

Vasukalpa: a Court-poet of Kamboja-dynasty King of Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala. (c. 960 A.D.)

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Introduction

In an article in JBORS, Vol XXI (1935), at p.42, no.178 Rahul Sankrityayan reported about a Sanskrit anthology in palm-leaf codex at Ngor monastery at central Tibet complete in 41 foliosⁱ in a script what he termed as Māgadhi. This was bound with some three other hard philosophical/ritualistic Buddhist titlesⁱⁱ,

(a) *vādanyāya* of *Dharmakīrti*

(b) *prātimokṣa-paranikāyasya-vinayakṣudrakam*

(c) *vāhya(alien)-guhyasamāja-tantra sahita(with) vādanyāya*

The anthology was *Subhāṣitaratna-koṣa* (Srk) compiled by **Vidyākara**. The collection had a colophon, *Paṇḍita Bhīmārjuna-somasya*. The calligraphy, Kosambi reports, seems not later than 1150 (proto-Bengali). Later on G. Tucci, who visited the monastery after Sankrityayan also reported to this extentⁱⁱⁱ. D D Kosambi, while editing the text, commented,

“...such a diverse collection could not possibly have been arranged in one bundle by any librarian (at Tibet)...(was) received as a unit from a single distant source. The presumption is strong that all four once formed part of *Paṇḍita Bhīmārjuna-somasya*’s collection (at Jagaddala?) and reached Tibet in one package during the great exodus following the Muslim conquest of Bihar.”

Kosambi arranged for a copy of this title from Tibet of the 1950’s (from India), apparently utilizing a non-academic channel in whole of Foreign Department in Govt. of India, and used his family inheritance in deep knowledge of classical Sanskrit, privileged as a Konkani Brahmin placed in academic circle of orthodox Pune, to decipher the texts, identify the poets, as well as discoursing some lengthy comments on his perceived decadence of Brahmanical culture in the late period of early medieval native India. With his student V V Gokhale, he edited the anthology, and got it published in Harvard Oriental Series.

While identifying the verses and their authors, he took the help of another anthology from Eastern India, that of *Sadūktikarṇāmṛta* (Skm) compiled by **Śrīdharadāsa** son of **Vaṭudāsa**, a great official *mahā-sāmanta-chūdāmaṇi* of King **Lakṣmaṇasena**, last Hindu king of Gauḍa. This was compiled by 1206. Kosambi^{iv} comments,

“Śrīdharadāsa tried much harder than Vidyākara to name the author of every stanza, not always correctly...he must have a different library at his disposal”.

It has been shown that this Srk. had an incomplete copy at Nepal Durbar Library, where the title and colophon both were missing, and it was noticed by H P Śāstrī, tentatively under the fictitious heading ‘Kavivacanasamuccaya’. Later on F W Thomas^v edited this text for Asiatic Society of Bengal with many identifications of poems and poets with critical observation, under the heading ‘Kavīndra-vacanasamuccaya’. This title is from the first line of the compilation available: *nānā-kavīndra-vacanāni-manoharāni*.

Among the poets, Kosambi placed **Vasukalpa** (apparently under many variants, **Vasukalpadatta**, **Kalpadatta**, **Vasuka**, **Kalpavasu**) at a court of one **Kāamboja** king, which was in a hostile military relation with king of **Kaliṅga-maṇḍala**. Aufrecht identified him as a poet later than **Yogeśvara**, identified by Kosambi belonging to the era of Dharmapāla, (Thomas [1912], p.77) and the poet mentions **Rājaśekhara** (active around ~900 AD). So, **Vasukalpa** must belong to a period later than 920s. Now only **Kāamboja** kings possible in a hostile relation with **Kaliṅga** during 10th century were those who were known from Irdā copper-plate charter given by one Nayapāla, third in the line, second in generation of kings, after **Rājyapāla** and his son **Nārāyaṇapāla** reigning from the capital **Priyaṅgu** at **Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala**, a territory around south-western part of West Midnapore in West Bengal and part of Balasore in Orissa. So the poet is likely to belong to this court, but under which of the kings, cannot be said.

Kosambi also pointed to another poet, **Mahodadhi**^{vi}, who composed a panegyric for one **Rājyapāla**, the king, homonymous with one of contemporary Pāla king of **Gauḍa**, as well as the forerunner of **Kamboja**-kula kings **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala**. We also take him under consideration as a possible court poet here, at **Priyaṅgu**.

Some verses of the collection were translated by Daniels H H Ingalls, who was in contact with this venture of editing for four years and provided a preface (p. ix) to the publication. The translations also were published in HOS. No 44, 1965, in some cases with insightful notes. We may be attentive to his notes also.

We accumulated the data hereafter for the perusal of the readers, with Kosambi’s relevant comments. Available translations are given, without venturing fresh ones.

The Data:

Following are our selections from

1. *Subhāṣita-ratnakośa*, comp. by **Vidyākara** at Jaggaddala-Mahāvihāra, c.1120 A D. (Ed. by D D Kosambi & V. V Gokhale, Harvard Oriental Series, no.42, 1957)
2. English Version from *An anthology of Sanskrit Court-poetry*, ‘*Subhāṣita-ratnakośa*’, trans. Daniells H H Ingalls, Harvard Oriental Series, no. 44, 1965. [Unless stated otherwise]

3. *Sadūktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, ed. by S C Banerji, Firma K L M, Calcutta, 1965)

Kāamboja by Vasukalpa from *Subhāṣita-ratna-kośa* compiled by Vidyākara

I

No. 1016

*Tvaṃ Kāamboja virājase bhuvī bhavat.tāto divi bhrājate
tat.tātastu Vibhūṣaṇaḥ sa kim.api Brahmaukasi dyotate/
yuṣmābhis.tribhir.ebhir.arpita tanus.tat-kīrtir.ujjṛimbhiṇī
māṇikyā-stavakā-traya praṇayiṇīm hārasya dhatte śriyam//
---Vasukalpasya*

[Transl: “You **Kāamboja**, shine upon this earth, your father shines in the heaven and his father is an ornament that shines even in the Brahmā’s world. Your blossoming fame incarnate in these three forms exhibits the beauty of a necklace strung with three sets of gems.][Note: **Vibhūṣaṇaḥ**=ornament, somehow (*kimapi*) shines although so far removed..(There is a) possibility that **Vibhūṣaṇaḥ** was part of the name or title of king’s grandfather]

II

No. 1423

*Karṣadbhiḥ sichayāñchalān.atirasāt kurvadbhir.āliṅganam
grihṇānaiḥ kacham.ālikhadbhir.adharam vidrāvayadbhiḥ kuchau/
pratyakṣe.'pi **Kaliṅga-maṇḍala**-pater.antaḥpurāṇām.aho
dhik.kaṣṭam viṭapair-viṭair.iva kim nāma n.ācheṣṭitam//
---Vasukalpasya*

[Transl: They catch his women’s skirts, embrace them tight, seize them by the hair and wound their lips, scratch their breasts even until they bleed and this before the face of the monarch of **Kaliṅga-maṇḍala**; for now in his defeat the forest trees play all the tricks of leeches with his wives.]

III

No. 1431

*Bhīme prasthānabhāji sphurad.asi-jalad.āpahnuta.dveṣi-vahnau
grihṇīt.āhnāya sarve bhuvī bhuvana-bhujaś.chāmaram vā diśo vā/
naivam ch.edvas.tadānīm pradhana.dhṛita.dhanur.muktar.āvarṇavidham grīdhrā
mūrdhānām.ūrdhvam nabhasi rabhasino lāghaven.oddharanti//*

---Vasukalpasya

[Transl: “When the terrible King **Bhīma** marches forth, the cloud of his flashing sword quenching his foeman’s fire, ye king of all earth must take forthwith to servitude or to the four directions; if not, the vultures will be swift to seize your heads pierced by the arrows from the bow he holds in battle and lift them lightly to the heaven.”]

IV

No. 1444

*Tat-kalpadruma-puṣpa saṁstari-rajās.tat-kāmadhenoh payas
taṁ cha Tryambaka-netra-dagdha-vapuṣaḥ puṣpāyudhasy.ānalām/
padmāyāḥ śvasit.ānil.āni cha śarat-kālasya tach.cha sphuṭam
vyomādāya vinirmīto.'si vidhinā **Kāmbōja** tubhyaṁ namaḥ//
---Vasukalpasya*

[Transl: “God took the pollen of wishing trees, milk from cow who grants desire, the fire of Love, whom Śiva’s eye consumed and breath from the Lotus Goddess. For final element he added air, the crystal air of autumn; and with these five created him all praise: Your majesty, **Kāmbōja**.]

V

No. 1428

*ambhaḥ kardamatāmupaiti sahasā paṅka-dravaḥ pāṁśutām
pāṁśur.vāraṇa-karṇatāla-pavanair.dik-prānta-nihāratām/
nimnatvaṁ girayaḥ samaṁ viśamatām śūṇyam janasthānakam^{vii}
niryāte tvayi **Rājyapāla** bhavati tyakta-svabhāvam jagat//
---Mahodadheḥ*

[Water turns to mud and mud turns into dust; the dusts, whipped up by flapping of the ears of elephants, becomes a mist on the horizon. Mountains bow down low and plains are turned into hills; cities grow deserted. Oh **Rājyapāla**, protector of the kingdom, when you march forth earth turns against her nature.]

(Also, in *Sadūktikarṇāmṛita*, 3.32.5)

VI

No.1576

*krudhyad-gandha-karīndra-danta-muṣala-preṅkhola-dīpt.ānala-
jvālā-pātita-kumbha-mauktika-phala-vyutpanna-lājāñjalau |
hasten.āsi-mayūkha-darbhalatikā-baddhena yuddh.otsavair.
rājñā yena sa-līlam Utkala-pater.Lakṣmīḥ punarbhūḥ kṛitā ||*

---vasukalpasya

From *Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛita* of Śrī-Dharadāsa

VII

S.5.17.5

[5th Uchchāvacha-pravāha-vīchayah, 17th Deśa bīchi (5th stanza)]

Krīḍat-kinnara-kāminī-vihasita-jyotsn.āvalakṣmī-kṛitāḥ
*kastūrī-mada-durdin.ārdra-surabhiḥ **Pragjyotiṣīyā** bhuvah/*
nīhāra-sthala-saṁchariṣṇu--chamarī-lāṅgula-saṁmārjanī-
hel.onmṛiṣṭana-meru-puṣpa-rajaso draṣṭum samīhāmahe//
---Vasukalpasya

VIII

S.3.19.1

[3rd Chāṭu-pravāha-vīchayah 19th Vikramaḥ (1st stanza)]

*Deve nirbhara **Sāhasaika**-rasike niḥśaṅkavīre.dhunā*
niḥ.sīma-prasare nir.aṅkuśa-matau jñāte manān.nirdaye/
niḥ.saṁpatti nir.āyudham nir.aśanam nir.bhūmi niḥ.sainikam
nis.tejaś.cha nir.āśrayam cha nikhilam tad.rājakam vartate//
---Vasukalpasya

IX

S.3.26.1

[3rd Chāṭu-pravāha-vīchayah, 26th Naukā (1st stanza)]

Bhṛiṅgair.nāvika-saṁnibhaiḥ parigatam śuddhānta-vāma-bhrūvām
karṇa-bhraṣṭam.avekṣya ketaka-dalam vāpī-jale santarat/
***Śrīmat-Sāhasamalla**-vīra bhavato nau-sārtham.antaḥ-smara*
*nnut.trast.odya punaḥ karoti salila-krīḍām **Gauḍ.ādhipaḥ**//*
---Vasukalpasya

X

S.3.36.1 (same as no. 1381 of *Subhāṣita-ratna-kośa*)

[3rd Chāṭu-pravāha-vīchayah, 36th Aśvadhuli (1st stanza)]

*Yātrā nehasi yasya dig-vijayinah **Kāmboja**-vāhāvālī-
viñkhollekha-visarpiṇi kṣiti-rajahpure viyach.chumbati/
bhānor.vājibhir.aṅga-karṣaṇa-ras.ānandaḥ samāsādito
labdhaḥ kim cha nabhastal.āmaradhunī.paṅker.uhair.anvayaḥ//
---Vasukalpasya*

[Transl: “Oh King **Kāmboja**, when your victorious army marches forth, from the flood of dust raised by the hoofs of Afghan steeds and spreading the to kiss the sky the horses of the sun seem decked with rouge and the lotuses that grow in heavens’ stream anticipate the closing of their sunset sleep.”]

3. Comments by D. D. Kosambi

/p.xcvi./

“**Vasukalpa, Vasukalpadatta (Kalpadatta, Vasuka, Kalpavasu):**

(He was) court-poet of king **Kāmboja** of the junior Pāla line. The identification rests upon praise of **Kāmboja** by **Vasukalpa** in our stanzas 1016, 1444 where there is no doubt at all that a king and not a country **Kāmboja** is being flattered. In S 5.17.5^a praises specially beautiful land of Assam (**Prāgjyotiṣa**).

The Dinājpur pillar inscription^b, consisting a single verse gives the first reference to the king:

*Durvvār.āri varūthinī pramathane dāne cha vidyādharaiḥ
sānandaṁ divi yasya mārggaṇa-guṇa-grāmagraho.gīyate/
Kāmboj.ānvayajena **Gauḍa**-patina ten.endu.mauler.ayaṁ
prāsādo niramāyi **Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣeṇa** bhūbhūṣṇāḥ//^{viii}*

[*Transl. by R L Mitra:*”By him, whose ability in subduing the forces of his irresistible enemies, and liberality in appreciating the merit of his suitors, are sung by the Vidyādharas in celestial spheres, by that sovereign of Gauḍa, by him who is descendant from Kambojan line, this temple, the beauty of the earth, was erected for the Selene-cephalous (the Shiva) in the year 888”.]^{ix}

This says that a king of Gauḍa (usual title of Pāla Kings), descended from the Kāmboja line built a temple of Śiva. The script seems to be of 10th century. It may be tempting /p. xcvi./ to take *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣa* as denoting a no.888, which give A.D. 966, But neither the translation nor the Śaka era at that period seem justified.

“We may recall **Abhinanda**’s patron is named in the same style, and take *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣa* as prince’s family name^x.

(Irda copper-plate)^c of which the sixth verse reads:

Kamboja-vaṅśa-tilakaḥ sthira-vikrama-śrīr.aśrānta-dāna-mahimā-mahita-prabhāvaḥ/

kṣmāpāla-maulichaya-chumbita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ pṛithvipatiḥ Pṛithur.abhūd.iha Rājyapālah/6

[*Transl. by N G Majumdar*: “Here flourished **Rājyapāla**, an ornament of the **Kamboja** family, (who was) the very Prithu, the lord of the earth. He (possessed) steadfast prowess and fortune, his majesty was heightened by the glory attained in ceaseless donation, and his foot-stool was kissed by the multitude of the heads of kings.”^{xi}

“The **Rājyapāla** here cannot be written off as a figure of speech, for the genealogy is given, and agrees with unquestioned Pāla records including plates of **Rājyapāla** himself (not **Abhinanda**’s patron, but of a junior branch that succeeded **Devapāla**); even the queen **Bhāgyadevī** is the same for this **Rājyapāla** as for the Pālas. Thus the reference to a **Kamboja** line is to distinguish the king from members of the direct line which died out or was deposed quietly. The only question is whether **Kamboja** of Dinajpur pillar is **Rājyapāla** himself (as I incline to believe) or his father. **Vasukalpa** may be placed about the middle of 10th century, at the Pāla court^{xii}.

“The poet, like his patron, is Buddhist-Śaiva^{xiii}, with greater emphasis upon Buddha. A high proportion of his stanzas consist of panegyrics. No. 1423^a mentions the defeat of a **Kaliṅga** prince, S.3.19.1^a may praise **Sāhasa**. S.3.26.1^a praises the naval might of **Sāhasamalla** which so upsets a **Gauḍa** King that he could not enjoy water sports. Whether **Bhīma** of No. 1431^a is a name or adjective is not clear. S.3.36.1^a refers to **Kāmbuja** horses, but may be a pun on the king’s name also.”

[Refs:

- a. Corresponding stanzas are cited in Nos. I-X above.
- b. JASB N.S. VII, 1911, p. 619; R D Banerjee, *Pālas of Bengal*, MASB, no V, 1915, pp. 63, 68-69.
- c. EI, XXII, pp. 150-159; EI, XXIV, pp.43ff; IA, XV, pp. 108ff; *History of Bengal I*, Dacca, pp.190-1.]

Endnotes

ⁱ Kosambi & Gokhale (ed) [1957] Srk, p.xvi

ⁱⁱ ibid, p. xviii

ⁱⁱⁱ ibid, p. xviii

^{iv} ibid, p.xxi.

Kosambi and Gokhale were handicapped by the absence of a printed edition of the this title, text critical or otherwise, in his time. An initiation was done by Ramavatar Sharma, BI (1912, 1921), but only 2 fascicles were printed. Two manuscripts were reported, one from Shantipore by R L Mitra, *Notices*, no. 1180, the other from Serampore College. Thomas [1912], p. 12. <It is somewhat widely, but imperfectly, known from an article by Aufrecht (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis indischer Dichte*, Z. D. M. G. xxxvi, 361-383, 509-59), who had made a complete copy for himself, with collation of both MSS., and had furnished with full index of author's names and of their verses, also with a list of *pratikas*, as well as numerous references. Apparently Aufrecht did not consider his MS. ripe for publication, and it passed with rest of his collectanea into the possession of India Office Library, where it appears as Nos. 57-58, in the Aufrecht Collection (see, "*The Aufrecht Collection*" in J.R.A.S. 1908, 1029-63.)> Aufrecht's numbering, as it appears in Thomas [1912] is linear, whereas Ramavatar's is sectionwise.

We used the edited version of Banerji [1965].

a. H P Śāstrī [1901] *Report on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts*, 1895-1900, Calcutta.

b. H P Śāstrī [1934] *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol VII, no.5436 (4766), p.300.

^v F W Thomas [1912] (Ed. Introduction and notes), '*Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*', A Sanskrit Anthology of Verses, Bibliotheca Indica, N S No. 1309.

^{vi} Kosambi & Gokhale (ed) [1957] Srk. p. xciv.

^{vii} Banerji reads 'janasthānatām' in his edition of *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*.

^{viii} This Dinājpur pillar inscription contains an unusually rare expression for 'army' in *varūthinī*, a continuation of Vedic word. No doubt, the children in their first course of Sanskrit at his Guru's feet would memorise 'Amarakośa' and remember in 2nd kāṇḍa, kṣatriya varga, 79:

dhvajinī vāhinī senā pṛitan.ānīkinī chamūḥ/
varūthinī balaṁ sainyaṁ cakram c.ānīkam astriyām//

Still, the word is rarely used. It is interesting to find that this very word is used by **Vasukalpa** in one of his panegyrics for his patron:

Śeṣaṁ kleśayituṁ diśaḥ sthagayituṁ peṣtuṁ dharitṛi-bhṛitaḥ
sindhūn dhūlibhareṇa kardamayituṁ tair.eva roddhuṁ nabhaḥ |
nāsire cha muhurmuhūś.chala chal.etyālāpa-kolāhalān

kartuṁ nātha *varūthin*.īyam.avanīm jetuṁ punas.tvadbhujau || (no. 1426)

(*Transl.*"Able to weary Śeṣa[nāga], hide the four directions, crush mountains and with their dust fill up the streams till they besiege high heaven; able to cause the outcry, 'run' and 'run' again along the battle-line: your army, lord, is able to do this; but only your two arms can win the world.")

varūthinī means armoured persons, persons protected by defensive shield; it is related to *varūtha*, grouped in Amarakośa with *ratha-gupti*. (same,58)

^{ix} see Additional 1

^xSee Additional 2

^{xi} See Additional 3

^{xii} There is confusion in the statement. It may not be clear now what the basis of confusion was. For Kosambi, this much can be said that such confusion was widespread among the scholars of that time, when scanty data available. The problem was (a) whether *Kamboja-kula-tilaka* Rājyapāla of Irda-plate, having wife **Bhāgyadevī** was same or not as **Rājyapāla** of *Pāla* kings of **Gauḍa**, having wife **Bhāgyadevī** (b) whether *Kambojānvaya Gauḍapati* was same as *Kamboja-kula-tilaka* Rājyapāla of Irda-plate, only having different epithets. Arguments and opinions for and against had been tracked by R C Majumdar, in his HBD, p.190-1, without committing to an opinion himself. N G Majumdar, who in his reading of Irda plate, denied such possibility, changed his opinion in *Modern Review*, Sept, 1937, p. 270. Ghosh claimed the identity; of all persons even D C Sircar accepted the identity. [JIH, Vol xv, p. 270.] Only H C Ray rejected the idea. [DHNI,

p.309]. However, proposal for identity of *Kamboja-kula-tilaka* Rājyapāla with that of Gauḍapati of Dinājpur pillar inscription is Kosambi's own.

^{xiii} Such uses of Buddhist-Śaiva, or Buddhist-Vaiṣṇava etc. are plenty in his learned introduction. Whether these were understood as syncretism, or incompetence of the practitioner of religious ideas to understand their own doctrines in a way as our modern day scholars would like them to understand, is not much clear. Interested readers may go through his thesis.

[Additional 1] The translation was taken from the first notice of the artefact by E. V. Westmacott, a colonial officer in the service of the Govt. of Bengal Presidency, where he inserted the translation of 'Babu Rajendralal Mitra'. [*Correspondance, Notes and queries* p.127, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol I, 1872.] He declared that "The Babu afterword told me that the date 888 must refer to either Samvat or the Shaka era, ...either A.D.833 or 967, 967 most probably, judging from the style of writing'. The Sahib officer then conjectured, "I think... original temple of Shiva..not in Dinajpur, but in Gauda, the capital of its founder.. brought by Mohammedan to Bannagar, forty-fifty miles north-east of Gauda." In the note he described, "The pillar in question has eight elephants carved upon it, two on each face, crouching each under a tiger, or some similar animal, which is rampant upon it." If such idolatric expression in stone had been carried with care to a distance of 50-60 miles away by the Mohammedans of those days from Gauḍa to Bannagar, that would have been the first and only time in the history of sub-continent that such activity were undertaken. We better dismiss the Sahib's bombastic imaginative extrapolation. The pillar was found in jungle at Bannagar/Bangarh, and was carried by the zamindar to his Dinajpur residence. A better possibility is that the temple with the pillar of mid-tenth century was already in a ruinous condition and taken to forest cover, when Bannagar, actually Devakot, became a military post of the Muslims in 1205, its remains laid there for six centuries more, without being smashed to dust.

Mitra's explanation of year 888, rests on *Kuñjara* as 8, there being eight elephants of quarter, he explained *ghaṭā* as three-fold or plural. R. G. Bhandarkar in a note to the above (p.128) protested such explanation, and asked for an authority of *ghaṭā* as three-fold. He also had shown that *varṣeṇa* is instrumental; this means it indicates the period in doing a thing, which is 888 years! According to Pāṇ. 2.3.6 it should have been locative. He rather denied any chronogram in the expression and suggested the meaning 'he who pours to the array of elephants'. Mitra's reply (p. 195-6) and Bhandarkar's further note remained inconclusive. In an article, '*Dinājpurer prastar-stambha-lipi*' published in a Bengali monthly from Dacca, *Bāndhab* [Vol.4,1288 B.S./1881], edited by *Kālīprasanna Ghosh*, someone under the pseudonym *Śrīh*, criticised the translation to show that *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣa* cannot be a chronogram, if at all, it would mean $3 \times 8 = 24$, and not 888. In this he supported Bhandarkar.

[Additional 2] **Abhinanda's** patron was Prince **Hāravarṣa**, sometimes equated with Devapāla, or his brother, as Kosambi thought, with one **Rājyapala**. These *varṣa*- ending names were current and popular among the contemporary **Raṣṭrakūta** ruling families. It may be assumed that such names became popular after the princesses of Raṣṭrakūta royal lineages were coming as brides among the **Gauḍa** households. Still it would be too far to assume that '*Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣa* as prince's family name. The two persons are different, which Kosambi could not realise. The Dinajpur pillar's King might well be *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣa* himself, having this as personal name. *Kuñjara-ghaṭā* i.e. 'collection or assembly of Elephants' can very well be understood as cloud, or **Megha** or its synonym. Hemachandrāchārya identifies 17 such synonyms. The actual name might have been anything like **Meghavarṣa**, **Jīmūta**-, **Jalada**- etc.

[Additional 3] This translation is taken from Majumdar's '*Irda Copper plate of the Kamboja king Nayapaladeva*', p. 150ff. EI, Vol. XXII (1933-34), 1938. According to the inscription, **Nayapāladeva** who was gifting a village of **Bṛihat-Chattivannā** within **Daṇḍabhukti mandala** of the **Varddhamāna bhukti** in his 13th year was the third King in the line after his father **Rājyapala** of **Kamboja** clan, and his brother **Nārāyaṇapāla** had reigned in succession. Queen of **Rājyapāla** was **Bhāgyadevi**. The palaeography of the inscription placed it in the latter part of the 10th century A.D. The name of this King with his wife has a striking similarity with that of **Rājyapāla** of Imperial **Pāla** of **Gauḍa**, his wife too was named **Bhāgyadevi**;

their reign-periods too were nearly contemporary. But the **Pālas** were of known as belonging to ‘*Mihirasya kula*’ according to inscr of **Vaidyadeva**, *Rāmācharita* of *Sandhyākaranandin* assigns them ‘*Samudrakula*’, whatever might have been its meaning, it was anything other than **Kamboja**-kula. Other king belonging to the **Kamboja** clan had a name or epithet *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varṣa* had built a temple for Lord Śiva at Bangarh/**Devakoṭa**, evident from Dinājpur Pillar inscription, mentioned above. Palaeography suggests nearness in period of all these.

[Additional 4][A draft of “our comments on the Kamboja-problem pertaining to Bengal”]

1. The relation between the Pāla-s of Kamboja lineage at Daṇḍabhukti vis-à-vis the Imperial Pāla-s of Gauḍa and at least one offshoot of Kamboja king of Gauḍa (*Kuñjaraḡhaṭāvarṣa*) has been discussed last time some 30 years ago by D C Sircar (DCS). As no new data is forthcoming, hardly anything dramatic can be added to his assertions, except re-interpreting existing data squeezed to yield something more.
2. [We take genealogical table of the Imperial Pālas of Gauḍa according to DCS as below, with necessary corrections by D K Ganguly next.

Scheme of D C Sircar:

- A. Dharmapāla(775-810)> Devapāla(810-47)> [Rājyapāla]>Surapāla I(847-60)
- B. (Dharmapāla)[Vākapāla>Jayapāla>]Vigrahapāla I(860-61)>Nārāyaṇapāla(861-917)> Rājyapāla(917-52)=Bhāgyadevī>Gopāla II(952-72)>Vigrahapāla II(972-77)> Mahipāla I(977-1027)>Nayapāla (1027-43) etc(Persons in square bracket didn’t rule)]

3. DCS considered Rājyapāla, the first Kāmboja of Daṇḍabhukti as a feudal lord (or, in his terminology, sub-ordinate ruler) planted by the Imperial Pālas of Gauḍa in a nearly similar line as Samudravarman of Kāmarūpa, a *pratyanta-nṛipati* (border king) who was supposed to become obedient to the Gupta-s during Samudragupta (~350 AD), and he assigned Kamboja Rajyapala’s period at ~980 AD. DCS considered Rājyapāla of Gauḍa ruled during (~920-952). Here DCS is now superseded by new data; he considered Nārāyaṇapāla, father of Rājyapāla of Gauḍa, ruled directly after Śūrapāla of Dharma-Deva line, and Pāla territory was consumed by Mahendrapāla (885-908) of Pratihāra dynasty, North-Western adversary of the Pālas during Nārāyaṇa’s reign. Nowadays it has been shown that Gauḍa had a Mahendrapāla of its own, earlier to the Pratihāra one & had another Gopāla (II) in Dharma’s line, before Nārāyaṇapāla. To accommodate them, it is necessary to advance the rule of Rājyapāla by more than a decade. So, Rājyapāla cannot be placed earlier than ~930 AD, and he could not rule much beyond ~965 AD. A plausible compromise may be found in D K Gangopadhyay’s Intro to DCS’s *Pāla-Sena yuger Baṃshānucarit* etc 2nd ed, 2009, as (c932-964 AD).

4. Scheme of D K Ganguly:

- A. Dharmapāla(774-806)> Devapāla(806-45)>[Rājyapāla]>Mahendrapāla(845-60)+Surapāla I(860-72)>Gopāl II(872-77)
- B. (Dharmapāla)[Vākapāla>Jayapāla>]Vigrahapāla I(877-78)>Nārāyaṇapāla(878-932)> Rājyapāla(932-64)=Bhāgyadevī>Gopāla III(964-76)>Vigrahapāla II(976-77)>Mahipāla I(977-1027) >Nayapāla (1027-43) etc (Persons in square bracket didn’t rule)

5. Moreover, DCS’s argument regarding the start of Kāmboja Rājyapāla seems flawed; he placed it on 980 AD, which on all account is certainly within the period of Mahipāla I (c977-1027), 3rd generation after Rājyapāla —(this is reasonably fixed). If Kāmboja Rājyapāla is to be related to the said Gauḍa monarchs in terms of political expediency, why should he assume a name of one who had long expired; the name should have been that of Mahipāla (I). We think DCS was influenced by the name of Nayapāla of Kamboja lineage at Daṇḍabhukti as a contemporary of his namesake in the Gauḍa monarchy of (1027- c.1045). This compulsion has forced him to discount another name, Dharmapāla (as a continuation of Nayapāla, to be placed earlier to this Dharmapāla) from the dynastic list of the Kāmbojas of Daṇḍabhukti.
6. Dharmapāla was recorded as King of Daṇḍabhukti, he was routed by Rājendra Chola’s army in its North-Eastern campaign during ~1021-2 AD. We think, after this Kāmboja dynasty here was gone,

and polity here had been reorganized on behalf of the Gauḍa administration in rather flimsy way. The route remained vulnerable militarily; Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva/ Karṇa from central India might have made many inroads through this “Daṇḍa”/highway, shaking the Gauḍa-s further. Such a consideration would place Rājyapāla of Kāmboja as a junior contemporary of Rājyapāla of Gauḍa, say at ~950-960 AD. The former’s elder son Nārāyaṇa may not last long; junior son, Nayapāla’s 14-15th RY can be placed in the first decade of 11th cent.

7. Identity of the Kāmboja dynasty that ruled at Daṇḍabhukti and the other at Gauḍa, at a slightly earlier date, has been discussed. Their inter-relationship, as well as possible relation with the Pāla military aristocracy is also enquired into.

a) Most of the later inscriptions of Nārāyaṇapāla of Gauḍa (say from the second decade of 10th cent.) is confined in S Bihar area and nowhere in the Varendra/ North Bengal. On the other hand Gauḍa monarch of Kamboja lineage cannot be placed after Rājyapāla of Gauḍa, an inscription from North Bengal by one of his officers proved his possession over there. The inscription suggests that the officer was by then promoted twice in his post (the officer Yaśodāsa had been made *sachiva* from *mantrin*, then promoted to *tantrādhikārin*) suggesting that Rājyapāla’s recovery over there had happened quite early of his reign, we think it can hardly likely to be placed after ~940 AD.

b) In the same vein Rājyapāla recovered many domains including one trounced by the tribe named ‘Mlechchha’.

[*Mlechchhair.uchchhanna-kalpaiḥ parijana-vikalair.Aṅga-Kaliṅga-Vaṅgair-Oḍḍair.uḍḍīna-jīvair.apagata-kapaṭaiḥ Pāṇḍya-Karṇāta-Lāṭaiḥ/ Suhmaiḥ s.opapradānair.asi-bhaya-chakitair.Ggurjjara-Kṛita-Chīnair.*]

It has been suggested that by ‘Mlechchha’ the poet might have meant the Arab Muslims of contemporary Sind area, hence it should be poetic verbose at best.

c) Interestingly, there was another Pāla-line of Kings in contemporary Kāmarūpa (whom unfortunately local historians there consider to have had started at a period of first decade of 11th cent, ignoring all synchronism with the Gauḍa & Vaṅga kings, whose dates are reasonably established). That dynasty at Kāmarūpa claimed that they replaced a Mlechchha dynasty to revive the Bhauma lineage of Naraka-Bhagadatta.

d) Such a claim by Kāmarūpa kings was simply ignored outside their own domain. One of their kings, Indrapāla (~960-990) boasted of win over a Vaṅga king Kalyāṇachandra (975-1000) of Chandra dynasty, whereas Kalyāṇa’s inscription claimed of defeating ‘Mlechchha-s of Lauhitya-bank’. Possibly Sylhet area was the bone of contention, and Kalyāṇa succeeded in retaining it. This shows that the Pālas of Kāmarūpa could well be the required ‘Mlechchha’ of Rājyapāla of Gauḍa. The phrase, ‘*Mlechchhair.uchchhanna-kalpaiḥ parijana-vikalair*’ could very well suggest that the Mlechchha army from Kāmarūpa was doing havoc over Kamboja’s occupation in Northern Bengal. **Chīna** might have a veiled reference to a Kamboja group from Tibet [settled during Devapala’s rule? after collapse of Tibetan Empire, c 942? naturalized by now?][See also, Sircar [1971²], fn (e)]

e) A Kāmarūpa king, Ratnapāla of Pāla lineage, was claimed to have defeated Rājyapāla of Gauḍa near the Ganges (the King’s own inscription ignored to put the feat in his inscriptions, it was his grandson at a much later day, when everybody was likely to forget the outcome, did it on his behalf). As Rājyapāla really recovered the territory for good, it appeared that Kāmarūpa king in fact trounced the then Kāmboja ruler of Gauḍa at an earlier date. The ousted ruler, or his other scions, surrendered before Rājyapāla, who now with the help of the Kambojas (and possibly also with the help of Śrichandra of Vaṅga) campaigned to drive out the ruler of Kāmarūpa-‘Mlechchha’ army, and wisely accepted the Kambojas into his array of military aristocracy. One result was the planting a Kamboja settlement as a border-guard at Daṇḍabhukti, against any military movement from Kaliṅga side, the other might have been positing this group against ‘Mlechchha’ inroad from ‘Lauhitya-bank’.

f) [It is said that there is a very interesting reference to Kāmboja settlements along with Tāmraliptakas as well as Prāgiyotiṣas in Brahmapurāṇa (BrP). By a common consensus the

present available edition of BrP is taken to be an upapurāṇa of Orissa-Kosala-Andhra origin, its different portion was added at different times. Corresponding part might have been added during 12-13th cent. But the references are unclear, we failed to locate it. See fn. (f)]

- g) DCS has also shown that Śrichandra of Vaṅga in his inscription of RY 5 (~930 AD) mentioned mysterious activities of Kambojas at Samataṭa (Comilla of SE British province of Bengal at present) just prior to his father Trailokyachandra's expedition over there. Śrichandra ruled for 50 years (925-975), his son Kalyāṇachandra (975-1000) too ruled for a mature 25 years. This necessitates that Trailokyachandra had died rather young and lived not after early middle stage of his life. So we can say his activities at Samatata could have been very well around ~920 AD, and Kamboja activity there cannot be placed much earlier. This can again happen if Kamboja rule is placed at Varendra and North Bengal immediately before this. So *Kambojānvayaja Kuñjaraghaṭāvarṣa* is to be found there at this very time. This is the time Nārāyaṇapāla's inscriptions drew a blank here.
- h) Moreover, we are forced to conclude that Kamboja revolt was planned, not by Kamboja themselves. There was a political aspirant group who allied with this armed clan to do the havoc on Pāla polity. Eastern domains, from whence apparently the Pāla dynasty evolved during the middle of 8th cent (as the Siyan Inscr. of Nayapāla apparently had shown regarding the activity of Gopāla I at Samataṭa, and possibly the designation of '*samudrakula*' for the dynasty by *Sandhyākaranandin* in *Rāmacharita*) was full of resources for the survival of Pāla empire, it is here the strike was enforced to choke the polity of vital supplies.[It appears that starting from Rājyapāla to the early years of Mahipāla, the imperial Pālas did try to recover the lost ground at this territory under the rubric of *pitrya rājya* unsuccessfully, ref. fn(g) by DCS] Hence all the activities at Northern Bengal can be put around ~ 920 AD to a few years earlier.
- i) Kāmboja Nayapāla remembered Rājyapāla, his father as the progenitor of the dynasty at Daṇḍabhukti. Vasukalpa's verses (as is cited in the anthology of our article) nowhere mention his patron's name: anyone of at least three, if not four (if we take Dharmapāla of Rājendra Chola fame in this line, which is almost certain) kings could be his patron. On the other hand poet Mahodadhi definitely mentioned Rājyapāla's name. Association of Elephant army, mud to dust in their march, might hint at Rājyapāla of Daṇḍabhukti (not that Rājyapāla of Gauḍa could not have Elephant army, still Orissa is more renowned for its elephants, and Elephant was a symbolic for location here). Selections from Vasukalpa left no such indication. Still he certainly mentions memorable associations for his patron's second and immediate ancestors (including *Bibhūṣana* in place of *Bhūbhūṣana* of Dinajpur inscription). His mentioning Bhīma (*forceful*) might be adjective-use. Most interesting is his mentioning with praise the land of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and one naval hero *Sāhasamalla* (in two verses at least) as an adversary of Gauḍa. Daṇḍabhukti being landlocked didn't need formidable navy. Apparently he remembered past events pertaining to his own as well as his patron's lineages. Sāhasamalla might have been the leader who kept Gauḍa monarchs at bay (confined to S Bihar) along the Gaṅgā and had lead the Kamboja army to Samataṭa, as said above. In that case the patron king would be Kāmboja Rājyapāla
- j) The king was in charge of a territory from where he was to keep Kaliṅga-maṇḍala at bay. Nothing is said about Utkala, strangely. First half of 10th cent. was a time when Bhauma-Karas of Utkala was being dissipated by the Somavanśīs of Dakṣina-Kosala. Their whereabouts remained unknown immediately after ~940 AD.

However, another verse of Vasukalpa (from Subhāṣita⁰):

krudhyad.gandha.karīndra.danta.muṣala.preṅkhola.diptānala.

jvālā.pātita.kumbha.mauktika.phala.vyutpanna.lājāñjalau/

hastenāsi.mayūkha.darbha.latikā.baddhena' yuddhotsavair.rājñā

yena sa.līlam.**Utkala**.pater.lakṣmīḥ punarbhūḥ kṛitā //(v. 1576) Vasukalpasya.

This poem clearly shows that Vasukalpa's patron was a kind of shelter (*Utkalapater.lakṣmīḥ punarbhūḥ kṛitā*) for *Utkala-pati*, king of **Utkala**. This is a situation immediately around ~940 AD when Bhauma-Karas were being eroded out by the powerful Somavanśis of S Kosala, as they were approaching from Kaliṅga-side where their power was at first consolidated.

[We take the starting of Bhauma-Kara era at AD 736+ as is taken by Orissa historians as well as B N Mukherjee, A M Shastri etc in deference to DCS, D K Ganguli, A Bhattacharya etc., who suggested AD 831+]

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2. Chanda, R P [1911] p. 619, in JPASB, Vol VII
3. Bhandarkar, D R List of Inscriptions, No. 1726.
4. Banerji, R D [1911] The Pālas of Bengal, pp. 68-69
5. Bandyopadhyay, R D, Bānlār Itihas², (in Bengali) 1330 BS, 237ff
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14. Majumdar, R C, [1971] *History of Ancient Bengal*,
15. Satpathy, S [1997], Daṇḍabhukti as known from Inscriptions, JAS, (Calcutta) Vol 39.1
16. Sircar, D C [1973] Epigraphic Discoveries of East Pakistan.
17. Sircar, D C [1971²] Studies in Geography etc, p 104n.

fn(e):

Tibet in Indian languages:

Earliest designations for the Politico-cultural unit now known as Tibet, in Indian languages of different parts of India, are not well charted. We do not know from when the typical Indian designation '*Bhoṭa*' for the country came in forth and continued to be used.

fn (f):

Singh writes, " The Brahmapurāṇa mentions the Kambojas with Pragjyotisas and Tamraliptakas. They are probably those who figure in the history of Bengal". (p.168, M R Singh, "*Geographical data in Early Puranas- A Critical Study*" Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1972)

He refers to v. 53.16 (p.208, n 537). His edition is that of Anandasrama series, this we couldn't consult (archive.org version is useless as the edition substitutes a large section of BrP by verses from Padmapurāṇa-Ādikhaṇḍa).

That by *Peter Schreiner and Renate Söhnen, Tübingen Purāṇa Project* or that of Venkateshwara Press does not contain the verse in situ. It seems that there is some mistake in verse no. we couldn't trace.

fn(g):

(ref. to articles by DCS)

1. Gopāl II Mandhuk (Comilla) image inscr. 1st year, IHQ, Vol XXVIII, p.55
2. Mahipāla Baghaura image inscr. 3rd yr, Ep. Ind.XVII, pp. 355ff.
3. Mahipāla Nārāyanpur Image Inscr. 4th year (?) IC, Vol, 121ff.
4. Mahipāla Bangarh plate, 9th yr
5. Sircar, D C [1940] IC, Vol VII, p. 411
6. Mahipāla Belava plate, 5th year, (*pitrya rājya*), Ep.Ind. XXIX, p.1
7. Kalyāṇachandra's Dacca copper inscr. of 24th yr. Ep. Disc.E P, 8, 51.

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