā river it lies seven or eight miles north of the Bagura town, the headquarters of the Bagura district, and some 30 miles east of Pāhārpur. The ruins of the old city of Māhāsthān consist of an oblong plateau or the *garh* proper of 15 feet average elevation above the country. It occupies an area of about 5000 feet long from north to south and 4000 feet east to west. Within a radius of 4 miles isolated mounds also occur at various places on north, south and west sides. On the east the once mighty river Karatoyā protected the city of Mahāsthāngarh forming its natural and invulnerable defence line and also defined the limit of the city's area in the eastern direction. The extent of this city of great antiquity with its suburbs is unequalled by any other site of Bengal.²

The first notice of the ruins of Mahāsthāngarh was taken by Hamilton Buchanan, who, while discussing the history of the Dinajpur district, mentioned the name of Mahāsthāngarh and said, "the ruins of Mahasthan are said to be very considerable."³ These ruins are also described by C. J. O'Donnel,⁴ H. Beveridge,⁵ and Cunningham.⁶ From Mahāsthān Cunningham obtained among other things a considerable number of carved bricks and twelve square terracotta alto-relievos during his tour in Bihar

1. O' Donnell, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV. Part I, p. 183.

2. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1928-29, p. 88.

3. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. II, p. 609.

4. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV, Part I, pp. 183-ff.

5. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, pp. 94-95,

6. *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XV, 1882, pp. 104-117.

and Bengal in 1879-1880.¹ But like Mr. Beveridge² he also could find nothing Buddhist at Mahāsthān.³

The Archaeology Department of India began the systematic exploration of the ancient site of Mahāsthān during the year 1928-29. The mound, locally known as the *Bairāgi Bhiṭā* and situated on the *garh*, was excavated and later in the season operations were extended to an isolated mound called *Govinda Bhiṭā*. The excavations of that year brought to light extensive remains of religious structures of the Pāla period and confirmed the existence of a great centre of the Brahmanical religion.⁴ Though in the following year no further excavations were conducted at this site by the Archaeology Department rains brought to light a number of antiquities among which mention is to be made of a small fragmentary terracotta figure of a female, assignable on grounds of style to the Suṅga period.⁵ In the year 1930-'31 another terracotta figurine of the Suṅga period was found at Mahāsthāngarh in course of digging an outlet for rain water.⁶ During the year 1934-'35 excavations were carried on at Medh or "Lakhindharer Meḍh," an isolated mound about 43 feet high near the village of Gokul, about a mile to the south of the ruins of Mahāsthāngarh.⁷ The structure crowning the mound was a shrine erected at a height of about 40'.⁸ The excavation of the Meḍh mound continued in the following year.⁹ During the year 1936-'37 excavations were again conducted in the *Govinda Bhiṭā* site.¹⁰ Among other antiquities a number of terracotta plaques similar in execution to those of Pāhārpur were found.¹¹

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
 2. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol XLVII, p. 94.
 3. *A. S. I. R.*, XV, p. 109.
 4. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1928-'29, pp. 89-97.
 5. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1929-'30, p. 142.
 6. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1930-'34, p. 128.
 7. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1934-'35, p. 40-42.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
 9. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1935-'36, pp. 67-69.
 10. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936-'37, pp. 51-54.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54.

The old fortified city at the site of Mahāsthān is a place of great antiquity. Cunningham first proposed the identification of Mahāsthāngarh and Puṇḍravardhana. He based his theory mainly on Hiuen Tsang's account of Puṇḍravardhana.¹ "In my account of Bhasu Bihar, 4 miles to the west of Mahasthan," says Cunningham, "I mentioned that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Hiuen Tshang at the Po-shi-po monastery, which was situated just 4 miles to the west of the capital city of Pauṇḍravardhana. This city the pilgrim places at 600 li, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rājmaḥal. Now this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rājmaḥal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former."² Cunningham's view is subsequently corroborated by a metrical Sanskrit work, the *Karatoyā-Māhātmyam*.³ The author of this work was one Paraśurāma. As one verse of the *Karatoyā-māhātmyam* is quoted in Sarvānanda's *Tikāsarvasva* (1159 A. D.) and two in the *Smṛticandrikā* by Devanabhaṭṭa who is quoted by Hemādri⁴ (12th century), the *Karatoyā-māhātmyam* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A. D.⁵ According to Paraśurāma Śrī Pauṇḍravardhana-pura is the foremost place in the world being sanctified by the water of the Karatoyā and inhabited by 125,000 Brahmins together with Skanda, Viṣṇu, Balabhadra, Śiva and other gods (v. 24). He mentions the holy land as five *krośa* in circuit, in which again, a circuit of one *krośa* encloses the most sacred spot, where Bhārgava Muni resides (v. 57). This spot was created by Rāma, and became the Mahāsthāna of the whole world on account of its nineteen specialities..... (Verses 58

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1. *A. A. I., A. R.*, XV, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-102. For Hiuen Tsang's account of Puṇḍravardhana see Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. IV, p. 403.
 2. *A. S. I., A. R.*, XV, p. 110. For Cunningham's account of Bhāsu Bihar see the *Report*, pp. 102-104.
 3. *V. R. S. Monographs*, No. 2, pp. 25-28.
 4. *V. R. S. M.*, No. 2, p. 25.
 5. *E. I.*, XXI, p. 88.

and 59).¹ The identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravardhana is placed beyond doubt by the discovery of the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription found at the site of Mahāsthāngarh and assigned to the 4th century B. C.²

The stray finds at Mahāsthān of terracotta figurines of the Śuṅga period and Kuṣāṇa coins³ prove that the city continued to flourish during the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa period. With the exception of Samatāṭa, roughly equivalent to eastern Bengal, the rest of Bengal was definitely incorporated in the Gupta empire by the time of Samudra Gupta.⁴ From the data furnished by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta it can be safely concluded that Samatāṭa was a tributary state of the Gupta empire.⁵ Whether Bengal was subjugated by Samudra Gupta or wholly or even partly by his father Candragupta I is difficult to decide.⁶ But whatever view might be taken about this controversial issue a number of Gupta inscriptions prove it beyond doubt that from the middle of the fifth century A.D. down to the end of the dynasty, northern Bengal formed an important administrative division of the Gupta empire under the name of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti.⁷ The remains of a number of structures of the Gupta period together with materials of that period used by the Pāla builders in the Mahāsthāngarh site⁸

1. *V. R. S. M.*, No. 2, pp. 26-27. For the English translation of the verses see pp. 20-21 of the same *Monograph*.
2. *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 88-ff.
3. *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 127.
4. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 48.
5. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 8, 14.
6. *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 47-49.
7. Dhanāidaha cp. year 113 (432-30 A. D.), *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 345-348. Baigram cp. year 128 (447-48 A. D.) *E. I.*, XXI, pp. 78-83. Damodarpur cps. Nos. 1-4, years 124, 128 (the dates of the last two inscriptions Nos. 324) are lost, *E. I.* XV, pp. 123-141.
8. *A. S. I., A. R.* 1928-29, pp. 89-97; *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936-37, pp. 51-52.

show the flourishing condition of the city of Puṇḍravardhana during the Gupta rule.

There is hardly any doubt that both northern and western Bengal were included in the dominions of Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa,¹ who was a remarkable personality during the first half of the 7th century A. D. Hiuen Tsang, who came to Bengal during the first half of the 7th century A. D., describes the capital city of Puṇḍravardhana as being thickly populated, with tanks and public offices and flowering woods.²

Roughly from 650 to 750 A. D. the history of Bengal presents a series of invasions attracted by internal chaos and disorder. Excavation in the *Bairāgī Bhiṭā* mound has revealed successive accumulation of debris between the Pāla and Gupta levels which must have been due to the insecure conditions of life at this place during the period of anarchy mentioned above, when the prosperity of the city seems to have received a serious set-back.³

This century-long anarchy was ended by Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty who became the ruler of Bengal sometime in the latter half of the 8th century A. D. The extensive remains of religious structures of the Pāla period at the site of Mahāsthān proves the existence of a great centre of Brahmanical religion during the rule of the Pālas. The *Karatoyā-Māhātmyam* also shows that Puṇḍravardhanapura or Mahāsthān was a sacred place of the Hindus and a centre of Brahmanical religion. The evidence of building activities during the whole Pāla period in the Mahāsthān site testifies to the flourishing condition of this city. Again, in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, Puṇḍravardhanapura is said to be the crest jewel of Varendrī.⁴ It formed the headquarters of a district till the Muslim conquest.⁵ Though Mahāsthān lost its former greatness during the Muslim period

1. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 60.

2. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. IV, p. 403.

3. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1928-29, p. 92.

4. *Rāmacarita*, edited and translated by R. G. Basak, p. 142.

5. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 29.

and its decay and desolation began it is still sacred both to the Hindus and the Muslims. To the Muslims it is a place of great sanctity because it contains the shrine of Pir Sultān Māhisawār¹ and a mosque of the Mughal period. About the middle of April a fair is held at Mahāsthān the profits of which are made over to the shrine of Pir Māhisawār.² Mahāsthān is also a sacred place for the Hindus. Thousands of Hindu pilgrims visit Mahāsthān to bathe in the Karatoyā river at a certain conjunction of the planets known as the *Nārāyaṇī-yoga*, which occurs in the month of *Pauṣa* or December once in about twelve years.³

Terracotta plaques : Terracotta plaques are not found in large number in the Mahāsthāngarh site. On the base of a wall to the south-east corner of the eastern temple at *Govinda bhīṭā* ornamental terracotta plaques and carved bricks are found as at Pāhārpur. The wall is dated by Ramacandran as belonging to the 8th-9th century A. D.⁴ A number of plaques found in the verandah between the eastern and western temples are assigned to the late Gupta period (6th-7th century) by Ramacandran.⁵ But according to Saraswati they are approximately of the same date as those of the Pāhārpur plaques.⁶ The latter view seems to be more probable in view of the fact, also

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1. Several different versions are current regarding the settlement of this Pir at Māhasthān but in all of them Paraśurāma, who is said to have been the ruler of Mahāsthān when the former came there, and his daughter Śīlā-Devī figure. For details about the legend of Pir Sultān Māhisawār and Śīlā Devī see C. J. O'Donnell' *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIVH, Part I, p. 185; Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, XV, p. 107; *V. R. S. M.*, No. 2.
 2. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, p. 196.
 3. *V. R. S. M.*, No. 2.
 4. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1936-37, p. 52, pl. XV, e.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
 6. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 508,

noticed by Ramacandran, that Mahāsthāngarh plaques are similar in execution to the Pāhārpur examples. Semi-divine and semi-human beings such as *Yakṣas* are represented in Mahāsthāngarh plaques. Among divine beings a god holding a *pāśa* over his head is represented in one plaque. Mention may also be made of another plaque which shows a human head with *uṣṇiṣa* and flower over the ear.¹

A small number of sculptures are found from Mahāsthāngarh. Two sculptures represent Śiva with Gaurī. Two mutilated stone images representing the goddess Candī and dancing Gaṇeśa datable to the 11th century A. D. are also found.² The above-mentioned sculptures belong to the Pāla school of art. Among Buddhist objects mention may be made of two sculptures representing Padmapāni and Buddha. But they are in such a mutilated condition that it is not possible to date them on the basis of style and workmanship.

From the above discussion it is clear that Mahāsthān is a place of great antiquity, going back at least to the 4th century B. C.³ It was a flourishing place during the Gupta and Pāla periods and especially in the latter period it was a centre of Brahmanical religion. Like the Buddhist monastic establishment of Somapura i. e., Pāhārpur its decay and desolation began with the conquest of north Bengal by the Muslims at the beginning of the 13th century A. D.

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1. For details about the subject-matter of the Mahāsthāngarh plaques see *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936-37, pp. 53-54.
 2. *A. S. I., A. R.*, p. 95.
 3. In early Buddhist literature Buddha himself is said to have spent a few days in the city of Puṇḍravardhana and preached his religion. See Nihar Ranjan Ray, *Bāṅgālir Itihāsa, Ādi Parva*, p. 372.

MAINĀMATĪ

The town of Comilla is situated in the Tippera district of the eastern wing of Pakistan. Five miles to the west of this town rises a range of low hills with an average height of 90 feet above sea-level and 40 feet above the level of surrounding plains. It runs, from north to south, for a distance of about 10 miles and is called Maināmatī range; it is part of the Maināmatī and Lalmai hills, which widen further to the south. During the last World War in the course of trench digging at Maināmatī, six miles west of Comilla, an extensive centre of Buddhist culture was accidentally discovered by the military on the slopes of these hills.¹ The survey undertaken by the Department of Archaeology resulted in the discovery of a large number of ancient sites studded all over the ridge.² From most of the well-planned structures of the sites, however, a large number of bricks were removed by the military contractors, and to prevent this the Department of Archaeology had to protect more than 20 sites under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.³ Now under the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, excavations have been going on regularly every year since 1955.

The name Maināmatī, by which the village and the adjoining hill are known today, reminds us of the name of Queen Maināmatī (Madanāvatī), the wife of king Mānikyacandra and mother of Gopīcandra in Bengali tradition. The themes of many popular Bengali ballads centre round Mainīmatī and her son.⁴

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1. F.A. Khan, *Maināmatī* (Excavations, 1955), p.1., T. N. Ramachandran, "Archaeological Discoveries along Mainamati and Lalmai Range, Tippera District, East Bengal", in *B. C. Law Volume*. Part II, 1946, p. 213.
 2. F. A. Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. Some of these ballads are collected in *Gopīcāner-gān*, Vols. I and II (Calcutta University Publication).

In some of these ballads Gopīcandra is referred to as a ruler of Mṛkula now known as Mehārakula in the district of Tippera.¹ From Lāmā Tāranātha's account² we know of a Candra dynasty as ruling in *Bhaṅgala*³ before the rise of the Pāla dynasty. One king of this dynasty was Govicandra whose reign may be placed in the last quarter of the 7th century A. D. But according to the Gopīcānd legend, Gopīcānd, after renouncing his kingdom and his wives Adunā and Padunā, became the disciple of the *Siddha* Hāḍipā.⁴ Hāḍipā's disciple was Kanhu-pā, one of the authors of the *Caryās* which were written between a period of 10th and 12th century A. D.⁵

Tāranātha's record of a Candra dynasty ruling in eastern Bengal from about the 6th to 8th century A. D. has not yet been corroborated by any reliable evidence. But we learn from inscriptions, coins and Burmese chronicles of a dynasty of kings with names ending in candra, ruling in the Arakan region in the 7th century A. D., and even earlier.⁶ An account of nine rulers of this dynasty who ruled from 788 to 957 A. D. is recorded in the Burmese Chronicles.⁷ Coins similar to those found in Arakan have also been found in the enclosure of Ānandarāja's palace ruins.⁸ Like the coins from Arakan they are also thin silver issues and symbolic in purpose, and like them on palaeographical grounds are assignable to the 7th or

1. T. N. Ramacandran., *op. cit.*, p. 214.

2. See *History of Bengal*, 1, pp. 182, 183, 186, 187.

3. According to R. C. Majumdar *Bhaṅgala* may be taken to denote, in a general way, southern and eastern Bengal. See *History of Bengal*, I, p. 182.

4. *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

5. See *Ibid.* Also see *Caryāpada*, edited by Manindramohan Basu, Introduction, pp. 8-9.

6. *B. C. Law Volume*. Part II, pp. 216-217. Also see *History of Bengal*, I, p. 192.

7. *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, p. 217.

8. *Ibid.*

8th century A. D.¹ The legend *Paṭikerya* on the obverse of the Maināmatī coins is remarkable and "it at once refers to the famous Paṭṭikeraka-Vihāra of the Pāla period."²

The powerful dynasty of the Candras of Eastern Bengal, whose history is traceable from the latter half of the 9th to the latter half of the 11th century A. D.³, seems to have been intimately connected with the site of Maināmatī, a find-spot of three Candra copper-plates.⁴ Rohitāgiri, the seat of the Candra dynasty, was probably near Comilla and perhaps included the Lalmai region⁵. The meaning of Rohitāgiri, and Lalmai is the same, i. e., red hill. From Suvarṇacandra onwards all the Candras followed the Buddhist religion,⁶ and it is logical to conclude that the extensive centre of Buddhist culture found on the slopes of the Maināmatī and Lalmai hills was patronised by them.

The inscriptions discovered so far connect the Maināmatī site also with the Buddhist dynasty of the Devas.⁷ The Devas ruled

1. B. C. Law *Volume*, Part II, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
2. *Ibid.*
3. For details about the history of the Candras see A. H. Dani, "Purva Vaṅger Candra Raja Varnsa", *Bengali Academy Patrika*, *Pauṣ-Caitra*, 1367 (B. S.), pp.25-34; S. Hosain, *The Social Life of Women in Early Medieval Bengal*, Thesis submitted in the University of London, for the degree of Ph. D., 1965, pp. 35 ff.
4. Of these copper-plates two were issued by Laḍahacandra (c. 1000-1020 A. D.) and one by Govindacandra (c. 1020-1050 A. D.).
5. S. Hosain, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
6. Probably Pūrṇacandra, the first ruler of the Candra dynasty, was also a Buddhist. See *Bengali Academy Patrika*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
7. Of the three copper-plates of the Deva dynasty so far discovered two have been found from the site of Śālvān Vihāra, Maināmatī. The third copper-plate was also most probably found somewhere in the Comilla district of East Pakistan. For details see *J. A. S., Letters*, XVII, 2, 1951, p. 83.

from their capital Devaparvata for several generations and seems to have come to power after the Khadgas sometime in the last half of 7th century A. D.¹ The city of Devaparvata was most probably situated in the Maināmatī and Lalmai region.²

The discovery of a copper plate inscription at Maināmatī which records a grant of land to a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Paṭṭikera by Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva in 1220 A. D. in the 17th year of his reign³ shows beyond doubt that the city of Paṭṭikera was situated hereabouts. This Paṭṭikera was undoubtedly the capital of the Paṭṭikera principality about which we know from Burmese chronicles.⁴

A large numbers of terracotta plaques have been found at Maināmatī. As at Pāhārpur and Mahāsthān in north Bengal the terracotta plaques from Maināmatī also decorated the outer walls of well-planned temples and their themes are drawn from the every-day life of the people, from all creations of God and nature in the various stages of activity, emotion, movement and rest. The Bengal folk art is revealed in these plaques at its best.

At Maināmatī sculptures representing Buddhist and Brahmanical deities have been found. The stone sculpture representing Mañjuvara belongs to the Pāla school of art. Some bronze votive images of the Buddha were also discovered at Maināmatī which are assignable on grounds of style to a period between 9th and 11th century A. D. The Brahmanical images found in and around Maināmatī also belong to the Pāla school of sculpture.

Recently pieces of grey-coloured sculptures of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas carved in soft stone have been found in Mainā-

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1. For details about the Buddhist Deva dynasty see *Ibid.*, pp. 84 ff.; Dr. F. A. Khan, *Mainamati*, 1963, p. 19; Dr. F. A. Khan, "Mainamati Excavation-An Interpretation", *Pakistan Quarterly*, VII, 3, Autumn, Karachi, pp. 36-37,
 2. *J. A. S.*, *Letters*, XVII, 2, pp. 86-87
 3. *I. H. Q.*, IX, pp. 282 ff.
 4. *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 257-256.

matī.¹ About a dozen bronze miniature images of the Buddha, Bodhisattva, Tārā and Śarvvānī were also discovered recently.²

From the ensemble of evidence from plaques, sculpture, architecture, coins and copper-plates we can roughly date the centre of Buddhist culture and religion along the Maināmatī and Lalmai ridge as falling in a period between the 8th and 13th century A. D.

NĀLANDĀ

Nālandā, the site of a renowned Buddhist monastic establishment and university, is situated in the southern part of the modern province of Bihar, which was known as Magadha during the whole ancient and medieval period. It lies close to the village of Bargāon, about 53 miles south-east of Patna and 7 miles north of Rajgīr, the city of Rājagṛha of ancient fame. The area of this site extends some 1,600 feet north-south by 800 feet east-west.³

A. M. Broadley first excavated part of the site of Nālandā in the seventies of the 19th century.⁴ In 1916 from funds contributed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland excavations of this site were conducted by Dr. Spooner.⁵ But since the year 1917 the Government of India financed the work and excavations were done under the supervision of the Archaeological Superintendent at Patna.⁶ During the year 1917-

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1. F. A. Khan, "Mainamati Excavations—An Interpretation" *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 39.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
 3. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1923-24, p. 70.
 4. Hirananda Sastri, "Nalanda and its epigraphic materials," *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. 1.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. *Ibid.*

1918 the excavation of the ruins of Nālandā was continued.¹ In February 1920 the Nālandā excavations were resumed by the Archaeology Department and continued until the end of June.² From the year 1920-21 down to the year 1936-37 excavations of the ancient site of Nālandā were conducted every year.³

The antiquity of Nālandā goes back several centuries before Christ and the Jaina and Buddhist literature speak of Mahavīra's and Buddha's association with Nālandā.⁴

According to Tāranātha the first founder of the Nālandā *vihāra* was Aśoka.⁵ He also connects Nāgārjuna, the famous philosopher of the Mahāyāna school and alchemist (c. 2nd century A. D.), Āryadeva (early 4th century) and Asaṅga (5th century) and his brother Vasubandhu with Nālandā.⁶ But though the statements of Tāranātha show that Nālandā was a famous centre of Buddhism as early as 2nd century A. D. excavations have not revealed anything which can suggest the occupation of the site before the Guptas.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India between 629-645 and resided in Nālandā for a long time. According to his accounts a former king of this country named Śakrāditya built a monastery in Nālandā and his successors Buddhagupta-rāja, Tathāgupta-rāja, Bālāditya-rāja and Vajra built one monastery each nearby.⁷ After this a king of central India

1. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1917-18, pp. 26-27.

2. *Ibid.*, 1919-20, pp. 28-29.

3. See *Ibid.*, for these years.

4. For details see *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, pp. 8-ff; Hirananda Sastri, "Nālandā in Ancient Literature", *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1930, pp. 389-ff.

5. See H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nālandā*, Madras, 1934, p. 37.

6. A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Nālandā*, Government of India Publication, 1950, third edition, p. 40.

7. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 168-170.

built a great monastery and a high wall round these edifices with one gate.¹ Thus "a long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold."² As some of the names mentioned by Hiuen Tsang were also borne by the Gupta emperors it has been held that Śakrāditya and his successors belong to the Imperial Gupta dynasty.³ Śakrāditya has been identified with Kumāragupta I (c. 413 A. D.—455 A. D.), Buddhagupta with Budhagupta (c. 476 A. D.—496 A. D.) and Bālāditya with the king who had to encounter the Huṇa chief Mihirakula early in the sixth century.⁴ The name occurs on coins as an epithet of Narasimha Gupta. Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (606-647) also patronised the monastic establishment and university of Nālandā.⁵ Hiuen Tsang also gives a detailed account of the Nālandā university⁶ and speaks of its illustrious scholars like Dharmapāla, Candrapāla, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prabhāmitra, Śīlabhadra.⁷ Within a short period of thirty years following Hiuen Tsang's departure, no less than eleven Chinese and Korean travellers are known to have visited Nālandā, the great centre of Buddhist theology and educational activities.⁸ I-tsing, another Chinese pilgrim, reached Tāmralipti in 673 A. D. and studied at Nālandā for a considerable time.⁹ From his records we find that the number of monks of the Nālandā monastery exceeded three thousand in number and the monastery

1. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

2. *Ibid.*

3. A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

4. *Ibid.*

5. For details see *ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

6. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 170.

7. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

8. A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 43

9. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*; trans. by Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, Introduction, XVII.

had in its possession more than 200 villages bestowed on it by previous kings.¹ He also gives details of the curriculum.²

The Palas who ruled in Bengal and Bihar for four centuries were staunch Buddhists and were noted for their patronage of Mahāyāna Buddhism. They established new monasteries and at the same time continued to be liberal in their munificence to Nālandā. The Nālandā copper-plate of Dharmapāla records the gift of a village by him, but names of the village and of the grantee are not clear.³ Another inscription of the time of Dharmapāla is incised on the rim of a sculptured stūpa and starts with the praise of Dharmapāla.⁴ These two inscriptions show that Dharmapāla patronised the Nālandā monastery. The Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla tells us about the erection of a monastery by king Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty ruling in Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) and records the grant of five villages by Devapāla for the maintenance of the monastery on the request of Bālaputradeva.⁵ This inscription shows that "the monastery of Nālandā was in those days the seat of international Buddhist culture, and the Pāla emperors, as its guardians, held a high position in the Buddhist world."⁶ Devapāla's devotion to Buddhism and interest in the Nālandā monastery are also known from the Ghoshraja inscription.⁷ Other rulers of the Pāla dynasty also contributed their share to the maintenance of the Nālandā monastery.⁸ Nālandā continued to retain its great fame as a centre of Buddhist culture right up to the Mohammedan conquest. The Muslim historian, Minhāj, records the destruction of a city in western Bihar by Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khilji which they called Bihār (Sanskrit *vihāra*) and which was found

1, Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 and 154.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 167-ff.

3. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, pp. 84-85.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

5. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, pp. 96-ff.

6. *History of Bengal*, I, p. 122.

7. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, pp. 89-91.

8. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

to be a place of study.¹ It is not unlikely that Nālandā is referred to here.² Tāranātha also mentions the great damage done by the Turks at Nālandā.³ But we learn from Tibetan source of the repair of temples and *viḥāras* and erection of a new temple.⁴ But this external regeneration was short-lived; for, according to another tradition, the buildings were razed to the ground by fire.⁵ But even if the conflagration had not occurred the regeneration could not have been a lasting one. From the 7th century onwards Buddhism was slowly decaying. Under the Pālas Bengal and Bihar were the two last strongholds of Buddhism in India, but the internal degeneration of Buddhism that had already set in could not be checked by royal patronage, to which a death blow was given by the conquest of the Muslims. The Muslim invasion appears to have been the immediate cause of the end of Nālandā.

From Nālandā a large number of sculptures in clay, stone and metal are found, Jaina, Brahmanical and Buddhist. But the Jaina sculptures are very few in number and the Buddhist sculptures form the majority. Besides throwing light on the religious condition of the Pāla empire they also shed interesting light on the dress, jewellery and other aspects of the life of people.

The Pāla school of art is seen at its best in Nālandā and most of its sculptures belong to the Pāla period though there are also some sculptures of the Gupta period.

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, tr. Raverty, p. 552.

2. A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Pan-Sam-Jon-Zang*, quoted by Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 208 and 214.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIALS

The finds from Pāhārpur, Maināmatī, Mahāsthāngarh and Nālandā throwing light on the everyday life in the Pāla empire can for our purposes be broadly divided into two main classes, viz., (1) those throwing light on the social conditions, and (2) those throwing light on the religious conditions.

(1) Finds throwing light on the social conditions can again be divided into the following divisions : (a) Dress, coiffure and ornaments ; (b) musical instruments ; (c) vehicles and (d) weapons. The finds throwing light on the religious conditions can also be discussed under the following sub-headings : (a) Buddhist objects ; (b) Hindu objects ; (c) Jaina objects ; (d) demi-gods depicted in terracotta plaques and sculptures ; (e) terracotta plaques and sculptures representing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the Kṛṣṇa legend ; and (f) *Pañcatantra* stories. These archaeological materials are again supplemented by materials drawn from literary works like *Rāmacarita* and the *Caryāpada*, from Pāla inscriptions and copper-plates, inscriptions and copper-plates of the Senas and some other minor dynasties, and also from some illustrated manuscripts of the Pāla period.

FINDS THROWING LIGHT ON THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS

(a) DRESS, COIFFURE AND ORNAMENTS

The dress of the people of Pāla empire as depicted in the sculptures and terracotta plaques of Pāhārpur, Mahāsthāngarh, Maināmatī and Nālandā is a fascinating study. For a better

analysis of our material, we can divide the whole subject into two main classes : (I) Men's dress ; (II) women's dress.

(I) Men's dress : The *dhōti* was generally used by men to clothe the lower part of the body. A plaque from Pāhārpur (pl. I, fig. 2) depicts a man as wearing a lower garment which comes up to his ankles. This vertically striped lower garment, worn a little below the navel, may be a *dhōti* worn in *vikaccha* fashion or a "lungi". The contention may sound a little strange, but at Ajantā in the Deccan for a few centuries during which pictures went on being painted quite a number of the upper classes were being depicted as wearing the *lungi*. The *lungi* worn by the Ajantā males bear horizontal coloured stripes and hardly extends beyond the knees.¹ The upper garment of the man illustrated in the Pāhārpur plaque is a vertically striped scarf, (*uttariya*), thrown over the shoulders without covering the body. Another plaque from Pāhārpur (pl. I, fig. 3) illustrates two men, both of them carrying something on their heads, and there is an umbrella in the left hand of the taller one, whose *yajñopavīta* shows that he must be a Brāhmaṇa. His only garment is a short *dhōti* coming up to his knees, tucked or tied at the waist or perhaps fastened to his waist by a *kamarbandh* or a waistband. The front pleats of the *dhōti* are shown in a serpentine curl. The other man, whom it would perhaps be more appropriate to call a boy, is wearing a *laṅgoṭi* or *kaupīna*, fastened to his waist perhaps by a *kamarbandh* or belt. In one Pāhārpur plaque (pl. I, fig. 4) a man is illustrated as wearing a *dhōti* which comes down to his knees and is shown in folds on either thigh. The hind pleats of the *dhōti* are shown in a serpentine curl. One end of the *dhōti* can be seen as resting on the left thigh. The man does not wear any upper garment. Another plaque from the same place depicts a man as dancing. (pl. I, fig. 6) He wears a very short dress ending a little above the knees and there are patterns on it. One Pāhārpur plaque shows a man as wearing trousers ending a little above the ankle.

1. See Ghurya, *Indian Costume*, p. 117, figures 265 and 274.

(pl. II, fig. 1) The trousers are fastened to the waist by a waist-band the long end of which hangs in front. A man is depicted in one plaque as wearing a long *dhōti*. (pl. II, fig. 2) The *dhōti* seems to be striped and there are dot patterns on it. Another plaque from Pāhārpur (pl. III, fig. 1) depicts the side view of a seated man with his head bent. The lower garment worn by him seems to be drawers ending well above the knees. The drawers are horizontally striped, the stripes being indicated by double lines at regular intervals, with dot patterns between the stripes. The drawers are held in position at the waist by a string with a tassel at the centre. But if this lower garment is a short *dhōti* then it is worn in the *kaccha* fashion, the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wearing being indicated by double lines on either thigh. But a comparison of this drapery with drawers from Amaravati sculptur shows that most probably it is drawers and not a *dhōti*.¹ A Pāhārpur plaque (pl. III, fig. 2) depicts a standing human couple with arms round each other's neck. The only garment of the male figure is a short *dhōti* which comes almost down to his knees. Worn a little below the navel the *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a belt. In one plaque from Pāhārpur (pl. IV, fig. 1) the back view of a seated man performing, it seems, some religious rite, is depicted. His lower garment seems to be a *dhōti* the schematic folds of which are shown on either thigh. He wears no upper garment. The *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a flat belt. Another plaque from Pāhārpur (pl. IV, fig. 2) depicts a man who is dancing. He wears a short *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion. The *dhōti* is shown in schematic folds on either thigh at regular intervals and it is fastened to the waist by a narrow, flat belt. Two bands probably of cloth, with a round clasp at the centre, cross the breast of the man. The purpose of these appears merely decorative.

Several Pāhārpur plaques depict the Śabarās, who are aboriginals of the vast jungle tracts of the central parts of India.

1. See *Bulletin, Madras Government Museum, New Series General Section*, Vol. IV, 1942, p. 118, pl. VIII, fig. 34.

One plaque (pl. V, fig. 1) depicts a Śabara couple in an attitude of embrace. The Śabara wears a short *dhōti* ending well above the knees. He wears the *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion and the *dhōti* is shown in schematic folds on either thigh with dot patterns between the folds. The *dhōti* is worn a little below the navel and is held in position at the waist by a flat belt. The front pleats are beautifully shown. A Śabara, accompanied by a Śabarī, is illustrated in another plaque (pl. V, fig. 2) The Śabara's right hand is on the quiver of his right shoulder and the left hand on the bow. He wears a leaf girdle which is hardly sufficient to cover his shame. Two bands of cord pattern, with a round clasp at the centre, cross his breast. The upper portion of a quiver is seen over each of his shoulders. An old Śabara archer is depicted in one plaque (pl. V, fig. 3) as a bearded figure wearing boots. His quaint lower garment is a leaf girdle. It is difficult to say anything very definitely about the upper garment of the man. It would appear that he is wearing a short jacket with a circular design of spots over each breast. Over his left shoulder the upper portion of a quiver is shown and he is holding a bow with his right hand. Another plaque (pl. VI, fig. 3) depicts a Śabara couple. The Śabara is wearing a leaf-girdle. Two bands of cord pattern holding what appears to be quivers on his back, with a clasp at the centre cross his chest. On his left leg we see a boot. The upper portion of a quiver is shown over each of his shoulders.

We find representations of musicians in some plaques of Pāhārpur. One plaque portrays a man (pl. VII, fig. 1) playing on a *vīṇā*. He wears a short and narrow *dhōti*. The central part of the *dhōti* having wrapped the lower portion of the body below the navel, the left end of the *dhōti* is tucked up behind, and the right end is allowed to hang in graceful pleats in front which are shown in a curl. One end of the *dhōti* falls on the right thigh. The *dhōti* is held in position at the waist with the help of a flat belt. Another plaque (pl. VII, fig. 2) portrays a man as holding a lute (?). He wears a short and narrow *dhōti* which ends well above the knees. The central part of the *dhōti*

having covered the lower part of the body below the navel, both the ends of the cloth are drawn and tucked up behind. It is held tight round the waist by a flat belt. The *dhوتي* is shown in schematic folds on either thigh at intervals and between these folds there are dot patterns. The man beating a gong in (pl. VII, fig. 4) wears a short *dhوتي* which is fastened to the waist a little below the navel by a flat belt. One plaque depicts a man as holding a drum (pl. VIII, fig. 1). He wears a narrow strip of cloth, tucked between his legs and covering only his privy parts and held in position, it seems, with the help of a belt, one end of which is shown on the right side. This may however represent the end of the *langoti* tucked in the back of the belt.

Several plaques from Pāhārpur depict warriors. In two plaques (pl. IX, figs. 1 & 2) placed next to each other we find the representation of two warriors fighting from their chariots. The warrior standing on the proper left side wears a striped short *dhوتي* which covers only a small portion of his thigh. The *dhوتي* is fastened to the waist by a flat belt, consisting of two bands, a loop of which hangs on the left thigh. The long front pleats are arranged beautifully. There are dot patterns on the *dhوتي*. The border of the *dhوتي* is indicated by double lines on each thigh. Two bands with an ornamented clasp at the centre cross the chest of the warrior. These bands hold the quivers on his back. The warrior standing on the proper right side also wears a short and striped *dhوتي* which does not cover the whole portion of his thighs. The long front pleats dangle on the left thigh and they show that at least one end of the *dhوتي* has ornamental fringes. On each thigh the border of the *dhوتي* is indicated by double lines. There are dot patterns on the *dhوتي*. Two bands, holding the quivers on his back, with a round clasp at the centre cross his chest. The *dhوتي* worn by these warriors has some similarities with the short *dhوتي* worn by the Nāga chief from Ajantā¹ though each of them has arranged the front pleats in a different fashion. Another plaque (pl. IX,

1. See Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 104, fig. 253.

fig. 3) depicts a warrior in action. He wears a *dhōti* which comes down to his knees and which is fastened to his waist, a little below the navel, by a flat, narrow belt. A loop from the belt seems to hang on his right side. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear are indicated on each thigh by horizontal lines. The front pleats are shown in a curl. One plaque (pl. X, fig. 1) depicts a warrior holding a sabre and shield. He wears a short *dhōti* which ends well above the knees. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and one end of the *dhōti* is allowed to fall in pleats. The *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a belt. A warrior holding a sword and shield in pl. X, fig. 2 wears a short *dhōti* with pleats hanging in front. The lower garment of another warrior depicted in one plaque (pl. XI, fig. 1) can no more be clearly distinguished owing to the mutilated condition of the plaque. It seems to be a striped short *dhōti* with dot designs. But it is impossible to give a detailed description. On the upper part of his body he wears a long-sleeved and fairly close-fitting tunic, the neck of which seems round and close-fitting. This tunic seems to have no opening in front. At the waist it may have been secured in position by means of a belt like the dancing figure from Pawaya in Gwalior.¹ Its expanse is apparently visibly exaggerated through the tight wrapping of the lower garment at the waist. Comparison of the tunic worn by the Pāhārpur warrior with that of the A-jantā marketeer² shows great similarities. Another warrior represented in one plaque (pl. II, fig. 4) wears a short *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion with pleats tucked up behind.

One plaque represents an ascetic as wearing a *langoṭi* (pl. VIIa, fig. 3)

The dress of Mañjuśrī seated on a lotus (pl. XII, fig. 2) can no more be clearly distinguished. The front pleats of his loincloth are shown as dangling on the lotus and the loincloth

1. See Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 121, fig. 194.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 121, fig. 259.

is fastened to the waist by a narrow belt. One plaque from Pāhārpur (pl. XIII, fig. 1) depicts a seated Padmapāṇi wearing a scarf on his chest with its ends flung past his arms. Vertical stripes can be seen in the right end of the scarf. The lower garment of Padmapāṇi is held in position with a girdle-belt round the waist. The girdle-belt, consisting of two bands, has a flower clasp at the centre. No details of the lower garment, which reaches down to ankles, are visible. Jambhala is shown in one plaque (pl. XIV, fig. 1). His lower garment is indistinct and only portions of the narrow, and flat belt with which it was held tight round the waist can be seen. He wears a folded scarf covering the central portion of his fat belly. The dress of the seated Bodhisattva represented in one plaque (pl. XV, fig. 2), is no more distinct, but from the schematic folds of the lower garment visible on each thigh it may be stated that he either wears drawers or a *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion. The garment is fastened to the waist by a flat belt with round clasp at the centre.

Hindu deities are represented in several Pāhārpur terracotta plaques. One plaque depicts a ten-armed Śiva (pl. XX, fig. 1) wearing a short *dhōti* which comes a little below his knees. The *dhōti* is worn on the *kaccha* fashion and the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear are indicated on each thigh by double lines. One end of the *dhōti* is allowed to fall in graceful pleats in front and these pleats show that at least one end of the garment is vertically striped. There are dot designs on the *dhōti* and it is held in position at the waist by a flat belt. Another plaque depicts a four-headed Brahmā wearing a narrow scarf on the upper part of his body which passes over his chest diagonally (pl. XX, fig. 2). His lower garment is indistinct. He seems to wear a lower garment which comes down to his ankles. It is held in position at the waist by a flat, narrow belt with a round clasp. The only dress of the standing Gaṇeśa is a short *dhōti* reaching to the knees (pl. XXI, fig. 3). It is held in position by a decorated belt and the short front pleats are shown in a curl.

Also semi-divine beings such as Gandharvas, Kīrtimukhas and Nāgas are represented in Pāhārpur plaques. A snake-hooded Nāga is depicted in one plaque playing cymbals (pl. XXXII, fig. 6). It is difficult to be definite about his lower garment. It seems that he wears tight-fitting trousers coming down to his ankles. It may be compared with the close-fitting, white trousers worn by a Bodhisattva from Ajantā.¹ The piece of cloth dangling on the ground may be a separate piece tucked at the centre for decorative purpose. But the condition of the plaque does not enable us to decide whether the drapery is held in its place with a belt round the waist. If the lower garment worn by the Nāga is a *dhoti*, its central part covers the lower portion of the body and one end is tucked tightly behind, giving the garment a trousers-like appearance while the other end falls in graceful pleats in front. But here again, the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear cannot be distinguished. The upper garment of the Nāga is a narrow scarf, folded and then thrown over the arms without covering the body. It is difficult to describe the lower garment worn by the Gandharva riding a rhinoceros. (pl. XXXIII, fig. 1). It seems that first a strip of cloth is wrapped round the waist and then another piece of cloth is fixed above it, one end of which covers his privy parts and also decorates the whole attire. The Gandharva appears to wear a full-sleeved and close-fitting tunic with a round neck. It seems that the tunic is not open-fronted. The expanse of the tunic is visionally exaggerated through the tight wrapping of the lower garment at the waist. If this tunic is compared with those worn by the Pāhārpur warrior (pl. XI, fig. 1) and the Ajantā marketeer² one can notice some similarities between the three. A footwear is visible on the right foot of the Gandharva. A Gandharva holding a broken necklace in his hands is depicted in one plaque. (pl. XXXIV, fig. 1). It seems that he wears a narrow *dhoti* extending to his ankles. The central portion of the *dhoti* covers the lower part of the body, one end being tucked up behind, and

1. See Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 118, fig. 262.

2. See Ghurye, *op. cit.*, fig. 194.

the other allowed to fall in graceful pleats in front which appear in the plaque behind the Gandharva's thigh, owing to his pose. But there is a possibility that the portion of the drapery looking like front pleats might be part of the girdle-belt with the help of which the drapery is secured in its place. The Gandharva has foot-wear. One plaque represents a flying Gandharva couple (pl. XXXIV, fig. 2). It seems that the male figure wears a *dhوتي* in the *kaccha* fashion, fixed to the waist by a flat belt with a round clasp. While the central part of the *dhوتي* covers the lower portion of the body below the navel, both its ends are drawn tightly and tucked up behind. There are dot patterns on the *dhوتي*. One boot can be seen on the left foot of the Gandharva. The Gandharva holding sword and noose (pl. XXXV, fig. 1) wears a vertically striped short *dhوتي* held tight round the waist by an ornamented belt, one end of which falls on his right side. The *dhوتي* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion with its front pleats shown in a curl. The Gandharva wears boots. The standing ascetic with bow wears a short *dhوتي* which comes down a little below his knees (pl. XXXVI, fig. 1). The *dhوتي* is fastened to the waist by a flat belt of two bands and it is worn in the *kaccha* fashion. The lower garment of the seated ascetic with bow and arrows (pl. XXXVI, fig. 2) can no more be clearly distinguished. Two bands holding the quivers on his back, cross his chest with a round clasp at the centre. A man pulling down something from above (pl. XXXVII, fig. 1) seems to wear trousers of striped cloth with dot patterns in between the stripes, but nothing more can be ascertained.

The sculptures from Pāhārpur also throw light on the dress of the people. One sculpture represents a man holding a flute, (pl. VIII, fig. 2) who seems to wear a piece of cloth wrapped several times around his waist, with its end falling on both sides. This curious short dress hardly covers his privy parts. The watchman resting on his club (pl. XI, fig. 2) seems to wear trousers which come down to his ankles. The trousers are fixed to the waist with a piece of cloth one end of which can be

seen on his left side. This piece of cloth seems to have some decorative purpose also and may be compared with the curious short dress of pl. VIII, fig. 2. The standing Padmapāṇi (pl. XVI, fig. 2) wears a lower garment which comes down to his ankles. Worn a little below the navel it is held in position at the waist with a flat belt. This lower garment is either a *luṅgi* or a *dhōti* worn in the *vikaccha* fashion. The scarf of the Padmapāṇi crosses his chest diagonally. His male attendant wears shorts which end well above the knees. The standing Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā* (pl. XVII, fig. 1) wears a lower garment reaching to his ankles. A standing male figure (pl. XIX) wears shorts which seem to be fastened to the waist by a belt.

Śiva, holding a lotus, (pl. XXII, fig. 2) wears a short and narrow *dhōti* which ends well above the knees. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and one end of it hangs in pleats in front. The *dhōti* is held tight round the waist by a girdle-belt, consisting of more than one band, with a knot in the centre. A narrow piece of cloth is wrapped round the loin in an angular fashion apparently for decorative purpose. A divine figure with crescent on head (pl. XXIII, fig. 1) wears a lower garment which ends a little above the ankles. A little below the navel it is fastened by a girdle-belt, consisting of two bands of cord pattern and tied in a knot in the centre. This lower garment is either a *dhōti* worn in the *vikaccha* fashion or a *luṅgi*. He wears a narrow scarf on his upper person which passes his chest diagonally. A sculpture depicting Śiva (pl. XXIII, fig. 2) shows him wearing a long lower garment which reaches to his ankles. Most probably it is a *dhōti* worn in the *vikaccha* fashion. It is, however, possible that it should be considered some kind of *luṅgi*. A little below the navel the garment is fastened to the waist by a twofold girdle-belt. Another Śiva sculpture (pl. XXIV, fig. 2) represents the god with rosary and kneeling Nandi. A piece of cloth appears on his right thigh and two small pieces of cloth hang from his belt which seem to have some decorative purpose. The sculpture representing Yama (pl. XXVI, fig. 2) shows him

as wearing a short and narrow *dhōti* which ends a little above the knees. Worn a little below the navel the *dhōti* is held in position by a decorated girdle-belt. The girdle-belt has a clasp in the centre. The front pleats are shown in a curl. The dress of the male attendant is indistinct. He seems to have worn a lower garment which comes down to his knees and is fastened to the waist by a belt. Agni holding a *kamaṇḍalu* (pl. XXVII, fig. 2) wears short and narrow *dhōti* which ends a little above the knees. It is fastened to the waist, little below the navel, by an ornamented belt. The front pleats are shown in a curl. He also wears a flowing cloth in the *upavīta* fashion. The dress of Kubera who holds a purse in the left hand can no more be ascertained (pl. XXVIII, fig. 1). The seated Gaṇeśa (XXVII, fig. 2) wears a lower garment which extends below the knees but no other details are visible. A flat belt or strip of cloth is tied round the abdomen of the seated Kubera (pl. XXIX, fig. 1) with the two ends of a piece of cloth hanging down the centre of the belt. The lower garment comes down to his knees. A divine figure with *akṣamālā* and *pustaka* (pl. XXX, fig. 1) wears a short and narrow *dhōti* which comes down to his knees. The *dhōti* is worn a little below the navel and is tied round the waist with the help of a belt, consisting of two bands of cord pattern and a clasp at the centre. It is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and one end is allowed to fall in graceful pleats in front. A flowing cloth is worn in *upavīta* fashion. The male attendant kneeling on his right side seems to wear a short *dhōti* and a scarf. But nothing definitely may be stated since only part of his body is visible. Brahmā (pl. XXX, fig. 2) with *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* wears something like shorts which do not completely cover his thighs. It is striped and presumably fixed to the waist by a flat, narrow belt. The dress of Hara represented in a bronze sculpture (pl. XXXI, fig. 1) seems curious. He wears a lower garment which ends well above the knees. Worn a little below the navel it is fastened to the waist by a flat belt. But it is very difficult to make out whether it is a short *dhōti* or only a piece of cloth wrapped

round the waist. If it is compared with the lower garment of Indra from Ajantā¹ who is clad in *luṅgi*, we find some similarities between the two. Hara seems to wear a full-sleeved and round-necked jacket as indicated by the lines round his neck and the end of his right hand holding Gaurī's chin. The two Kinnaras (pl. XXXV, fig. 2) wear something like half-pants ending well above the knees. The figure on the right has his garment tied with a flat belt round the waist. The Gandharva holding a garland (pl. XXXV, fig. 3) wears a lower garment which is shown in schematic folds on both the thighs. It is worn a little below the navel. His upper garment is a narrow scarf, folded and thrown over the shoulders without covering the body. One loose end of the scarf flutters over his right shoulder. He wears boots. One sculpture seems to represent the fight between Vālī and Sugrīva (pl. XXVII, fig. 2). The figure on the left, Sugrīva, seems to wear a short *dhōti* which comes down to his knees. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion, the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear being indicated by horizontal lines on each thigh. The monkey carrying stones (pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 1) wears a very narrow and short dress, something like shorts or *laṅgaṭi*. Worn a little below the navel it is fastened to the waist by a string. Another sculpture appears to represent the abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna (pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 2). Of all the figures only the dress of the standing figure holding a man on his arms is distinct. He wears a very narrow and striped garment. It is something like shorts and is fastened to the waist by a flat belt. One sculpture seems to represent Vāsudeva carrying infant Kṛṣṇa (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2). Vāsudeva wears shorts. The boy holding a lump of butter (?) wears shorts which end well above the knees (pl. XXXIX, fig. 1). Round the waist and over the shorts another piece of cloth is wrapped, the purpose of which seems to be decorative. The shorts are worn a little below the navel and are fastened to the waist by a string of

1. See S. G. Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 104, fig. 252.

beads or a chain. One sculpture depicts three figures (pl. XXXIX, fig. 2). All the three figures seem to wear something like shorts or *jāngiās*. In the case of the boy on the proper right side and the central figure, it seems that the shorts are fastened to the waist by a belt. One sculpture seems to represent the *Pralambavadha* incident (pl. XL, fig. 1). The standing male who holds up with his left hand a small figure, probably a boy, wears a *laṅgoṭi* held in position at the waist with a belt which has a clasp in the centre. The small figure, standing on his right hand side, also seems to wear a *laṅgoṭi* which is fastened to his waist by a belt. Kṛṣṇa in one sculpture (pl. XL, fig. 2) is represented as wearing a short *dhōti* which ends a little below the knees. The *dhōti* is a striped one and is fastened to the waist by a girdle-belt, consisting of two bands of chain with a flower-clasp at the centre. Just below the clasp the loop of the girdle-belt is shown. One end of the girdle-belt hangs on the right thigh. The dangling front pleats are beautifully arranged and shown in a curl. The scarf is tied round the middle of the body between the chest and the abdomen and knotted on the right side. The two ends of the scarf hang on the right thigh and ornamental fringes of the scarf are prominently shown. The prostrated demon seems to wear a *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion. The surplus portion of the neatly pleated and snugly tucked in hind pleats rests on his left thigh. The end of the *dhōti* out of which the hind pleats are formed is drawn between the legs at the back so tightly that the pleated flat portion comes just from under the divide of the buttocks. In another sculpture Kṛṣṇa is represented as wearing a narrow piece of cloth round his waist to cover his privy parts (pl. XLI, fig. 1). This short dress is fixed to the waist by a belt with a clasp. Nothing certain can be stated about the dress of Kṛṣṇa's male attendant. He seems to wear a *laṅgoṭi* passing between the legs to cover the shame. Indra (pl. XLI, fig. 2) seems to wear a *dhōti* which extends a little below the knees. The *dhōti* is shown in wavy folds and is held in position at the waist with a beautiful girdle-belt. The front pleats are shown in a

curl. Round the abdomen and a little above the navel a flat and narrow band with a knot in the centre is also worn by Indra. He wears a scarf on his upper person which seems to pass from the left arm to the right arm, being drawn over the upper back. One end of the scarf dangles on the left side. In one sculpture Kṛṣṇa is represented as wearing a very close-fitting dress which comes down to his knees (pl. XLII, fig. 1). It appears to be horizontally gathered on each thigh and is worn a little below the navel. It seems to be fastened with a flat belt which is probably knotted at the back. One sculpture seems to represent Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's wrestling with Cānura and Muṣṭika (pl. XLII, fig. 2). All the three figures whose lower garments are visible wear short *dhotis* in the *kaccha* fashion. One sculpture seems to illustrate Kamsa dragged by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma (pl. XLIII). Both the central and the left hand figures wear something like shorts. It seems that the shorts worn by the central figure are held in position with a flat belt. The dress of the kneeling figure is indistinct. The male attendant of Yamunā (pl. XLIV, fig. 1) seems to wear a *luṅgi*, which almost comes down to his ankles. It seems to be fastened to the waist by a flat belt. Balarāma (pl. XLIV, fig. 2) wears a short *dhoti* which almost reaches the knees. Worn a little below the navel the *dhoti* is fastened to the waist by a three-banded girdle-belt with an ornamented clasp in the centre. The front pleats are shown in a curl. Just above the navel a band is fastened round the abdomen, the knot and two long ends of which are shown in the front. Balarāma has his scarf twisted round the thighs with a knot at the side of his right leg. The dress of the male attendant of Balarāma is indistinct except a flat piece of cloth round the waist. Kṛṣṇa (pl. XLV, fig. 1) in one sculpture is shown as dressed in a lower garment reaching to the knees (pl. XLV, fig. 1). If we make a comparison of this loin cloth with the *luṅgi* painted in one of the Ajantā caves¹ it also proves to be a *luṅgi*. Like the *luṅgi* worn by the gentlemen of Ajantā it is not very long and

1. See Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 117, figs. 265, 274.

is even narrower than the modern *lungi*, which has tended to become almost as broad as the *dhōti*. The *lungi* worn by Kṛṣṇa is shown in wavy folds in an artistic manner. It is fastened to the waist by a two-fold girdle-belt with a clasp and loop at the centre. He wears a scarf on his chest with one long end dangling on the left side. A fragmentary torso of a Bodhisattva (pl. XLVI, fig. 2) shows a long *dhōti* coming to the ankles. The *dhōti* is shown in schematic folds on both legs and is held in position at the waist with a decorated girdle-belt. One sculpture depicts an amorous couple (pl. XLVIII). The male figure wears a short *dhōti* reaching to his knees. The long front pleats are shown in a curl. The *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by an ornamented girdle-belt with a flower clasp and loop at the centre. One end of the girdle belt hangs on his left thigh. He also wears a narrow scarf on his upper person which we see as thrown over the left shoulders without covering the body. One loose end of the scarf dangles on the left side.

Terracotta plaques and sculptures from Mahāsthāngarh also throw light on the dress of the people of Pāla empire. One plaque depicts a man as wearing a very short full-sleeved and close-fitting jacket with a V-shaped neck (pl. LIII, fig. 2). This jacket appears to be an open-fronted one, the two parts of it being held together by a clasp in the centre. It is probable that what appear to be the neck and clasp of the jacket are in fact the band and pendant respectively of a necklace worn by the man. A comparison of this jacket with that of the old Śabara archer from Pāhārpur (pl. V, fig. 3) shows similarities between the two. Another plaque represents an amorous couple. (pl. LIII, fig. 3). The male figure wears a *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion, the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear being indicated by horizontal lines on each thigh. It is possible, however, that these lines are intended to represent stripes. It is worn at the waist a little below the navel and is held in position with the help of a flat belt which shows a round clasp in the centre. A god, probably Yama, holding a *pāśa* is represented in one plaque (pl. LVII, fig. 2). He wears a

striped lower garment which seems to be fastened to the waist by a flat belt. It appears that the belt is knotted on the right side. One plaque depicts a pot-bellied Yakṣa (pl. LVIII, fig. 2). He seems to wear a short jacket of the type mentioned above and a scarf on his upper person. The two parts of the jacket seem to be held together by a big clasp in the centre. The neck of the jacket is round rather than V-shaped. The jacket is close-fitting and sleeveless. One sculpture depicts Hara and Gaurī (pl. LVI, fig. 1). Hara wears a scarf on his upper person which seems to go diagonally from the right of the waist to the left shoulder.

Immense light is thrown on the dress of the people of Pāla empire by the terracotta plaques and sculptures from Maināmatī. In one plaque an acrobat attempting difficult feats (pl. LIX, fig. 1) is shown as dressed in a short *dhōtī* which comes down to the knees. The *dhōtī* is a striped one with dot designs between the stripes. It is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and the neatly folded hind pleats are tucked in at the back-centre. The end of the *dhōtī* out of which the hind pleats are formed is drawn between the legs at the back so tightly that the pleated flat portion comes just from under the buttocks. At the waist the *dhōtī* is held in position with the help of a flat belt. A boot can be seen on his left foot. The dress of the seated Brāhmaṇa is very indistinct (pl. LIX, fig. 2). We can only see something like a belt or a piece of cloth on the right of his waist. The dress of an emaciated ascetic in dancing pose is also very indistinct (pl. LIX, fig. 4). One probability is that he is shown here as dressed in trousers, which seems strange, particularly if we compare with the dress of the ascetics from Pāhārpur who are shown as dressed in *laṅgoṭis*. A boy is depicted in one plaque (pl. LIX, fig. 5). Two bands cross the chest of the boy ; it is possible that these bands represent a jacket, but no sign of sleeves can be traced. A Gandharva playing on a *ḍamaru* (pl. LX, fig. 3) wears a short *dhōtī* which ends a little above the knees. The *dhōtī* seems to be a striped one and one end of the *dhōtī* hangs in pleats in front. A warrior holding a big

shield and a small dagger is depicted in one plaque (pl. LX, fig.5). It seems that he has tied a scarf around his waist one end of which dangles on the ground beside his left thigh. The scarf appears to be knotted in the centre. A Vidyādhara holding a bow in his right hand (pl. LX, fig. 7) seems to wear a short *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion. There are dot patterns on the *dhōti*. The Vidyādhara wears boots. A warrior in action with a dagger in his right hand and the left in a threatening attitude (pl. LXI, fig. 1) seems to wear a very short *dhōti* in *kaccha* fashion, one end of the *dhōti* being allowed to hang in pleats in front. We see a shoe on his left foot. The dress of another warrior holding a shield in the right hand and dagger in the left seems to be curious (pl. LXI, fig. 2). The lower garment worn by him may be a patterned *laṅgoṭi*. It seems to be fastened to the waist by a flat belt. But we cannot say anything very definitely as we do not see the front view of this warrior. Another warrior is represented in one plaque (pl. LXI, fig. 3) wearing striped shorts which end well above the knees. There are dot patterns between the stripes. The shorts are worn just below the navel. A flat piece of cloth seems to be wrapped over the shorts in the left thigh, the purpose of which appears to be merely decorative. A warrior killing a tiger (pl. LXI, fig. 4) is depicted as wearing a lower garment which comes down to the knees. This lower garment is a striped one with dot patterns between the stripes and is either a *dhōti* or drawers. He also wears boots. Another warrior in action (pl. LXI, fig. 5) wears a short *dhōti* which seems to reach the knees. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and is secured in its place at the waist with the help of a flat belt. A man killing a tiger is depicted in one plaque (pl. LXI, fig. 6). He wears a *dhōti* which comes down to the knees. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion, the hind pleats being tucked in at the back centre very tightly. We see a boot on his left leg. A warrior is represented as dressed in a striped lower garment which ends well above the knees (pl. LXI, fig. 7). It seems to be a *dhōti*. We see a boot on

his right foot. An archer in action (pl. LXI, fig. 8) wears a little below the navel a short, striped lower garment which is most probably a *dhoti*. Another possibility is that it is shorts.

Several plaques from Maināmatī depict Buddhist divine beings but the damaged condition of these plaques has made their dresses indistinct. Trailokyavijaya (pl. LXII, fig. 3) in one plaque is represented as wearing a very short lower garment. This lower garment seems to be a *langoti* tied at the waist with the help of a waist-band the loops of which hang in the front. Semi-divine and semi-human beings are also depicted in Maināmatī plaques. One plaque depicts a Vidyādhara as wearing a short *dhoti* which seems to reach the knees (pl. LXV, fig. 1). The *dhoti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion. It is striped with dot patterns between the stripes. The Vidyādhara has worn the *dhoti* just below the navel. He also wears a scarf on his upper person which is first thrown over the left shoulder and then drawn over the back and through the right armpit to the right shoulder. Both the ends of the scarf flutter, one up above the right shoulder and the other on the proper right side. He wears boots. In another plaque a Vidyādhara wearing a *dhoti* and a scarf is depicted (pl. LXV, fig. 2). The *dhoti* is worn a little below the navel and seems to end a little above the knees. It is worn in the *kaccha* fashion, the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear being indicated by horizontal lines on each thigh. The scarf worn by the Vidyādhara seems to be thrown over the shoulders without covering the body; its long ends flutter on both sides. But that portion of the scarf which is thrown over the left shoulder is a little indistinct. The lower garment of a Vidyādhara depicted in one plaque is indistinct (pl. LXV, fig. 3). He wears a scarf on his upper person the long ends of which flutter. Another Vidyādhara (pl. LXV, fig. 5) wears a scarf on his upper person the two ends of which flutter up above his shoulders, drawn over the upper back and passing through the armpits. A Kinnara with human figure and the head of a horse is depicted in one plaque (pl. LXVI, fig. 1). He wears

a *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion, one end of the *dhōti* being allowed to fall in graceful front pleats. At the waist the *dhōti* is secured in its place by a flat belt. He wears boots. A Vidyādhara holding a garland (pl. LXVI, fig. 2) wears below the navel a short and narrow *dhōti* which ends well above the knees. The *dhōti* is held in position at the waist by an ornamented girdle-belt. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion, one end of the *dhōti* being allowed to hang in pleats in front. The *dhōti* is a striped one with designs between the stripes. The scarf worn by the Vidyādhara seems first to be thrown over the left shoulder ; then it goes to the right shoulder, being drawn over the upper back and passing through the right armpit. Both the long ends of the scarf flutter, one up above the right shoulder and the other on the left side. The Vidyādhara wears boots. A Yakṣa figure in frontal pose is illustrated in one plaque (pl. LXVI, fig. 3). He wears a full-sleeved jacket which seems to be open-fronted. The face of the figure seems to indicate that this is not a woman, though otherwise it might be interpreted as that of a woman with heavy breasts. This jacket is close-fitting and its neck is round. The Vidyādhara holding a garland (pl. LXVI, fig. 5) wears a *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion. The *dhōti* seems to come down to the calves and is fastened to the waist, below the navel by a flat belt. Another Vidyādhara holding a garland (pl. LXVI, fig. 7) seems to wear a *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion, the hind pleats being tucked in at the back centre. A tree spirit is depicted in one plaque (pl. LXVI, fig. 8). He wears a short *dhōti* which reaches the knees. The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion. It is worn below the navel and there are patterns on it.

One sculpture represents Mañjuvara (pl. LXIII, fig. 1). He seems to wear a *dhōti* which is fastened to the waist by a highly ornamented girdle. The *dhōti* appears to come down to the knees. The Brahmanical god Sūrya is represented in one sculpture (pl. LXIV, fig. 1). He wears a *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion which ends a little below the knees. The *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a highly ornamented girdle. He wears

a scarf, one end of it falling over the right forearm the other on the left forearm, being drawn over the lower back. The male attendant on either side wears a *dhōti* with pleats hanging in front. The lower garment of *Sūrya* depicted in another sculpture is not distinct (pl. LXIV, fig. 2). He wears a scarf.

We can know much about the dress of the people of *Pāla* empire from the sculptures of *Nālandā*. *Avalokiteśvara* in one sculpture is represented as wearing a long and broad *dhōti* which comes down to his ankles (pl. LXVII, fig. 1). The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and the end of the long front pleats is shown in a curl. At the waist the *dhōti* is held in position with the help of a girdle-belt which shows a flower-clasp in the centre. One end of the belt seems to hang on the right thigh. He twists a long scarf round his thighs and then forms a looped knot at the side of his left leg. The ends of the scarf dangle on the left leg. He holds the looped knot in his left hand. A *Bodhisattva* is depicted in one bronze sculpture as dressed in a long lower garment ending a little above the ankles (pl. LXVIII, fig. 1). This lower garment seems to be something like a *luṅgi* and is held in position at the waist with the help of a girdle-belt of two bands. The girdle-belt has got a central clasp. The *Bodhisattva* wears a scarf on his upper person which goes diagonally from the right to the left shoulder. The ends of the scarf hang on the left side. *Padmapāṇi* (pl. LXVIII, fig. 2) wears a short and narrow *dhōti* which is held in position at the waist with the help of a beautiful girdle-belt. The long front pleats are shown in a curl. He also wears a scarf which he has swathed round the thighs in a highly fashionable manner. Twisting the main wrap he has arranged the remainder in a large loop-knot at the right thigh. One end of the scarf dangles on the right leg. One bronze sculpture depicts the *Buddha* in the *varadamudrā* (pl. LXIX, fig. 1). He wears a *dhōti* in the *vikaccha* fashion which ends a little above the knees. A scarf covers his upper person which passes diagonally from the right side to the left

shoulder. He seems to hold one end of the *dhōti* in his left hand. Another *varada* Buddha (pl. LXIX, fig. 2) wears a long robe. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara wears a *dhōti* which ends a little below the knees (pl. LXIXa, fig. 1). The *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a highly ornamented girdle-belt. There are beautiful floral designs on the *dhōti*. It seems that the seated and crowned Buddha depicted in one sculpture (pl. LXIXa, fig. 2) wears a long *dhōti* which reaches the ankles. The end of the front pleats is seen beneath his legs. The four-faced Vajrapāṇi (pl. LXX, fig. 2) wears a long *dhōti* which ends a little above the ankles. The *dhōti* appears to be worn in the *kaccha* fashion and is fastened to the waist by a girdle-belt with a flower clasp in the centre. There are beautiful floral designs on the *dhōti*. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is depicted in one sculpture as wearing a *luṅgi* which comes down to the ankles (pl. LXXI, fig. 1). The *luṅgi* is fastened to the waist by an ornamented girdle-belt. A voluminous scarf is first swathed round the thighs and then at the right side a loop-knot is formed with its surplus portion. One end of the scarf falls very gracefully, nearly touching the ground, and the other end of the scarf seems to dangle behind the left leg. A standing figure wearing a long *dhōti* is depicted in one bronze sculpture (pl. LXXI, fig. 3). The *dhōti* is a broad one and comes almost down to the ankles. It is worn in the *kaccha* fashion, the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear being indicated by horizontal lines on each thigh and leg. The long front pleats are shown in a curl. The *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a girdle-belt with a flower clasp in the centre. The long scarf is drawn over the upper back to the arms and one end of the scarf dangles on the left leg. Trailokyavijaya (pl. LXXIII, fig. 1) wears a snort *dhōti* in the *kaccha* fashion with pleats hanging in front. He also wears a scarf on his upper person which being drawn over the back passes from the left arm to the right shoulder. The long ends of the scarf flutter on the sides. Vajrapāṇi holding a sword (pl. LXXII, fig. 1) wears a long *dhōti* which ends a little above

the ankles. The preaching Buddha wears a *dhōti* in the *vikaccha* fashion (pl. LXXII, fig. 2). The *dhōti* comes down to his ankles. He also wears a scarf on his upper person. Nāgārjuna (pl. LXXIV, fig. 3) wears a long *dhōti* which comes down to the ankles. The front pleats dangle on the lotus-cushion. The *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a girdle-belt. He also wears a scarf on his upper person.

Several sculptures depict Hindu deities. One sculpture portrays Śiva and Pārvatī (LXXV, fig. 1). The sculpture being in a damaged condition we cannot say anything about the dress of Śiva. From the point of view of dress the only thing of interest is the floral design on the lower garment of Śiva. Sūrya wears a *dhōti* which ends above the ankles (pl. LXXV, fig. 2). The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and the long front pleats are shown by a wavy line. A narrow scarf is swathed round the thighs of Sūrya in a highly fashionable manner. Twisting the main wrap he has worn the remainder in a loop-knot at the left thigh allowing the ends to fall gracefully. There are floral designs both on the *dhōti* and the scarf. The attendant standing on the right also wears a long *dhōti* which comes down to the ankles.¹ The *dhōti* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and the long front pleats are shown in a curl. The other attendant wears a short *dhōti* and a scarf on his upper person. Viṣṇu is depicted in one sculpture as wearing a *dhōti* which comes to the knees (pl. LXXV, fig. 4). Worn in the *kaccha* fashion the *dhōti* is fastened to the waist by a girdle-belt which has a flower clasp at the centre resting over the bunched front pleats.

2. Women's Dress: A Pāhārpur plaque depicts a woman in dancing pose with a child standing on her left side (pl. I, fig. 1). The woman is represented as wearing something like shorts which end well above the knees. Worn a little below the navel the shorts are tied with a decorated waist-band. She covers her breasts with a bodice which seems to be knotted at the

1. For his dress see *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. XII, d.

back. Her other upper garment is a scarf which is thrown over the shoulders without covering the body. The child standing on her proper right side also wears shorts. Another plaque from Pāhārpur illustrates a woman as drawing water from a well (pl. I, fig. 5). A pitcher lies close to the left leg and a child stands on her right side. She wears a *sārī* ending a little above the ankles. The *āri* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear being indicated by double lines at regular intervals. The upper part of her body being indistinct it is difficult to ascertain as to whether the *sārī* covers the upper part also. A woman is shown in a plaque from Pāhārpur as wearing vertically striped trousers coming down to the ankles (pl. I, fig. 7). The upper part of her body is entirely uncovered. Another plaque depicts a woman (pl. I, fig. 8). She perhaps wears trousers ending a little above the ankles. The trousers are held in position by a waist-band the long end of which dangles between the legs. Another woman is represented (pl. I, fig. 8) as wearing the same kind of lower garment as described above. The waist-band of the latter woman is decorated. One plaque from Pāhārpur depicts a human couple (pl. III, fig. 2). The female is apparently shown as wearing vertically striped trousers which end a little above the ankles. The waist-band of this woman is similar to those depicted in pl. I, figs. 8 and 9.

Several Pāhārpur plaques represent Śabara women. One plaque representing a Śabara couple (pl. V, fig. 1) shows the Śabarī as wearing a lower garment which seems to come down to the ankles. The lower garment is fastened with a waist-band and seems to be a *sārī* worn in the *kaccha* fashion. The front pleats dangle on the right foot of the Śabara. The Śabarī also wears a scarf on her upper person which is thrown over the shoulders without covering the body. In another plaque illustrating a Śabara couple (pl. V, fig. 2) the female figure is depicted as wearing only a leaf girdle. Another Śabarī is depicted as clad in a leaf girdle (pl. VI, fig. 1). A Śabara woman carrying a dead animal wears in addition to a leaf

girdle a simple garland of leaves in the *upavīta* fashion (pl. VI, fig. 2). A plaque depicting a Śabara couple (pl. VI, fig. 3) shows the Śabarī as wearing a *kuca-bandha* round the breasts. She also seems to wear a scarf on the upper person though it is possible that what seems to us to be a scarf are the loose ends of the *kuca-bandha*. Her lower garment is a leaf-girdle.

Two plaques from Pāhārpur depict the Buddhist goddess Tārā as wearing a *sārī*. Tārā seated on a lotus (pl. XII, fig. 1) wears a *sārī* reaching the calves. Going over from the right side of the waist one part of the *sārī* crosses the chest diagonally and seems to dangle on the back, serving as an additional covering like the present day *sārī*. The standing Tārā (pl. XIV, fig. 2) also wears a *sārī* in the *vikaccha* fashion, one part of which falling in folds from the waist covers the lower part of the body and the other part is worn in the manner described above. In both the cases the *sārī* is worn a little below the navel and is held in position by a girdle-belt with a round clasp and the *sārī* is worn in such a manner that its spread over the bosom leaves the right breast partially uncovered. The standing Tārā also wears front pleats. A seated woman (Tārā?) seems to wear horizontally-gathered close-fitting trousers, (pl. XV, fig. 1) fastened to the waist by a girdle-belt with a clasp. But if this lower garment is a *sārī* then it is worn in the *kaccha* fashion, the regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear being indicated by horizontal lines on each thigh at regular intervals. A plaque depicting a Gandharva couple (pl. XXXIV, fig. 2) represents the Gandharva woman as wearing a lower garment which is fixed to the waist by a flat waist-band. There are dot patterns on the garment. A woman standing on a half-open doorway (pl. XLV, fig. 5) is shown as wearing a vertically striped lower garment with dot patterns between the stripes. But no other details are visible.

The sculptures from Pāhārpur also throw light on the dress of the women of the Pāla empire. One sculpture shows a dancing female (pl. XLVII, fig. 1). She apparently wears tight drawers coming down to the ankles. Tassels apparently

for decorative purposes hang in the front part of the drawers. They are possibly attached to a belt. But the possibility of this lower garment being a *sārī* should also be considered. And in that case it is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and the front pleats are pleated like tassels. A scarf is also worn by her thrown over the shoulders without covering the body, and the long ends flutter on her either side. Another woman in a dancing pose (pl. XLVII, fig. 2) wears vertically striped trousers similar to those depicted in plate 1, fig. 7. and pl. III, fig. 2. The trousers are kept in place by a girdle-belt consisting of two strings of beads. One sculpture portraying an amorous couple (pl. XLVIII) shows the female figure as wearing a *sārī* which reaches the ankles. The *sārī* is worn round the lower part of the body, one end falling vertically behind the leg. It is fixed to the waist by a decorated girdle-belt. Another sculpture depicting an amorous couple (pl. XLIX, fig. 2) represents the female figure as wearing a lower garment which comes down to the ankles. It is fastened to the waist by a decorated girdle-belt and seems to be a *sārī* worn in the *vikaccha* fashion. But no more details can be ascertained. The female attendant of Padmapāṇi (pl. XVI, fig. 2) wears a *sārī* in the *vikaccha* fashion. It seems to be held in position by a waist-band. The sculpture representing a Śiva group (pl. XXVI, fig. 1) shows two female figures as wearing *sārīs* in the manner mentioned above with their frills falling over the left side of the leg. In the case of the first female figure to the right the frill is quite distinct. She also wears a *kuca-bandha* round her breasts similar to that worn by the Śabarī (pl. VI, fig. 3). The next female figure also wears an *uttariya* round her buttocks. The female attendant of Yama (pl. XXVI, fig. 2) wears a *sārī* in the *vikaccha* fashion with pleats hanging in front. The *sārī* is fixed to the waist by a girdle-belt with a clasp. The dress of Manasā (pl. XXIX, fig. 2) is very indistinct. From the details still visible, i. e., the horizontal lines on the left leg of Manasā etc., one gets the impression that it may be either drawers or a long *sārī*. The metal image of Hara-Gaurī (pl. XXXI, fig. 1)

depicts Gaurī as wearing trousers which come down to her ankles. The trousers are fastened to the waist by a flat waist-band. The headless standing female image (pl. XLVI, fig. 1) wears a *sārī*. There are floral designs on it and as far as can be ascertained from the fragmentary condition of the sculpture it seems that the mode of wearing it is similar to that used by Tārā depicted in pl. XIV, fig. 2. The *sārī* is kept in place by a highly decorated girdle-belt.

The sculpture depicting the fight of Vālī and Sugrīva (pl. XXXVII, fig. 2)¹ represents Tārā as wearing a very close-fitting lower garment which seems to be either a broad *sārī* worn in the *kaccha* fashion or trousers. It ends a little above the ankles and is fastened to the waist by a flat belt.

The female attendant of Balarāma (pl. XLIV, fig. 2) wears a *sārī* in the *vikaccha* fashion with pleats hanging in front. The *sārī* reaches the ankles and is fixed to the waist by a waist-band with a round clasp. From what is visible it seems that she also wears a scarf on her upper person. The female attendant of Kṛṣṇa (XLI, fig. 1) wears a *sārī* in the manner described above, here only the front pleats are absent. Yamunā (pl. XLIV, fig. 1) wears a *sārī* in the fashion used by the first female figure to the right in pl. XXVI, fig. 1. The wavy folds in the close-fitting *sārī* of Yamunā probably represent stripes. Yamunā's attendant also wears a *sārī* in the same fashion though not with frills lying over the left leg. From what is visible it seems that the latter wears a scarf on her upper person. In both the cases a girdle-belt is used to keep the lower garment in place. Rādhā(?) (pl. XLV, fig. 1) also wears a *sārī* in the manner used by Yamunā. The wavy folds in the *sārī* of Rādhā may represent stripes.

Terracotta plaques and sculptures from Mahāsthān also throw interesting light on women's dress. One plaque depicting an amorous couple (pl. LIII, fig. 3) shows the female figure as wearing a *sārī* with pleats hanging in front. From what is

1. *M. A. S. I.*, 55, pp. 52-53.

visible it seems that the *sārī* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion. It is kept in place by a girdle-belt of beads. Another plaque depicts a woman wearing a *sārī* which comes down to the ankles (pl. LV, fig. 3). The *sārī* is worn in the *vikaccha* fashion and is held tight round the waist by a girdle-belt. She also wears a scarf on her upper person one end of which flutters over her right shoulder.

One Mahāsthān stone sculpture represents Hara-Gaurī (pl. LVI, fig. 1). Gaurī's bosom seems to be partially covered with a cloth which comes from the right side but as the lower part of Gaurī is not visible it is difficult to ascertain as to whether this cloth is a part of the *sārī* worn by her or a scarf. In the sculpture depicting Śiva and Durgā (pl. LVI, fig. 2) a cloth coming from the right waist seems to cross Durgā's chest diagonally and it appears to be a part of the lower garment, most probably a *sārī*, worn by her. But nothing can be definitely stated owing to the fragmentary condition of the sculpture.

An insight into the women's dress of Pāla empire is also given by the terracotta plaques and sculptures from Maināmatī. A Maināmatī plaque depicts a woman in pensive mood (pl. LIX, fig. 3). She wears a scarf in the same fashion as depicted on pl. LV, fig. 3. Her lower garment is indistinct. A woman bearing a standard (pl. LIX, fig. 7) is depicted as wearing striped trousers which come down to the ankles. There are dot patterns between the stripes. A sculpture from Maināmatī depicting Surya (pl. LXIV, fig. 1) shows his female attendant standing on his left side wearing a short *sārī* which comes down to the knees. The *sārī* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion and seems to be fixed to the waist by a girdle-belt.

The Nālandā sculptures also throw light on the women's dress of the Pāla empire. One bronze image of Tārā (pl. LXVII, fig. 2) depicts the goddess as wearing a *sārī* which ends a little above the ankles. One part of it falling from the waist covers the lower parts of the body, the other part going from the right of the waist crosses the chest diagonally and then its long end falls over the left leg. The *sārī* is fixed to the waist by a decorated

girdle-belt. An unidentified goddess (pl. LXIX, fig. 3) is shown in one bronze sculpture as wearing a *sārī* in the *vikaccha* fashion. The *sārī* reaches the ankles and is held tight round the waist by a decorated girdle-belt with a clasp. She also wears a narrow scarf which is drawn from the lower back and one end of it falls on her right leg. But no more details can be seen.¹ A seated Tārā (pl. LXIX, fig. 4) in *varadamudrā* wears a *sārī* reaching to the ankles. The mode of wearing the *sārī* is almost similar to that of the standing Tārā in pl. LXVII, fig. 2. But here though the navel is exposed the bosom is wholly covered by one part of the *sārī* and no end of the *sārī* can be seen as falling on the leg. Though front pleats are shown it is difficult to ascertain whether the *sārī* is worn in the *kaccha* fashion. The *sārī* seems to be a striped one with floral designs between the stripes. The narrow border of the *sārī* is quite distinct and seems to be of cord pattern. The *sārī* is fixed to the waist by a decorated waist-band. Both the female attendants of Avalokiteśvara (pl. LXIXa, fig. 1) wear *sāris* coming down to the ankles. The *sāris* are worn with long pleats hanging in front and do not cover the upper part of the body. They are kept in place by girdle-belts. There are dot designs on the *sārī* of the female attendant standing to the right of Avalokiteśvara. A bronze image of Tārā (pl. LXX, fig. 1) shows her as wearing a *sārī* which comes down to the ankles. The *sārī* is worn in the *vikaccha* fashion and is held in place by a decorated girdle-belt. No more details are distinctly visible. The goddess Vasudhārā is represented in one sculpture (pl. LXX, fig. 3) as wearing a *sārī* with pleats hanging in front. The *sārī* seems to be striped with rosette designs between the stripes. The *sārī* is broad enough to reach the ankles and is fastened to the waist by a decorated waist-band. One part of the *sārī* going from the right waist crosses the chest diagonally, the end falling on the left arm. But the breasts are only partially covered. Māyādevī standing under an Aśoka tree in the Lumbini garden with her newly born baby

1. See also *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1930-'34, part II, pl. CXXVI, d.

(pl. LXXI, fig. 2) is depicted in one bronze sculpture. She is wearing a *sārī* with pleats hanging in front. It comes down to the ankles and covers only the lower part of the body. Māyādevī wears a scarf on her upper person. The Buddhist goddess Aparājita (pl. LXXIII, fig. 2) wears a striped *sārī* reaching the ankles.¹ The front pleats are not very finely arranged. No more details are distinct enough to describe. The female attendant of the preaching Buddha (pl. LXXII, fig. 2) seems to wear a *sārī* reaching the ankles. Like the seated Tārā in pl. LXIX, fig. 4 the whole bosom is also covered by one part of the *sārī*. An eighteen-armed goddess (pl. LXXIV, fig. 1) is depicted in one sculpture as wearing a *sārī* which reaches the ankles. There are floral designs on the *sārī* and it is fixed to the waist by a waist-band with a clasp. The goddess Caṇḍikā (pl. LXXV, fig. 3) wears a *sārī* in the *vikaccha* fashion. The *sārī* reaches the ankles and also partially covers the bosom. The frill of the *sārī* rests on the left leg. The *sārī* is kept in place by a waist-band. An unidentified goddess (pl. LXXVI) wears a *sārī* reaching the ankles. The *sārī* is worn in the *vikaccha* fashion and like that of the goddess Caṇḍikā also partially covers the bosom. There are floral designs on the *sārī* and it is kept in place by a waist-band with a clasp.

There is not much variety in the headdress and coiffure of both men and women in the Pāhārpur terracotta plaques and sculptures. In the headdresses of the male figures the following varieties are met with : (a) turban; (b) cap; (c) crown; (d) diadem; (e) fillet worn on the forehead and on the top knot of hair; (f) fan-shaped headdress; (g) head and knot of hair covered with a piece of cloth.

(a) Turban : A turban formed by a cloth rolled several times round the head covers the hair of a man playing cymbals (pl. I, fig. 4). A male figure is apparently represented in one plaque as wearing a very simple turban obtained by wrapping

1. For the stripes on her *sārī* see H. D. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII.

a short scarf only once round the head.¹ (b) Cap : A man playing on a *vīṇā* (pl. VII, fig. 1) wears a small round cap on the crown of his head. The head is only partially covered by the cap. Padmapāṇi seated on a cushion (pl. XIII, fig. 1) is shown in one plaque as wearing a pointed cap which wholly covers his hair. Two small male figures on either side of the torso of the seated Boddhisattva are shown as wearing pointed caps like that of Padmapāṇi (pl. XLVI, fig. 2). (c) Crown : Jambhala seated on cushion wears a crown (pl. XIV, fig. 1). He also seems to wear a decorated fillet on the forehead. In another plaque Mañjuśrī is depicted as wearing a crown (pl. XV, fig. 2). Indra is shown in one sculpture as wearing a crown (pl. XLI, fig. 2). These crowns will be discussed along with other ornaments later on. (d) Diadem: Śiva holding a lotus seems to wear a diadem on the head (pl. XXII, fig. 2). Balarāma's diadem is an ornamented one with a crest in the middle (pl. XLIV, fig. 2). (e) Fillet worn on the forehead as a single ornament. Kṛṣṇa in one sculpture wears a broad fillet (pl. XLII, fig. 1) which seems to be inlaid with jewels. A fillet is also worn by Yama (pl. XXVI, fig. 2). Seated Gaṇeśa (pl. XXVIII, fig. 2) wears a decorated fillet on the forehead. The male figure in a sculpture depicting an amorous couple decorates his hair with a fillet of beads (pl. XLVIII).

Fillets of various designs used for keeping the knots or buns of hair in place are a common feature in the Pāṭārpur terracotta plaques and sculptures. Both gods (pl. XXIII, figs. 1 & 2) and common people (pl. X, fig. 2) as well as superhuman beings (pl. XXXV, fig. 1) are shown as using fillets for their coiffure. A detailed discussion of these fillets will be given later together with coiffure and ornaments.

f) Fan-shaped headdress : A man dancing wears this type of headdress (pl. IV, fig. 2). A Śabara archer (pl. V, fig. 3) as well as a warrior (pl. II, fig. 4) seem to wear fan-shaped headdresses. g) Head and knot of hair covered with a piece of cloth.

1. M. A. S. I., No. 55, pl. XLI, d, 2.

This type of headdress is shown as used by an emaciated ascetic.¹

Mahāsthāngarh :

A terracotta head from Mahāsthāngarh (pl. LIII, fig. 1) shows a plain fillet on the top knot of the hair. A big leaf-shaped ornament but with dots all over it is also worn over the right ear. Another man wearing a small cap on the crown of the head and flowers (?) over ears is depicted in one plaque (pl. LIII, fig. 2). A Yakṣa (pl. LVIII, fig. 2) seems to wear a close-fitting cap or helmet with a band at its bottom and two ornamental bosses in the centre. Of the four figures seated in a row in an elephant (pl. LIV)² the last figure seems to wear a round cap wholly covering his hair. The cap seems to be made of a thin piece of cloth. The second figure on the elephant and also Śiva in two sculptures (pl. LVI, figs. 1 & 2) are represented as wearing crowns.

Maināmatī :

In one Maināmatī plaque a Vidyādhara is depicted as wearing a large but a simple turban (pl. LXVI, fig. 6). A few specimens of caps are also found in plaques of Maināmatī. A warrior wears a cap the top of which is pointed (pl. LXI, fig. 1). An archer depicted in one plaque seems to wear a round cap (pl. LXI, fig. 5). A Vidyādhara (pl. LXV, fig. 1) and a Gandharva (pl. LX, fig. 3) also wear caps. A man playing the flute also wears a cap (pl. LX, fig. 1). A Yakṣa is also shown as wearing a cap (pl. LXVI, fig. 3). A Vidyādhara wears an ornamented broad fillet on the forehead (pl. LXV, fig. 6). Crowns are worn by Śūrya and his male attendants on either side (pl. LXIV, fig. 1) and Śūrya and his male attendant (pl. LXIV, fig. 2) and Mañjuvara (pl. LXIII, fig. 1).

1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. XLVII, c.

2. See also *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1930-'34, part II, pl. CXXXII, a.

Nālandā :

Almost all the figures in Nālandā sculptures wear crowns. Avalokiteśvara (pl. LXVIII, fig. 1) and Padmapāṇi (pl. LXVIII, fig. 2) wear decorated crowns which are ornamented with a string of pearls along the front fillet. Avalokiteśvara seems to wear another plain fillet on the forehead. This may be a piece of cloth to take the weight of the crown. Avalokiteśvara in another sculpture (pl. LXIX a, fig. 1) wears a crown which is also decked with a string of pearls along the front fillet. The crown of the seated Buddha (pl. LXIXa, fig. 2) is a highly ornate one. A four-faced Vajrapāṇi also wears a crown (pl. LXX, fig. 2). We find another figure as wearing a crown (pl. LXXI, fig. 3). Trailokyavijaya (pl. LXXIII, fig. 1) as well as Vajrapāṇi (pl. LXXII, fig. 1) wear crowns. Sūrya with his two attendants (pl. LXXV, fig. 2) as well as Viṣṇu (pl. LXXV, fig. 4) are depicted as wearing crowns. Nāgārjuna (pl. LXXVII, fig. 19) wears a highly ornamented crown. A diadem is worn by Śiva (pl. LXXV, fig. 1). Avalokiteśvara (pl. LXXI, fig. 1) arranges his hair with a two-banded fillet and an ornament with a tiny figure of a *dhyānī* Buddha adorns the fillet.

Hairdressing :

Generally the following fashions are found in the hairdressing of males as depicted by the terracotta plaques and sculptures from Pāhārpur : (a) Hair tied in a top knot generally with thick tresses falling on the shoulders. Sometimes ringlets of hair are also shown on the forehead. The knot is kept in place by a plain or ornamented fillet. (b) Curly long hair falling on the shoulders and curls or ringlets shown on the forehead. (c) Curly short hair with ringlets on the forehead. (d) Hair gathered in a bun at the back, sometimes falling on the neck. (e) Short hair. (f) Hair coiled and falling on the neck. (g) Hair arranged into three tufts or tresses. In the latter case a broad and ornamented fillet is worn on the forehead. (h) Single tress of hair shown on the crown of the head. (i) Coiffure arranged in a fan-like fashion.

(a) Hair tied in a top knot generally with thick tresses falling on the shoulders : A male head is thus depicted in one plaque (pl. IV, fig. 4). The top knot is kept in place by a decorated fillet. Ringlets of hair are also shown on the forehead. A Gandharva also dresses his curly hair in the manner of the above figure but without any curls left on the forehead (pl. XXXV, fig. 1). The fillet used by the Gandharva is more ornamented than that of the above figure. In all the Pāhārpur sculptures Śiva is represented with matted hair drawn up in a knot on the top of his head. Śiva (?) holding a lotus (pl. XXII, fig. 2) has made a neat top knot of his hair. A plain fillet is used to keep the knot in position. A divine figure with crescent moon on head (pl. XXIII, fig. 1) also wears his hair in almost similar fashion. There tresses of hair fall on the shoulders. The fillet used to keep the knot of hair in position has a round clasp in the centre. Śiva as an ascetic (pl. XXIII, fig. 2) is represented with matted hair drawn up in a top knot which is kept in place by a two-banded fillet. Tresses of hair fall on the shoulders. In three more sculptures (pl. XXIV, figs. 1 & 2 ; pl. XXV, fig. 1) Śiva is represented similarly. In pl. XXIV, fig. 2 and pl. XXV, fig. 1, the parting of the hair in the middle is a prominent feature. In the first two figures (pl. XXIV, figs. 1 & 2) a simple fillet is used, but the fillet in fig. 2 is broader than that in fig. 1. The fillet in pl. XXV, fig. 1 seems to be of cord pattern. Yama (pl. XXVI, fig. 2), Agni (pl. XXVII, fig. 2), Brahmā (pl. XXX, figs. 1 & 2) all arrange the hair in a similar fashion. The fillet used by Yama has a pendant. The fillets of Agni, Brahmā (pl. XXX, fig. 2) are similar to that of Śiva in pl. XXI, fig. 2. The fillet of Brahmā (?) in pl. XXV, fig. 1 is of cord pattern with a round clasp in the centre. Indra (pl. XLI, fig. 2) is shown with thick tresses falling on the shoulders and a top knot. The mode of hairdressing discussed above is also found in other sculptures. Common people (pl. XLIX, fig. 2), warriors (pl. IX, fig. 3), semi-divine beings (pl. XXXV, fig. 3), Balarāma (pl. XLIV, fig. 2) and in scenes which seem to represent the

Kṛṣṇa legend (pl. XXXVIII, figs. 1 & 2 ; pl. XLI, fig. 1 ; pl. XL, fig. 1) and a *Rāmāyaṇa* episode (pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 2) male figures are depicted as doing their hair in the above manner.

(b) Curly long hair falling in shoulders sometimes with curls or ringlets on the forehead : A man carrying something in his head (pl. I, fig. 2), the Śabara in a plaque depicting a Śabara couple (pl. V, fig. 1), the male figure in a plaque representing a human couple (pl. III, fig. 2), a warrior (pl. II, fig. 5) and a seated man (pl. II, fig. 7) all have long curly hair falling on the shoulders. The male figure in pl. III, fig. 2 also seems to have a small top knot or *śikhaṇḍa* on the crown of his head. A man whose back view is visible (pl. IV, fig. 1) appears to wear long hair in artificially curled ringlets. A watchman resting on his club (pl. XI, fig. 2), a figure holding a flute (pl. VIII, fig. 2), the figure looking from above in a sculpture which seems to represent a scene of the Kṛṣṇa legend (pl. XLIII) wears long hair falling on the shoulders with curls or ringlets on the forehead. The boy in pl. XXXIX, fig. 1 also wears curly long hair falling on the shoulders. He wears a fillet on the forehead to keep the hair in place.

(c) Curly hair with ringlets or curls on the forehead : The man playing on a *vīṇā* (pl. VII, fig. 1), the male figure in pl. XIX and Yamunā's male attendant (pl. XLIV, fig. 1) wear curly hair with curls falling on the foreheads.

(d) Hair gathered in a bun at the back : A man holding a lute (?) (pl. VII, fig. 2), warriors holding swords and shields (pl. X, fig. 2 ; pl. XI, fig. 1), and an emaciated ascetic (pl. VIIIa, fig. 3) have arranged their hair in buns like the females. The warrior in pl. X, fig. 2 has kept his big bun in place by a two-banded fillet. Another warrior has made a bun by coiling his hair (pl. XI, fig. 1). The emaciated ascetic seems to cover both the bun and the head with a thin piece of cloth.

(e) Short hair : A man in profile (pl. III, fig. 1) a Gandharva (pl. XXXIV, fig. 2) and two central figures in pl. XLII, fig. 2 wear short hair.

(f) Hair coiled and falling on the neck : Kṛṣṇa's (?) hair in a sculpture depicting Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (?) is coiled and then allowed to fall on the neck. (pl. XLV, fig. 1)

(g) Hair arranged into three tufts : Kṛṣṇa (pl. XL, fig. 2) and Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma (pl. XLII, fig. 2) arrange their hair into three tufts. From what is visible it seems that they have used fillets in each tuft.

(h) Single hair tress on the crown of the head : A man holding a drum (pl. VIII, fig. 1) wears one tress of hair on the crown of the head and the other parts of the head seem to be shaven, rather like that of the orthodox Brahman, but he has no sacred thread and therefore appears to be of low caste.

(i) Coiffure arranged in a fan-like fashion : Brahmā (pl. XX, fig. 2). Gaṇeśa (pl. XXI, fig. 1) and Śiva (pl. XXI, fig. 2) seem to have arranged their hair thus.

Mahāsthān

A terracotta head from Mahāsthān (pl. LIII, fig. 1) shows the hair as tied into a top knot and kept in place by a plain fillet. A big leaf-shaped ornament with dots all over it is also worn over the right ear. In a Mahāsthān terracotta plaque depicting a human couple (pl. LIII, fig. 3) the male figure wears long curly hair falling on the shoulders. In a sculpture (pl. LIV) depicting four figures riding an elephant the last figure of the row seems to cover his short hair with 'a cap made of a piece of cloth.¹ Both Yama (?) (pl. LVI, fig. 2) and a Yakṣa (pl. LVIII, fig. 2) wear long curly hair falling on the shoulders. The Yakṣa also wears a helmet on the head.

It is difficult to describe the coiffure of the male figures depicted in the terracotta plaques and sculptures of Maināmatī. In some cases the hair is covered with a headdress-like cap, crown etc. In others the details are not visible. However, generally the following hair fashions are found : (a) Long hair falling

1. A. S. I., A. R., 1930-'34, part II.

on the shoulders; (b) short curly hair; (c) short and straight hair; (d) hair tied into a top knot; (e) hair gathered in a bun.

(a) Long hair falling on the shoulders : A Brāhmaṇa (pl. LIX, fig. 2), Pad napāṇi (pl. LXII, fig. 5), a tree spirit (pl. LXVI, fig. 8) and a Vidyādhara (pl. LXVI, fig. 7) wear long hair falling on the shoulders. In the first two cases the hair is curly. (b) Short curly hair : Two warriors holding swords and shields (pl. LXI, figs. 3 & 7) wear short curly hair. (c) Short hair but not curly : An acrobat (pl. LIX, fig. 1) wears short hair. The hair of a warrior killing a tiger (pl. LXI, fig. 4) is straight and cut to the level of the lower part of his ear. (d) Hair tied in a top knot : An emaciated ascetic is shown with matted hair drawn up and fastened with a knot at the top of his head (pl. LIX, fig. 4). A boy also has tied his hair in a top knot (pl. LIX, fig. 5). (e) Hair gathered in a bun : A warrior holding sword and shield is depicted with hair arranged thus (pl. LXI, fig. 2). (f) Curly hair falling on the neck : A Vidyādhara wears his hair in this manner (pl. LXV, fig. 2).

At Nālandā the following hair fashions are generally met with : (a) Hair tied in a top knot; (b) long hair falling on the shoulders.

(a) Hair tied in a top knot : Avalokiteśvara (pl. LXVII, fig. 1) is shown in one sculpture as having hair drawn up and tied in a top knot. Long tresses of hair also fall on the shoulders. Buddha in two sculptures is shown with a top knot of hair (pl. LXIX, figs. 1 & 2). Śiva (pl. LXXV, fig. 1) and preaching Buddha (pl. LXXII, fig. 2) also tie their hair in top knots. (b) Long hair falling on the shoulders : Most of the divine images from Nālandā wear crowns, but their thick tresses of curly hair falling on the shoulders are still visible (pl. LXVIII, figs. 1 & 2; pl. LXIXa. fig. 1; pl. LXXV, fig. 1).

Generally these varieties of headdresses in the case of female figures depicted in Pāhārpur terracotta plaques and sculptures are met with : (a) caps : (b) crowns ; (c) fillets worn on the

forehead and on the hair-knot; (d) coiffure covered with a light piece of cloth.

(a) Caps : A woman with a monkey-faced child wears a close-fitting cap (pl. II, fig. 3). Another woman depicted in motion (pl. I, fig. 9) wears a cap made of some soft fabric, the point of which falls to the front; this may, however, represent a round ornament on the front of the cap. A woman in dancing pose is represented in one sculpture as wearing (pl. XLVII, fig. 2) a round cap.

(b) Crowns : In the bronze image of Hara-Gaurī the latter is shown as wearing a crown (pl. XXXI, fig. 1).

(c) Fillets worn on the forehead and on the hair-knot : The female figures in Pāhārpur plaques and sculptures generally used fillets to keep their hair in place and tidy. The profile of a woman's head (pl. IV, fig. 3) shows her big bun kept in place by plain fillet with a clasp. Another woman seated beside a man uses a plain fillet round her top knot of hair to keep it in place (pl. II, fig. 7). The two Śabara women in pl. V, fig. 2 and pl. VI, fig. 1, wear fillets round their neat buns of hair. A seated woman (Tārā ?) wears a thin fillet on the hair which appears to be fastened in two bows at the back of the head (pl. XV, fig. 1). Yamunā's attendant wears a fillet of beads or pearls on her bun (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). Balarāma's female attendant seems to wear a fillet on the forehead with clasp in the centre (pl. XLIV, fig. 2). In a sculpture which seems to represent a scene from Kṛṣṇa's life (pl. XLI, fig. 1) a female figure is shown as keeping her hair, which is combed back, in place by a broad fillet. The woman in pl. XIX seems to wear on the forehead a fillet with a decorated clasp. A round boss is also fastened above her bun. The female figure in a sculpture depicting an amorous couple (pl. XLVIII) seems to wear a fillet of beads on the forehead and also a plain fillet to keep her elaborate coiffure in place. A dancing female (pl. XLVII) wears a fillet of beads or pearls on her forehead.

(d) Coiffure covered with a light piece of cloth : The

coiffure of a female figure is depicted as covered with a light piece of cloth (pl. XLIX, fig. 2).¹

A woman in a Mahāsthān sculpture depicting an amorous couple wears a diadem of simple but elegant design (pl. LIII, fig. 3). Gaurī in a sculpture depicting Hara-Gaurī wears a highly decorated crown (pl. LVI, fig. 1).

A Vidyādhari depicted in one Maināmatī plaque wears a round cap (pl. LXV, fig. 4). She also wears an ornamented fillet round her bun. The female attendants of Sūrya wear crowns (pl. LXIV, fig. 1).

Most of the female figures from Nālandā wear crowns. Tārā (pl. LXVII, fig. 2), an unidentified goddess and Tārā (?) (pl. LXIX, figs. 3 & 4), wear decorated crowns. The female attendant of Avalokiteśvara, standing to the right, also wears a crown (pl. LXIXa, fig. 1). The headress of the other female attendant is not distinctly visible. Vasudhārā, Mahāsarasvatī (pl. LXX, figs. 3 & 4) wear decorated crowns. Māyā seems to wear a crown (pl. LXXI, fig. 2). Prajñāpāramitā (?) (pl. LXXIV, fig. 1), and Caṇḍikā (pl. LXXV, fig. 3) wear crowns. The snake-hooded deity, (perhaps an early form of Manasā) in pl. LXXVI, also seems to wear a crown. Tārā (pl. VXX, fig. 1) wears a fillet of two rows of beads or pearls on the forehead. She also seems to wear another fillet of beads on the top knot of her hair.²

Generally the following types of hair styles are met with in the female figures depicted in Pāhārpur terracotta plaques and sculptures : (a) Hair arranged in a top knot ; (b) hair combed back and kept in place by a fillet ; (c) fan like hair style ; (d) hair arranged in a bun ; (e) sausage-like hair style ; (f) hair coiled and allowed to fall on the shoulder ; (g) hair arranged in two or three small knots ; (h) short and curly hair falling on the neck ; (i) long hair plaited and wound round the head ; (j) coiffure decorated with ribbon bows.

1. See also *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. XXXVIIb

2. See also *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1935-'36, pl. XXXVIII, a.

(a) Hair arranged in a top knot : In two plaques depicting human couple (pl. II, fig. 7; pl. III, fig. 2) the female figures are shown with hair arranged in top knots. The top knot of the woman in pl. III, fig. 2 is a huge one, and is probably, artificially supported in some manner. The other woman has used a fillet to keep her knot in place. A Śabarī (pl. VI, fig. 1) in one plaque ties her hair in a neat big top knot.

(b) Hair combed back and kept in place by a fillet : In a sculpture representing an episode from Kṛṣṇa's life the hair of the female figure standing to the right of Kṛṣṇa is combed back straight and kept in place by a plain fillet (pl. XLI, fig. 1).

(c) Fan like hair style : The hair style of Yamunā appears to be arranged in a fan-like coiffure (pl. XXIV, fig. 1); but this may be a headdress. Another woman seems to have arranged her hair in a similar fashion (pl. I, fig. 1).

(d) Hair arranged in a bun : The hair of a woman is arranged in a big bun falling on the neck (pl. I, fig. 8). A terracotta head of a female (pl. IV, fig. 3) shows the hair as combed back and gathered in a big bun, kept in place by a fillet with clasp. A woman holding a door (pl. XLIV, fig. 5) and another standing woman in a slightly bent posture wear small buns (pl. II, fig. 8). A Śabarī carrying her prey (pl. VI, fig. 2) has arranged her hair in a bun kept in place by a plain fillet. Another Śabarī wears a small bun (pl. V, fig. 2). The female figures in pl. XLIX, fig. 2, pl. XIX, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1, and pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 2 have also arranged their hair in buns. Yamunā's female attendant also wears her hair in a small bun (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). The woman in pl. XLIX, fig. 2 has apparently covered her big bun and head with a light piece of cloth. The female figure in pl. XIX wears an ornament or hair pin in her bun. The hair bun of Yamunā's female attendant (pl. XLIV, fig. 1) is fixed with a string. Rādhā (?) also wears a big bun falling on the neck which seems to be made by coiling her long hair several times (pl. XLV, fig. 1).

(e) Sausage-like hair style : The hair of the second woman in the Śiva group (standing to the left of Śiva) is arranged

in a sausage-like roll lying on the top of the head (pl. XXVI, fig. 1). But a few curls are allowed to fall on the forehead covering the full forehead.

(f) Hair coiled and allowed to fall on the shoulder : A dancing female has coiled her hair and the mass of coiled hair rests against the left shoulder (pl. XLVII, fig. 1).

(g) Hair arranged in two or three small knots : The hair of a Śabarī (pl. V, fig. 1) seems to be arranged in two small knots, one at the top of the head and another on the right side. There was possibly a third knot on the left-hand side of her head, but this is not distinct.

(h) Short and curly hair falling on the neck : A woman standing near a well (pl. I, fig. 5) seems to wear short and curly hair falling on the neck.

(i) Long hair plaited and wound round the head : The long hair of a woman in close embrace with a man is plaited and wound round the head (pl. XLVIII). She uses a plain fillet to keep her elaborate coiffure in place.

(j) Coiffure decorated with ribbon bows : Only the two bows made by a ribbon are visible in the coiffure of a seated woman (pl. XV, fig. 1).

Mahāsthāngarh

Maināmatī

In one *Mahāsthāngarh* plaque the hair of a female is shown as arranged in loose locks surmounted by a diadem (pl. LIII, fig. 3). The bun of a Vidyādhari (pl. LXV, fig. 4) in one *Maināmatī* plaque falls on her left shoulder and seems to be covered by a light piece of cloth. She also wears a decorated fillet round her bun. A seated woman has arranged her hair in a bun (pl. LIX, fig. 3). The coiffure of another woman is fan-shaped (pl. LIX, fig. 7).

Nālandā

Standing Tārā (pl. LXVII, fig. 2) has her hair arranged in a top knot, allowing curly locks to fall on the shoulders. The top knot is partially covered by a *mukuṭa*. The hair is parted in the middle and a few small curls are allowed to fall on the forehead. The coiffure of an unidentified goddess (pl. LXIX, fig. 3) and Tārā (?) (pl. LXIX, fig. 4) cannot be seen properly owing to the *mukuṭas* worn by them. A few ringlets of hair falling on either shoulder are visible. The figure in pl. LXIX, fig. 3 also wears small curls on the forehead. The female attendant standing to the left of Avalokiteśvara (pl. LXIXa, fig. 1) wears a huge top knot. Nothing more is clearly visible. Another standing Tārā (pl. LXX, fig. 1) has arranged her hair in double top knots, the under knot being of the shape of a fan. The hair is parted in the middle and two bands of beads are worn on the forehead. Another string is perhaps worn on the top of the first knot. Prajñāpāramitā (?) (LXXIV, fig. 1) seems to have her hair arranged in a top knot allowing a few curls to fall on either shoulder. A few curly ringlets of Caṇḍikā (pl. LXXV, fig. 3) falls on either shoulder. The hair of a snake-hooded goddess (pl. LXXVI) is parted in the middle and arranged in a top knot.

In Pāhārpur plaques and sculptures both men and women are shown as wearing ornaments on different parts of the body. Among the head-ornaments depicted in Pāhārpur plaques and sculptures mention may be made of the crown worn by Mañjuśrī, the crest of which seems to have a boss in the centre (pl. XV, fig. 2). Indra's crown is a highly ornamented one.¹ Balarāma wears a diadem which has a small ornamental crest in the middle (pl. XLIV, fig. 2). Śiva (?) holding a lotus also seems to wear a diadem (pl. XXII, fig. 2). The various kinds of fillets depicted in Pāhārpur plaques and sculptures are mentioned where the headdress and coiffure are discussed. Here we can mention the broad fillet of Kṛṣṇa apparently inlaid

1. See *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55.

with jewels (pl. XLII, fig. 1), the fillet of beads or pearls worn on the forehead by a female dancer (pl. XLVII, fig. 1) and a fillet of similar kind worn by Yamunā's female attendant (pl. XLIV, fig. 1).

One plaque from Mahāsthān depicting a human couple shows the female figure as wearing an ornamented diadem (pl. LIII, fig. 3). The crowns of Hara-Gaurī are highly ornamented (pl. LVI, fig. 1).

Among the crowns depicted in the Maināmatī sculptures mention may be made of the crown of Sūrya which has got several crests ; the middle one being cylindrical in shape, and apparently resembling the śikhara of a temple (pl. LXIV, fig. 1).

Most of the images from Nālandā are shown as wearing crowns; among them mention may be made of the crown worn by Tārā in pl. LXVII, fig. 2 the crest of which is leaf-shaped, the ornamented crown of Padmapāṇi (pl. LXXXVII, fig. 11), the crown of an unidentified goddess (pl. LXXXVII, fig. 12) and the highly ornamented crown worn by the Buddha (pl. LXIX, fig. 2). Vasudhārā wears a crown the crest of which is pointed in shape and seems to be ornamented with an eye design (pl. LXX, fig. 3). The crown of Nāgārjuna (?) is a highly ornamented one (pl. LXXXVII). The diadem of Śiva has a floral shaped pointed crest in the middle (pl. LXXV, fig. 1). Tārā in one sculpture wears two fillets of beads on the forehead (pl. LXX, fig. 1).

Big round *kuṇḍalas* worn on the lobe of the ear are seen most frequently in the Pāhārpur plaques and sculptures. This type of *kuṇḍalas* are worn by a man playing cymbals (pl. I, fig. 4) by warriors (pl. X, fig. 2). Śiva (pl. XXVI, fig. 1), Mañjuśrī (pl. XV, fig. 2) and Tārā (pl. XV, fig. 1) also wear this type of *kuṇḍalas*. In sculptures Yamunā and her attendants are shown as wearing big round *kuṇḍalas* (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). This type of *kuṇḍalas* is also shown in other sculptures like Kṛṣṇa killing Keśin (pl. XL, fig. 2), Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma fighting with Cānura and Muṣṭika (pl. XLII, fig. 2), a boy (Kṛṣṇa ?)

holding a lump of butter (?) (pl. XXXIX, fig. 1), Balarāma with two attendants (pl. XLIV, fig. 2), Śiva standing in a group (pl. XXVI, fig. 1), the male figure in a sculpture depicting an amorous couple (pl. XLIX, fig. 2) and a woman in dancing pose (pl. XLVII, fig. 2).

The sculpture depicting Yama shows him as wearing in his right ear a kind of *kuṇḍalas* which hangs loosely (pl. XXVI, fig. 2). This kind of *kuṇḍalas* is also worn by Śiva (?) holding a lotus (pl. XXII, fig. 2) and Śiva holding a rosary and *kamaṇḍalu* (pl. XXV, fig. 1), Kṛṣṇa and his female attendant in pl. XLI, fig. 1 wear flower-shaped earrings. Among other types of ear-ornaments mention may be made of ear-ornaments worn by a man playing on a *viṇā* (pl. VII, fig. 1 ; pl. LXXVII, fig. 2), a man dancing (pl. IV, fig. 2 ; pl. LXXVII, fig. 1) and Jambhala seated on a cushion (pl. XIV, fig. 1). The earring worn on the right ear by a female figure in pl. XLVIII, hangs loosely and ends in rosette (pl. XLVIII). The ear-ornament on the right ear of the female figure in pl. XIX is a long one.

Mahāsthāngarh :

In a Mahāsthāngarh plaque depicting a human couple the female figure is shown as wearing big round *kuṇḍalas* (pl. LIII, fig. 3), A man also wears this type of earrings (pl. LIII, fig. 2). The long earring shown on the right ear of Hara ends in a rosette (pl. LVI, fig. 1). The earrings of Gaurī are rosette shaped (pl. LVI, fig. 1). A Nāginī (pl. LVIII, fig. 1) and the male figure in pl. LIII, fig. 3 seems to wear hollow rings of metal, the former being very big in size.

Maināmatī :

Common people (pl. LIX, fig. 6) warriors (pl. LXI, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 7), semi-divine beings (pl. LXV, figs. 3, 5 & 7) are generally depicted in Maināmatī plaques as wearing big, round *kuṇḍalas*. Among other ear-ornaments mention can be made of the round earrings of the tree-spirit which are ornamented with rosette designs (pl. LXVI, fig. 8). The big *kuṇḍala*

of the woman bearing a standard is somewhat similar in design to those discussed above (pl. LIX, fig. 7). The *kuṇḍalas* of a Vidyādhara wearing a turban are of another variety (pl. LXVI, fig. 6). An acrobat (pl. LIX, fig. 1) and a warrior holding a broad sword and shield (pl. LXI, fig. 7) seem to wear perforated earrings. Padmapāṇi wears earrings which hang loosely on the neck (pl. LXII, fig. 5).

Nālandā

Among the ear-ornaments depicted in the Nālandā sculptures mention may be made of the *makara kuṇḍalas* worn by Tārā (pl. LXXVII, fig. 6) and the crowned Buddha (pl. LXIXa, fig. 2). Śiva in one sculpture wears on the left ear a *kuṇḍala* which is ornamented with floral design (pl. LXXV, fig. 1). Nāgārjuna wears *kuṇḍalas* of another type which hang loosely (pl. LXXVII, fig. 19). Big round *kuṇḍalas* of the type of Pāhārpur are also worn by Vasudhārā (pl. LXX, fig. 3), Mahāsarasvatī (pl. LXX, fig. 4), a snake-hooded goddess, (Manasā ?) (pl. LXXVI) and Padmapāṇi (pl. LXVIII, fig. 2).

Pāhārpur

A man in dancing pose is depicted in one Pāhārpur p'aque as wearing a necklace, the middle portion of which looks like a flower (pl. I, fig. 6). Another man wears a necklace which seems to have five ovoidal pendants, one at each side, three in the middle (pl. LXXVII, fig. 7). Jambhala and Tārā (pl. XIV, figs. 1 & 2) wear strings of globular beads. Jambhala's necklace has a five-sided pendant in the middle. A Gandharva holding sword and noose (pl. XXXV, fig. 1) wears a necklace from the broad chain of which hang small globular shaped pendants. Another Gandharva with a necklace unstrung (pl. XXXIV, fig. 1) wears a necklace similar to the one described above, but here the pendants seem to be hollowed in the middle. The middle pendant is ornamented. A warrior seems to wear a torque (pl. X, fig. 2). A thick chain with a plain

pendant in the middle is another variety (pl. LXXVII, fig. 9).¹ The plain necklace of Śiva consists of a thick chain (pl. XXI, fig. 2). Tārā (?) (pl. XXXV, fig. 1) wears a necklace with decorated ovoidal pendants. The middle pendant, however, is lozenge-shaped and ornamented with an eye design. The dancing female (pl. XLVII, fig. 1) wears a necklace which is similar to the one worn by a Gandharva in pl. XXV, fig. 1. Another dancing woman wears a string of pearls or beads (pl. XLVII, fig. 2). Śiva (?) holding a lotus (pl. XXII, fig. 2), Balarāma (pl. XLIV, fig. 2) and Yamunā's male attendant (pl. XLIV, fig. 1) all wear strings of pearls. The necklaces of Śiva and Yamunā's male attendant have ovoidal shaped ornaments in the middle, which seem to be inlaid with jewels. The female figure in pl. XLVIII and the standing female image whose head is missing (pl. XLVI, fig. 1) also wear strings of pearls. Indra's necklace seems to consist of several rows of pearls (pl. XLI, fig. 2). Śiva standing in a group (pl. XXVI, fig. 1) and Yamunā's female attendant (pl. XLIV, fig. 1) wear necklaces consisting of two strings of pearls with ovoidal shaped ornaments in the centre. Yamunā (pl. XLIV, fig. 1) wears a necklace consisting of a group of small pearls or bead string with an ornament in the centre. Śiva with rosary and bull wears a necklace the pendants of which are of the shape of lotus petals.² The necklace of the standing female image in pl. XLVI, fig. 1 is highly ornamented with floral and creeper designs.³ Kuvera in pl. XXIX, fig. 1, the Vidyādhara in pl. XXXV, fig. 3 wear necklaces of the variety shown in pl. XXXV, fig. 1 as worn by a Gandharva holding a sword and noose. The female figure in pl. XLIX, fig. 2 also seems to wear a necklace of the same type. Balarāma's attendants (pl. XLIV, fig. 2) wear plain necklaces with reel-shaped ornaments in the middle. A necklace with five medallions, the central one being ornamented with a disc pattern is shown round the

1. See also *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. XLVII, e.

2. See *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. XXXI b.

3. See also *M. A. S. I.*, No. XXVIII, f.

neck of Kṛṣṇa in pl. XL, fig. 2. Somewhat similar necklaces can be seen in pl. XLII, fig. 2, pl. XXXIX, fig. 1 & 2. All these sculptures are connected with the Kṛṣṇa legend. Kṛṣṇa in one sculpture is shown as wearing a necklace, the pendants of which seem to represent tiger claws (pl. XLII, fig. 1). Gaṇeśa in one sculpture wears a necklace from which hang small oblong-shaped pendants (pl. XXVIII, fig. 2). The female figure and the male figure standing on the proper left side in a sculpture which appears to depict the fight of Vālī and Sugrīva wear necklaces of large ovoidal beads (pl. XXXVII, fig. 2). The necklaces of the male figure in pl. XLX, fig. 2 and the man holding a flute in pl. VIII, fig. 2 are of another variety. (See also pl. LXXVII, fig. 10). The middle portion of these necklaces seems to be wrought in bead pattern. A monkey carrying stones wears a string of globular beads (pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 1).

Mahāsthāngarh

The Mahāsthāngarh plaque depicting an amorous couple shows the female figure wearing a torque with an oblong ornament in the middle (pl. LIII, fig. 3). The necklace of the male figure consists of beads with an oblong-shaped ornament in the middle (pl. LIII, fig. 3). Hara wears three ornamented necklaces (pl. LVI, fig. 1). Gaurī also wears more than one necklace (pl. LVI, fig. 1).

Maināmatī

A cord or chain from which hang round ornaments is the most common type of necklace among those depicted in the Maināmatī plaques (pl. LXI, figs. 1, 3 & 4). A tree spirit is depicted in one Maināmatī plaque as wearing a necklace of round beads (pl. LXVI, fig. 8). The necklace of the woman bearing a standard consists of disc-shaped ornaments or large beads (pl. LIX, fig. 7). The pendants of the highly ornamented necklace of Śūrya are wrought in tiger claw pattern (pl. LXIV, fig. 1).

Nālandā

Avalokiteśvara in one Nālandā sculpture wears a string of pearls (pl. LXVII, fig. 1). In another sculpture he is depicted as wearing a necklace of beads with a small circular pendant in the middle (pl. LXVIII, fig. 1). An unidentified goddess wears a necklace of beads with a small flower-shaped ornament in the middle (pl. LXXVII, fig. 13). The necklace of Tārā (?) is of another variety (pl. LXIX, fig. 4). Avalokiteśvara in one sculpture wears two necklaces; one, a string of pearls; another, a necklace with a decorated ornament in the middle (pl. LXIXa, fig. 1; pl. LXXVII, fig. 14). In one sculpture (pl. LXX, fig. 2) Vajrapāṇi is depicted as wearing two necklaces, one of which seems to be of pearls; the other necklace consists of a thick chain and an ovoidal ornament in the middle (pl. LXXVII, fig. 15). Nāgārjuna (?) wears a string of pearls and an ornamented necklace (pl. LXXVII, fig. 19).

In a Pāhārpur plaque depicting an amorous couple (pl. III, fig. 2) an armlet encircling the arm in the shape of a snake can be seen in the left arm of the male figure. A man playing on a *viṇā* (pl. VII, fig. 1), Śiva (pl. XX, fig. 1) and Gaṇeśa (pl. XXI, fig. 1) wear armlets of bead pattern, or actually made of beads. In the case of Gaṇeśa a bead-shaped appendage on the top of the armlet is distinct from the armlet worn on the left arm. A Pāhārpur warrior wears an armlet, the top appendage of which is round in shape (pl. X, fig. 1). The design of the armlets worn by Jambhala (pl. XIV, fig. 1) is not very distinct but the floral appendages on the top are visible. Tārā (?) wears lozenge-shaped armlets with an eye-shaped ornament in the middle (pl. XV, fig. 1). The male figure in a sculpture depicting an amorous couple (pl. XLVIII) wears an armlet of the type depicted in pl. III, fig. 2. This type of armlet is also shown on the person of Śiva in some other sculptures (pl. XXII, fig. 2; pl. XXVI, fig. 1). Armlets wrought with a beaded pattern of bosses and with two rims on each edge are worn by Kṛṣṇa in pl. XL, fig. 2. The armlet on the left arm of Indra is

also wrought with the beaded pattern and edged by a single thick rim on each edge (pl. XLI, fig. 2). It is ornamented with a boss in the middle. Balarāma's armlets are wrought in the beaded pattern with a floral boss in the middle and a rim on the top edge (pl. XLIV, fig. 2). In the two sculptures depicting amorous couples the female figures are shown as wearing armlets (pl. XLIX, fig. 2 ; pl. XLVIII).

Hara in one Mahāsthāngarh sculpture wears armlets which are ornamented with floral patterns and have a large crest-like appendage on the top (pl. LVI, fig. 1). Śiva in one sculpture from the same place wears armlets which consist of a top appendage and are ornamented with a plain boss (pl. LVI, fig. 2). A Yakṣa is shown in one Mahāsthāngarh plaque as wearing armlets of floral pattern (pl. LVIII, fig. 2).

Among the armlets depicted in the Nālandā sculptures mention may be made of the armlet of Tārā which has a top appendage (pl. LXIX, fig. 4), the highly ornamented armlets of Avalokiteśvara (pl. LXXVII, fig. 17) and the armlets of Nāgārjuna (?) with a rosette-shaped top appendage (pl. LXXVII, fig. 18).

Pāhārpur Terracotta Plaques

A man playing cymbals (pl. I, fig. 4), a woman standing near a well (pl. I, fig. 5), a man wearing a *luṅgi* (pl. I, fig. 2), the male figure in the plaque depicting a human couple (pl. III, fig. 2) and warriors (pl. X, fig. 1) are shown as wearing plain, thick bangles usually one on each hand, but there are exceptions. (See pl. I, fig. 5). Among divine beings Śiva, (pl. XXI, fig. 2) Gaṇeśa (pl. XXI, fig. 1), Brahmā (pl. XX, fig. 2), Tārā (pl. XII, fig. 1), wear this type of bangles. Semi-divine beings like Gandharvas (pl. XXXV, fig. 1) Nāgas (pl. XXXII, fig. 2) are also represented as wearing this type of bangles. In the sculptures also this type is very commonly shown. The gods (pl. XXIV, figs. 1 & 2), semi-divine beings (pl. XXXV, fig. 3), and also human beings (pl. XLVIII) are represented as wearing this type of bangle. This type is also shown as worn by Kṛṣṇa in the scenes depicting the Kṛṣṇa

legend (pl. XL, fig. 2 ; pl. XLII, fig. 1). The bangles on the hands of Yamunā and her female attendant appear to be wrought with the beaded pattern (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). Balarāma's bangles are of another variety (pl. XLIV, fig. 2).

Mahāsthāngarh

A Mahāsthāngarh plaque depicting a human couple shows both the figures as wearing plain, thick bangles (pl. LIII, fig. 3).

Maināmatī

In Maināmatī plaques an acrobat performing (pl. LIX, fig. 1), a man playing a flute (pl. LX, fig. 1), a woman in pensive mood (pl. LIX, fig. 3), a warrior killing a tiger (pl. LXI, fig. 6), a Vidyādhara playing on a *ḍamaru* (pl. LX, fig. 3), and an archer (pl. LX, fig. 7) are depicted as wearing plain, thick bangles. A Vidyādhari wears three bangles on each wrist (pl. LXV, fig. 4).

Nālandā

In Nālandā sculptures deities are depicted as wearing bangles of the type discussed above. We see bangles on the wrists of Tārā (pl. LXXVII, fig. 16), Avalokiteśvara (pl. LXIXa, fig. 1), Vasudhārā (pl. LXX, fig. 3), Vajrapāṇi (pl. LXXII, fig. 1), Trailokyavijaya (pl. LXXIII, fig. 1).

Hara in one Mahāsthāngarh sculpture wears bracelets which appear to have a flower boss in the middle and seem to be wrought in the beaded pattern with one rim on each side (pl. LVI, fig. 1). Śiva and Durgā wear thick bracelets of another variety (pl. LVI, fig. 2).

A warrior is depicted in one Maināmatī plaque as wearing a bracelet which has a boss in the middle (pl. LXI, fig. 2). Another plaque from the same place depicts a Gandharva wearing a bracelet with a bead-shaped appendage on the lower part of the middle portion (pl. LXV, fig. 6).

Tārā and Avalokiteśvara from Nālandā wear bracelets with a plain boss in the middle (pls. LXXVII, fig. 16; LXVIII, fig. 1).

Of the very thick bracelets worn by a goddess on her lower arms, the design on the bracelet worn in the lower right hand is visible (pl. LXXVI).

A very thick kind of hand ornaments is worn by Śakti from Pāhārpur (pl. XVIII), Gaurī from Mahāsthān (pl. LVI, fig. 1) and a snake-hooded goddess from Nālandā (pl. LXXVI).

Pāhārpur

In some Pāhārpur plaques men are depicted as wearing plain waistbands apparently of cloth or hide to keep the lower garment in position (pl. I, fig. 1 & 2 ; pl. IV, fig. 2). Plain waistbands with a clasp in the centre form another variety, shown on the persons of Buddhist and Hindu deities (pl. XV, fig. 2 ; pl. XX, fig. 2). A woman in a dancing pose wears a waistband which seems to be ornamented with a chain pattern (pl. I, fig. 1). Similar waist-bands are worn by a warrior holding sword and shield (pl. X, fig. 1) and Gaṇeśa (pl. XXI, fig. 1). Girdle-belts plain or ornamented with a long end or with a long piece of cloth tucked in the middle can be seen in some plaques (pl. I, fig. 1 ; pl. II, fig. 1). A man seems to wear a string of beads with a tassel in the centre (pl. III, fig. 2). It may also be a girdle-belt consisting of cloth with inlaid jewels or beads.

In the Pāhārpur sculptures we find highly ornamented girdles, among which mention may be made of some. Yamunā's girdle-belt consists of two strands of chain pattern with one plain strand in the middle (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). Its clasp is square in shape and ornamented. The same type of girdle-belt but without a clasp is worn by Yamunā's female attendant (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). Kṛṣṇa wears a two stranded zone of chain pattern with a flower clasp in the centre (pl. XL, fig. 2). A loop hangs in the front and one end hangs on the right thigh. Śiva holding *triśūla* and a coiled snake (pl. XXIV, fig. 1) and Śiva with rosary and *kamaṇḍalu* wear similar girdles (pl. XXV, fig. 1), only here there are no clasps. Balarāma (pl. XLIV, fig. 2) and Yama (pl. XXVI, fig. 2) wear ornamented

girdles with floral clasps in the centre. Two fragmentary sculptures depict highly ornamented zones (pl. XLVI, figs. 1 & 2). A woman dancing wears a two-stranded girdle of beads (pl. LXXVII, fig. 20). The upper strand consists of globular beads and the lower strand of ovoidal beads.

Mahāsthāngarh

The Mahāsthāngarh plaque depicting an amorous couple shows the female figure as wearing a girdle of beads (pl. LIII, fig. 3). The male figure wears a plain waist-band with a clasp.

Maināmatī

In the Maināmatī terracotta plaques men and women are generally shown as wearing narrow and flat belts to keep the lower garments in position (pls. LIX, fig. 1; LXI, fig. 5). Sūrya in one Maināmatī sculpture is depicted as wearing a highly ornamented girdle-belt (pl. LXIV, fig. 1).

Nālandā

Among the ornamented girdle-belts depicted in the Nālandā sculptures mention can be made of those worn by Tārā (pl. LXVII, fig. 2), Padmapāṇi (pl. LXVIII, fig. 2), Vasudhārā (pl. LXX, fig. 3) and Śiva and Pārvatī (pl. LXXV, fig. 1).

The anklet shown on the right leg of a Bodhisattva in a Pāhārpur sculpture (pl. XLVI, fig. 2) seems to consist of a chain band fringed with little bells. This type of anklet is called *kimkiṇī*.¹ The anklets worn by the female figure in pl. XXXVII, fig. 1, and Tārā (?) (pl. LXIX, fig. 4) and Manasā (?) (pl. LXXVI) from Nālandā seem to be similar to the one discussed above. Yamunā and her attendant wear anklets wrought with the beaded pattern (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). Similar anklets are worn by the female figures in pl. XXVI, fig. 1, pl. XLV, fig. 1, pl. XLVIII. Tārā from Nālandā wears this type of anklet (pl. LXVII, fig. 2). A dancing

1. Rajendralal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, London, 1881 pp. 236-237.

female wears two large plain rings round the ankle (pl. XLVII, fig. 1) and Kṛṣṇa also wears plain and large anklets (pl. XL, fig. 2). A boy is depicted in one sculpture as wearing plain anklets (pl. XXXIX, fig. 1). Tārā from Nālandā wears plain anklets of the type discussed above (pl. LXX, fig. 1). The anklets worn by an amorous couple in pl. XLIX, fig. 2 are of another variety (see also pl. LXXVII, fig. 22).

(b) *Musical Instruments :*

Several plaques from Pāhārpur and Maināmatī depict musicians holding musical instruments.

Pāhārpur :

In one Pāhārpur plaque a man is represented as playing cymbals (pl. I, fig. 4). From what is visible it seems that these cymbals are circular in shape with a hollow curve inside. They are of the type called *karatāla*. The small cymbals in the hands of a Nāga are of another variety (pl. XXXII, fig. 2). The ends of these cymbals are round and flat and the handle seems to be straight and long. In one plaque a man is shown as playing on a small *vīṇā* (pl. VII, fig. 1). The neck of the *vīṇā* is long and thick with reeds at intervals. The head or resonator is round in shape. This instrument appears to be different from the modern *vīṇā*. Its resonator is carried over the shoulder and it appears to have no support at the neck for resting on the floor. Another man holds an one-stringed lute (?) (pl. VII, fig. 2). It is shaped like a bottle gourd on either side. Its back appears to be flat and it seems to be slightly incurved in the middle but has not got any neck. A flower is depicted on either end of the lute and the string is fixed to the lute through a hole in either flower. The shape of the gong in pl. VII, fig. 4 is circular with an incised border. A man is shown in one plaque as beating time on two pitchers (pl. VII, fig. 3). They appear to be of equal size, and thus it would seem that both were intended to give the same note. In one plaque from Pāhārpur, a man seated on a chair plays on an

oblong-shaped drum (pl. VIIla, fig. 1). It is covered by vellum on one side only, and is similar to the *tabla* of modern Bengal. In another plaque a man is shown as holding what may be a small cylindrical drum (pl. VIII, fig. 1), by a strap in the middle. A man is depicted as holding a small flute in one Pāhārpur sculpture (pl. VIII, fig. 2), but the details of this instrument are not clear. Among other wind instruments conches are represented in the plaques (pl. II, fig. 9).

Maināmatī :

A Gandharva in one Maināmatī plaque is depicted as playing a *ḍamaru* which is a small drum or tabor and is shaped like an hour-glass (pl. LX, fig. 3). It is held in the right hand and played with the left. Another Gandharva is represented as a drummer in one plaque (pl. LX, fig. 2). This is a side drum and seems to be oval-shaped. A Gandharva is depicted as beating time on an earthen pot or small drum (pl. LX, fig. 4). A man is shown in one plaque as playing a flute (pl. LX, fig. 1).

(c) *Vehicles :*

Chariots are represented in Pāhārpur plaques (pl. IX, figs. 1, 2 & 3)¹ and sculptures (pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 2). The chariots are four-wheeled and the wheels are spoked. Only the lower frame of the chariot is depicted. In the terracotta plaques the chariot is shown with a crocodile head in front, but both in plaques and sculptures neither the horses nor the superstructures are to be seen. By the time of the Pālas the war chariot had been out of use for many centuries, and the term *ratha* in Vedic and Epic literature was not properly understood. Thus we have depictions of warriors in strange vehicles discussed above, which may have had no relationship to the life of the time, but were imaginative impressions of what the ancient *ratha* was believed to have looked like. The use of the elephant as a vehicle is attested by plaques from Maināmatī (pl. LX,

1. See also *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1930-'34, part II, pl. LIV, b.

fig. 6)¹ and bronze sculpture from Mahāsthāngarh (pl. LIV). A loose Pāhārpur plaque shows an elephant walking with full trappings.² A caparisoned horse under a tree in flowers is shown in one Pāhārpur plaque.³ He has a decorated breast-band, but the details of the saddle cannot be distinguished. In several plaques from the same place horsemen with spear in hand are represented.⁴ The god Revanta is depicted in one Nālandā sculpture as riding a horse.⁵ One Pāhārpur plaque depicts a camel.⁶ A Gandharva is shown as riding a rhinoceros in a plaque from Pāhārpur (pl. XXXIII, fig. 1). From the unrealistic depiction of this animal it is clear that it was not well known to the artist, and as rhinoceros are not tameable, we must assume that this plaque is a flight of fancy. Donkeys are depicted in Pāhārpur plaques but very rarely.⁷ Two men are shown on a small boat in one Pāhārpur plaque (pl. XLV, fig. 2).

(d) *Weapons :*

The weapons depicted in the terracotta plaques and sculptures from Pāhārpur, Maināmatī and Nālandā can be divided into two broad divisions ; (a) Weapons for offence ; (b) Weapons for defence.

(a) *Weapons for offence :*

Among weapons for offence bows, daggers, swords, clubs, sticks, axes and spears are met with.

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1. See also T. N. Ramachandran, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries along the Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal*, pl. XIV, figs. 1, 2.
 2. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. 68.
 3. *Ibid.*, pl. LIII, f.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
 5. R. D. Banerjee, *A. S. I.*, Vol. XLVII, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pl. LXV, e.
 6. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. LIII, b.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Bows : The following types of bows are depicted in the plaques and sculptures of Pāhārpur and Maināmatī.

(1) Plain or self-bow : A simple and straight staff perhaps made of elastic bamboo is the plain bow of Pāhārpur plaques and sculptures (pl. IX, fig. 2 ; pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 2). The bows of Uṣā and Sandhyā depicted in one Maināmatī sculpture seems to be of the same type (pl. LXIV, fig. 1). Two of the bows of this type appear to have an extension at one end, perhaps a support for resting the lower end of the bow while taking accurate aim (pl. LXIV, fig. 1 ; pl. IX, fig. 2).

(2) A segment-shaped bow with a cyma curve on either side (pl. V, fig. 3 ; pl. IX, fig. 1). A string is fixed to the bow. The bow depicted in pl. IX, fig. 1 is long.

(3) Ogee-shaped bow (pl. V, fig. 2),

(4) A segment-shaped bow with an upward bend on either side (pl. XXXVI, fig. 2). The middle portion of the stave is decorated with curved bands. It is probably a composite bow made of horn or metal joined in the middle.

(5) A long bow with a bend on either side (pl. XXXVI, fig. 1). A bow depicted in one Maināmatī plaque is almost similar in shape but is much shorter in length and has got an incised decorative line on the stave (pl. LX, fig. 7).

(6) Short bow with a bend in the middle of the stave. In one Maināmatī plaque a short bow bent into curved shape with a bend in the middle is depicted (pl. LXI, fig. 8). This probably represents a horn or metal bow, the central curve representing the joint of the two halves, with a hand grip for the archer. There is a continuous incised line on the stave. An almost similar kind of bow is depicted in another plaque from the same place (pl. LXI, fig. 5). The bow depicted in one Pāhārpur plaque is somewhat similar in shape (pl. IX, fig. 3).

(7) A long triple bended bow (pl. LXXI, fig. 3) is depicted in one sculpture from Nālandā. This suggests an exceptionally long composite bow.

The string of the bow is not shown in every case. But from the plaques where it is shown it can be inferred that a single

string was generally fixed to the bow. The archers depicted in Pāhārpur plaques carry their arrows in one (pls. V, fig. 3 ; XXXVI, 1) or two quivers (pl. IX, figs. 1, 2 & 3). The quivers are fastened by means of straps, presumably of leather, which are generally passed over both shoulders, crossed in front and carried to the back. In one plaque the quiver is shown as hanging over the chest for the left shoulder.¹

Daggers :

(a) Broad dagger : The blade is petal-shaped and is with mid ribs and round tip (pl. LXI, fig. 3).

(b) Broad dagger with mid ribs and curviconical tip (pl. LXI, figs. 1 & 4).

(c) Broad dagger with mid ribs and slightly pointed on the tip (pl. LXI, fig. 6).

(d) Horn-blade : The blade is shaped somewhat like a horn with pointed tip. Its mid ribs suggest that it is a double-edged dagger (pl. LXI, fig. 2).

(e) Broad dagger with curviconical tip (pl. LX, fig. 5). The handles of these daggers seem to be made of wood or horn in which penetrated the tang of the blade. In some cases (pl. LXI, figs. 3 & 6) the middle of the handle is whittled so as to provide a firmer grip.

Swords : The following varieties of swords are met with :

(a) Short sword with mid ribs. The tip of the blade seems to be round (pl. XII, fig. 2).

(b) Broad and long sword with blunt end. It is neither pointed nor rounded. It is flat (pl. X, fig. 2).

(c) Broad sword, but shorter than the previous one (pl. XXXIV, fig. 2). The end is blunt. The sword seems to be double-edged.

(d) Broad and long sword with rounded end (pl. XXVV, fig. 1). The hilt is beautifully decorated.

(e) Broad and long sword with square blunt end. The midrib suggests that it was sharp on both edges (pl. II, fig. 5).

1. A. S. I., A. R., 1930-34, part II, pl. LIV, b.

(f) A broad long sword with the end slightly curved. It is sharp on both edges (pl. II, fig. 4).

(g) Sabres : (i) Plain sabre, broad and long (pl. V, fig. 1). The hilt is not visible. (ii) Long sabre. The midribs suggest that it is sharp on both edges (pl. LI, fig. 1).

(h) Broad and long sword with midribs and round head (pl. LVI, fig. 7).

(i) Straight sword with decorated handle and round top (pl. LXXII, fig. 2).

(j) Broad sword with midribs and curviconical tip (pl. LXXXI).

Clubs :

Two varieties of clubs are shown in Pāhārpur plaques and sculptures : Short and long.

In one Pāhārpur plaque a short club is depicted (pl. VIII, fig. 2). In order to prevent the club slipping from the hand a "knob" or stop is furnished at its end. The shaft of the club is cylindrical in shape and the head is a continuation of the shaft and is round at the top. Two bands, one on the grip and another on the shaft, are distinctly visible. Another short club with a cylindrical shaft is depicted in one Pāhārpur sculpture.¹

A decorated tapering long club is represented in one Pāhārpur sculpture (pl. XI, fig. 2). Its grip is not visible. The shaft swells at the striking end where the top becomes rounded. In one sculpture from the same place a plain long club is also depicted (pl. XLI, fig. 2).

Stick :

Balarāma holds a stick in his upper right hand. The stick is a long and tapering one (pl. XLIV, fig. 2).

1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. XXXVI, e

Axe :

A battle axe is represented in one Nālandā sculpture (pl. LXXVI). The blade is long curved. The shaft is heavy with a pommel on either end. A decorative band is shown on the pommel of the lower end and also on that portion of the shaft which the goddess holds.

Spear :

Sūrya's attendant in one Nālandā sculpture holds a concave-headed spear which has a long shaft (pl. LXXV, fig. 2). The head of this spear consists of a pointed blade.

(b) Weapons for defence :

Of the defensive weapons mention may be made only of shields. Following types of shields are met with in Pāhārpur and Maināmatī plaques :

(1) Circular : (i) One Pāhārpur plaque depicts a circular shield ornamented with an incised line along the edge and with a boss in the centre (pl. II, fig. 5). (ii) Another circular shield is depicted in one Maināmatī plaque with a disc in the centre enclosed by incised borders (LXI, fig. 3).

(2) Oblong : (i) A big oblong shield ornamented with vertical and horizontal lines at regular intervals is depicted in one Pāhārpur plaque (pl. II, fig. 4). (ii) One Maināmatī plaque depicts a very big shield ornamented with what seems to be check design (pl. LX, fig. 5). These shields are connex, and might represent originals of about 3 to 4 ft. long. Another plaque from Pāhārpur depicts an oblong ornamented shield (pl. XI, fig. 1).

(3) Wavy-shaped shields : One Maināmatī plaque depicted a wavy shaped shield with incised borders on the edge (pl. LXI, fig. 7). The shield in the hands of a warrior depicted in one Pāhārpur plaque appears to be similar to the above-mentioned Maināmatī shield (pl. X, fig. 1).

(4) Segment-shaped : One Pāhārpur plaque depicted a segment-shaped shield (pl. II, fig. 6).

(5) Oval-shaped : One Maināmatī plaque depicted a shield of this type which is enclosed with bands with a straight line in the middle (pl. LXI. fig. 2). The shield in one Pāhārpur plaque seems also to be of the same type (pl. X, fig. 2).

FINDS THROWING LIGHT ON THE RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

(a) *Buddhist objects.*

Pāhārpur :

The Buddhist deities represented in the Pāhārpur plaques belong to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. In one plaque Buddha is shown as seated in the *bhūmisparśamudrā* on a seat balanced on three stones, the central one of which, according to Dikshit, shows the *vajra* symbol¹ (pl. XIII, fig. 2), though this is very unusual. There is a halo behind the head of the Buddha and the traces of leaves on either side of the halo seem to denote the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment. But the structures or hills on either side of the Buddha are not met with elsewhere and their meaning is not clear. They may be the artist's attempt to indicate the hilly nature of the landscape.² This plaque is situated in the centre of the main eastern wall and was easily accessible for the worship of the circumambulating devotees.³ The Buddha is illustrated in other plaques mostly in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, *dhyānamudrā* and also in the *līlāsana* attitude.⁴ In one plaque Buddha is shown in the *līlāsana* attitude, the right knee tacked up, with the right hand in *abhayamudrā* and the left hand

1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 60.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

resting on the thigh.¹ Encased within the thickness of three Buddha plaques discovered during the excavation in Satyapīr Bhiṭā were found two seals of $\frac{7}{8}$ inch diameter placed face to face, the hollow being filled up from the back with earth. The inscription on these seals consists either of the usual Buddhist creed or of a mystic formula which appears to have been employed to give further sanctity to the figures of the Buddha. The plaques mentioned above show the Buddha in *dhyānamudrā*.²

In the Pāhārpur plaques the Bodhisattvas are represented more frequently than the Buddha.³ A plaque shows Padma-pāṇi as seated in the *vajra-paryāṅka* pose (pl. XIII, fig. 1) with lotus flowers separated by beaded columns. His right hand holds near the chest a full-blown lotus, the stalk of which is held in the left hand. The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is represented in one plaque (pl. XV, fig. 2) as turned to left. The right knee is tucked up and the blue lotus, which is one of the distinguishing marks of Mañjuśrī can be seen in the background. Mañjuśrī is again represented in another plaque as seated in *līlāsana* on a full-blown lotus and holding a sword in his right hand (pl. XII, fig. 2). The object above the lotus on the figure's left is identified by Dikshit as a curved knife or chopper,⁴ one of the distinguishing marks of Mañjuśrī. He is often shown with a palm-leaf book in his hand, which in this plaque is missing. The strange object seems to be neither of Mañjuśrī's normal emblems, and we are unable to identify it. Mañjuśrī can also be recognised in another plaque where a manuscript occurs on a lotus by the side of the seated figure.⁵ The Bodhisattva Maitreya, the future Buddha, also seems to be repre-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

2. *M. A. S.*, No. 55, pp. 60-61.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

sented in one plaque.¹ Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth is represented in one plaque, as seated on a lotus in the *lilāsana* with hands resting on the knees (pl. XIV, fig. 1). In the right hand there is an indistinct object which may be a vase (*ghaṭa*), and in the crest of the crown is possibly the figure of *dhyānī* Buddha.² A lotus can be seen in the right background.

Among the female deities in the Mahāyāna pantheon only representations of Tārā can be identified in some of the Pāhārpur plaques.³ One plaque represents Tārā as seated on a double-lotus seat in *lilāsana* (pl. XII, fig. 1). Her distinguishing mark, the blue lotus, is represented in the right background. Another plaque represents Tārā in a standing position with her right hand shown in *varadamudrā* (pl. XIV, fig. 2). The presence of the lotus again serves to identify the figure. A female figure seated on a cushion, with the right hand raised in *abhayamudrā* (pl. XV, fig. 1) seems to be another representation of Tārā. Sealings bearing the effigy of Tārā in her eight-handed form are found in the Satyapīr Bhiṭā mound.⁴ A stūpa is depicted in one plaque (pl. XVI, fig. 1) representing a monkey as holding a bunch of mangoes (pl. XLV, fig. 6). It may refer to one of the numerous stories of offerings by monkeys in Buddhist literature.⁵

Padmapāṇi is shown in one sculpture in a standing position with a lotus halo behind the head (pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are two attendants by the side of Padmapāṇi, the one to the right being a woman and that to the left a man, who is apparently looking up to the Bodhisattva. Each of these attendants stands on a separate lotus seat. This sculpture is in a very damaged condition and the lotus in the right background is the only means of the identification of Padmapāṇi. It is the

1. *Ibid.*

2. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 61., *ibid.*, pl. XLV, e.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *M. A. S. I.*, 55, p. 49.

5. *M. A. S. I.*, 55, p. 64.

only image which is undoubtedly a Buddhist one among the reliefs fixed in the basement wall.¹ One Pāhārpur sculpture represents a woman as standing under a tree holding a branch with her hands (pl. XIX). There is another tree on her right side against which stands a man with the fingers of the right hand placed against the mouth as if in wonder. The legs of both the figures are shown as crossing each other. Midway between the two figures a child is illustrated in dancing pose, with the right leg raised and touching the woman's leg. If this figure is to be taken as representing a new-born child the relief may represent the birth of Buddha in the Śāla garden at Lumbinī; but in the absence of any clear evidence nothing can be said very conclusively.² In no tradition are we told that the new born Gotama danced at birth.

A fragmentary stone image of Hevajra in close embrace with his Śakti or female counterpart has been found from Pāhārpur (pl. XVIII). Hevajra is represented with six hands in a row and possibly two more at the top, corresponding to sixteen hands. The central pair of hands holds the Śakti, while each of the seven hands on either side holds a skull cup filled with some indistinct objects. The third eye appears on the forehead of each head of Hevajra and a garland of skulls encircles his body.

A mutilated torso of Bodhisattva is another find from Pāhārpur (pl. XLVI, fig. 2). Only the portion below the abdomen of this image has been preserved. He is shown as seated on a *viśvapadmāsana* in *lalitāsana*, the left leg being folded on the lotus seat and right one resting on another lotus. In the coils of the lotus stalk below the lotus seat three small male figures are depicted.

Only one Buddha image in bronze is found from Pāhārpur. It portrays the Buddha as standing on a single lotus pedestal with the right hand in *abhayamudrā* (pl. XVII, fig. 1).

1. *Ibid.*, p, 52.

2. *Ibid.*, p, 52.

Mahāsthāngarh :

A Mahāsthāngarh plaque portrays a woman as sleeping gracefully on a couch with her left hand supporting her head and her right hand extended and touching an animal descending from the skies, which is either an elephant or a bull (pl. LV, fig. 3). If the animal is an elephant then the scene may represent Māyā's dream before the birth of Buddha.¹

One stone sculpture represents Padmapāṇi in a standing position with the right hand in *varadamudrā* (pl. LV, fig. 1). The lotus in the right background is the only means of identifying the deity. Another fragment of a stone sculpture shows the Buddha seated on a lotus cushion (?) in the *bhūmisparśamudrā* (pl. LV, fig. 2).

Maināmatī :

One Mānuamatī plaque shows the Buddha in *vajrāsana* with the right hand in *bhūmisparśamudrā* (pl. LXII, fig. 6). Padmapāṇi is shown in one plaque as seated in *mahārāja-līlā* pose with the right hand resting on the ground and the left holding lotus by its stalk (pl. LXII, fig. 5). Padmapāṇi is also depicted in another plaque (pl. LXII, fig. 1) as holding a lotus in his left hand by its stalk. The scene of prince Siddhārtha cutting-off his hair before his renunciation is also depicted in the Maināmatī plaques.² Vajrapāṇi is also portrayed (pl. LX, fig. 2). Trailokyavijaya is represented in *ālīḍha* pose; according to Ramachandran he has a *vajra* in one left hand, but this is not visible in the reproduction (pl. LXII, fig. 3). Cakravarti Māndhātā (of *Māndhātu Jātaka*) is represented as sitting and producing by a wave of his hand a shower of coins from the cloud region.³

1. *A. S. I., A. R.*, p. 54. According to Ramachandran the probability of the animal being a bull is more likely.

2. *B. C. Law Vol. II, op. cit.*, p. 226.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Pieces of grey-coloured sculpture, the central figure of which is either the Buddha or a Bodhisattva seated on a lotus throne, are found in Maināmatī.¹ One sculpture of black basalt portrays Mañjuvara, a variety of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and an emanation of the five *dhyanī* Buddhas (pl. LXIII, fig. 1). The hands indicate *dharmacakramudrā* and over his left arm in the right background is a lotus on which is placed a book, the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture. The five *dhyanī* Buddhas are shown in miniature in the head. Two Vidyādhara are also represented as hovering above with garlands in their hands. Two attendant divinities, probably Jālinīkumāra or Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha are shown one on either side of him. He is seated on a lotus and his *vāhana* is a lion.

Small bronze votive images of the Buddha are found in Maināmatī. The Buddha in these bronze sculptures is shown as seated in *vajrāsana* (pl. LXIII, fig. 2). His right hand indicates the *bhūmisparśamudrā*. The *vajra* is shown on the pedestal in front and the Buddhist creed formula is embossed on the other side.² About a dozen of bronze miniature images of the Buddha, Bodhisattva, goddesses Tārā and Śarvānī were recently discovered in Maināmatī.³ They "reveal a development reflecting changes in the character of Buddhism from Mahāyāna type to Tantric form during the 7th-8th centuries A. C."⁴ In

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1. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 39. All these sculptures referred to above were discovered recently.
 2. Ramachandran records the find of 13 such images, and, on one image only the *vajra* was not shown. The *vajras* are not very clear in the photographs given. It is impossible to confirm that the inscription is embossed. Normally such inscriptions were engraved and it is possible that Dr. Ramachandran has used the wrong word. See *B. C. Law. Vol. part II, op. cit.*, p. 225.
 3. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
 4. *Ibid.*

some sculptures the Buddha's right hand indicates the *bhūmi-sparśamudrā* and the left is placed on the lap.¹

Nālandā

Buddha is represented in two bronze sculptures as standing on lotuses (pl. LXIX, figs. 1 to 2). The right hands indicate the *varadamudrā*. The *urṇā* on the forehead is distinct in both cases. One stone sculpture represents the Buddha as seated in *padmāsana* on a *viśvapadmāsana* with the right hand stretched in the *bhūmi-sparśamudrā* (pl. LXIXa, fig. 2). Buddha in pl. LXXII, fig. 2 is seated on a lion throne² with the legs resting on a lotus. The hands indicate the *dharmacakramudrā*. A *cakra* is shown on each side of the Buddha while the branches of a tree over the head of the Buddha seem to indicate Buddha's enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. An ornamented umbrella hangs over the head of the Buddha. There are two attendants of the Buddha, one female shown as seated on his right side and one male shown as seated on the left. The female attendant seems to hold a lotus stalk in the left hand while the male attendant holds a sword in the right hand.

Avalokiteśvara is represented in one stucco sculpture as standing with female attendants on either side (pl. LXVII, fig. 1). The right hand indicates the *varadamudrā*. Another image of Avalokiteśvara, in bronze, shows him as standing on a lotus cushion with the right hand indicating *varadamudrā* (pl. LXVIII, fig. 1). The object in his left hand seems to be a small *kamaṇḍalu*. A *dhyānī* Buddha is represented on the crest of the crown. In one stone sculpture a four-armed Avalokiteśvara is portrayed (pl. LXIXa, fig. 1). Avalokiteśvara stands in *varadamudrā* posture on a lotus throne. A lotus stalk is held in the left upper hand of the Bodhisattva and a *kamaṇḍalu* in

1. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. VII. No. 3. p. 38. For details about the images of the Buddha, Bodhisattva and Tārā and Śarvāṇī see *ibid.*, pp. 38-49.

2. See *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1928-'29, pl LVIIa

the lower. The right upper hand holds a rosary and the lower indicates the *varadamudrā*. In the crest of Avalokiteśvara's crown a tiny figure of the *dhyānī* Buddha is shown. Kurukullā and Bhṛkṣuṭī, the consorts of Avalokiteśvara are shown on either side of him, and a seated pot-bellied *preta* is receiving the nectar dripping from the Bodhisattva's hand. At the left end of the pedestal is a kneeling female devotee with folded hands. Probably she is the donor of this sculpture. Another stone sculpture shows Avalokiteśvara as standing with the right hand stretched in *varadamudrā* (pl. LXXI, fig. 1). A *dhyānī* Buddha is shown on his headdress, and the left hand holds a lotus.

Padmapāṇi is depicted in a stone sculpture as standing on a lotus cushion (pl. LXVIII, fig. 2). The right hand indicates *varadamudrā* and the left holds a lotus stalk. There is a halo around his head and a male attendant is visible on his right side. A four-headed Vajrapāṇi is depicted in one sculpture as seated cross-legged, holding the *vajra* against the breast by both the hands (pl. LXX, fig. 2). In one bronze image a seated Vajrapāṇi is depicted as holding a sword in his raised right hand and a *vajra* in the left held close to the breast (pl. LXXII, fig. 1).

One sculpture represents Trailokyavijaya as trampling on Śiva and Pārvatī lying prostrate (pl. LXXIII, fig. 1). His hands indicate *vajrahūṃkāramudrā* and flames are shown in the background. Yamāntaka is represented in one sculpture.¹ He is shown as multi-headed and six-armed and standing on a buffalo. Among the objects held in the hands mention may be made of the sword, noose, and a cup. A garland of human skulls adorns the body of the god. The *dhyānī* Buddha Akṣobhya is shown on the crest. One sculpture depicts a figure as seated in *sukhāsana* on a *padmāsana* with a canopy of seven serpent hoods over the head (pl. LXXIV, fig. 2). He holds a rosary in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* on the left. Hirananda Sastri identifies the image as that of Nāgārjuna.²

1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, pl. XIIIa.

2. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, pp. 116-117.

The Buddhist deity Tārā is represented in several bronze sculptures. One image represents her as standing on a lotus pedestal with the right hand held in *varadamudrā* (pl. LXVII, fig. 2). She holds a lotus stalk in the left hand. Another bronze image represents Tārā as standing in the *varadamudrā* (pl. LXX, fig. 1). The roll of palm-leaf or birch-bark (*bhurjapatra*) inserted in the loop of her right ear-lobe indicates that she is keeping *mantras* (germ syllables) in her ear so that they might sound there in her meditation.¹ A bronze image shows a goddess (Tārā ?) as seated on a *viśvapadmāsana* in the *vilāsa* attitude, the right leg resting on what seems to be another lotus (pl. LXIX, fig. 4). Her right hand indicates the *varadamudrā*. The fragmentary image of a goddess shows her in the *varada* attitude (pl. LXIX, fig. 3). She is not yet identified.

Among other female Buddhist deities mention may be made of Vasudhārā (pl. LXX, fig. 3), Mahāsarasvatī (pl. LXX, fig. 4) Prajñāpāramitā (pl. LXXIV, fig. 1), Mārīcī (pl. LXXIV, fig. 3), and Aparājita (pl. LXXIII, fig. 2). Vasudhārā seems to be represented in one sculpture. "The right hand stretched in *varadamudrā* and the vessel (of jewels) in the left hand as well as under her seat would suggest that".² One sculpture depicts Mahāsarasvatī as seated on a *padmāsana*. Her right hand is stretched in *varadamudrā*, but the left hand is missing. Four divinities are shown round her. Another sculpture represents Prajñāpāramitā as seated in *padmāsana* with eighteen hands "and exhibits, besides dharmachakra mudrā, a bell, noose, flag, disc, conch, pot, book-on-lotus and an indistinct object in the left ones and a fruit, conch, sword, vajra, rosary, varada-mudrā and two indistinct objects in the right ones".³ One sculpture shows Mārīcī. She is three-faced, "the left face is that of a boar; eight arms: the right ones hold sword, vajra, arrow, fourth (broken); the left ones, bow, ankusa.....".⁴ Three

1. A. S. I., A. R., 1933-'36, p. 128.

2. M. A. S. I., No. 66, p. 119.

3. Amalanand Ghosh, *A Guide to Nalanda*, op. cit. pp. 29-30.

4. H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda*, op. cit. p. 136.

boar-faced female figures are also depicted. Of them two are shown on either side of the legs of Mārīcī and one underneath. The fragmentary figure of a goddess trampling upon Gaṇeśa has been identified as the Buddhist goddess Aparājita.¹ She is attended by Indra holding a rod, which seems to be the handle of a parasol. Of the other sculptures mention may be made of a bronze image of Māyādevī standing under an Aśoka tree in the Lumbinī garden with the newly born Gautama (pl. LXXI, fig. 2).

(b) *Hindu objects,*

Pāhārpur :

Śiva is represented in one plaque as multi-headed² and with ten hands (p. XX, fig. 1). In his hands he holds different weapons. This image is a representation of Śiva as *Pañcānana* (five-faced), although only three heads are visible.³ Another plaque represents Śiva as a naked ascetic with the disinctive third eye and as holding the spiral-shaped staff of the *triśula* (pl. XXI, fig. 2). One clad image of Śiva shows him as standing with a spear in his left hand and a garland of skulls over the shoulders.⁴ This image with its gaping mouth and spear may be a representation of Śiva in his *bhairava mūrti*.⁵

In the Pāhārpur plaques two certain representations of *Śivaliṅga* can be seen. In one plaque the *liṅga* is represented as a single cylindrical object standing on a rectangular pedestal (*piṭha*) with the surface decorated with a garland of flowers and banners flying by the side.⁶ The second one is a *mukhaliṅga* piece of *caturmukha* type of which only three faces are discernible on account of its being a relievo representation (pl. XXII, fig. 1).

1. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

2. Only one head is distinct in the photograph. See *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. XLIV, a.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. XLI d-2.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

6. *M. A. S.*, No. 55, pl. XXXIX f-1.

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa are also represented in the terracotta plaques. Brahmā is portrayed in one plaque as seated on a cushion and holding a rosary in the right hand (pl. XX, fig. 2). According to K. N. Dikshit, Brahmā possibly holds a vase in the left.¹ He is shown as four-headed, one head at the back being invisible. This representation of Brahmā differs from the representation in the stone relief in all respects but the attributes in the hands. Viṣṇu is represented in one plaque as seated on a lotus cushion. The usual attributes of Viṣṇu, namely, conch in the lower left hand and apparently a short club in the upper left hand are all present.² There are several representations of Gaṇeśa. One plaque shows Gaṇeśa astride his *vāhana*, the mouse (pl. XXI, fig. 1). He is four-handed and has a vertical third eye on the forehead. Sūrya also seems to be represented in one loose plaque. The plaque depicts a divine figure with a halo behind his head and as seated with legs crossing each other and holding in both uplifted hands full blown lotuses.³

Several stone images depicting Hindu deities have been found at Pāhārpur. One sculpture represents a male figure as standing with the left hand akimbo and the right holding a lotus (*utpala*) (pl. XXII, fig. 2). A circular *tilaka* mark appears on the forehead and it may represent the third eye. A halo is visible behind the back of the head. According to K. N. Dikshit this figure is Śiva.⁴ But S. K. Saraswati does not accept this identification as conclusive.⁵ Another sculpture depicts a male figure in *samapada* attitude between two plantain trees, with matted hair falling in curls on either shoulder (pl. XXIII, fig. 1). He is fully clad and holds in his right hand a rosary and a vase in the left. His right hand indicates *abhaya mudrā*. The feature to be specially noticed is the crescent mark appearing

1. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

2. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 59.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

4. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 55.

5. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.* pp. 69-70.

over the tiara. The only god known to wear a crescent (*ardha-candra*, *indukalā*) is Śiva,¹ and R. D. Banerjee described it as "Śiva conceived as Somanātha, the lord of the moon".² K. N. Dikshit also identifies this image as Śiva.³ But Saraswati does not accept this identification on account of the absence of his other attributes, such as the vertical third eye and the *urddhvaliṅga*, and he identifies this image as Candra, the moon god, on the basis of the description of Candra in *Agnipurāṇa*.⁴

A clad image shows a male figure as standing peacefully and holding a rosary in his right hand⁵ held in *abhayamudrā* and a *kamaṇḍalu* on the left (pl. XXIII, fig. 2). He wears a sacred thread which has crossed knots at regular intervals. An attendant is shown as seated on the proper left lower corner and there is a small plantain tree on the proper right side. K. N. Dikshit identifies this image as Śiva.⁶

There are several stone images which undoubtedly represent Śiva. Three of them, all two-handed, show the third eye, the *urddhvaliṅga* and *jaṭāmukūṭā*. Among these, one sculpture represents Śiva as standing with a slight flexion (pl. XXIV, fig. 1). The right hand indicates the *varadamudrā* and with the left he holds a long *triśūla*. A snake appears over his right shoulder. Apart from the sacred thread and ornaments like necklace, earrings etc., the whole body of Śiva appears to be naked. This image seems to represent the Hara variety of Śiva.⁷ Another sculpture represents Śiva with his *vāhana* Nandi (bull) on the proper left side (pl. XXIV, fig. 2). In his left hand, now broken, he holds a long rod, probably a *triśūla*, with the upper

1. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 66
2. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1925-'26, p. III.
3. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 53.
4. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.
5. This is according to Mr. Dikshit. See *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 54. But the rosary is not distinct in the photograph.
6. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 54.
7. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

part lost and the right stretched in *varada*, bears a rosary. A snake can be seen over the proper left shoulder of Śiva. He also wears a sacred thread. On stone image shows Śiva as a naked ascetic and standing upright (*samapadasthānaka*) (pl. XXV, fig. 1). The right hand, raised to the shoulder, holds a rosary and the left hand, hanging down, holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. A thin sacred thread dangles down across the torso and a plain halo is visible behind the head.

One sculpture represents Śiva as standing in a group and holding with his right hand an umbrella of peacock feather (pl. XXVI, fig. 1) Śiva, who is portrayed here in his ascetic form, can be recognised by such characteristics as the *urddhvaliṅga*, the tiger skin used as a loin cloth, and the armlets consisting of snakes. Two small figures, flanking Śiva on either side, seem to represent *gaṇas*, his dwarf attendants. The dwarf standing to the left of Śiva seems to hold a musical instrument and, in the background, trees and foliage may be seen. The first female figure to the left of Śiva holds a cup in her left hand and the right is in the attitude of offering something to Śiva. To her left stands another lady who holds her arms above the head and her waist is clasped by a small figure. Three other figures whose coiffure shows that they are ascetics appear to the extreme proper right. Among them the emaciated figure behind the second lady can be recognised as Bhṛṅgī, the faithful devotee of Śiva. According to K. N. Dikshit a likely identification of this scene is the incident of the offering of the cup of poison churned out of the milk-ocean to Śiva by the Earth-goddess at the instance of other gods¹. C. L. Fabri agrees with this interpretation², but Saraswati³ and Lohuizen-de Leeuw

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1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 42. See also *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1926-27, p. 141.
 2. "Further Excavation at Paharpur, Bengal", *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1932*, Leiden, 1954, pp. 29-30.
 3. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52.

do not accept this theory. Lohuizen-de Leeuw identifies this relief as a representation of the *devadāruvanamāhātmya*, a story found in several *Purāṇas* which relate how the cult of *Sivaliṅga* worship began in India.¹

Several sculptures represent the Dikpālas. One depicts Yama, the god of death and the lord of the southern quarter as standing in the *samapada* attitude holding a noose (*pāśā*) in his hands which passes round the head like an aureole (pl. XXVI, fig. 2). A female attendant stands on his right side and a male attendant on his left. Each of them holds a *pāśā*. But the identification of the present image as that of Yama rests on its position in the main southern wall.² Though the noose is mentioned in some texts as the attribute of Yama it is not the most distinctive cognisance of Yama and wherever it is mentioned it is mentioned along with the club.³ Yama's most decisive cognisances, the buffalo-mount and the club in one of the hands, are wanting in this sculpture.⁴ The *pāśā* is also mentioned as an attribute of Varuṇa in all the texts and had it not been for its position the present image might have been more conclusively identified as Varuṇa.⁵

Agni, the god of fire and the lord of the south-eastern quarter, is portrayed in one sculpture (pl. XXVII, fig. 2). He is shown as standing with flames rising up on either side in the background. He holds, according to Saraswati, a rosary (*akṣasūtra*) in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left.⁶ The latter is distinct, but the former is not visible in the photograph. The damaged figure on his right side perhaps represents his wife Svāhā-devī.⁷ Another sculpture depicts Indra, the

1. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Ancient Buddhist Monastery at Pāhārpur*. *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

2. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 64

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 62

7. *Ibid.*

guardian of the eastern quarter and the lord of heaven (pl. XLI, fig. 2). It shows him with a horizontal third eye on the forehead which is, according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, one of the distinct cognisances of Indra.¹ The objects in the hands of Indra cannot be identified. The mount of Indra, the elephant *Airāvata*, is depicted as standing behind the god.

Kuvera, the pot-bellied god of wealth and the lord of the northern quarter, is depicted in one sculpture as seated in *lalitāsana* on a settee (pl. XXVIII, fig. 1). Below the settee a conch and a lotus (two of the *aṣṭanidhis* of Kuvera) are depicted. In the left hand Kuvera holds a long purse ; the right hand is broken. Two female cowry-bearers are shown as standing on either side of him, and above there are flying Vidyādharas holding garlands. Kuvera is depicted in other sculptures also (pl. XXIX, fig. 1 ; pl. XXXI, fig. 2).

One stone image represents a figure as standing in *samapada* attitude with a kneeling devotee with folded hands to his right (pl. XXX, fig. 1). In his left hand he holds a manuscript and the right hand stretched in *varadamudrā* exhibits a rosary. Two trees, probably plaintain trees, are represented on two sides in the background. R. D. Banerjee thinks this image to be a representation of Brahmā.² Dikshit also identifies it with Brahmā on account of the rosary in the right hand and the manuscript in the left.³ But Saraswati identifies it with Bṛhaspati, because it corresponds with the attributes of Bṛhaspati as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, namely, he is to have two hands, holding a manuscript and a rosary, and a complexion like that of molten gold.⁴ Another stone sculpture represents a figure in a standing position (pl. XXX, fig. 2). The right hand holds a rosary and the left holds what looks like a *kamaṇḍalu*. The right hand indicates *abhayamudrā*. "The pro-

1. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, pp. 61-62.

2. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1925-'26, p. III.

3. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 54.

4. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, pp. 65-66.

tuberant abdomen and the mark of a Yajñopavīta passing diagonally over the left shoulder across the abdomen, indicate that the figure may have represented Brahmā".¹

Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed deity, is shown in one Pāhārpur sculpture as four-handed and as seated on a pedestal (pl. XXVIII, fig. 2). The upper right hand holds a radish (*mulaka-kāṇḍa*), the lower right a rosary (*akṣamālā*), the upper left a trident (*śulaka*) and the lower left perhaps a snake. The lower right hand indicates *bhūmiśparśamudrā*. A mouse, the *vāhana* of Gaṇeśa is incised in shallow lines on the pedestal. Gaṇeśa, is represented in two other sculptures, one stone, another bronze (pl. XXXI, fig. 3).

One bronze sculpture depicts Hara-Gaurī (pl. XXXI, fig. 1). Hara is shown as seated in *rājalilā* on a double lotus seat. The upper right hand of Hara holds what appears to be a lotus, which must be the blue *utpala*. The lower right hand is held up to the chin of Gaurī. The upper left hand apparently holds the handle of the trident.² And the lower left hand goes around the body of Gaurī. Gaurī holds a mirror by her left hand. Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya, the two sons of Hara-Gaurī, are shown on either side of the frame, and below the feet of Śiva and Pārvatī stand their respective vehicles, the bull and the lion.³

One sculpture represents the snake-goddess Manasā as seated in *lalitāsana* with a child in her lap (pl. XXIX, fig. 2). The upper right hand holds a long leafy branch.

The river goddess Yamunā is represented in one sculpture as standing on her vehicle, the tortoise (pl. XLIV, fig. 1). Her right hand touches a lotus on which a goose is standing while a similar lotus is shown on the side on which stands a pair of geese. The male attendant stands on a crab and holds an

1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 38.

2. His upper left hand is not visible in the photo.

3. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 76. But these are not distinctly visible in the photo. See *ibid.*, pl. LVIII, a.

umbrella over the head of the goddess. The female attendant, also standing on a crab, holds a casket presumably of flowers. Balarāma is represented in one sculpture as standing on a plain pedestal with a slight and easy bend (pl. XLIV, fig. 2). He is surmounted by a six-hooded snake canopy which "indicates that Balarāma was looked upon as an incarnation of Vishnu, canopied by the snake-god Śesha".¹ He has four hands of which the upper left holds a plough, the upper right a mace and the lower right a cup, while the lower left rests on the waist. The female attendant to the right holds a handled wine flask and a cup, and the male attendant to the left holds something in both hands, but these objects are not distinct.²

Mahāsthāngarh :

One Mahāsthāngarh plaque shows a figure seated in *sukhāsana* and holding a noose (*pāśa*) (pl. LVII, fig. 2) in his hands, which passes round the head like an aureole. The present image probably represents Yama.

A fragmentary stone sculpture from Mahāsthāngarh shows Hara-Gaurī in close embrace (pl. LVI, fig. 1). With his upper right hand Hara holds a blue lotus (*nilotpala*), his lower right hand holds the chin of Gaurī; the upper left hand holds a trident and the lower one goes round the body of Gaurī. Gaurī holds a mirror in the left hand. Another fragmentary stone image depicts Śiva and Durgā in close embrace (pl. LVI, fig. 2). The objects held in the hands of Śiva and Durgā and their postures are similar to those of Hara and Gaurī.

Maināmatī :

In one sculpture Surya is represented as standing in *samapada* attitude and holding a lotus in each hand, "while flying Vidyādhara

1. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 45.

2. See Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, pp. 46-48 for the iconographic details that the god is to exhibit generally in his images.

couples hovering above, parasol juxtaposed right in the centre over his head, eleven Sūryas (out of the twelve dvādaś-Ādityas) and Gaṇeśa flanking him, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala standing one on each side, an attendant-woman (Chāmaradhārīṇī) on either side, his consort, Chhāyādevī, in front of his legs, Aruṇa in front driving a rotunda of seven horses and Ushas and Sandhyā symmetrically poised below at the extreme ends as bow-women"¹ are all depicted with symmetry (pl. LXIV, fig. 1). Another Maināmatī sculpture depicts Sūrya (pl. LXIV, fig. 2). At Varella, three miles north of Maināmatī, images of Vāsudeva, Hara-Gaurī, Jagaddhātṛī, Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu have been found.²

Nālandā :

Among the Hindu images found at Nālandā mention may be made of Śiva and Pārvatī, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, his son Revanta,³ Gaṇeśa.¹ Sarasvatī,⁵ Caṇḍikā and Gaṅgā.⁶

Śiva and Pārvatī are shown in one sculpture as seated in *lalitāsana*, their right feet resting on their *vāhanas* (pl. LXXV, fig. 1). Śiva is caressing Pārvatī, who is seated on his left thigh. Owing to the fragmentary condition of the sculpture details are not visible. Viṣṇu is depicted in one sculpture as standing with a disc on the left side and a spear on the right (pl. LXXV, fig. 4). The *vanamālā* is shown as loosely

1. T. N. Ramachandran, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries Along the Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges", *B. C. Law Vol.* part II, *op. cit.* p. 219. For the details not visible in the drawing, see *ibid.*, pl. IV.
2. *Ibid.*
3. R.D. Banerji, "Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture", *Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, Vol. XLVII, 1933, p. 123, pl. LXV, e.
4. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. 116.
5. *Ibid.*
6. R. D. Banerjee, "Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture", *op. cit.*, p. 120, pl. LXXI, d.

encircling his body and hanging down below his knees. A kneeling devotee can be seen on the proper left corner.

Sūrya in one sculpture is shown as standing on a lotus (pl. LXXV, fig. 2). A sword hangs from his waist. Of the two attendants, standing on either side of him, the one on the right side holds a spear : the other holds something like a small dagger. Revanta, the son of Sūrya, is depicted in one sculpture as riding a horse and an umbrella is held over his head by the hand of an invisible man.

The goddess Caṇḍikā is shown in one sculpture as standing (pl. LXXV, fig. 3). She has four hands ; the upper right one holds a rosary, the lower right hand is broken. The small animals can be distinctly seen on the pedestal. The river goddess Gaṅgā is represented in one metal sculpture as standing on her *vāhana*, the *makara*. She seems to hold a flower vase on her right hand and the left hand raised above the shoulder contains a lotus (?).

A stone image from Nālandā depicts a four-armed female deity seated on a *viśvapadmāsana* in the *vilāsa* attitude under the canopy of a five-hooded serpent (pl. LXXVI). In her right hands she holds a sword and a fruit-like object and in the left ones a noose and an axe. Tentatively she may be identified as the snake-goddess, Manasā.

(c) *Jaina objects :*

A standing naked Jaina flanked by two indistinct figures is represented in one bronze sculpture from Pāhārpur (pl. XXXI, fig. 4). One plaque from Pāhārpur seems to represent a Jaina ascetic.¹ From Mahāsthāngarh a plaque is found which represents a woman sleeping on a couch with her left hand supporting her head and her right extended and touching an animal descending from the skies, which is either an elephant or a bull (pl. LV, fig. 3). If the animal is a bull then it may represent the second dream of Marudevī, the mother of

the first Tīrthaṅkara, Rṣabhadeva, who is said to have noticed a bull descending from the skies and entering her mouth.¹ But we have already noticed that this plaque may depict Māyā's dream before the birth of Buddha. In the courtyard of Pīr Māhi Sawār's shrine there is a battered Jaina statue without feet. The figure being naked it, no doubt, represents one of the twenty-four Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.² A naked ascetic with a fan of palm-leaf under his arm shown on a Maināmatī plaque, probably portrays a Jaina ascetic on his *caryā* after *dikṣā*.³ A stone image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara was found at Maināmatī, but has since been lost.⁴ A few Jaina sculptures are also found from Nālandā.⁵

(d) *The demi-gods depicted in terracotta plaques and sculptures.*

Among demi-gods Nāgas, Gandharvas, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Vidyādhara, Kimpuruṣas and Yakṣas and tree spirits are represented in the Pāhārpur, Maināmatī and Mahāsthāngarh terracotta plaques and sculptures.

Nāgas⁶ are represented in Pāhārpur plaques in two forms ; as a human being with a serpent hood, attached to the back of the head (pl. XXXIII, fig. 2) and as snake-faced with a human

1. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936-'37, p. 54.

2. Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, 15, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

3. *B. C. Law Vol. part II, op. cit.*, p. 228.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

5. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. 113.

6. Nāgas are mythical semi-divine beings. "Indian popular belief whose conceptions were moulded later by the official Brahman religion.....recognises a much venerated class of snake Gods (Nāgas)". Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, translated by A. C. Gibson, revised and enlarged by Jas. Burgess, London, 1901, pp. 42-43. Mythological stories from the Pāli Buddhist literature refer to the deep reverence of the Nāgas towards Buddha. See B. M. Barua. *Bharhut*, Vol. II, pp. 57-74.

body (pl. XXXII, fig. 2). Gandharvas¹ are represented in Pāhārpur plaques. One plaque depicts a Gandharva as holding an unstrung necklace (pl. XXXIV, fig. 1). A figure identified as a Gandharva by Dikshit is represented in another plaque as holding a sword (pl. XXXV, fig. 1). Since the Gandharvas are not generally depicted thus the figure may be that of a Vidyādhara.² One plaque shows a flying Gandharva couple (pl. XXXIV, fig. 2). A Garuḍa³ in human form is shown in one plaque. A Kīrtimukha is represented in one plaque (pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

One Pāhārpur sculpture represents a Vidyādhara⁴ as holding

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1. Gandharvas of the Veda were secondary gods who knew and revealed the secrets of heaven and divine truth in general. They generally dwelt in the sky or atmosphere. One of their functions was to prepare *soma* juice for the gods. They were greatly partial to women and had a mystic power over them. In the *Atharvaveda* 6,363 Gandharvas are mentioned. The Gandharvas of the later times are also similar in character. The term Gandharva usually means the Gandharvas of Indra's heaven who are musicians and singers and attend the banquets of the gods. See John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*. Trubner's Oriental Series, Seventh Edition, London, 1950, pp. 105-106.
 2. For details about the Vidyādhara see below, note 4.
 3. See *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pl. LIV, fig. 6. Garuḍa is a mythical bird or vulture, half-man, half-bird, on which Viṣṇu rides. He is the king of birds and a great enemy of serpents. J. Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.
 4. In Brahmin mythology the Vidyādhara are said to be celestial students and skilled in all knowledge, their very name meaning "possessors of knowledge". They are secondary gods and attendants upon Indra. They have chiefs or kings of their own and are generally of benevolent disposition. They are inhabitants of the regions between the earth and the sky. Their female counterparts are called Vidyādhari. See Grunwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 47; J. Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

a garland (pl. XXXV, fig. 3). Another sculpture represents a Kinnara¹ pair (pl. XXXV, fig. 2).

One plaque from Mahāsthāngarh represents a Nāginī² as having a human face with the body of a snake (pl. LVIII, fig. 1). Pot-bellied Yakṣas³ are represented in several Mahāsthān plaques (pl. LVIII, fig. 2).

Gandharvas are represented in Maināmatī plaques as playing on a *ḍamaru* (pl. LX, fig. 3), beating time on a pitcher (pl. LX, fig. 4), and beating a drum (pl. LX, fig. 2). Vidyādharas are represented in Maināmatī plaques as flying (pl. LXV, fig. 1), and holding a garland while hovering in the sky (pl. LXVI, fig. 5). A fragmentary plaque shows a Vidyādhari hovering in the sky (pl. LXV, fig. 4). Vidyādharas are also depicted in other plaques (pl. LXV, figs. 2 & 3).

Representations of Yakṣas can also be seen in some Maināmatī plaques (pl. LXVI, fig. 3). One plaque represents a tree spirit (pl. LXVI, fig. 8). Another plaque represents a Kinnara (pl. LXVI, fig. 1), with a horse's head and human body. A

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1. Kinnaras are mythical beings having a human body with the head of a horse. They dwell in the Paradise of Kuvera on Kailāsa and are celestial choristers and musicians. See J. Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 158. In *Mānasāra* the Kinnaras are described as with legs of animals, upper body like that of a human being, face with Garuḍa features, arms provided with wings, the crown decorated with lotus, etc. T. N. Ramachandran, *B. C. Law Vol. part II*, p. 222, foot note 1.
 2. Nāginīs are female Nāgas.
 3. Yakṣas are attendants of Kuvera, the god of wealth. They form a class of supernatural beings, and are generally considered to be inoffensive and so are called *punya-janas*, "good people". But occasionally they appear as imps of evil. Their female counterparts are called Yakṣī or Yakṣinī. See J. Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 257. In Buddhist legend and iconography they occur frequently and are usually enumerated as in the third rank of the secondary gods. The Yakṣas are always represented in human form. See Grunwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Kinnara is illustrated with animal legs and upper body and face human and with wings instead of arms (pl. LXVI, fig. 4). One plaque depicts a Kimpuruṣī¹ (pl. LXV, fig. 7).

(e) *Terracotta plaques and sculptures depicting scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and the Kṛṣṇa legend.*

Scenes from the Hindu epics, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, can be recognised in some plaques and sculptures of Pāhārpur. The plaques representing an ascetic with matted hair sometimes standing beside a bannana tree with a bow in the left hand (pl. XXXVI fig. 1) and in another instance as seated on a cushion with two quivers hanging on the back and a bow on the left side (pl. XXXVI, fig. 2), may represent the brothers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in exile. Though Rāma was exiled in a forest for fourteen years by Daśaratha and was enjoined by Kaikeyī to keep matted hair, wear bark cloth and eat fruits and flowers during the period of exile², he and Lakṣmaṇa took bows and arrows for the fear of the Rākṣasas.³ The figure of the garlanded monkey in the plaques can be taken to represent Sugrīva,⁴ the king of the monkeys with whom Rāma made friendship while searching for Sītā.⁵ In one plaque a man is represented as trying to pull down a hillock (pl. XXXVII, fig. 1), which may be taken as a depiction of Rāvaṇa trying to uproot mount Kailāsa.⁶

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1. The word *Kimpuruṣa* is synonymous with *Kinnara* but Ramachandran following Grunwedel, distinguishes between the two. The *Kimpuruṣa* is said to have a human face and the body of a bird. *B. C. Law Vol.* part II, p. 222, note 3.
 2. Edited by Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Kṛttivāsī Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, p. 114, 9th edition, Calcutta.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 119 and 127.
 4. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 60.
 5. *Kṛttivāsī Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa*, *op. cit.*, p. 180 ff.
 6. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 71.

Scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are also represented in Pāhārpur sculptures. In one sculpture we see "a damaged figure of a man with curled hair, to right, holding some large-sized object with left hand ; at the lower end, to right, a woman is shown seated facing the standing figure :..... The standing figure may possibly represent Rāvaṇa approaching Sītā, but the identification is not certain".¹ In the *Kṛttivāsī Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāvaṇa is said to have approached Sītā in the disguise of an ascetic with a bag for begging alms and an umbrella (*ekṣane Rāvaṇera siddha abhilāṣa / Tapasvīra veśa dhari yāya Sītā pāśa / Bhikṣā jhuli kari kāndhe kare dhare chāti*).² One sculpture represents two figures standing side by side "of which the one to the left holds a bow round his arm and the one on the right holds a bow in his left and both probably a pack of arrows in the other hand".³ These two figures might be a representation of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.⁴ In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we are told that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa used to carry bows and arrows during their period of exile.⁵ In another sculpture two monkeys are depicted as fighting with each other (pl. XXXVII, fig. 2). The figure on the left has put on a garland. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that when Rāma heard from his ally, Sugrīva, about the latter's plight caused by his brother Vālī, Rāma promised to help Sugrīva.⁶ A fight took place between Sugrīva and Vālī in which the former was utterly defeated and his ally, Rāma, could not help him because he could not distinguish between Sugrīva and Vālī and so was afraid that he might strike Sugrīva by mistake. So, according to the suggestion of Rāma, a garland was put on Sugrīva as a distinctive mark, when the latter again went to fight with his brother Vālī. The sculpture under discussion seems to represent the second

1. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

2. *Kṛttivāsī Rāmāyaṇa*, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

3. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 50.

4. *Ibid.*

5. e. g. "ubhaya vīrera hāte divya dhanuḥ śara", *Kṛttivāsī Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhya Kāṇḍa*, p. 127.

6. For the story of Sugrīva and Vālī see *ibid.*, pp. 184-198.

battle. The figure on the left appears to be Sugrīva and the figure on the right Vāli. According to K. N. Dikshit, the woman embraced by Vāli is Tārā, and the figure with its hands and head bent in the foreground is Vāli's son, Aṅgada.¹

Another sculpture depicts a monkey as carrying stones on his two uplifted hands and on the head (pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 1). To the right of the monkey, we see the half length figure of a woman with snake-hoods over her head, and with her head turned away from the monkey. The sculpture seems to represent the carrying of huge loads of stones by the monkeys for constructing a bridge in the ocean for the invasion of Laṅkā by Rāma.² In the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is stated that Rāma asked a monkey called Nala, who was endowed with supernatural power by a boon of Brahmā, to build a bridge in the ocean and accordingly Nala built a bridge with the help of the other monkeys in the retinue of Sugrīva who carried stones and other equipments.³ The snake-hooded woman seems to be Nāginī Surasā whom the gods asked to examine the strength of Hanumān while he was crossing the sea for the purpose of going to Laṅkā.⁴ But why the scene of bridging the ocean and Hanumān's encounter with Surasā is depicted in one and the same sculpture is very difficult to understand. One other sculpture representing a monkey-faced figure standing on the proper left side and a figure with beard and grinning teeth (Rākṣasa?) is standing on the proper right side⁵ may again be connected with some minor theme of the war of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁶ They are fighting with each other with the help of hands and clubs and the monkey is shown as wringing the neck of Rākṣasa and another dwarf figure is depicted as lying prostrate beneath the feet of the monkey.

1. *M. A. S. I*, No. 55, p. 53.

2. *M. A. S. I*, No. 55, p. 53.

3. *Kṛttivāsī Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa*, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-ff.

4. *M. A. S. I*, No. 55, p. 53.

5. See *M. A. S. I*, No. 55, pl. XXXVI, e.

6. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

One sculpture (pl. XXXVIIa, fig. 2) seems to represent a scene from the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata*. It shows two archers, one with a halo around the head is being held up on the arms of a standing figure, and the other figure on the proper left seems to be seated in a chariot. The bows in the hands of each of these figures cross each other. Another figure is depicted with the head between the hands and bowing low on the chariot. Its coiffure shows it to be a female figure. This sculpture seems to represent the incident of Subhadrā being carried away by Arjuna. In the *Mahābhārata* it is narrated that in course of Arjuna's carrying away Subhadrā, the sister of Kṛṣṇa, in his chariot, there was a semblance of a fight between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, the eternal friends. Thus the figure on the proper right can be identified as Kṛṣṇa, the other male figure as Arjuna and the female as Subhadrā. Arjuna has also a halo round his head, but it is smaller than that of Kṛṣṇa.

Several sculptures seem to represent the Kṛṣṇa legend. One sculpture depicts a woman as handing over a child to a man (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1). This may represent Devakī's handing over the new-born Kṛṣṇa to Vāsudeva. Another sculpture depicts a man holding an infant in his arms (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2). This sculpture apparently represents Vāsudeva carrying the new-born Kṛṣṇa from the prison of Kamsa to Gokula.¹

A plump boy standing with head slightly turned to the left, and his left hand resting on the waist is depicted in one plaque (pl. XXXIX, fig. 1). With his right hand and close to his breast he holds something, on which he seems to look enrapturedly. This sculpture appears to represent the boy Kṛṣṇa enjoying alone a lump of butter, the spoil of an adventurous theft.² Another sculpture depicts three figures, one on either

1. For the story of Kṛṣṇa's birth in Kamsa's prison and other details see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, ed. and transl., by Manmatha Nath Dutt, Calcutta, 1896, prt. V, section III, pp. 325-327. For the Sanskrit text see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Sanskrit text with a Hindi transl. by Munilala Gupta, 3rd ed., 1952, prt. V, chap. III, pp. 380 ff.

2. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 72-73. See also *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 57.

side and the third in the centre (pl. XXXIX, fig. 2) who appears to be enjoying a swing supported by his two companions. Though the sculpture is extremely worn out and the details are not visible lively enjoyment and fun can be seen in every face.¹ The sculpture seems to represent one of the various sports of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with the cowherd boys at Gokula referred to in the *Agnipurāṇa*.²

One sculpture seems to represent the *Pralamba-vadha* incident (pl. XL, fig. 1). The story is as follows : The *asura*, Pralamba, on one occasion observing Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma playing with the cowboys came among them in the guise of a cowherd. The boys were playing at the game of leaping like deer, two and two. Pralamba was matched with Balarāma and was beaten by the latter. According to the rules of the game, Pralamba had to carry the victor back on his shoulders to the starting place. He took up Balarāma and then being unable to carry the weight of Rohiṇī's son, expanded his form and was making off with his rider, who cried to Kṛṣṇa for help. Kṛṣṇa advised Balarāma to kill Pralamba and, accordingly, Balarāma killed the demon.³ The Pāhārpur sculpture shows a standing figure who holds up above his shoulders a small figure, probably a boy. On his right stands another small figure who holds a staff like a plough (?). The small figure on the left side seems to represent the approach of Pralamba in human shape. The main figure and the boy held up above his shoulders apparently represent the lifting of Balarāma by Pralamba.

1. S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, p. 72.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 73 nl.

3. For details see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt, *op. cit.*, V, section IX, pp. 341-343 ; Also see an abridged edition of H. H. Wilson's translation of *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, First Edition, Madras 1895, p. 47, in Hindi Series, Third Vol. London and Madras, 1898. For the Sanskrit text see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Sanskrit text with a Hindi translation, *op. cit.* V, chap. IX, pp. 398-402.

One sculpture (pl. XL, fig. 1) seems to represent Kṛṣṇa's killing of the demon Keśin who was sent by Kamsa to Vṛndāvana to kill him. Keśin appeared in Vṛndāvana in the form of a powerful horse and made the people afraid by his uncommon size, his thundering neighs and the incessant striking of his hoofs. Kṛṣṇa fought with the demon by thrusting his elbow into his jaws, which swelled and eventually resulted in the demon's death.¹ In the sculpture Kṛṣṇa is shown as fighting with a horse with his left elbow thrust into its jaws and the right hand engaged in dealing blows. Two trees are represented on two sides. The prostrated male figure under the left foot of Kṛṣṇa seems to depict the final episode of the story, when the demon has fallen to the ground and has assumed his normal shape.²

A Pāhārpur sculpture depicts the well-known theme of Kṛṣṇa's lifting up the mount, Govardhana (pl. XLI, fig. 1). The story is as follows : The cowherds of Gokula once withheld their annual feast and worship to Indra on the advice of Kṛṣṇa. This angered Indra and he sent down torrential rains. But Kṛṣṇa saved the cowherds of Gokula by lifting the mount, Govardhana, under which the cowherds took shelter with all their belongings. Baffled in his purpose Indra stopped the rains and worshipped Kṛṣṇa.³ In the Pāhārpur sculpture Kṛṣṇa is depicted with four hands. With the upper two hands he holds up the mountain. The lower right hand passes round the body of a

1. For the story see *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, chap, 37, pp. 429 ff. Also see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt, V, section, XVI, pp. 359-360. For the Sanskrit text, see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Sanskrit text with a Hindi translation, pp. 419 ff.
2. According to Dikshit the sculpture represents the killing of Dhenuka or Keśin. See *M.A.S.I.*, No. 55, p. 47 and *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1926-'27, p. 144. But Saraswati refutes his view. For this and other details see Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.
3. For details see *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, transl. into Bengali verse by Bhāgavatācārya Raghunātha in *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, Calcutta, 1950, book X, chapter 24, pp. 403-405 ; 25, pp. 405-407 ; 27, pp. 408-410 ; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt, *op. cit.*, part V, sections X, XI, and XII, pp. 344-351. For Sanskrit text see *Viṣṇupurāṇa* by Munilala Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-410.

female figure and the lower left hand rests on the shoulder of a male figure. The female attendant seems to hold a drum and the male one a club-like staff. According to Dikshit the sculpture representing Indra may have some connection with the above-mentioned episode (pl. XLI, fig. 2).¹

One sculpture depicts Kṛṣṇa as standing astride with his feet placed on the head of two grotesque and prostrate figures, who are in great fright and agony, while holding in each hand the bent upper part of the stump of a tree which stands on either side (pl. XLII, fig. 1). This scene represents Kṛṣṇa's exploit of uprooting the twin *arjuna* trees (*yamalārjuna*). The story goes that once Yaśodā, unable to check the pranks of the boy Kṛṣṇa, bound him to a heavy mortar with a cord and then turned to her household work. But Kṛṣṇa continued to roam about, dragging the mortar behind him and when passing between the twin *arjuna* trees the mortar got stuck between them. Kṛṣṇa continued to pull it, as a result of which the trees were uprooted with their trunks and roots. The two trees were Gandharva princes who had been transformed into trees as a result of a curse of Nārada and the uprooting of the trees liberated them.²

One sculpture represents Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's fight with Cāṇura and Muṣṭika, (pl. XLII, fig. 2), the two wrestlers of Kamsa. The story relates how Kamsa invited his nephew, Kṛṣṇa, to Mathurā and tried to kill him, first with the help of an elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa and subsequently through his famous wrestlers, headed by Cāṇura and Muṣṭika.³ On the right, Kṛṣṇa

1. M. A. S. I., No. 53, p. 47.

2. For details see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt, part V, section VI, pp. 331. For Sanskrit text see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Sanskrit text with a Hindi transl., pp. 387-388. Also Bengali verse, *op. cit.*, book X, chap. IX, pp. 365 ff.

3. For details about Kuvalayāpīḍa incident and Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's wrestling with Cāṇura and Muṣṭika see *Viṣṇupurāṇa* transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt, part V, sec. XX, pp. 371-374. For the Sanskrit text see *Viṣṇupurāṇa* Sanskrit text, with a Hindi transl. part V, chap. XX, pp. 434 ff. See also *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, transl. into Bengali verse, *op. cit.*, X, chap. 43-44, pp. 443 ff.

is engaged in bringing one wrestler down and has already lifted him with a view to throwing him.¹ Balarāma and the other wrestler are holding each other's hands as if the fight between them has just begun. Another sculpture seems to represent a scene from the Kṛṣṇa legend (pl. XLIII). The sculpture shows four figures of which the figure to the right holds by the hair another figure kneeling below at the right hand corner, and there is an onlooker above. Another figure is depicted as wearing the same sort of garment as the central figure, and the hair of both is dressed in the same manner. The central figure can be identified as Kṛṣṇa and the figure on the extreme left as Balarāma. The sculpture seems to depict the two brothers at the assembly of Kamsa where the latter was dragged by the hair and killed by Kṛṣṇa.²

One sculpture represents an amatory couple standing side by side with legs crossed and arms passed round each other (pl. XLV, fig. 1). The Jivinity of the couple is indicated by a halo depicted round the head of each. The left hand of the male figure seems to indicate *abhayamudrā*. The right hand of the female figure hangs down as in *varadamudrā*. According to K. N. Dikshit, this sculpture is the earliest representation of the divine pair, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.³ He notes that the association of Rādhā with the divine cowherd, which is a special feature of the late Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal does not occur in any of the earlier *Purāṇa* texts.⁴ But the presence of the images of Balarāma and Yamunā in the wall containing the above-mentioned sculpture indicates that the amatory couple depicted in it is connected with Balarāma and Yamunā—the scene of Kṛṣṇa's early life.⁵ Again the

1. For the identification of Kṛṣṇa see Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, p. 59.
2. For details see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl. by Manmatha Nath Dutt, part V, sec. XX, p. 374. For the Sanskrit text see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Sanskrit text with a Hindi translation, part V, XX, p. 439. See also *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, translated into Bengali verse, X, chapter 44, p. 447.
3. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 44.
4. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 44.
5. *Ibid.*

halo round the head of the female indicates that she must be of divine character and not one of the Gopīs with whom the boy Kṛṣṇa sported.¹ So, according to Dikshit, this sculpture depicts Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā "the latter being the only female associated with Kṛṣṇa, for whom he showed a special preference owing to her heavenly character. The *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* in which the Rādhā legend occurs for the first time is undoubtedly later than the 7th century, to which the sculpture is to be attributed".² And "it is likely that the beginning of this cult is to be traced to Bengal, the province where the future developments and ramifications of this doctrine were destined to occur in the song rhapsodies of Jayadeva's Gīta-Govinda and in the ecstatic devotion of the Vaishnava saints from Chaitanya onwards".³

(f) *Pañcatantra stories :*

Several popular stories from the *Pañcatantra* can be recognised in the Pāhārpur plaque. At least three Pāhārpur plaques seem to illustrate the story of the wedge-pulling monkey (pl. L, fig. 1).⁴ The story⁵ relates that on the outskirts of a city in a certain region a merchant was having a temple built. One day a troop of monkeys came to the half-built temple. A large *añjana*-log was lying there which was half split down the middle, a wedge of acacia-wood being thrust in at the top. All the monkeys began their playful frolics upon the tree-tops, the lofty roof and the wood-pile. Then one of the monkeys thoughtlessly sat astride the *añjana*-log. He thought : "Who stuck a wedge in this queer place?" He tried to work the wedge loose by taking it in both his hands. When the wedge was pulled out of the log the monkey came to grief. In the Pāhārpur plaques the monkey is illustrated as perched on a beam in an inclined

1. *Ibid.*

2. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 44.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 63.

5. *The Pañcatantra*, tr. by Arthur W. Ryder, Chicago, 1955, book I, p. 25 and *Tales from the Pañcatantra*, tr. by Alfred Williams, Oxford, 1930, p. 166.

position as in the process of sawing. The wedge is shown in the hands of the monkey. The plaque depicting a deer grazing or drinking water (pl. L, fig. 2) may be a representation of the deer called Citrāṅga in the second *Tantra*, "the winning of friends", who, when pursued by hunters, fled to the bank of a lake where he met a crow, a tortoise and a mouse, made friendship with them and after undergoing various vicissitudes lived together on the banks of the lake in great happiness.¹ The *Pañcatantra* story of the lion, Madanamatta, can be recognised in several plaques (pl. LII, fig. 1). The story² relates how Madanamatta was outwitted by a hare on being told by the latter that another lion claimed sovereignty over the jungle. Angry Madanamatta asked the hare to show him the other lion's den and was brought to a well by the hare where he mistook his own reflection for the other lion and in trying to fight with it died by drowning. Here again all other details except the figure of the lion looking into the well are eliminated. Several plaques depict a lion in a cave (pl. LII, fig. 2) and these may represent the story of the "talking cave".³ Only the lion in the cave apparently in the attitude of roaring is depicted and the omission of even such essential elements of the story as the jackal standing in front of the cave is noteworthy.

The fable of the elephant released from the snares of a hunter by a grateful mouse is represented in Pāhārpur plaques in the form of "elephant and mice".⁴ An elephant in captivity is depicted, on whose body appear three mice all of whom are engaged in the act of nibbling away the cords on the neck and legs (pl. LI, fig. 1). This might also be a representation of the *Pañcatantra* story of "the mice that set elephants free", and in that

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1. The *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* stories, translated by A. S. P. Ayyar, Bombay, 1931, pp. 119-123 and A. W. Ryder *op. cit.*, book II, pp. 272-288.
 2. See *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, pp. 63-64 and J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Ancient Buddhist Monastery at Paharpur*.
 3. A. W. Ryder, *op. cit.*, book III, pp. 361-362 and Alfred Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.
 4. *M. A. S. I.*, No. 55, p. 64.

case only the scene of the rescue of the king of the elephant herd is here represented.¹

Glimpses of life during the Pāla period can also be found in the contemporary literature like the *Rāmacarita*, *Caryāpada* and *Dohākoṣa*. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī is a historical *kāvya* and is written in Sanskrit. It consists of four cantos. By means of constant play upon words (*śleṣa*) and splitting up of word-units in different ways it tells simultaneously the legend of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the history of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty at the same time. The work was composed during the reign of Madanapāla, son of Rāmapāla and third in succession to him. The former's approximate date of accession, according to R. C. Majumdar, is 1140 and his known period of rule is 14 years.² The *Caryāpada* is a book of esoteric mysticism. The *Caryās* were written between tenth and twelfth centuries.³

Jīmūtavāhana's *Dāyabhāga* should also be taken into account. But Jīmūtavāhana's date is a very controversial issue and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 11th to 16th century.⁴ According to S. K. De, Jīmūtavāhana could not have been earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century or later than the middle of the 15th century.⁵

A poetic anthology entitled *Saduktikarṇāmaṅgam* and compiled in Bengal at the beginning of the 13th century by Śrīdharadāsa, the chief feudatory and friend of Lakṣmaṇasena,⁶ also throws light on the different aspects of the life of the people. Among the 485 poets whose verses are found in the above-mentioned book, mention may be made of Śaraṇa, Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Jayadeva and Dhoyī. Among other works of the Sena period which throw light on the life of the people, mention is to be made

1. For the story see A. W. Ryder, *op. cit.*, book II, pp. 274-276 and Alfred Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

2. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 177.

3. *Caryāpada*, edited by Manindra Mohana Vasu, text transcribed in Bengali with Bengali transl., Calcutta, 1943, p. 10.

4. *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda*, the theme of which is the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; the *Āryasaptāśatī* of Govardhanācārya, a Sanskrit poem consisting of over 700 detached verses, and the *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyī. While most of these sources were written late in the Pāla period or immediately after it, there is every reason to think that the life of the people as can be gathered from the literary works, was the same as it was in the early Pāla period.

Some Pāla inscriptions and copper-plates, and inscriptions and copper-plates of the Senas and some other minor dynasties also throw light on the life of the people.

The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī speaks of many variegated costly garments of fine texture, and musk, black aloe, sandal, saffron and camphor.¹ Dancing courtezans are described in *Rāmacarita* as wearing suitable apparel and jewelled anklets the bells of which made tinkling sounds (*maṇikiṅkinī*).² Soldiers are said to be looking bright with their armlets (*aṅgada*) and braceletts (*valaya*) set with sapphires.³ The commentator gives synonyms of these as *keyūra* and *kaṅkana*.⁴ The *Rāmacarita* also mentions ornaments set with diamonds, lapis lazuli, pearls, emeralds, rubies and sapphires and charming necklaces with central gems and pure, big and round pearls.⁵

In one song of the *Caryāpada*⁶ reference is made to the bracelet or bangle of the hand (*hātera kaṅkana*) and mirror (*dāpaṇa*). In another song a Śavarī girl living in high hills is said to

1. *Rāmacaritam*, edited by R. C. Majumdar, Radhagovinda Basak and Nanigopal Banerje, III, vv. 35-36. Text and transl., p. 104.

2. *Ibid.*, III, v. 37, text and transl., p. 105.

3. *Ibid.*, II, v. 2; text, p. 40; transl., p. 41. The wearing of jewellery set with sapphires (*nīlamanī*) by ordinary soldiers is surprising in view of the rarity of the stone. Probably either Sandhyākara was thinking of some less precious blue gem, or was indulging in a flight of fancy.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

5. *op. cit.*, text, p. 103, transl., p. 104.

6. *Caryāpada*, *op. cit.*, song 32, text, p. 155, trans., p. 156.

wear peacock feathers, a garland of *guñjarī* on her neck and *kuṇḍalas* in the ears.¹

Some verses in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* throw light on the dress and coiffure of women. An unknown poet has described a courtesan of Vaṅga (*Vaṅgavārāṅgaṇānām*) as wearing fine cloth or dress or garments (*vāsaḥ sukṣmam*) on the body and bracelets of gold on the hand (*bhujayoḥ kāñcanī cāṅgadaśrī*).² Her soft hair is scented with oil and tied on the crown of the head like a tuft (*śikhaṇḍaḥ*) and a wreath of flowers is wrapped on it.³ She also wears earrings of palm-leaf which are clear and spotless like a new digit of the moon.⁴ From another verse we know that the village women used to put a mark of collyrium on the forehead and the bracelets or bangles on their hands were made of the stalk of white lotus.⁵ Unripe soap-berry flowers were their earrings and young sesamum was put on the braided hair tied round the head.⁶

Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* also throws light on the dress and coiffure of men and women during the Pāla period. Kṛṣṇa in one verse is described as wearing a white shawl (*gauradukūlam*).⁷ He also wears a necklace of pearls of pure water hanging on his chest.⁸ One verse speaks of Kṛṣṇa's upper scarf (*dukūla*) which is being pulled down by a woman.⁹ Kṛṣṇa is described in one verse as wearing jewelled earrings (*maṇikuṇḍala*).¹⁰ Another verse speaks of Kṛṣṇa's *makara*-shaped earrings made of jewels.¹¹ Kṛṣṇa

1. *Ibid.*, text, p. 134, transl., p. 135.

2. Śrīdhara Dāsa, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, ed. by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā (Bibliotheca Indica), Fasciculus II, Calcutta, 1921, p. 147.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Gīta-Govinda*, ed. and transl. into Bengali by Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya, 3rd ed., XI, XXII, v. 26, text, p. 138 transl., p. 139.

8. *Ibid.*, XI, XXII, v. 25, text, p. 138, transl., p. 139

9. *Ibid.*, I, IV, text and transl., p. 29.

10. *Gīta-Govinda*, *op. cit.* I, IV, v. 40, text and transl., p. 27.

11. *Ibid.*, II, V, v. 7, text and transl., p. 36.

is also said to have worn ornaments made of jewels on his hands, feet and chest.¹ We also find mention of Kṛṣṇa's beautiful hair, decorated with flowers.² Another verse speaks of Kṛṣṇa's hair as enclosed with peacock's feathers (*mayuraśikhaṇḍakamaṇḍalabalayitakeśam*).³

In the song in which Rādhā asks Kṛṣṇa to dress her⁴ much information can be derived about the dress, coiffure and cosmetics of women. Rādhā in one verse asks Kṛṣṇa to draw pictures on her breast with musk (*mṛgamadapatrakam*) (v. 17).⁵ In another verse Kṛṣṇa is asked by Rādhā to make her eyes bright, for their bee-black collyrium has been erased by his kisses (v. 18).⁶ Kṛṣṇa is also asked by Rādhā to put on her ears earrings beautiful like the noose of the god of love (*manasijapāśa*) (v. 19),⁷ to draw in her forehead a beautiful musk spot like that of a deer (v. 21),⁸ to dress (or decorate) her dishevelled hair with lovely flowers (v. 22)⁹ and to dress or adorn her beautiful hips with a girdle of jewels and cloth (*mañira-sanāvasanābharaṇāni*) (v. 23).¹⁰ In the same song Rādhā again asks Kṛṣṇa to draw the picture of a leaf on her breasts (*racaya kucayoḥ patram citram*), to put a girdle (*kāñcī*) on her hips, a garland of flowers on the fillet of her hair (*kabari*), bangles or bracelets on her hands (*valayaśreṇī*) and anklets (*nūpura*) on her feet (v. 25).¹¹ Ladies seem to have worn a garment for the breast (*payodhararodhakamurasidukūlam*).¹² Reference is also made to the lower garment of women (*jaghana-*

1. *Ibid.*, II, V, v. 5, text and transl., p. 35.

2. *Ibid.*, XI, XXII, v. 29, text, p. 139, transl., p. 140.

3. *Ibid.*, II, V, v. 3, text, p. 34, transl., p. 35.

4. *Ibid.*, XII, XXIV.

5. *Ibid.*, text, p. 152, transl., p. 153.

6. *Ibid.*, text and transl., p. 153.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, text and transl., p. 154.

9. *Ibid.*, text 154, transl., p. 155.

10. *Ibid.*, text and transl., p. 155.

11. *Ibid.*, text and transl., p. 156.

12. *Ibid.*, XII, XXIII, v. 4, text, p. 144, transl., p. 145.

dukūlam)¹ and a blue *nicola*,² apparently an outer garment covering her whole body. In other verses we find mention of a necklace of jewels (*mañimañjarī*) lying over the breast of Rādhā,³ a necklace of pearls⁴ and a necklace lying over the breast (*kucakalasopari taralitahāra*),⁵ a girdle-belt which could make sounds like a small drum (*ḍiṇḍima*),⁶ girdles (*mekhalā*),⁷ *kāñcī*,⁸ anklets of jewels (*mañimañjira*)⁹ and anklets which were made of full jewels (*mañinūpurayā*).¹⁰ Among the ornaments for the hands mention is made of two types of bracelet or bangle (*kañkana*),¹¹ *valaya*.¹² One *valaya* is mentioned as being set with emeralds (*marakatavalaya*).¹³

That the young ladies used to decorate their hair with flowers can be inferred from two more verses.¹⁴ They also used to paint their feet with lac (*aluktaka*).¹⁵

Glimpses of dress and coiffure can also be found in the *Āryasaptaśatī* of Govardhanācārya. In one verse reference is made to the garment of the hips (*jaghanāmsuka*).¹⁶ In another verse

1. *Ibid.*, II, VI, v. 12, text and transl., p. 39.
2. *Ibid.*, V, XI, v. 11, text and transl., p. 71.
3. *Gīta-Govinda*, *op. cit.*, X, XIX, v. 7, text, p. 118, tr., p. 119.
4. *Ibid.*, VII, XV, v. 24, text, p. 93, transl., p. 94.
5. *Ibid.*, VII, XIV, v. 14, text and transl., p. 90.
6. *Ibid.*, XI, XX, v. 7, text and transl., p. 129.
7. *Ibid.*, II, VI, v. 16, text and transl., p. 41.
8. *Ibid.*, XI, XX, v. 13, text p. 132, transl., p. 133.
9. *Ibid.*, XI, XX, v. 3, text and transl., 127.
10. *Ibid.*, II, VI, v. 16, text and transl., p. 41.
11. Cf. *ibid.*, XL, XX, v. 13, text, p. 132, transl., p. 133.
12. *Gīta-Govinda*, *op. cit.*, XI, XX, v. 13, text, p. 132, transl., p. 133.
13. *Ibid.*, XI, XX, v. 8, text, p. 129, transl., p. 130.
14. *Ibid.*, VII, XV, v. 25, text and transl., p. 94.
15. *Ibid.*, VII, XIV, v. 13, text and transl., p. 89. and *ibid.*, VII, XV, v. 23, text and transl., p. 93.
16. *Ibid.*, VIII, XVII, v. 5, text and transl., p. 106 and v. 10 of the same canto and song, text and transl., p. 108.
17. Govardhanācārya, *Āryasaptaśatī*, ed. by Pandit Durgāprasād, Kāśīnāth Pāndurang Paral, and Vāsudev Lakṣman Sāstrī Panskar, Kāvya-mālā I, third revised edition, Bombay 1934, v. 88, p. 57.

we find reference to the loose garment of a lady (*śithilāṁśukam*).¹ The light, small or soft dress of a woman worn on the hips and moving to and fro is mentioned in one verse.² Verse 54 speaks of a smooth or straight dress (*vīta vasaṇā*).³ In verse 329 we find reference to a dancer's dress fitting close to the upper part of body (*kañcukam*) and also to her bodice (*colam*) which is like the bow and creeper (or the string of the bow) of Madana (*Madanadhanurvalliriva*).⁴ In some verses reference is also made to a red or yellow garment,⁵ *nīlanicola*⁶ and a garment or cloth covering the breast.⁷ Among ornaments mention is made of a string of pearls or chaplet for the head (*hāra sraja*),⁸ an ornament placed upon the forehead (*lalāṭanivēśitalalāṭike*),⁹ earrings (*kuṇḍalas*),¹⁰ bracelets (*kañkana*),¹¹ rows of bangles or bracelets made of conchshells (*śaṅkhamayavalayarāji*),¹² girdles (*kāñcī*),¹³ anklets (*nāpuram*),¹⁴ and bangles or bracelets (*valaya*).¹⁵ Reference is made in verse 459 of ornaments made of gold.¹⁶

Some verses of the *Āryasaptaśatī* also show that women used to put a mark of collyrium on the forehead,¹⁷ and also used to put collyrium on the eyes¹⁸ and lac on the feet (*pādalākṣā*).¹⁹

1. *Āryasaptaśatī*, op. cit., v. 93, p. 59.

2. *Ibid.*, v. 64, p. 49.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

5. *Ibid.*, v. 476, p. 194.

6. *Ibid.*, v. 456, p. 187.

7. *Ibid.*, v. 226, p. 108.

8. *Āryasaptaśatī*, v. 275, p. 125.

9. *Ibid.*, v. 529, p. 211.

10. *Ibid.*, v. 413, p. 172 and v. 226, p. 108.

11. *Ibid.*, v. 6, p. 4, and v. 146, p. 115.

12. *Ibid.*, v. 274, p. 124.

13. *Ibid.*, v. 158, p. 84.

14. *Ibid.*, v. 214, p. 104.

15. *Ibid.*, v. 8, p. 5.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

17. *Ibid.*, v. 172, p. 90.

18. *Ibid.*, v. 185, p. 94.

19. *Ibid.*, v. 8., p. 5.

In the *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyī palm leaf soft as a new digit of the moon is said to be the ear ornaments of Brahmin ladies.¹

Some other verses of the *Pavana-dūta* show that women used to paint their feet with lac (*lākṣā*)² and used saffron as a cosmetic.³

The verse 8 of Amgāchhi copper-plate inscription of Vighrahapāla III speaks of variegated garments shining with the lustre of precious stones.⁴ In the Deopārā inscription of Vijaya Sena reference is made to dresses of variegated colour (v. 30).⁵ Again in the same inscription we find reference to a piece of variegated silk cloth (v. 31).⁶

In the Edilpur copper-plate inscription of Keśavasena and Calcutta Sāhitya-pariṣat copper-plate inscription of Viśvarūpasena we find mention of the dulcet music arising from the anklets (*mañjira*) of courtezans.⁷ The Deopārā inscription of Vijaya Sena refers to flowers made of precious stones, necklaces, earrings, anklets (*nūpura*), garlands and golden bracelets (*kanaka valaya*) (v. 11).⁸ Verse 31 of the same inscription refers to a string of sapphires.⁹

In verse 16 of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla reference is made to the use by the ladies of garlands around their neck and floral wreaths to cover the tresses on their head.¹⁰ The Deopārā inscription of Vijaya Sena speaks of the bashful goddess who pulls down the wreath from her head to cover her nudity after her breast-cloth was removed.¹¹ The

1. Dhoyī, *Pavana-dūta*, edited by Chintaharan Chakravarty, Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 13, Calcutta, 1926. v. 27, p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, v. 43, p. 15.
3. *Ibid.*, v. 42, p. 14.
4. Tapo Nath Chakravarty, "Women in the Early Inscriptions of Bengal", *B. C. Law Vol.* part II, p. 258.
5. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 127 ; Tapo Nath Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
8. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii, *op. cit.*, text, p. 37. tr., p. 52.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
10. Tapo Nath Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.
11. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii, *op. cit.*, text, p. 36, transl., p. 50.

same inscription mentions heavenly damsels with saffron lines on their breasts (v. 12) and citizens' wives with musks on their breasts (v. 29).¹ Verse 31 of this inscription refers to the use of sandal powder.² In the Manhali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla we find reference to the use of vermilion (*sindura*) by the married women.³

The *Rāmacarita* speaks of different musical instruments, the pleasing notes of which were sonorous, deep and sweet and which produced a full effect through their association with the vocal music and excelled the performances of the celestial musician Tumburu.⁴ The city of Rāmāvatī is said to be resonant with the music of tabors of many varieties that was specially practised in Varendrī.⁵ In the commentary we find mention of the flute (*muraja*).⁶ Musical instruments such as gongs (*paḍhaha*),⁷ and types of small drums (*mādlā*)⁸ *dundubhi*⁹ and *vīṇā*¹⁰ are referred to in the *Caryāpada*. References to the different parts of a *vīṇā* (*tāntī*, *dāṇḍī*) are also made.¹¹ In the *Āryasaptaśatī* we also find mention of the *vīṇā*.¹² The *Gīta-Govinda* speaks of Kṛṣṇa's flute.¹³

One song in the *Caryāpada* speaks of a *domhī* who is dancing standing on a lotus which has got sixty-four petals.¹⁴ In another song reference is made to the performance of Buddhadrāma

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 52 and p. 55
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
 3. Tapo Nath Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 255, v. 17.
 4. *Rāmacarita*, *op. cit.*, III, v. 35, text and transl., p. 104.
 5. *Ibid.*, III, v. 29, text, p. 100, transl., p. 101.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 100,
 7. *Caryāpada*, *op. cit.*, song 19, text, p. 98. transl., p. 99.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Ibid.*, song 17, text, p. 87, transl., p. 88.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. *Āryasaptaśatī*, *op. cit.*, p. 186, v. 453.
 13. *Gīta-Govinda*, *op. cit.*, II, V, v. 2, text and transl., p. 34. and V, XI, v. 10, text and transl., p. 10.
 14. *Caryāpada*, song 10, text, p. 48 ; transl., p. 49.

(*Buddhaṇḍika*) with song and dance.¹ Some verses of *Āryasaptaśatī* speak of the dancing of women.²

Among riding animals mention is made in the *Rāmacarita* of horses, elephants and buffaloes.³ In the battle-field soldiers would sometimes ride buffaloes.⁴ Buffaloes were also used for transport work. Boats are also mentioned.⁵ References to boats are made in a number of songs of the *Caryāpada*.⁶ In many cases low caste women used to operate ferries from one side to another of the river.⁷

That the boatman or woman was paid by cowry can also be inferred from the same song.⁸ In verse 209 of the *Āryasaptaśatī* reference is made to a boat (*naukā*).⁹ While discussing the sorts of properties which were not liable to partition, Jimūta-vāhana in his *Dāyabhāga* mentions vehicles and explains these as "carriages or horses and the like".¹⁰ In the Edilpur copper-plate of Kcśavasena we find mention of palanquins (*śivikā*) supported by staffs made of elephant tusks.¹¹

In the *Rāmacarita* reference is made to swords,¹² arrows,¹³ javelins or spears (*śaṅku*).¹⁴ Swordsmen and lancers are also referred to.¹⁵ The army led by Rāmapāla against Bhīma is said to

1. *Ibid.*, song 17, text and trans., p. 88.

2. *Āryasaptaśatī*, v. 144, p. 83 and v. 339, p. 141.

3. *Rāmacarita*, *op. cit.*, II, v. 33, text, p. 61.

4. *Ibid.*, II, v. 42, text, p. 70, trans., p. 71.

5. *Ibid.*, II, v. 30, text, p. 59, trans., p. 60.

6. *Ibid.*, II, v. 10, text and trans., p. 48 and II, v. 7, text, p. 43, trans., p. 44.

7. *Caryāpada*, *op. cit.*, song nos. 10, 13, 14, 15, 38, 49.

8. *Ibid.*, song no. 14, text, 69 and trans., p. 70.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Āryasaptaśatī*, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

11. The *Dāyabhāga*, translation by H. T. Colebrooke, Calcutta, 1868, p. 148.

12. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, v. 7, text, p. 122; trans., p. 127.

13. *Rāmacarita*, *op. cit.*, II, v. 15, text, p. 49, trans., p. 50.

14. *Ibid.*, II, v. 14, text, p. 48, trans., p. 49.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, II, v. 15, text, p. 49, trans., p. 59.

have consisted of four divisions, namely, horse, elephant, foot and boat.¹ A fleet of boats is mentioned in another verse.² In one verse chariots are referred to as a military equipment.³ Mention is also made of a king's own chariots.⁴ These references, however, seem to be anachronisms, based on Epic tradition. The wages of the army were paid in cowries (*kaparddaka*).⁵ The troops were also given daily bread (*roṣi*).⁶ In the Nālandā copper-plate of Dharmapāla we find reference to the five-fold military divisions, viz., elephant, cavalry, chariot, infantry and navy, but there is no mention of any officer in charge of chariots.⁷ Here it seems that the traditional four-fold division was repeated from convention, and boats added in conformity with actual fact.

Many other details about the life of the people during the Pāla period can be derived from literary and epigraphical sources. The menu of a meal in one verse of the *Prākṛtapaiṅgala* is very interesting. It mentions rice, cow-ghee, milk, fish and leaves of jute.⁸ Mango, jackfruit, betelnut and coconut trees are mentioned in some inscriptions.⁹ The custom of taking betel with camphor can also be inferred from one song of the *Caryāpada*.¹⁰ In one song reference is made to wine shops and wine fermentation.¹¹

Among indoor games chess seems to have been popular as the names of chess-men, such as *ṭhākura*, *mantri*, *vaḍiā*, (pawns) and the 64 squares of a chessboard are referred to in one song

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1. *Ibid.*, II, v. 7, text, p. 43, trans., p. 44.
 2. *Ibid.*, II, v. 10, text and trans., p. 46.
 3. *Ibid.*, II, v. 40, text, p. 68, trans., p. 69.
 4. *Ibid.*, III, v. 44, text, p. 109, trans., p. 110.
 5. *Ibid.*, IV, v. 36, text, p. 142, trans., p. 143.
 6. *Ibid.*
 7. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 279, E. I., XXII, p. 290.
 8. Piṅgala Acārya, *Prākṛtapaiṅgala*, edited by Chandra Mohan Ghose, (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Calcutta, 1902, p. 403.
 9. Madanpāḍā copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena; N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 130; Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena; N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 66 etc.
 10. *Caryāpada*, *op. cit.*, song 28, text, p. 134, trans., p. 135.
 11. *Ibid.*, song 3, text, pp. 13-14, trans., p. 14.

of the *Caryāpada*.¹ In another song we find reference to hunting.² The out-door pastimes of women seem to have been gardening and water sports.³

In the *Rāmacarita* the cities of Varendrī are said to be beautiful on account of the grace of symmetry in the rows of white palaces which had golden pitchers placed high on the tops.⁴ Rāmapāla is said to have built Rāmāvatī as a city of rows of palaces with plenty of gold therein.⁵

The *Rāmacarita* speaks of youthful heavenly courtezans (*devavā-ravanitā*) who were dancing and who had great passion of love.⁶ The *Pavana-dūta* of Dhoyī refers to courtezans (*vārarāmā*) in a temple of Sumha.⁷ Courtezans are mentioned again in verse 29.⁸ The existence of courtezans is also testified by epigraphic evidence. Verse 9 of the Edilpur copper-plate inscription of Keśavasena and verse 10 of the Calcutta Sāhityapariṣat inscription speak of the dulcet music arising from the anklets of the courtezans (*veśavilāsini*) with which Lakṣmaṇasena used to fill the sky in the evening.⁹ That girls were dedicated for service in the temple can be inferred from epigraphic sources. The Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva speaks of the temple of god Harimedhas being endowed by the king with hundreds of damsels having eyes like those of young deer and who created the delusion that they were celestial nymphs taking rest on earth and were the prison houses of the passionate and the meeting-hall of music, dalliance and beauty (v. 30).¹⁰ The Deopārā inscription also informs us that the temple of god Pradyumneśvara was given a hundred beautiful damsels, the charms of

1. *Caryāpada*, song 12, text, p. 59, trans., p. 60.

2. *Ibid.*, song 23, text, p. 122, trans., p. 123.

3. *Pavana-dūta*, vv. 33, 38

4. *Rāmacarita*, III, v. 23, text, p. 95, trans., p. 96.

5. *Ibid.*, III, v. 32, text, p. 102, trans., p. 103.

6. *Rāmacarita*, III, v. 37, text and trans., p. 105.

7. *Pavana-dūta*, *op. cit.*, v. 28, p. 10.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, *op. cit.*, p. 127 : Tapo Nath Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

10. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

whose bodies were enhanced by the wearing of jewellery.¹ From Jīṃṣatavāhana's *Dāyabhāga* we know of the practice of keeping female slaves who were "women kept for enjoyment".²

In the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena we are told that Ballālasena carried away the fortune goddesses of his enemies from the battle-field on palanquins.³ In another verse of the same inscription reference is made to the ladies of the city, who, when Keśavasena passed through the city, would be gazing upon his beautiful appearance ascending on the tops of sky-scraping houses.⁴ These verses seem to suggest that respectable ladies were carried on litters while going from one place to another and would not, as a rule, expose themselves before the passers-by in public thoroughfares.⁵ In the Mādhāinagar copper-plate grant of Lakṣmaṇasena Vallālasena's wife, Rāmādevī, is said to be the crest-jewel of the royal harem (v. I).⁶ Verse 12 of the Belava copper-plate inscription of Bhojavarman speaks of the royal seraglio.⁷

Poet Lakṣmīdhara in one verse has given the following description of the *kulastrī* of Bengal : Her covered head is bent down with shame of its own accord ; her gait is slow and eyes are fixed on her feet ; her talk is regulated, soft and sweet—as if by these this lady is loudly speaking of her family prestige.⁸ A verse of Śaraṇa tells us about the busy life of the women-folk of the common people. It says that the peasants have gone to the fields for ploughing, leaving their homes at dawn and their women are hastily coming home after finishing their business in the village mart before the return of their husbands.⁹ The simplicity of the life of the ordinary people is also evident in one verse of the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena. It says that through the grace of the king "the Brāhmaṇas versed in the

1. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, *op. cit.*, v. 30, p. 55.

2. *Dāyabhāga*, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

3. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, *op. cit.*, p. 127, v. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 129, v. 25.

5. Tapo Nath Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

6. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

8. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

9. Tapo Nath Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

Vedas have become the possessors of so much wealth that their wives have to be trained by the wives of the town people (to recognise) pearls, pieces of emeralds, silver coins, jewels and gold from their similarity respectively with seeds of cotton, leaves of *sāka*, bottle-gourd flowers, the developed seeds of pomegranates and the blooming flowers of the creepers of pumpkin-gourd".¹ The village people's dislike for the customs of town folk is evident in the following verse of the *Āryāsaptati*: Oh *sakhi* : walk with straight steps, and give up all customs of the town. Here the village headman gives punishment as a witch even if one casts a side look.²

In two songs of the *Caryāpada* we find a beautiful description of the Śavara people.³ In the house of Śavara cotton flowers have blossomed and both Śavara and Śavarī have begun to rejoice because *kaṇḍucinā* fruits have become ripe.⁴ A Śavarī girl living on a high hill has worn peacock's feather and garland of *guñjari* on her neck.⁵ Wearing *kuṇḍalas* on the ears the Śavarī girl (or the lonely Śavarī girl) alone roams in the forest.⁶

The *Rāmacarita* speaks of lofty temples of gods which were situated in Rāmāvatī.⁷ The great monastery of Jagaddala was situated in Varendrī and the latter bore in its heart the image of Bodhisattva Lokeśa.⁸ The presence of the great heads of monasteries and the images of Tārā is said to be increasing the glory of Varendrī.⁹

The *Rāmacarita* speaks of festivities held in Varendrī on account of the worship of Umā.¹⁰ Reference is also made to the goddess

1. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, v. 24, p. 54.

2. *Āryāsaptati*. *op. cit.*, v. 140, p. 87.

3. *Caryāpada*, *op. cit.*, songs, 28 and 52.

4. *Ibid.*, song 52, text, p. 229, trans., pp. 230-231.

5. *Ibid.*, song 28, text, p. 134, trans., p. 135.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Rāmacarita*, *op. cit.*, III, v. 30, text and trans., p. 101.

8. *Ibid.*, III, v. 7, text, p. 81, trans., p. 82.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, III, v. 25, text and trans., p. 97.

Caṇḍī.¹ Rāmapāla is said to have built temples of Śiva on the tops of a chain of hills.²

Some songs in the *Caryāpada* reflect the thoughts of the followers of *Sahajayāna*. In one song Sarahapāda asks not to "leave off this straight and easy path and follow the crooked and curved path: *bodhi* lies near you—do not go to Laṅkā (Ceylon) in search of it. Do not take the glass (*dāpaṇa*) to see the bracelets in your hands,—realise your own pure *citta* for yourself (within yourself)".³ Again Kānhupāda says that "scholars, who generally depend on their reason and scholarship, are indifferent to (or rather ignorant of) the true path of religion".⁴

The tenets of the *Sahajiyās* can also be known from the *Dohākoṣa*. One verse of Sarahapāda shows their disapproval of the Brāhmaṇas. It says that the Brahmins take earth, water, *kuśa* grass, recite mantras and perform fire-sacrifices in their houses; in vain do they offer ghee to the fire, for thereby their eyes will only be affected by intense smoke.⁵ Two verses of Sarahapāda show the dislike of the *Sahajiyās* for all religious ceremonials.⁶ They say that what will one do with lamps, offerings, *mantras* and services—what is the good of going to holy places or to the hermitage—can liberation be obtained only by bathing in holy waters? Only the instructions of the *guru* can lead one to the goal.⁷

Seven leaves of an illustrated manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (V. and A. Museum, Room 41, Bay I) the colophon of which is dated to the 36th year of Rāmapāladeva—also throw light on the life of the people during the Pāla period.

1. *Ibid.*, IV, v. 21, text, p. 125, trans., p. 126.
2. *Ibid.*, v. 41, text, p. 107, trans., 108.
3. *Caryāpada*, *op. cit.*, song 32, p. 155. For the translation see S. B. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature*, University of Calcutta, 1946, p. 60.
4. *Ibid.*, song No. 7, p. 34. Quoted from S. B. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
5. *Dohākoṣa*, edited by P. C. Bagchi, part I, Calcutta, 1938, p. 14, v. 2. For the translation see S. B. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 27, v. 56.
6. *Ibid.*, v. 14 and 15, p. 17, trans., p. 64.
7. *Ibid.*, v. 56, p. 27.

The left miniature of folio I¹ (V. A. M. No. 1. 5. 4-1958) shows Bodhisattva Sāmantabhadra as wearing a striped and multicoloured dress (pl. LXXVIII, fig. 2). He wears a diadem, earrings, necklace, armlets, bracelet on the right hand and bangles on the left hand. His waistband is made of gold and he also wears anklets of the type worn by the goddess Yamunā of Pāhārpur. His right foot is evidently painted with lac. One of his attendants, Tārā or Avalokiteśvara also wears ornaments including earrings, diadem, bangles. One armlet seen on the left hand is inlaid with a red stone in the middle. His right foot is painted with lac. This deity's dress seems to come up to the knees.

The central miniature of folio I depicts Amitābha, the celestial Buddha of infinite light with Avalokiteśvara (?) on his left and Mañjuśrī on his right. Amitābha is shown as wearing a yellow robe. Both Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī wear red dresses which might be short *dhoties*. One foot of Avalokiteśvara and one leg of Mañjuśrī seem to be painted with lac. The right miniature of the same folio depicts Maitreya with Avalokiteśvara (yellow) and Hayagrīva (red). Maitreya wears a yellow and red striped *dhoti*, with pleats dangling in front. He wears diadem, earrings, armlets with floral boss and top appendage, and a necklace with round pendant. His golden waistband seems to be inlaid with red stones. He also wears bangles on the left hand and a bracelet (?) on the right. Anklets of the type found in Pāhārpur sculptures and plaques are also worn by him. Avalokiteśvara wears *kuṇḍalas*, bangles and a diadem with three triangular shaped crests. Hayagrīva wears a tiger skin.

The miniature on the left hand side of the second folio (V.A.M. No., 1.S. 5-1958) of the above-mentioned manuscript shows Maitreya as wearing a short loin cloth which might be a *dhoti*. There are red wavy stripes dotted with green designs on the garment (pl. LXXVIII, fig. 1). A plain anklet with a joint

1. The folio numbers are taken from the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Catalogue of Paintings* (S. O. Book 127).

in the middle can be seen on his right leg. The diadem worn by Maitreya has a pointed crest in the middle. His left foot is painted with lac. Maitreya's attendant, the dwarf Ācārya Vajrapāṇī, wears a loin-cloth of tiger skin.

The central miniature of the second folio depicts Mañjuśrī with Hayagrīva and Avalokiteśvara. Mañjuśrī wears a *dhōti* which comes up to the ankles. There are very beautiful designs in yellow, green and red. His head-dress is an elaborate one. He seems to wear a waistband of gold. But it is probable that what appears to be a waistband is simply another piece of cloth tied round the waist or another part of the *dhōti* printed with designs in red. The left foot is painted with lac. Avalokiteśvara wears big, round *kuṇḍals*, diadem, bangles, armlet, necklace and a plain anklet like that of Pāhārpur. Hayagrīva wears a tiger skin.

The miniature on the right hand side illustrates Avalokiteśvara. He wears a *dhōti* which comes up to the ankles. On the *dhōti* there are beautiful dotted designs in green and red on white (pl. LXXIX, fig. 2). In his waistband of gold red pieces of cloth are tucked. His diadem has three small crests. The left foot is painted with lac.

The left hand side miniature in the folio 89 (V. A. M. No. 1. 5. 6-1958) depicts a Bodhisattva as wearing a short *dhōti* with coloured designs. He also wears an elaborate diadem which has several painted crests with a band and a boss in the band, round earrings, so common in Pāhārpur, Maināmatī and Mahāsthāngarh, armlets and bent anklets also found in Pāhārpur. All the ornaments, excepting probably the bangles and anklets, seem to be inlaid with red jewels.

The central miniature of the above-mentioned folio shows the Ādi-Buddha Vajrasattva wearing a dress which is indistinct. He also wears a diadem, round *kuṇḍalas*, bangles, armlets and waistband and these are similar to those discussed above and seem to be inlaid with jewels.

The Bodhisattva shown in the right hand side miniature of this folio wears a lower garment which might be a *dhōti*. It is

striped, the colours employed being red, light green and mauve (pl. LXXX, fig. 1). He also wears an elaborate diadem, necklace with pendants from some of which hang red jewels. He wears plain bangles on the left arm and a bracelet on the right. His armlets have top and bottom appendages. His waistband is made of gold. The anklets worn by him are similar to those depicted in the left hand side miniature.

Vajrapāṇi (?) depicted in the left miniature of folio number 90 (I. S. 7-1958) wears a multi-coloured striped *dhōti*, the colours being arranged thus ; yellow, red, yellow, mauve, yellow, red, yellow (pl. LXXXI, fig. 1). Among the ornaments worn by him mention may be made of round earrings, a necklace similar to the one discussed above, bangles on both arms, a bracelet on the left, waistband inlaid with red stones and anklets bent on two sides and decorated with what appears to be cable designs.

The central miniature of the above-mentioned folio shows Mārīcī. The yellow trousers worn by her come down to the ankles. There are dot designs of red and green on her trousers (pl. LXXXI, fig. 2). She also wears something like a bodice. Her beautiful diadem has several peaked crests. In her ears she wears round *kuṇḍalas*. She also wears bangles on each arm. Her trousers are fixed to the waist by an elaborate girdle-belt, the two loops of which hang on her thighs and of the three ends one dangles in front and the other two hang on either side.

The Bodhisattva Maitreya depicted in the right hand miniature of the folio wears a striped *dhōti* in multi-colours, white, mauve, red—all painted with designs in black (?). He wears round *kuṇḍalas*, plain bangles, necklace, armlets and plain and bent anklets.

The left hand side miniature in folio 178 of the manuscript (V.A.M. No. 1. 5. 7-1958) shows Śyāmatārā and two other unidentified goddesses. Śyāmatārā wears a green transparent dress coming down to the ankles. This dress somewhat resembles trousers patterned with green and red designs. Among ornaments

worn by her mention may be made of round earrings, some kind of thick hand ornaments, ornamented with eye designs, and anklets similar to those of Vajrapāṇi in the left miniature of folio 90. Among the unidentified goddesses the blue-complexioned one wears a white *jāṅgiyā* or shorts which can also be seen in some Pāhārpur plaques, round earrings and diadem. She wears a necklace, armlets and bangles. An anklet can be seen on her left leg. Her hair is shown as arranged in a bun. The yellow-complexioned goddess wears a dress coming down to the ankles. She also wears a bodice. She wears a necklace, diadem, etc. Her hair is also shown as gathered into a bun.

Padmapāṇi depicted in the central miniature of the above folio wears a white *dhoti* coming down to the ankles and covered with round spots in green and red (pl. LXXX, fig. 2). His diadem has three pointed crests, so common in the miniatures of this manuscript. Among the other ornaments worn by him mention may be made of the necklace consisting of a thick band and a round pendant on the middle and a bent anklet seen on the left leg.

The right hand miniature of folio 178 shows Mahākāla wearing a *kaupīna* and ornaments consisting of coiled snakes. It is not clear whether these are meant to represent real snakes or ornaments in that form.

The left hand miniature in folio 179 (V.A.M. No. 1. 5. 9-1958) shows the goddess Mārīcī wearing a short skirt-like dress of tiger skin. The upper part of her body is covered with something like a blouse the colour of which is yellow with black floral designs (pl. LXXXII, fig. 1). She wears a diadem, round earrings, armlets with top appendages, bangles and thick arm ornaments, and a thick necklace with a pendant in the middle. An anklet can also be seen on her leg.

Vasudhārā depicted in the central miniature of folio 179 of the manuscript is shown as wearing a transparent yellow dress coming down to the ankles with designs in red and green (pl. LXXIX, fig. 1). The upper part of her body is covered with patterned

scarf worn in the *upavīta* fashion. She also wears round earrings, diadem, armlets, necklace from the thick band of which hang several pendants. An anklet can be seen on the left leg.

The right hand miniature of the above folio shows a female divinity wearing a transparent lower garment which seems to resemble a skirt. It is blue in colour with dot designs in yellow colour (pl. LXXXII, fig. 2). The upper part of her body is covered with something like a blouse made of the same material as that of the lower garment. Among ornaments worn by her mention may be made of a diadem, necklace, round *kuṇḍalas*, thick bracelets and bangles worn on the hands and plain anklets.

A discussion of the iconography of the Buddhist deities depicted in the manuscript is also important as it would throw light on the religion of the people of the Pāla empire.¹

The left hand miniature in folio I depicts Bodhisattva Sāmantabhadra (green) as seated on a white lotus in *mahārājajalāsana* with a blue lotus in the left hand. His attendants are Tārā or Avalokiteśvara coloured yellow and seated on a pink lotus with hands in *añjalimudrā* and Ācārya Vajrapāṇi (blue) with third eye and clad in tiger skin. The central miniature of the same folio depicts Amitābha coloured red as seated on a pink lotus throne in *dhyānamudrā*. To his left is yellow-complexioned Avalokiteśvara (?) and to his right is a white-complexioned Mañjuśrī. The right hand miniature illustrates Maitreya seated on a blue Nāga (half-elephant, half-snake monster) in *lalitāsana*. His hands indicate *dharmacakramudrā*. His complexion is shown as yellow. Listening to his teachings are Avalokiteśvara and Hayagrīva (red), seated on white lotus seats. Avalokiteśvara (yellow) is seated on the left side of Maitreya with hands in *añjalimudrā*. Hayagrīva sits on his right and is clad with a tiger skin.

The left hand miniature of folio 2 of the manuscript again shows Maitreya. His complexion is yellow and he is seated on a white

1. The descriptions are based mainly on the Victoria and Albert Museums's *Catalogue of Paintings* (S. O. Book 127),

lotus seat in *mahārājālīlāsana* with characteristic flowering branch above his left shoulders. His hands indicate *dharmacakramudrā*. He is attended by the dwarf Ācārya Vajrapāṇi seated on his left side and clad with a tiger skin. The central miniature of this folio illustrates Mañjuśrī as seated in *lalitāsana* on a red lotus seat with a lotus on either side. Mañjuśrī's hands indicate *dharmacakramudrā*. His complexion is shown as white. He is attended by Hayagrīva (red) and yellow-complexioned Avalokiteśvara with hands in *añjalimudrā*. Hayagrīva is seated on the left side of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara on the right. The right miniature illustrates a white-complexioned Avalokiteśvara as seated on a pink lotus in *mahārājālīlāsana*. His right hand indicates *varadamudrā* and the left hand holds the stem of a lotus. He is attended by Hayagrīva, who is shown as seated on his left side.

The left hand miniature in folio 89 shows a white-complexioned Bodhisattva as seated in *mahārājālīlāsana* on a red lotus seat with the right hand in a variant of *vitarkamudrā* and the left in *varada*. The stem of a lotus trails up the left arm. A *vajra* surmounts the lotus. His attendant is the dwarf Ācārya Vajrapāṇi. According to Dr. Conze this Bodhisattva is a form of Avalokiteśvara, but it is more certainly Vajrapāṇi, as Vajrapāṇi can be either blue or white and may either hold the *vajra* or it may rest on a lotus. The central miniature of this folio depicts Ādi-Buddha Vajrasattva in *dhyānamudrā* seated in the centre of a primitive *maṇḍala* of which the four quarters are coloured red, green, white and yellow. Two lamps are shown as standing beneath the circular central panel. The Ādi-Buddha holds a *vajra* before the breast in his right hand and in the hand on the lap he holds a bell with *vajra*-shaped handle.

In the right-hand-side miniature of folio 89 a green-complexioned Bodhisattva is depicted as seated on a white lotus seat in *mahārājālīlāsana* with a lotus at his left side. Both his hands seem to indicate *vitarkamudrā*. His attendant is Hayagrīva. According to Foucher's description given to Vredenburg a sword appears on the lotus which makes this divinity Akṣagarbha. However,

nothing of the sword is visible now excepting probably the line of the blade.

The left hand miniature of folio 90 depicts a divinity as seated in *mahārājaliṣana*, who is identified by his blue colour as Vajrapāṇi. His right hand appears to indicate *karuṇamudrā* and the left holds the stem of a lotus. Vajrapāṇi's attendant is a white Dharmapāla who squats on a white lotus. The latter is either Sitabrahma Mahākāla or Yama. The central miniature of this folio shows a three-headed, six-armed and yellow-complexioned female divinity as standing beneath an arch. Of her three heads the central head is of yellow colour, that on the left a green boar's snout and that on the right a horrific white face. In her hands she holds a cloth or text, a bow, a *vajra*, an arrow and a noose. An *aśoka* branch appears by her left shoulder. The attributes of this divinity approximate to those of Mārīcī and on that ground she can be identified as Mārīcī.

Maitreya is depicted as expounding the doctrine with hands in *vitarkamudrā* in the right hand miniature of folio 90. He is seated on a white lotus seat in *mahārājaliṣana*. A lotus is shown on his left side which supports what may be a stūpa. His attendant is Acārya Vajrapāṇi (blue) who is seated on his left side on a red lotus.

The left hand miniature in folio 178 depicts Śyāmatārā as seated on a couch. Her hands indicate *dharmacakramudrā*. A blue lotus is shown by her left shoulder. Her audience consist of two goddesses, one of yellow complexion seated on a white lotus, the other of blue complexion seated on a pink lotus.

The miniature on the centre of the same folio depicts a white-complexioned Padmapāṇi with the right hand in *varadamudrā* and the left raised before the breast in *vitarkamudrā*. The left hand also holds the stem of a white lotus. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on a multi-coloured white lotus seat. He is attended by a yellow-complexioned Tārā and Dharmapāla Hayagrīva.

The right hand miniature of folio 178 depicts Mahākāla as a god of wealth surrounded by flames. A mongoose splitting jewels

is held in one hand and with the other he holds a *kapāla* or skull-cap.

A yellow-complexioned female divinity wearing tiger skin and skull-necklace and standing before a flaming background is depicted in the left hand miniature of folio 179. She is three-headed and eight-armed. Her central head is of yellow colour with the third eye, that on the right is white and that on the left is in the form of a boar's head and is coloured blue. As one of her heads is in the form of a boar's head she can be identified as *Mārīcī*. Among the objects held in her hands mention may be made of arrow, *vajra*, noose and sword. The central miniature in the same folio depicts *Vasudhārā* as yellow-complexioned and six-armed. She is seated in *lalitāsana* on a white lotus seat. Her upper right hand indicates *Buddhaśramaṇa-mudrā* and lower right indicates *varadamudrā*. Her centre right hand holds a flaming pearl, upper left hand a palm-leaf manuscript. In the central left a spike of grain is held and in the lower left the *kalasa*.

The right hand miniature in folio 178 depicts a six-armed divinity with third eye. Her complexion is green. She is illustrated as dancing with her right foot on a prostrate man before a background of flame. Among the objects held in her hands mention may be made of *vajra*, mace and arrow. She is not yet identified.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the existing materials of Pāla period no doubt gives us some definite idea about various aspects of everyday life in the Pāla empire. The dress of the people as depicted in the terracotta plaques and sculptures, paintings and literary works can broadly be divided into the following groups : the dress of the higher classes and the dress of the common people; the dress of the warriors and the dress of children.

Dress of the Higher Classes :

The males of higher classes generally used to wear *dhotties* short¹ or long.² Both *kaccha*³ and *vikaccha*⁴ modes of wearing the *dhoti* were in use. They also seem to have worn trousers,⁵ shorts⁶ and *luigis*.⁷ The lower garment usually worn below the navel was kept in position by a girdle-belt.⁸ Sometimes they wore dresses of variegated colour with floral and other designs.⁹ Their garments were of fine texture.¹⁰ On the upper person the

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1. See pl. XX, fig. 1 ; pl. XXVI, fig. 2.
 2. See pl. LXVII, fig. 1.
 3. See pl. XLVIII.
 4. See pl. XVI, fig. 2.
 5. See pl. XV, fig. 2.
 6. See pl. XXX, fig. 2.
 7. See pl. LXXI, fig. 1.
 8. See pl. XLVIII.
 9. See pl. XX, fig. 1; pl. LXIXa, fig. 1; pl. LXXVIII, figs. 1 & 2; pl. LXXIX, fig. 2.
 10. See pl. LXXIX, fig. 2.

people of the higher classes often wore scarfs (*dukūla*, *uttariya*) which seem to have been worn more for decorative purposes than for covering the body.¹ They generally wore long hair usually falling on the neck or shoulders, but often with part of the hair arranged in top-knots with the help of fillets.² They also wore crowns,³ diadems⁴ and caps⁵ on the head. Elaborate ornaments were worn by the males of the higher classes. They used to wear crowns and diadems on the head, big, round earrings,⁶ *makara*-shaped earrings⁷ and ornamented earrings of other designs,⁸ necklaces of pearls and other precious stones and gold,⁹ armlets of beautiful designs,¹⁰ bangles (*valaya*, *kaṅkana*),¹¹ bracelets (*keyūra*),¹² anklets¹³ and girdles.¹⁴ The girdles sometimes consisted of one or two bands with a floral clasp in the centre. In some cases the girdles were highly ornamented. The ornaments were often set with precious stones like diamonds, emeralds, pearls and rubies.

The females of the higher classes usually wore the *sārī* in the *vikaccha* fashion.¹⁵ But the *kaccha* mode of wearing also seems to have been used.¹⁶ They often left the upper part of the body uncovered,¹⁷ but sometimes they wore the *sārī* in the modern Bengali way with one end going diagonally from the right waist

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1. See pls. XIII, fig. 1 ; pl. LXVIII, fig. 2
 2. See pl. XXIII, figs. 1 and 2.
 3. See pl. LXIV, figs. 1 and 2.
 4. See pl. XLIV, fig. 2.
 5. See pl. XIII, fig. 1.
 6. See pl. XV, fig. 2
 7. See pl. LXIXa, fig. 2
 8. See pl. LVI, fig. 1.
 9. See pls. LXIXa, fig. 1, XXII, fig. 2 ; LVI, LXIV, figs. 1 and 2
 10. See pl. LXXXVII, figs. 17 and 18.
 11. See pl. XXI, figs. 1 and 2.
 12. See pl. LVI.
 13. See pl. XLVI, fig. 2
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. See pl. XIV, fig. 2 ; LXIX, figs. 3 and 4.
 16. See pl. LXIV, fig. 1
 17. See pl. XLIV, fig. 1 ; LXIXa, fig. 1

to the left shoulder and then falling on the back.¹ But even then the bosom is not usually wholly covered. Sometimes they wore *sāries* with stripe and rosette patterns. They also used to wear shorts² and trousers³. On the upper part of the body they sometimes wore something like blouse.⁴ They also used to wear bodice (*kucabandha*)⁵ and other types of garments for covering the breasts.⁶ Narrow scarfs were sometimes worn by women on the upper part of their body.⁷ Their cloth was of fine texture.⁸ They usually wore their hair long, which fell on the neck or shoulders⁹ and was sometimes arranged in knots on the top¹⁰ or buns at the back.¹¹ They sometimes used fillets of pearls or other stones to keep the buns in their place.¹² Like the males they also wore elaborate ornaments such as crown,¹³ diadems,¹⁴ fillets of pearls on the forehead and coiffure¹⁵, round *kuṇḍalas*,¹⁶ *makara kuṇḍalas*,¹⁷ highly ornamented earrings of various designs,¹⁸ necklaces of pearls and gold,¹⁹ ornamented armlets²⁰ (*aṅgada*), bracelets (*keyūra*),²¹ bangles (*valaya, kaṅkana*),²² ornamented girdles

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1. See pl. XIV, fig. 2 ; pl. LXXVI.
 2. See p. 177.
 3. See pl. XXXI, fig. 1.
 4. See p. 178.
 5. See pl. XXVI, fig. 1.
 6. See p. 165 & 166.
 7. See pl. LV, fig. 3 ; pl. LXIX, fig. 3.
 8. See p. 176 & pl. LXXIX, fig. 1.
 9. See pl. LXIX, figs. 3 and 4.
 10. See pl. I XIXa, fig. 1 ; pl. LXXVI.
 11. See pl. XLIV, fig. 1 ; pl. XLV, figs. 1 and 2.
 12. See pl. XLIV, fig. 1.
 13. See pl. LV, fig. 1.
 14. See p. 177.
 15. See pl. LXX, fig. 1.
 16. See pl. LXX, figs. 3 and 4 ; pl. XXVL, fig. 1.
 17. See pl. LXXXVII, fig. 6.
 18. See pl. XLVIII ; pl. LVI, fig. 1.
 19. *Ibid.* See also p. 164.
 20. See pl. LXXXVI, and also p. 177.
 21. See pl. LVI, fig. 2 ; pl. LXXVI.
 22. See pl. XLIV, fig. 1 ; also see pp. 164 & 165.

(*kāñci*, *mañirasāṇā*, *mekhalā*)¹ and anklets (*nāpura*, *mañjira*).² Sometimes the girdle-belts consisted of one or two bands with a floral clasp in the centre. The ornaments were often inlaid with precious stones.³

Dress of the Common People :

The males of the common people generally used to wear a short and narrow *dhoti* in the *kaccha* fashion,⁴ but the long *dhoti* was also worn.⁵ They also wore trousers⁶, shorts⁷ and *luṅgi*.⁸ The *dhoti* was worn a little below the navel and kept in position by a waist-band. These waist-bands were generally very plain. Some of the *dhoties* seem to have stripe and dot patterns.⁹ They sometimes wore a narrow scarf on the upper part of the body.¹⁰ From the evidence of a Maināmatī plaque it appears that they also used to wear tunics.¹¹ Often they wore big round earrings¹² and plain, thick bangles,¹³ armlets,¹⁴ necklaces¹⁵ and anklets.¹⁶ Their hair was generally worn long, falling on the neck¹⁷ or shoulders¹⁸ and sometimes arranged in knots on the top¹⁹ or buns at the back²⁰ with the help of fillets, but short hair is also sometimes

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1. See pl. XLVI, fig. 1 ; also see pp. 163 & 164.
 2. See pl. LXXVI
 3. See pp. 161 & 165.
 4. See pl. I, figs. 3 and 4.
 5. See pl. II, fig. 2.
 6. See pl. II, fig. 1.
 7. See pl. XXXVIIIa, fig. 2.
 8. See pl. I, fig. 2.
 9. See pl. II, fig. 2 ; pl. LIX, fig. 1.
 10. See pl. I, fig. 2.
 11. See pl. LXVI, fig. 3.
 12. See pl. LIX, fig. 6.
 13. See pl. I, fig. 2.
 14. See pl. III, fig. 2.
 15. See pl. LIII, fig. 3.
 16. See pl. XLIX, fig. 2.
 17. See pl. I, fig. 2.
 18. See pl. II, fig. 7.
 19. See pl. LIII, fig. 1.
 20. See pl. VII, fig. 2.

found.¹ Caps² and turbans³ were worn by the musicians. Dancers are shown as wearing fan-shaped head-dresses.⁴

Ascetics wore *laṅguṭies*.⁵

Śabarās often wore girdles of leaves which barely covered their privy parts.⁶ Sometimes they also wore short *dhoties*.⁷ They also appear to have worn short and full-sleeved jackets.⁸

The females of the common people used to wear the *sārī*, either in the *kaccha*⁹ or *vikaccha*¹⁰ fashion, but shorts¹¹ or trousers¹² coming down to the ankles were also worn. They usually used girdle-belts to keep the lower garment in position. They generally left their upper person uncovered, but sometimes they wore bodices and narrow scarfs.¹³ They wore long hair falling on the neck or shoulders,¹⁴ arranged in top knots¹⁵ or buns¹⁶ at the back often with the help of fillets, combed back and kept in place by a broad fillet,¹⁷ braided and tied round the head¹⁸ or arranged in a fan-like coiffure.¹⁹ Sometimes they wore caps.²⁰ Dancers used to wear a string of beads or pearls in their hair and caps.²¹ Sometimes women wore big round *kuṇḍalas*.²² They

1. See pl. LIX, fig. 1.
2. See pl. VII, fig. 1.
3. See pl. I, fig. 4.
4. See pl. IV, fig. 2.
5. See pl. VIIIa, fig. 3.
6. See pl. V, figs. 2 and 3 ; pl. VI, fig. 3.
7. See pl. V, fig. 1.
8. See pl. V, fig. 3.
9. See pl. I, fig. 5.
10. See pl. XLI, fig. 1.
11. See pl. I, fig. 1.
12. See pl. I, fig. 7 ; pl. LIX, fig. 7.
13. See pl. I, fig. 1 ; pl. LIX, fig. 3.
14. See pl. I, fig. 5 ; pl. LIII, fig. 3.
15. See pl. I, fig. 7.
16. See pl. IV, fig. 3.
17. See pl. XLI, fig. 1.
18. See p. 162.
19. See pl. I, fig. 1.
20. See pl. I, fig. 9.
21. See pl. XLVII, figs. 1 and 2.
22. See pl. LIX, fig. 7.

also wore earrings made of green palm-leaves.¹ Their bangles were generally plain and thick.² Sometimes they wore necklaces and anklets.³ The dancers and courtezans used to wear anklets which are mentioned in literature.⁴ Their girdle-belts were in some cases ornamented with chain patterns⁵ and sometimes a long piece of cloth was tucked in the centre of the girdle-belt.⁶ They also used to wear a string of beads to keep the lower garment in position.⁷ The Śabarīs wore girdles of leaves.⁸ They also seem to have worn *sāries*.⁹ They adorned their garments with peacock feathers.¹⁰ On their upper person they sometimes wore a garland of leaves¹¹ or a bodice,¹² and probably also a narrow scarf.¹³ But these garments barely covered their private parts. They wore long hair arranged in a top knot¹⁴ or bun at the back with the help of fillets.¹⁵ They sometimes wore earrings and necklaces of *guñjarī* seeds.¹⁶

Warrior's Dress :

Warriors sometimes wore short *dhoties* coming to the knees¹⁷ or ending a little above the knees,¹⁸ in the *kaccha* fashion. Often they wore a very short *dhoti* which did not even completely cover the thighs.¹⁹ They also used to wear shorts²⁰ and trou-

1. See p. 166.
2. See pl. I, fig. 5.
3. See pl. XLIX, fig. 2.
4. See p. 161 and also pl. XLVII, figs. 1 and 2.
5. See pl. I, fig. 1.
6. See pl. I, fig. 9.
7. See pl. LIII, fig. 3.
8. See pl. V, fig. 2 ; pl. VI, figs. 1, 2 and 3.
9. See pl. V, fig. 1.
10. See p. 162.
11. See pl. VI, fig. 2.
12. See pl. VI, fig. 2.
13. See pl. V, fig. 1.
14. See pl. VI, fig. 1.
15. See pl. VI, fig. 2.
16. See p. 162.
17. See pl. II, fig. 2 ; pl. IX, fig. 3.
18. See pl. X, fig. 2 ; pl. LXI, fig. 1.
19. See pl. IX, figs. 1 and 2.
20. See pl. LXI, fig. 3.

sers.¹ On the upper person sometimes they appear to wear tunics.² Often they wore boots.³ Their hair is often shown as long, arranged in buns.⁴ They are also depicted with curly hair falling on the shoulders or neck.⁵ They also wore short straight hair.⁶ Caps sometimes appear on their heads.⁷ They also appear to wear fan-shaped head-dresses.⁸ Often they wore big round *kuṇḍalas*⁹ and necklaces.¹⁰ Sometimes they also wore armlets,¹¹ bangles¹² and bracelets.¹³

Children's Dress :

Children of the higher classes generally wore shorts,¹⁴ but they sometimes also wore *dhoties* coming down to the knees.¹⁵ They are shown with long hair, generally either arranged into three tufts by fillets¹⁶ or, less frequently, allowed to fall on the shoulders.¹⁷ They usually wore necklaces of medallions¹⁸ similar to those which are worn by the village children down to the day. They often wore round *kuṇḍalas*¹⁹, and occasionally elaborate ornaments on different parts of the body.²⁰ The children of the common people also wore shorts.²¹ They appear sometimes to

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1. See pl. XI, fig. 2.
 2. See pl. XI, fig. 1.
 3. See pl. X, fig. 2 ; pl. LXI, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7.
 4. See pl. LXI, fig. 2.
 5. See pl. II, fig. 5 ; pl. LXI, fig. 7.
 6. See pl. LXI, fig. 6.
 7. See pl. LXI, fig. 1.
 8. See pl. II, fig. 4.
 9. See pl. X, fig. 2 ; pl. LXI, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7.
 10. See pl. LXI, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.
 11. See pl. X, fig. 1.
 12. See pl. X, figs. 1 and 2.
 13. See pl. LXI, fig. 2. See also p. 161.
 14. See pl. XLIII.
 15. See pl. XL, fig. 2.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. See pl. XXXIX, fig. 1.
 18. See pl. XL, fig. 2.
 19. See pl. XLII, fig. 2.
 20. See pl. XL, fig. 2.
 21. See pl. I, fig. 1.

have arranged their hair in a fan-like coiffure.¹

Women used collyrium on the eyes.² They also used to put a mark of collyrium on the forehead.³ Married women used vermillion in the parting of their hair.⁴ Lac was used for painting feet.⁵ Among other cosmetics mention may be made of musk and saffron.⁶ Sandal powder seems to have been used by men.⁷ Flowers were used by women to adorn their hair and body.⁸

Among musical instruments used by the people of the Pāla empire mention can be made of the *viṇā*⁹ and an unusual instrument, consisting of a single string stretched over a sounding board,¹⁰ Among the instruments of percussion there were drums of different kinds such as the *ḍamaru*¹¹ the *mādlā*,¹² small side-drums¹³ and big oblong drums.¹⁴ Gongs (*paḍaha*),¹⁵ pitchers¹⁶ and cymbals¹⁷ were also used. Among wind instruments flutes were very common.¹⁸ Conch shells may also be mentioned,¹⁹

Dancing seems to have been very popular.²⁰ Some kind of drama based on the life of Buddha (*Buddhanāṭaka*) appears to have been performed accompanied by song and dance.²¹

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1. *Ibid.*
 2. See pp. 163 & 165.
 3. See pp. 162 & 165.
 4. See p. 167.
 5. See pp. 164 & 165.
 6. See pp. 161, 163 & 165.
 7. See p. 167.
 8. See pp. 162, 163, 164 & 167.
 9. See pl. VII, fig. 1 and p. 167.
 10. See pl. VII, fig. 2.
 11. See pl. LX, fig. 3.
 12. See p. 167.
 13. See pl. LX, fig. 2.
 14. See pl. VIIa, fig. 1.
 15. See pl. VII, fig. 4.
 16. See pl. VII, fig. 3.
 17. See pl. I, fig. 4.
 18. See pl. VIII, fig. 2 : pl. LX, fig. 1 and p. 167.
 19. See pl. II, fig. 9.
 20. See pl. XLVII, figs. 1 and 2 and p. 167.
 21. See p. 168.

Higher class people used to ride on horses and elephants.¹ Palanquins seem to have been used by the women of higher classes.² Carriages were also used by the higher classes³ and bullock carts by the common people.⁴ Boats were the principal means of conveyance.⁵ Ferries were operated from one side of a river to another and the boatmen or women were paid in cowries.⁶ Soldiers used to ride horses.⁷ In the battlefield they would sometimes ride buffaloes.⁸ Buffaloes were also used for transport.⁹

The army seems to have consisted of four divisions : (a) cavalry, (b) infantry, (c) elephant and (d) navy.¹⁰ Soldiers were paid in cowries and also given daily bread.¹¹ Weapons of offence included swords,¹² sabres,¹³ daggers,¹⁴ spears,¹⁵ clubs¹⁶ and bows.¹⁷ Among weapons of defence shields¹⁸ of many varieties were used. Defensive armour cannot be distinctly identified in any of the objects examined.

Rice and fish seem to have been the usual food of the Bengali people.¹⁹ Cow-ghee, milk and the raw leaves of jute were also taken.²⁰ Fruits such as mangoes, jack-fruits and coconuts were

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1. See pp. 167 & 168 and pl. LIV.
 2. See p. 168.
 3. See p. 168.
 4. *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 616.
 5. See pl. XLV, fig. 2 and p. 168.
 6. See p. 168.
 7. See p. 123.
 8. See p. 167.
 9. See p. 167.
 10. See p. 169.
 11. See p. 169.
 12. See pl. X, fig. 2 and p. 168.
 13. See pl. X, fig. 1.
 14. See pl. LXI, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.
 15. See pl. LXXV, fig. 2 and p. 168.
 16. See pl. XI, fig. 2.
 17. See pl. IX, figs. 1, 2 and 3.
 18. See pl. II, figs. 4 and 5.
 19. See p. 169.
 20. See p. 169.

very popular.¹ Betel leaves were taken with camphor.² The drinking of wine was also prevalent.³ The above discussion shows that the food of the Bengali people has not undergone any substantial change down to this day.

Hunting and acrobatics were attested outdoor pastimes of men.⁴ Among indoor games chess seems to have been very popular.⁵ The outdoor pastimes of women were gardening and water sports.⁶

In towns like Rāmāvatī, which is described as having rows of palaces, courtezans flourished,⁷ and they seem to have been familiar features in the life of the kings and other people of the higher classes.⁸ The practice of keeping female slaves by the well-to-do classes⁹ and the system of dedicating girls for service in temples¹⁰ also testify to the low standard of morality. But the women of the higher classes seem to have been kept in comparative seclusion. It seems that they were carried in palanquins while going from place to place. We also know the existence of royal seraglios.¹¹

In evident contrast to the people of the higher class the common people lived a very simple life. Village men and women had to work from dawn to dusk.¹² Their standard of morality was strict and they disliked the advanced modes and ways of fashionable ladies.¹³ The *kulastrīs* used to walk and talk slowly with covered heads bent down.¹⁴

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1. See p. 169.
 2. See p. 169.
 3. See p. 169.
 4. See p. 170 and pl. LIX, fig. 1.
 5. See p. 169.
 6. See p. 170.
 7. See pp. 161 & 170.
 8. See p. 170.
 9. See p. 170.
 10. See p. 170.
 11. See p. 171.
 12. See p. 171.
 13. See p. 171.
 14. See p. 171.

The simple life of the Śavara people living in hills can also be known from contemporary literature. The Śabarās lived in the high hills.¹ Hunting with bow and arrow was their chief occupation. Their women were apparently allowed much freedom for they are described in literature as roaming in the hills alone,² and they seem to be depicted thus in terracottas.³

The Pāla kings were Buddhist and during their rule Buddhism was ascendant in Bengal and Bihar. The Pālas called themselves *Parama-saṅgata* (chief worshippers of the Buddha) and were great patrons of Mahāyāna Buddhism. They established new monasteries like Odantapurī, Somapura and Vikramaśīlā and also patronised older monasteries like Nālandā. These monasteries were important centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Buddhist learning. The Candras ruling in Eastern Bengal during the Pāla period were also Buddhists and the ruins discovered along the Maināmatī and Lāimai hills represent extensive centres of Buddhist religion and learning.

In plaques and sculptures from Pāhārpur, Mahāsthāngarh, Maināmatī and Nālandā we find representations of Bodhisattvas such as Padmapāṇī, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇī, Mañjuvara and Maitreya. Sculptures and plaques depicting the Buddha are also found. Among Buddhist female deities many representations of Tārā have been discovered. Other female deities like Vasudhārā, Mahāsarasvatī, Aparājita, Mārīcī, Prajñāpāramitā and Śarvāṇī are also depicted. In literature we find references to the worship of Tārā and Bodhisattva Lokeśa.⁴

Buddhism during the Pāla period was profoundly influenced by the Tantric cult and we find Mahāyāna's developed forms of mysticism, Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna all equally prevalent. Among the deities belonging to the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna pantheon we can mention Hevajra with Śakti, Trailokyavijaya, Yamāntaka, Mahākāla and Tārā. A late offshoot of Tantric

1. See p. 172.

2. See p. 172.

3. See pl. VI, figs. 1 & 2.

4. See p. 172.

Buddhism was Sahajayāna. "Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna represented two aspects of the same mysticism; the first laid stress on ceremonials which had only mystic implications, whereas the latter dealt with the more advanced stage of that mysticism in which ceremonials had no place".¹

The tenets of the Sahajiyās are known from contemporary poems like the *Caryāpada* and *Dohākoṣa*.²

From the evidences furnished by the finds from Pāhārpur, Mahāsthāngarh, Maināmatī and Nālandā it appears that the worship of Śiva and the *Sivaliṅga* was widely prevalent. Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa and the Dikpālas such as Yama, Agni, Indra and Kuvera, the god of wealth, were also worshipped. Images depicting Śiva in close embrace with Durgā, images of Hara-Gaurī and Śiva and Pārvatī were also very popular. These indicate that Tantricism was prevalent in Hinduism as in Buddhism. Among Brahmanical goddesses images of Caṇḍikā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Manasā are found. In contemporary literature we find references to temples of Śiva and the worship of Umā and Caṇḍī.³

The fact that most of the images mentioned above were found in Buddhist *vihāras* seems a little strange. It seems to show the influence exercised by the Hindu religion on Buddhism. It may be that Brahmanical images were installed in the Somapura and Nālandā *vihāras* to make an appeal to the masses of the people and to attract the votaries of Hinduism by introducing some elements of their religion. But the existence of the image of Trailokyavijaya trampling upon Śiva and Pārvatī and Aparājita trampling upon Gaṇeśa side by side with images depicting Śiva and Pārvatī, Viṣṇu and Sūrya as in the Nālandā monastery is hard to explain; it must at least indicate that there were some Buddhists who were definitely antagonistic to Śaivite Hinduism. The testimony of Hiuen Tsang shows that in the 7th century the Bengal king Śasāṅka, who was a Śaivite, was strongly opposed to Buddhism, even if some of the stories about

1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 420.

2. See p. 173.

3. See pp. 172-173.

his persecution of the Buddhists are exaggerated. Thus it seems that there was antagonism on both sides in Bengal over a very long period. But we have no evidence of antagonism between Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. As is clear from the *Gitagovinda*, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas at the end of our period were willing to accept Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.¹

Jainism, though an important religion in northern, southern and eastern Bengal, during the 7th century A. D., seems to have almost disappeared from Bengal during the subsequent period.² Only a few Jaina objects are found in Pāhārpur, Maināmatī and Nālandā and we do not find any reference to the Jainas in the records of Pālas and Senas.

The demi-gods such as Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Nāgas, Vidyā-dharas, Kinnaras, Garuḍas, tree spirits and Kīrtimukhas seem to have been venerated by all, irrespective of their main religion.

The Pāhārpur sculptures and terracotta plaques depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* show the wide popularity of this epic. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, which tells simultaneously the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the history of the Pala kings, also shows the popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The story of the *Mahābhārata* was also very popular. The Pāhārpur terracotta plaques and sculptures depicting scenes from the Kṛṣṇa legend show its high popularity and testify to the special hold of the Kṛṣṇa cult in Bengal. But though these plaques and sculptures cannot be dissociated from the Vaiṣṇavism of the period, they were not cult objects proper, but were mainly used for decorating a Buddhist monument.³

Several *Pañcatantra* stories can be recognised in the Pāhārpur plaques. Though these have no cultic significance they throw light on the popular beliefs about what was wrong and what right, irrespective of caste and creed.

1. *Gitagovinda*, *op. cit.*, canto I, song 1.

2. See *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 440-411.

3. See *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

The prevailing absence of sectarian jealousy and exclusiveness was a prominent feature in the religious life of the Pāla empire. The Buddhist Pāla rulers were also patrons of Brahmanism. In official records Dharmapāla and Vigrahapāla are given credit for maintaining the orthodox social order of castes.¹ Again, we know from the *Rāmacarita* that Rāmapāla built temples of Śiva.²

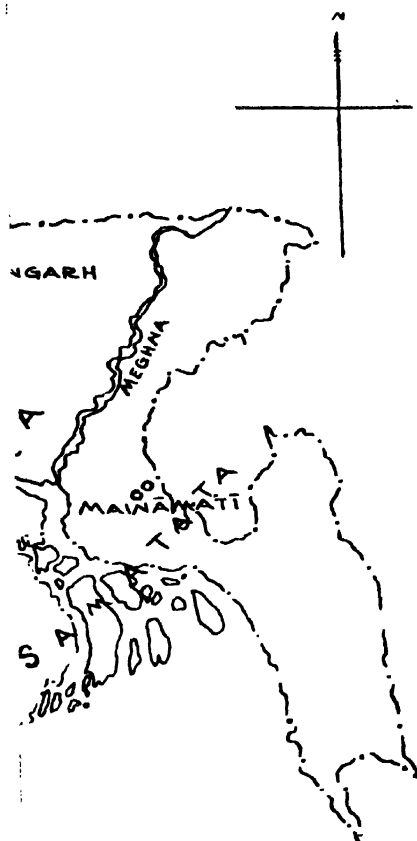
1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 426.

2. See p. 173.

For other details about the patronage of Brahmins by the Pālas see *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 426.

PLATE A

0 50 100 MILES



AL AND BIHAR

AL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig.



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

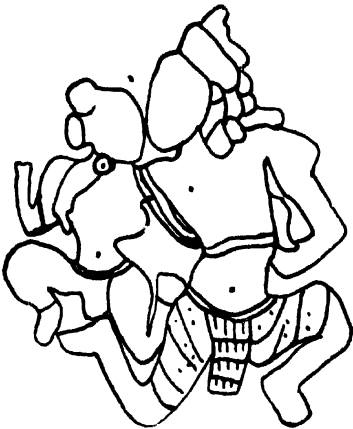


Fig. 1

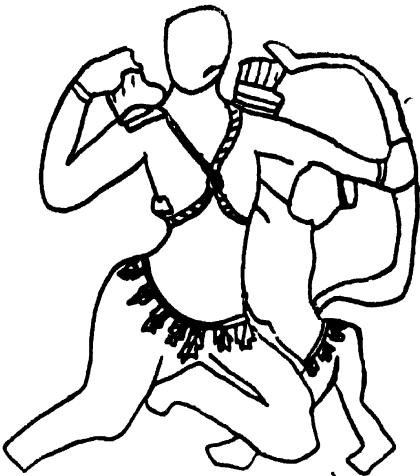


Fig. 2

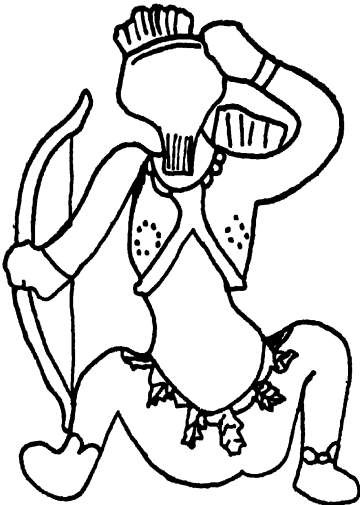


Fig. 3

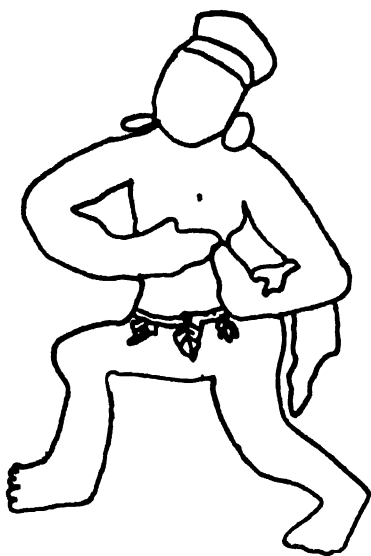


Fig. 1

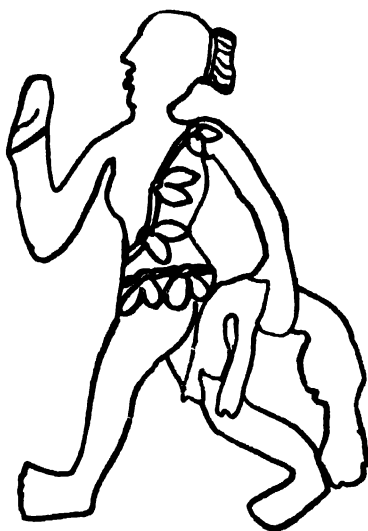


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

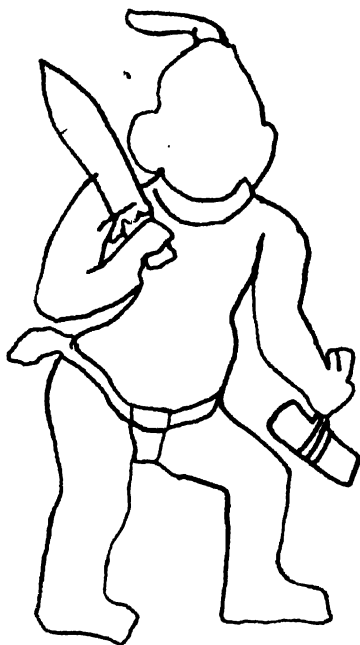


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

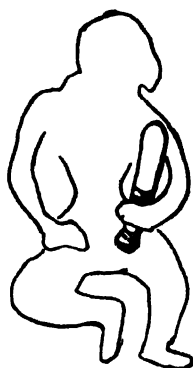


Fig. 2

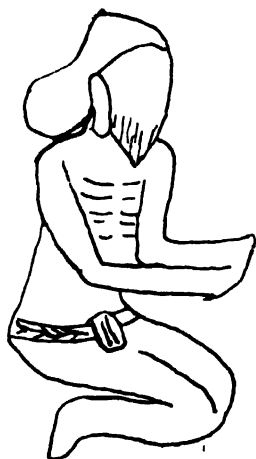


Fig. 3



Fig. 1

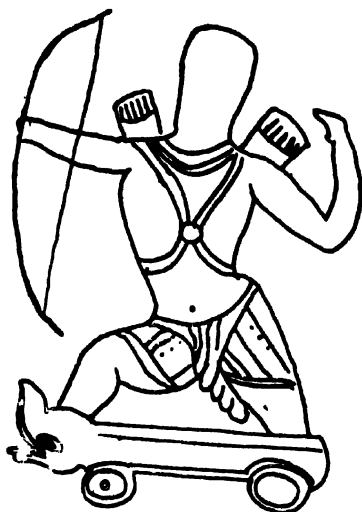


Fig. 2.

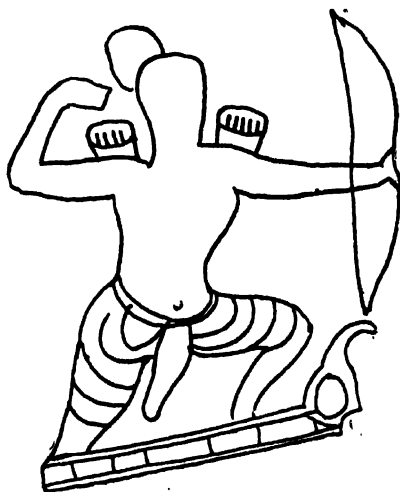


Fig. 3

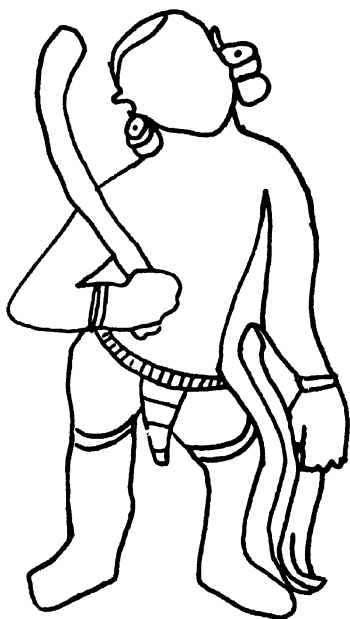


Fig 1



Fig. 2

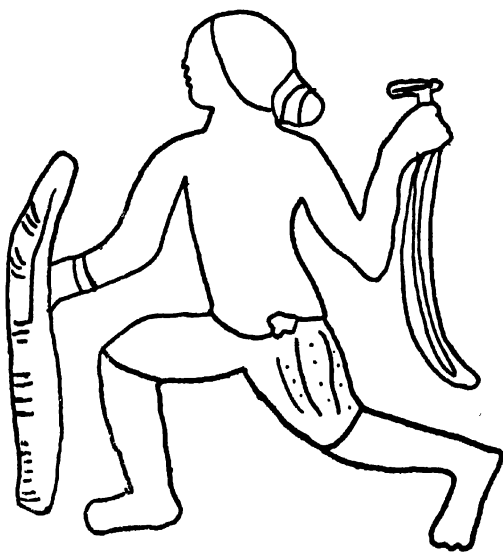


Fig. 1

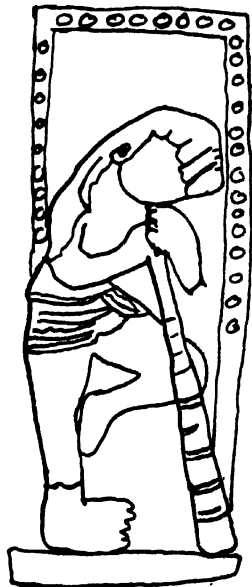


Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

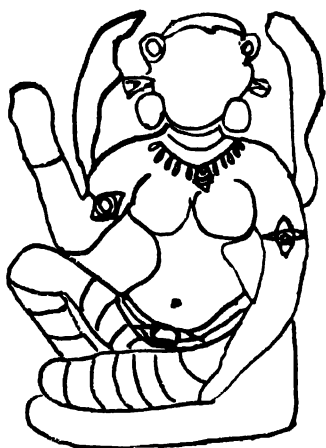


Fig. 1



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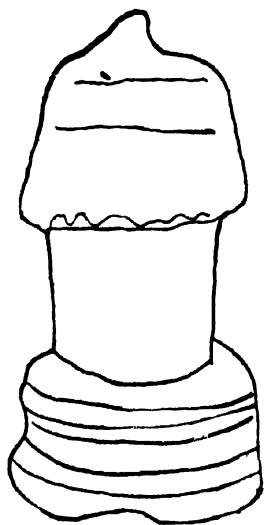


Fig 1



Fig. 2

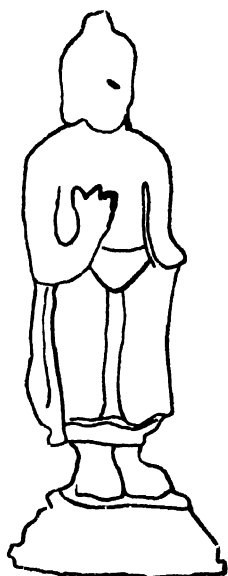


Fig 1

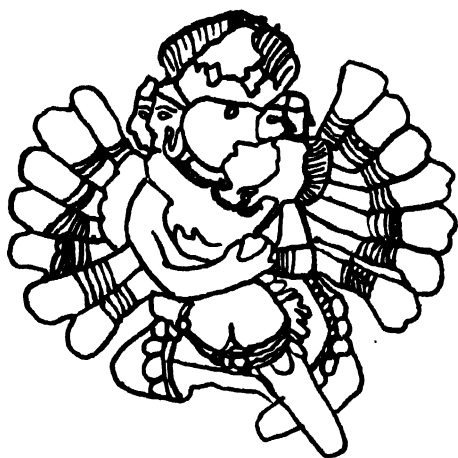


Fig 2



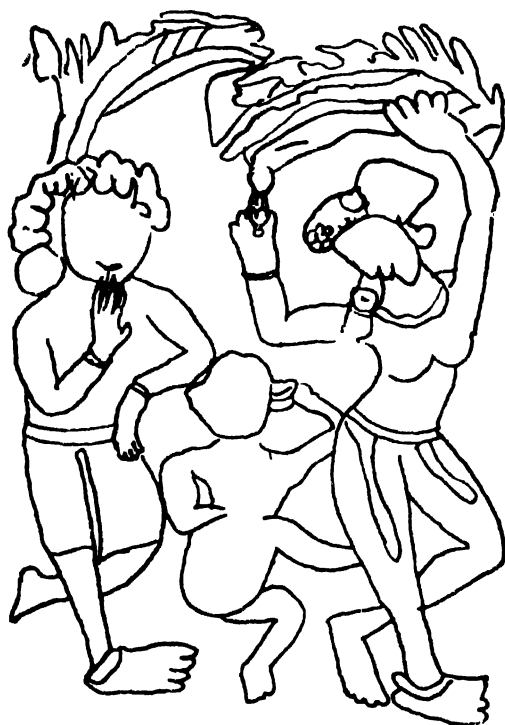




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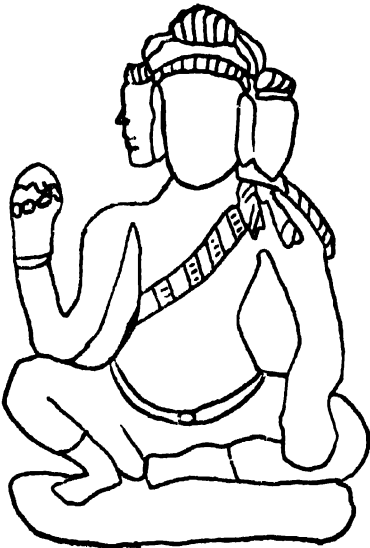


Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

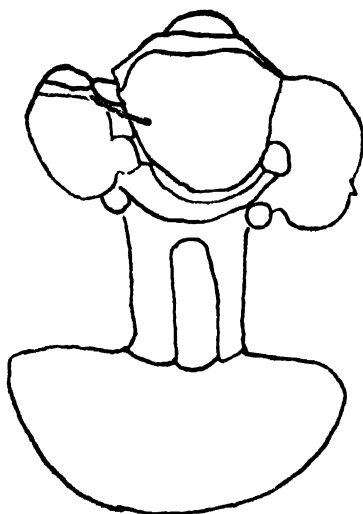


Fig 1



Fig 2

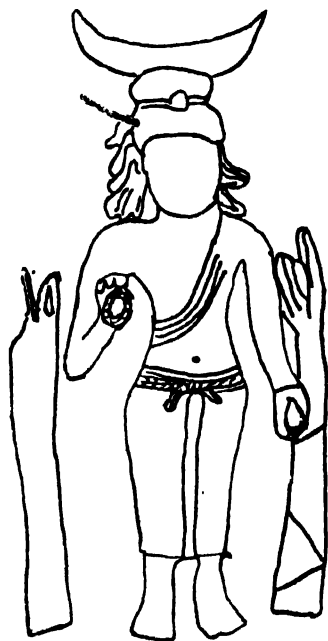


Fig. 1

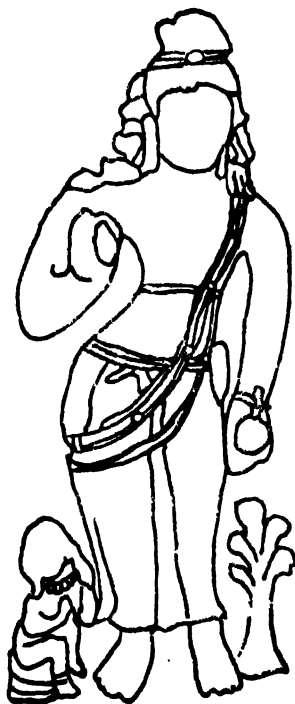


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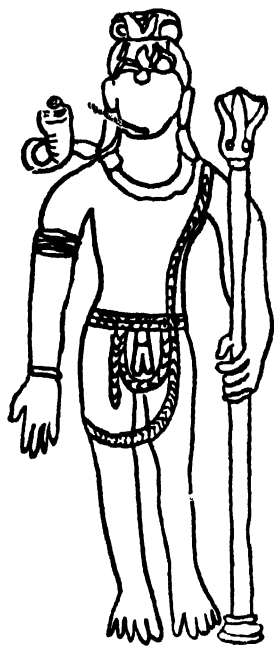


Fig. 1



Fig 2

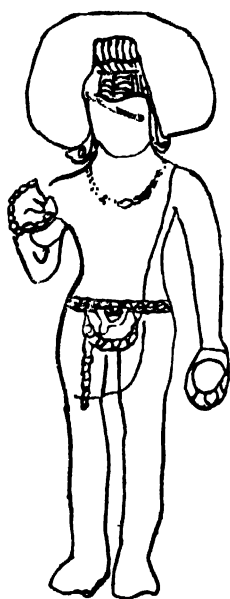
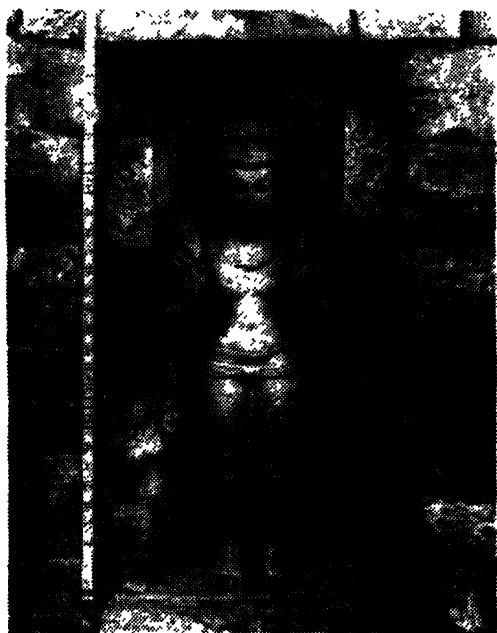


Fig-1



Fig. 2



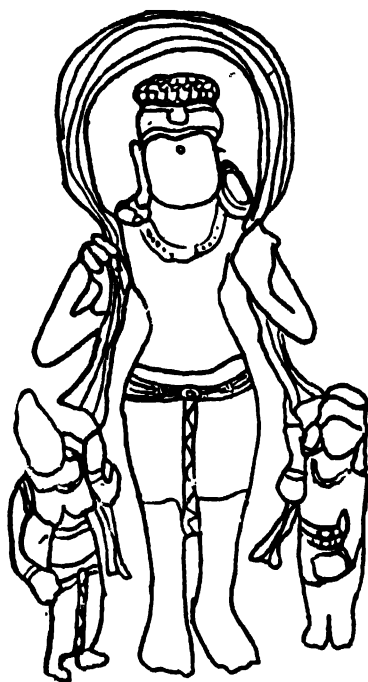


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

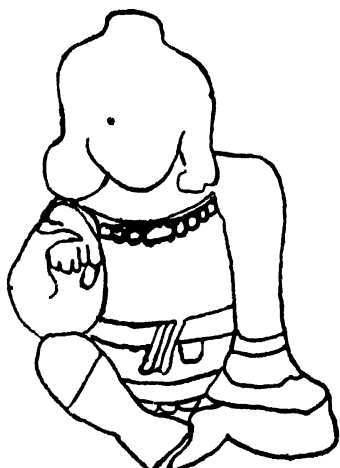


Fig.1

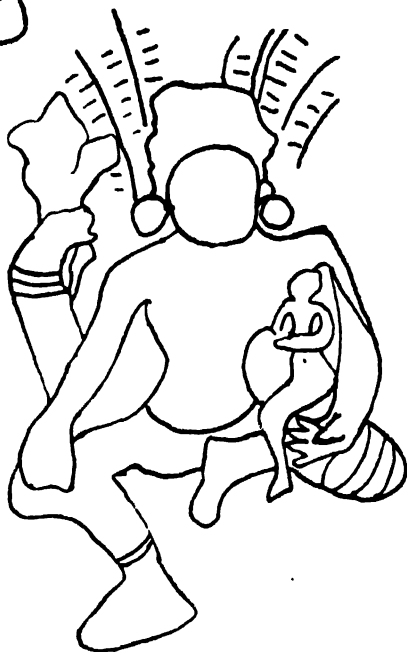


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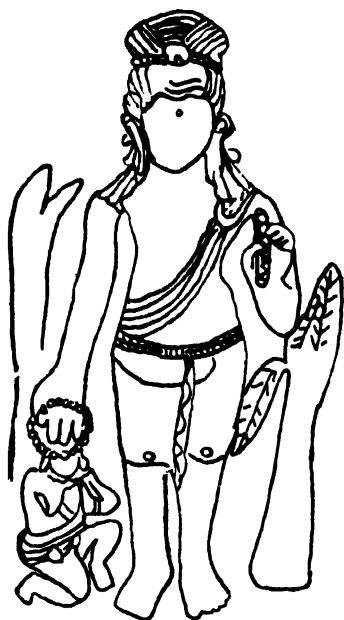


Fig. 1

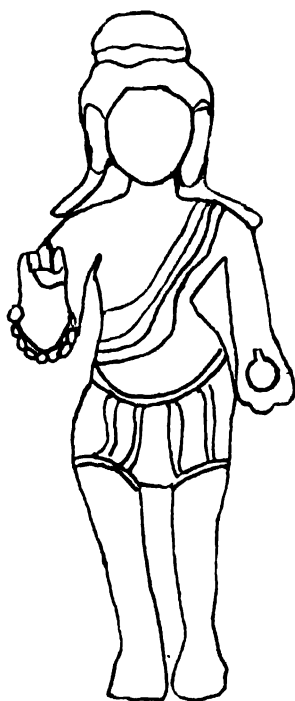


Fig. 2



Fig. 1

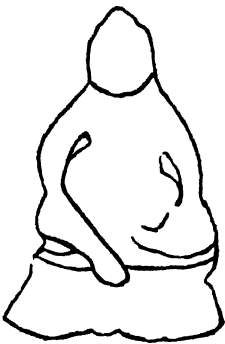


Fig. 2



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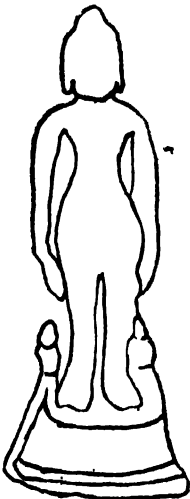


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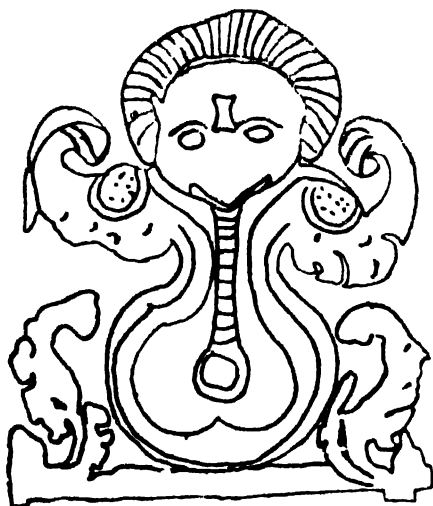


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

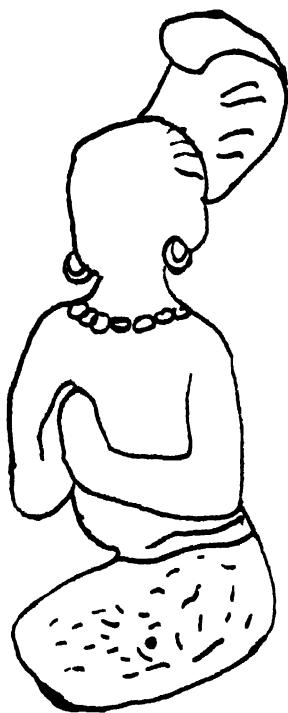


Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

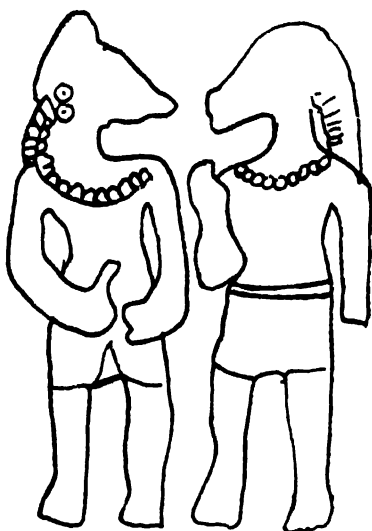


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

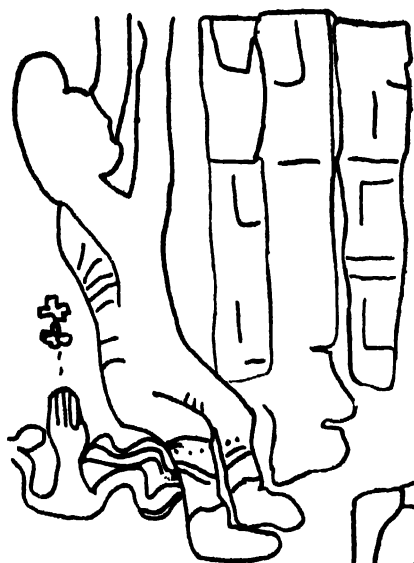


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

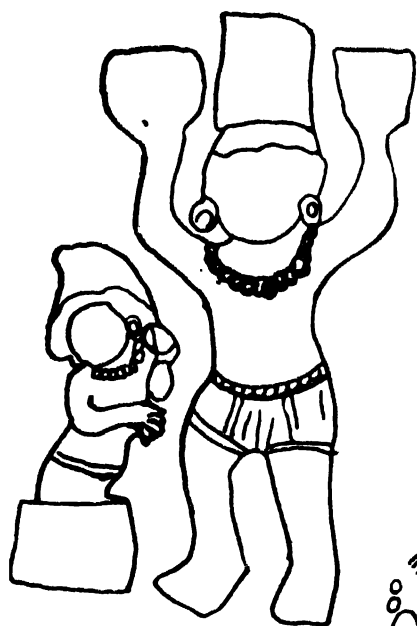


Fig. 1

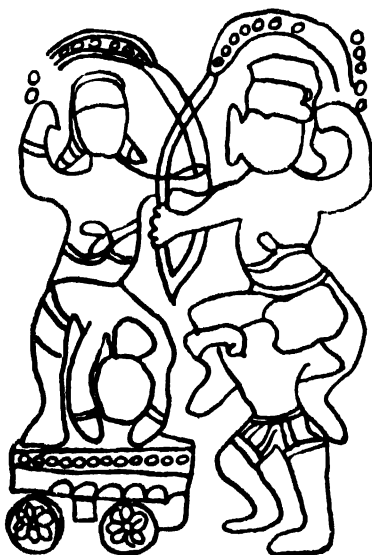


Fig. 2

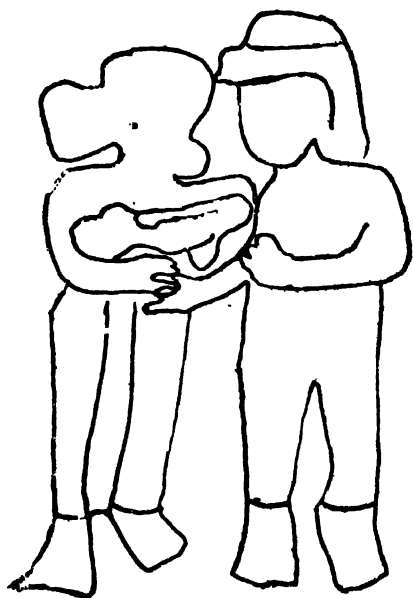


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

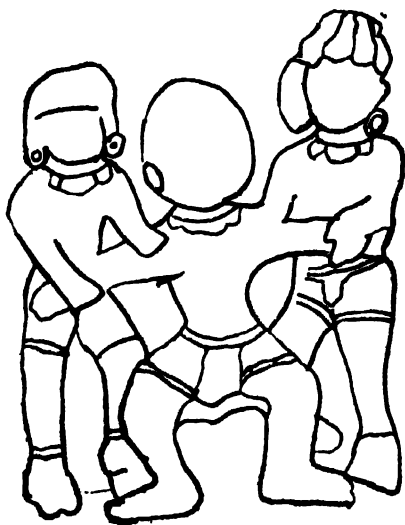


Fig. 2

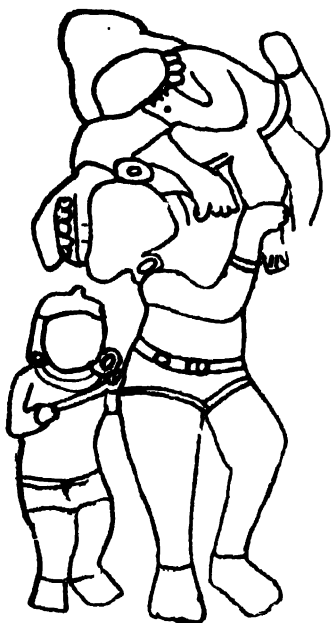


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig 1



Fig. 2

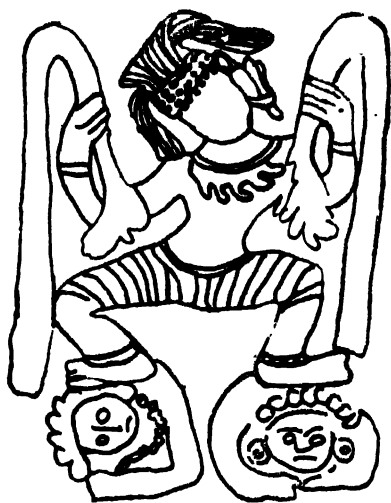


Fig. 1

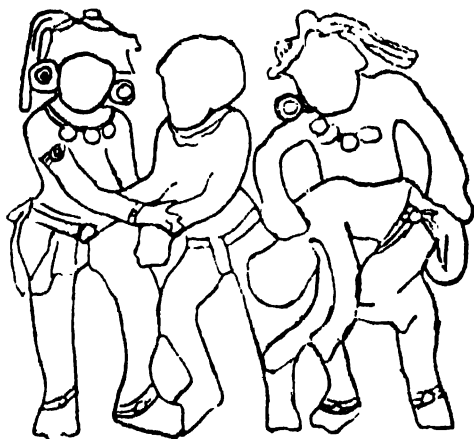
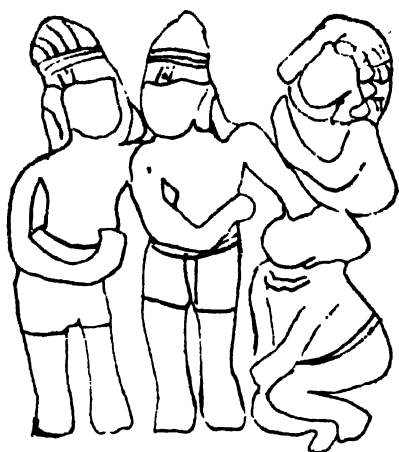


Fig. 2



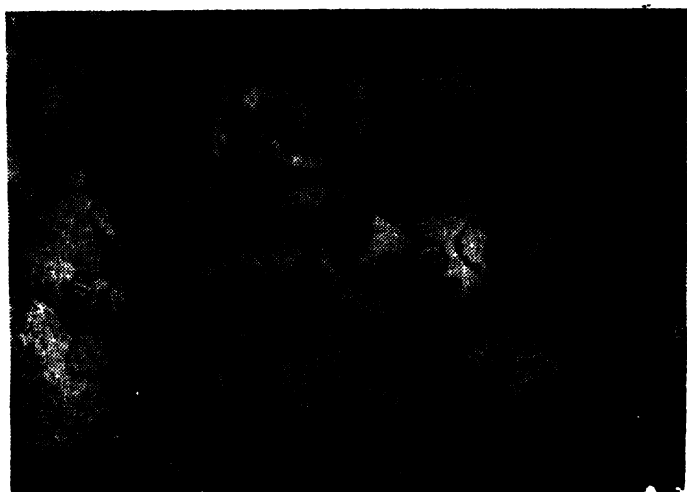




Fig. 1



Fig. 2

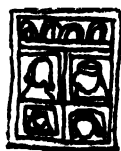


Fig. 3

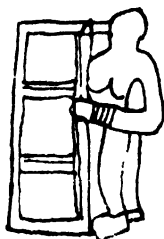


Fig. 4

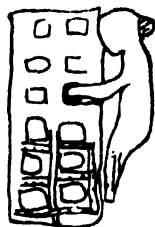


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 1

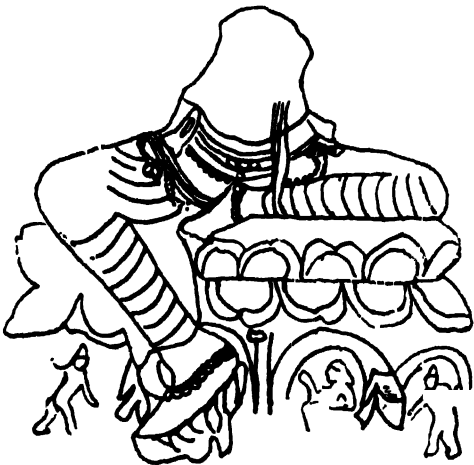


Fig. 2



Fig 1

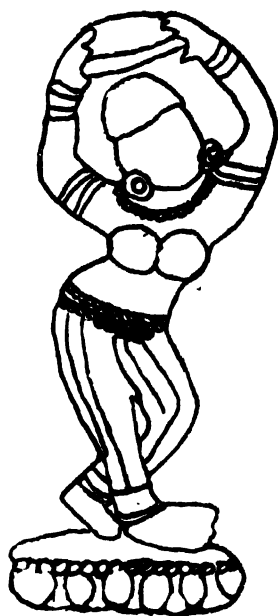


Fig 2





Fig. 1

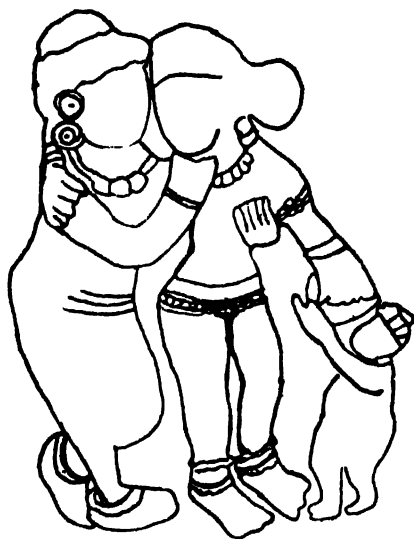


Fig. 2

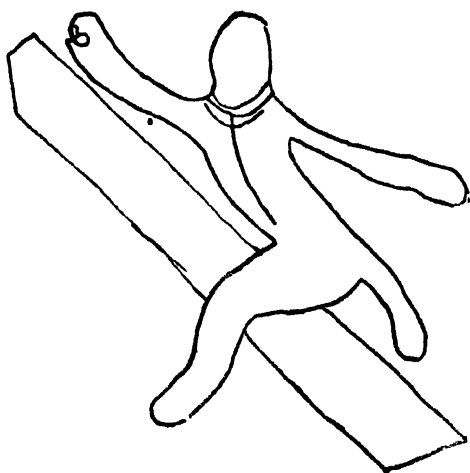


Fig 1

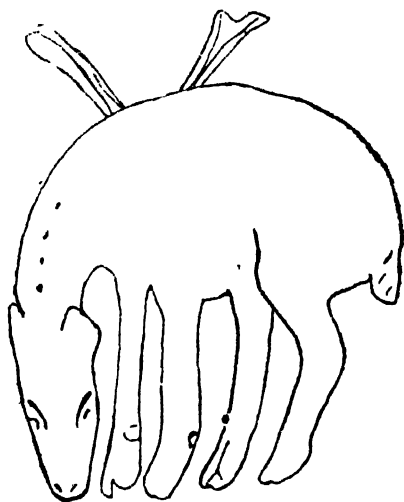


Fig 2

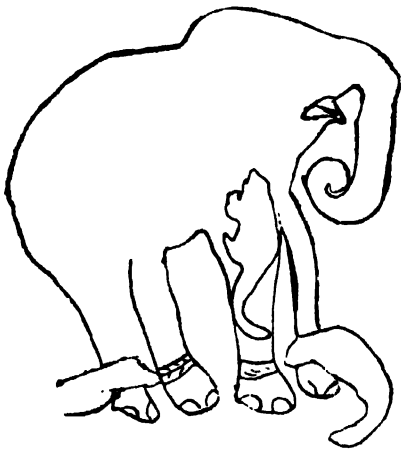


FIG. 1

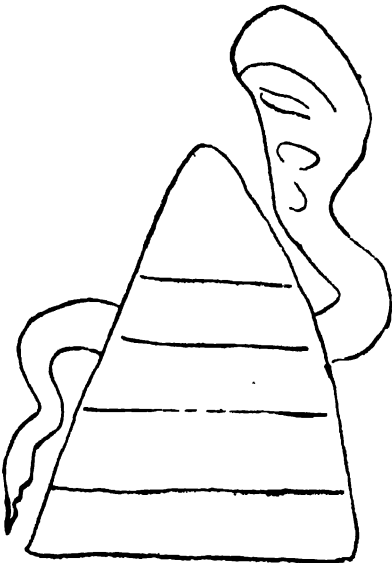


FIG. 2



FIG. 1

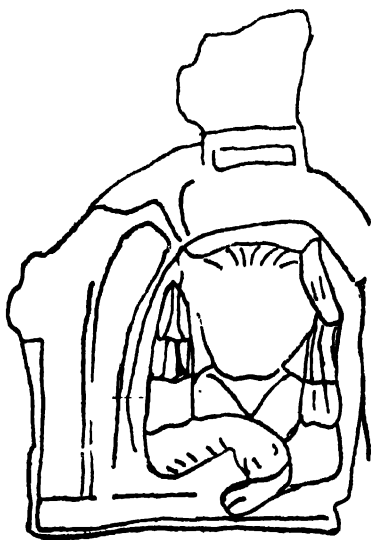


FIG. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

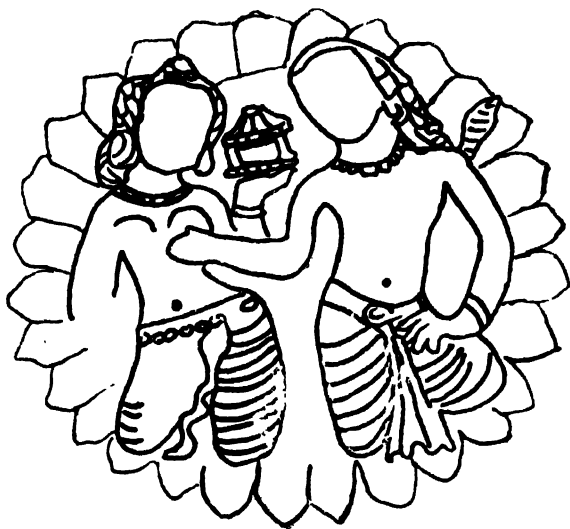
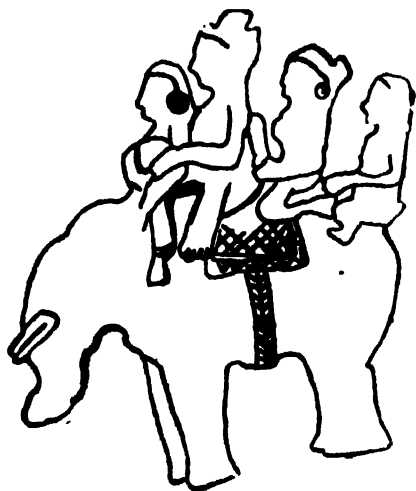


Fig. 3



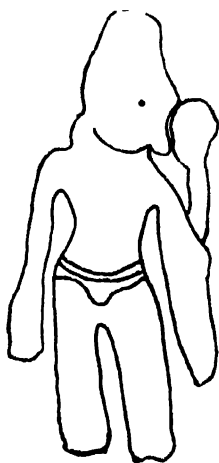


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

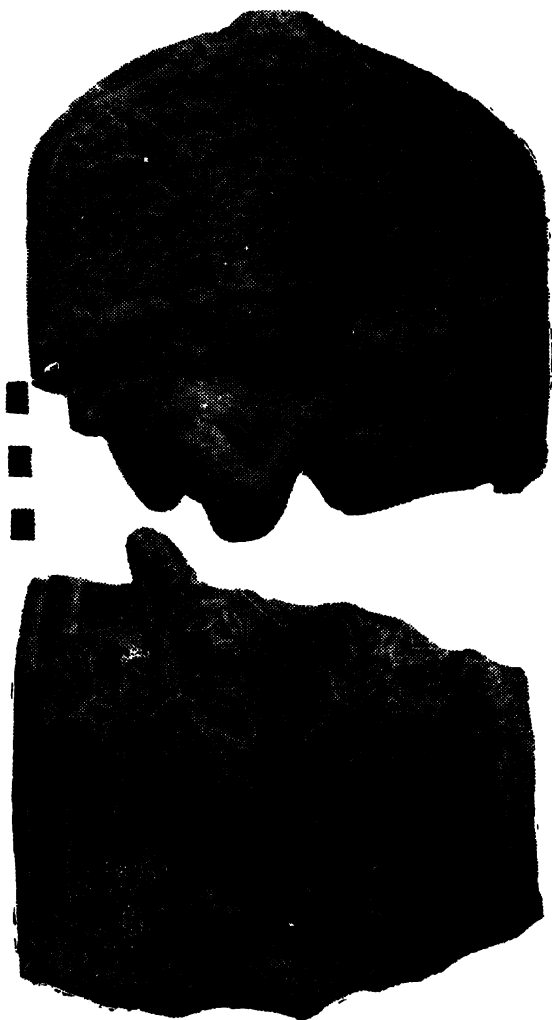




Fig. 1



Fig. 2

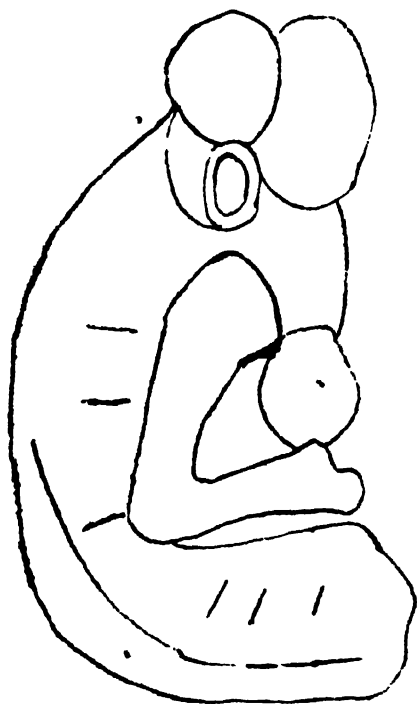


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

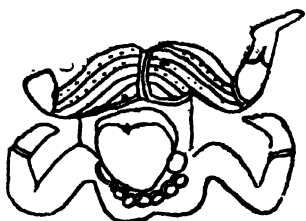


Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6





Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3

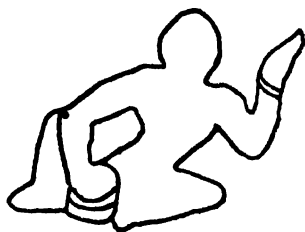


Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6

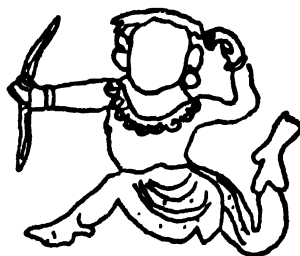


Fig 7



Fig 1

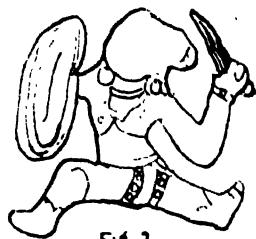


Fig 2

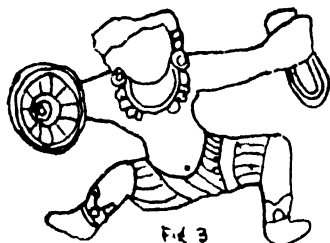


Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6

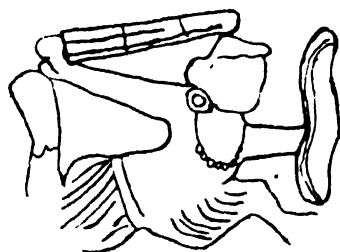


Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig 1



Fig. 2



Fig 3



Fig. 4



Fig 5



Fig 6



Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 4



Fig. 3



Fig. 6

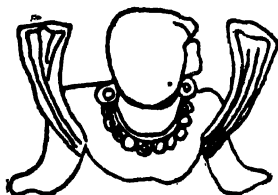


Fig. 5



Fig. 8



Fig. 7



Fig 1



Fig 2

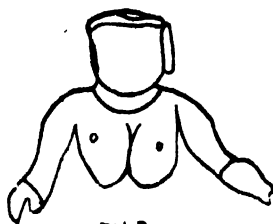


Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6



Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig



Fig 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

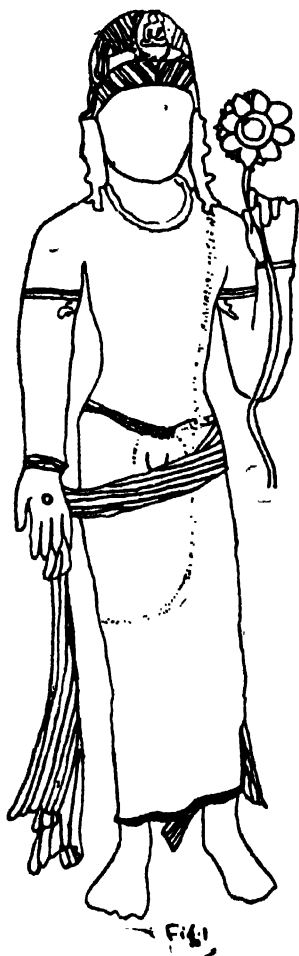


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

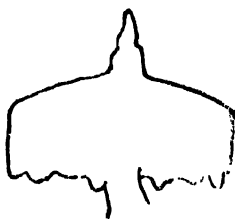


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

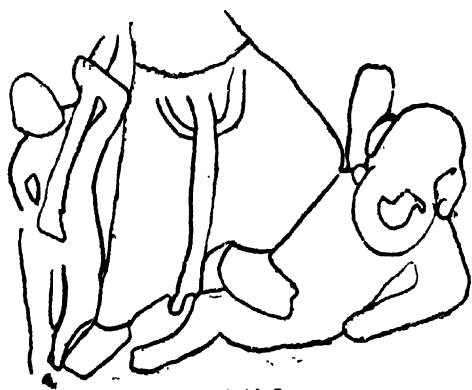


Fig. 2

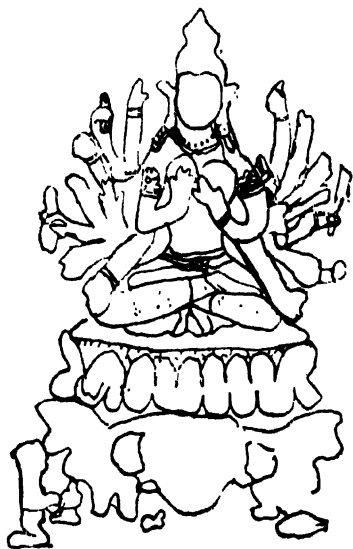
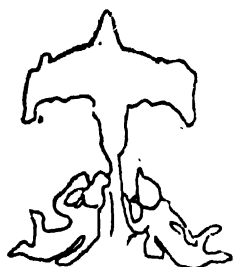


Fig. 1

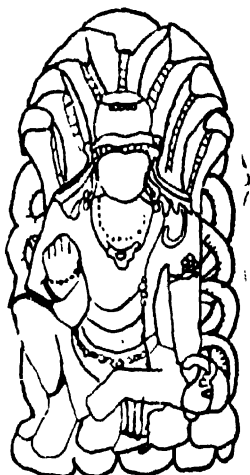


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

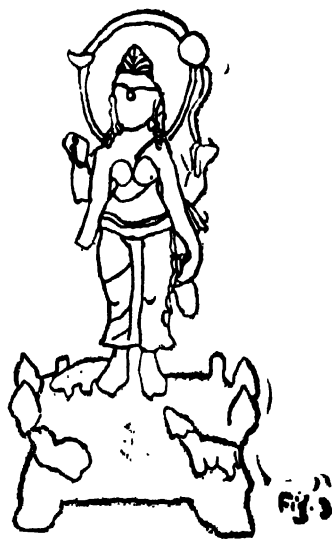


Fig. 3

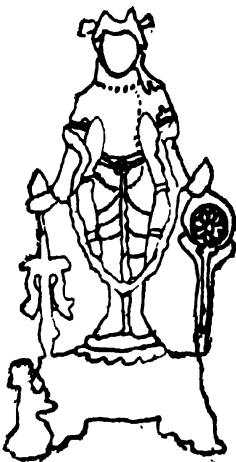
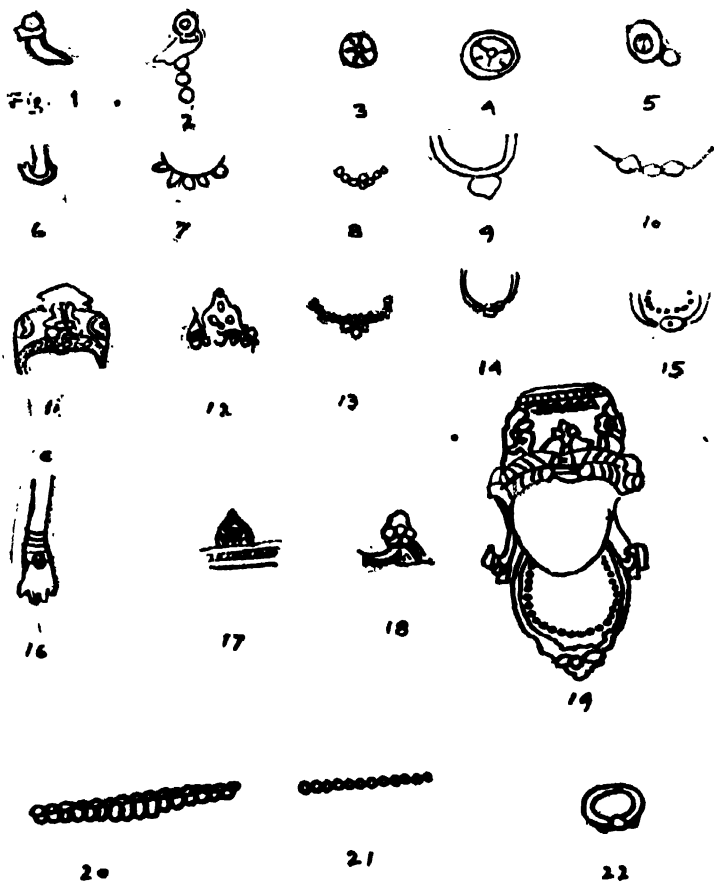


Fig. 4





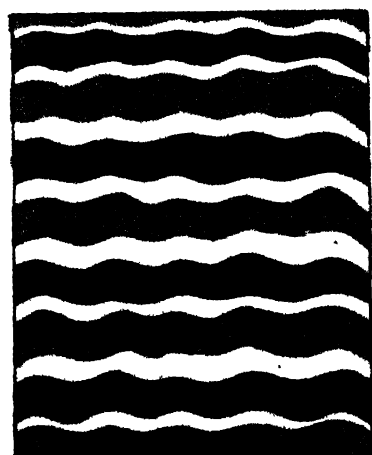
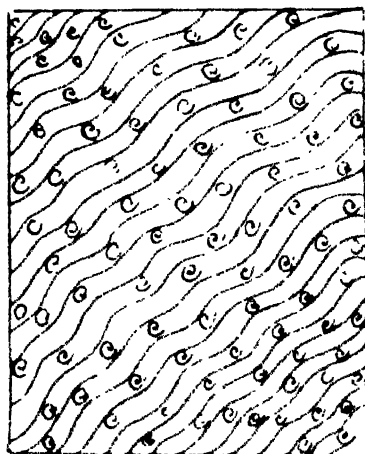


Fig 2

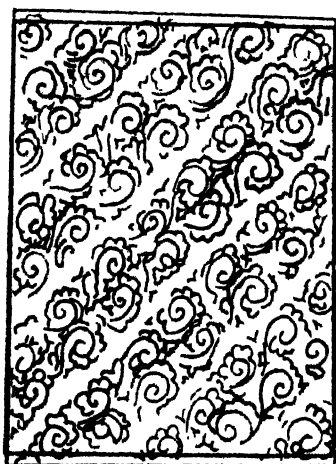


Fig. 1

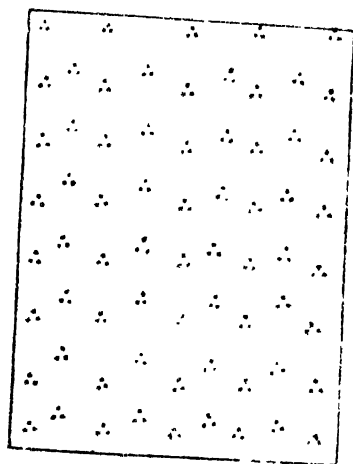


Fig. 2

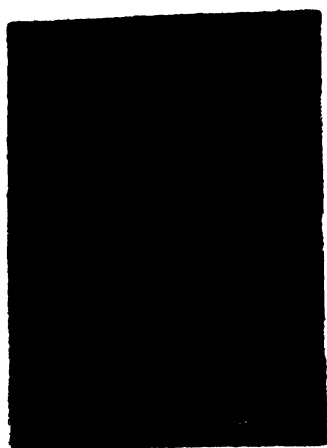


Fig 1

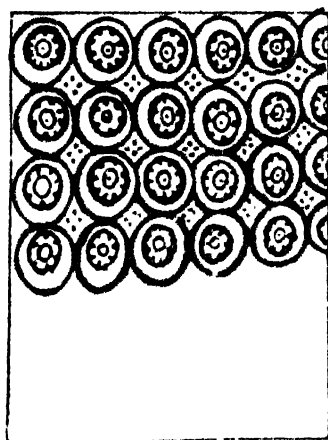


Fig 2

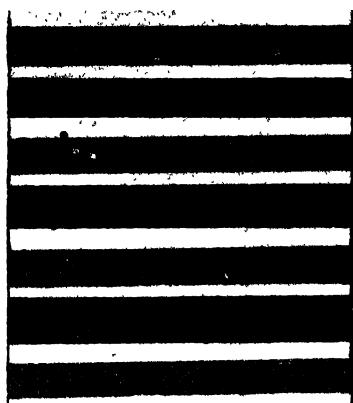


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

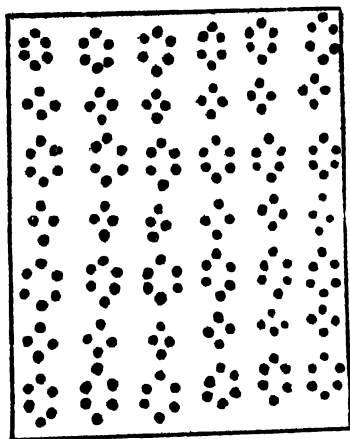


Fig. 1

