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No. 1.
NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF DEVAPĀLADEVA

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PREFACE.

More than ten years ago a resolution was passed by our Council of Management to publish certain original articles of Archaeological and Historical interest, as Monographs of the Society. The resolution, unfortunately, was not given effect to. Since then the Society's activities have considerably increased and the want of such a publication is now more keenly felt than before. Such monographs will be welcome to the members of the Society who get at present but little material return for the subscriptions they pay, and will also stimulate research by providing them with a means of expression. The Society is glad to revive the idea and place before the public their first Monograph—viz. "the Nālandā Copperplate of Devapāladeva," contributed by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the Curator.

The thanks of the Society are due to Kumar Hemendra Kumar Ray of Dighapatiya who has very generously provided funds for printing this Monograph. It is hoped that other scholars and donors will come forward with their contributions and enable the Society to continue this series.

Varendra Research Society
Rajshahi
The 28th March, 1926.

B. N. SARKAR.
Hony. Secretary.

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I have always been a great admirer of your work and the way you approach problems. Your dedication and hard work have always been an inspiration to me. You have proven that with determination and perseverance, one can achieve great things.

The main reason I am writing to you today is to express my concern about the current situation in our company. I believe that we are facing significant challenges that require immediate attention.

Firstly, I want to mention the issue of low morale among the employees. Many of them feel undervalued and unappreciated. This is not only affecting their productivity but also their overall well-being.

Secondly, I am concerned about our financial situation. Despite our efforts, we seem to be losing ground in the market. I think we need to reevaluate our strategies and come up with a new plan.

I am confident that with your expertise and guidance, we can overcome these challenges. I would be grateful if you could take the time to review the situation and provide your insights.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

[Your Name]
NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE OF DEVAPĀLĀDEVA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

This copper-plate was found in 1921 in course of excavations at Nālandā, modern Bargāon, a station on the Bakhhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway, by Mr. Hirānanda Śāstri, M.A. A tentative summary of the epigraph was first published in the Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, 1920-21, pp. 37-38 and in the Director-General's Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1920-21, p. 27. Subsequently a more detailed account of its contents was given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his Bāṅglār Itīhās, vol. I (Second edition), pp. 208-10. Recently Mr. Śāstri has edited it in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-27 and pl. As the record is one of exceptional importance I venture to re-edit it with my own comments, from the excellent facsimile accompanying Mr. Hirānanda Śāstri's article as well as a set of inked estampages kindly lent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstri, B.A., Epigraphist to the Government of India.

This is a single plate inscribed on both the sides. The inscribed surface measures 1'10" × 1'3½" on one side and 1'4" × 1'4" on the other. The writing consists of 66 lines. Of these as many as 42 lines are engraved on the obverse and 24 on the reverse. The letters are about ¾" in size. There is a highly ornamented seal soldered on the top of the plate, bearing the well-known Dharmachakra symbol which was the emblem of the Pāla and Chandra dynasties of Bengal. It represents a wheel placed between two gazelles, symbolising Buddha's first preaching at Sārnāth. Below this representation is the legend Śrī-Devapāladevasya, i.e., 'of Śrī-Devapāladeva,' written across the seal. The ornament thus attached to the plate
interposes between, and causes a gap in the middle of, the first five lines on the obverse and reverse sides of the plate, and projects about $6\frac{1}{4}$" above it.

The characters belong to a type of the Northern class of alphabets of about the ninth century A.D., as found in Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla, the Mungir copper-plate of Devapāla and the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Viradeva, which, by Kielhorn, is described as a Magadha variety of the Nagari alphabet. Properly speaking, however, it should be called the "Eastern variety of Nagari", because it was by no means confined to the territorial limits of Magadha. The inscription contains the final forms of $t$ and $m$. Final $t$ shows at least three varieties: an inverted one e.g. in skandhāvārāt, l. 24; the ordinary letter $t$ with the virāma stroke beneath it e.g. in digantavālāt, l. 23; and a slanting one without the top stroke e.g. in samvat, l. 42. The form of the final $n$ may be seen in abhūvan, l. 6. According to Mr. Śaśtri's reading final $m$ occurs in pitrināṁ in l. 9 and in a number of other places. But I have no doubt that in every case it has to be taken as an anusvāra sign consisting of a circular dot with a curve or hook below it (somewhat approaching the modern Bengali anusvāra) for final $m$. The inscription contains instances of initial $a$, ā, $i$, $u$, and $e$. The initial ā is formed by the addition of the ā-kāra stroke to the right of $a$ as in the Khālimpur plate. There is no hooked type of ā, which occurs in the Ghoshrāwā inscription, and also in some earlier inscriptions of Northern India. Initial $i$ presents at least two different forms: one consisting of a horizontal line above two circles, e.g. in īti, l. 7; and another in which there are two circles with a hook below them, e.g. in īti, l. 42. The form

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 243 ff; for facsimile see J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIII, part I, pl. III.
4 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 244.
of initial e is noteworthy, e. g. in eva, l. 20. It is not of the looped or closed type occurring for instance in l.43 of the Khālimpur copper-plate, but represents the proto-Bengali form as found, e. g. in the Deopārṇ inscription of Vijayasaṇa (see Bühler’s Tafel V, col. XVIII,7). With the Khālimpur copper-plate the present record bears a general agreement in alphabetic forms, although in regard to a few letters e. g. gh and th a difference is decidedly perceptible. In the former the letter gh has the middle vertical touching the top-stroke, while in the latter it has become shorter in length and does not reach the height of the other two verticals. The letter th in the present record shows, side by side with a form, e. g. in Prithu, l. 6, which has developed out of the type occurring in the Khālimpur copper-plate, another in which the upper half presents an opening to the left of the letter, e. g. in prathita, l. 20. Among conjuncts noteworthy is rth for which a separate sign is employed. The conjunct ry is not denoted by a separate sign as in the Ghoshrāwa inscription, but is indicated by the placing of the superscript r on the top of y. The sign of visarga, in which the lower circle often takes the shape of a hook, is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a type of anusvāra approximating the same form. The sign of avagraha is used in three out of eight cases.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory om svasti the record is in verse down to the commencement of the formal part of the grant, which is in prose, beginning with sa khalu etc. in line 21 and ending with dharmānuśānsana-slokāḥ in line 43. This is followed up in lines 43-50 by the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. The concluding portion, lines 50-66, which is a sort of postscript and records the transference of the grant by the donee, is also in verse. In respect of lexicography the only word deserving notice is the indecli-

1 See Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 244,
nable śanakam in l. 57, which stands for śanakaiḥ or śanaiḥ meaning 'slowly.'

As regards orthography it may be stated that both b and v are denoted by the same sign; a visarga before a dental sibilant becomes s; a letter following a superscript r is occasionally doubled; final m is often assimilated with the following consonant, often retained before v, p, and s and conjoined with them, and in places, though not followed by any consonant, it is changed into anusvāra. The scribe has on the whole done his work very creditably, the only mentionable mistakes being the use of śh for ś in bhṛishām (l. 55) and the employment of the sign of interpunctuation in places where it is not needed, e. g. between the second and third letters of nṛipasya (l. 54).

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i. e. Buddha), the Paramēṣvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Devapāladeva, who meditated on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i. e. Buddha), the Paramēṣvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Dharmapāladeva (lines 24-26), and consists clearly of two parts: one recording the gift of Devapāladeva and the other recording the transference of the same gift by the donee to a Vihāra.

(Part I): It opens with the usual auspicious formula om svasti which is followed by a verse in honour of Buddha (lines 1-4). It then gives in fourteen verses (exactly as in the Mungir plate of Devapāla) the well-known genealogy of the Pāla dynasty beginning with Gopāla and ending with Devapāla (lines 4-21). Then comes the customary description of the Royal Camp, which was situated at Mudgagiri (lines 21-24), the place from where the document is issued. In the formal part of the grant which is now introduced (lines 26 ff.), it is stated that the gift consisted of five villages all lying in the Srīnagara-bhukti, viz., Nandivanāka and Manivāṭaka in the Ajapura-
naya of the Rājagriha-vishaya; Nāṭikā in the Pilipinā-kā-naya and Hastigrāma in the Achalā-naya of the same vishaya; and Pālāmaka in the Kumudasūtra-vithī of the Gayā-vishaya (lines 26-28). From his camp at Mudgagiri Devapāla informs his various officials and others concerned with the transaction recorded in this document (lines 28-33), that the villages are made over by means of a copper-plate charter for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the provision of offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, alms, lying and sitting accommodation, as well as medicine and other requisites, in respect of 'the multitude of Bodhisattvas' and the Community of Buddhist monks from all quarters comprising the Eight classes of 'great beings,' and also for the copying out of religious texts and the necessary repairs of the monastery,—on being informed through ambassadors that the Mahārāja, the illustrious Bālaputradeva, Lord of Suvarṇadvīpa, i.e. Sumatra, has established a Vihāra at Nālandā (lines 36-40). Then follows the date of the grant which is the year 39, the 21st day of Kārttika (line 42), and thus concludes the formal part of the grant. The subsequent eight lines, viz. 43-50, contain six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. The next verse, which is introduced in lines 50-51, tells us that the illustrious Balavarman, the ruler of Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala acted as the Dūta of this grant. Ordinarily a royal land-grant should have ended here, after the benedictive and imprecatory verses are put in and the mention of the Dūta is made. But in this particular instance the document continues; and this portion, which is in the nature of an appendix or postscript, may, therefore, be treated as Part II of the Record.

(Part II): It begins with a description of the dynasty to which Bālaputradeva (the donee of Part I) belongs. In the Sāilendravāmśa (line 52) was born Vīravairi-Mathana, king of Yavabhūmi (i.e. Jávā); his son was Sāmaragravīra from whose chief queen Tārā, the daughter
of king Varmasetu of the Soma dynasty (line 59), was born Balaputra (lines 59-61). Being attracted by the virtues of Nālandā and through devotion towards Buddha, he erected there a Vihāra (lines 61-62), and having received the aforesaid five villages as a result of entreaties made through his ambassadors, from king Devapāla, made a gift of them (lines 63-64). There is one verse more in which it is prayed that the meritorious act, *i.e.* the grant, may be everlasting (lines 64-66), and this finally brings the document to a close.

As these two parts are included in the same charter bearing the seal of king Devapāla, and as the writing is clearly of one scribe throughout, there is no doubt that the whole instrument including the appended portion was drawn up at one and the same time.

The inscription throws welcome light on the question of cultural relations between the islands of the Indian Archipelago and Northern India. The investigations of Dutch and French Archæologists have brought to light a mass of facts bearing on India’s contribution to the civilisation of the Far East. The most important and salient of them have been given briefly in English by Prof. Vogel in a paper written for the India Society, London, and by Prof. Foucher in another paper written at the instance of the Calcutta University. These give us a fair idea as to the nature and extent of influence India exerted over her neighbours across the seas, in the sphere of art and religion. But the question that presents itself to the historian is of a deeper character. It is true that Indians colonised Sumatra, Java and other islands in the Indian Ocean as well as Cambodia, Siam and so on on the main land. But from which particular part or parts of India did the colonists emigrate to these regions? Southern India has always been looked upon as

1 Influenes of Indian Art, pp. 30-80.
the main source from which Indian civilisation was derived by her sea-girt neighbours, and indeed evidence of their being ruled over by princes of South-Indian origin is not wanting. But the question whether or how far Northern India contributed to this spread of Aryan culture has not yet been properly threshed out.

As early as 1876 Burnell published a letter in the Academy, recording his impressions of a trip to Java. This letter which was reproduced in the Indian Antiquary of the same year contained the following observations: "There was evidently a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A. D., and these took with them a Nāgarī alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character ..........These emigrants took with them a highly developed form of the Northern Buddhism." What these Nāgarī inscriptions were Burnell does not tell us. Eleven years later Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar received a photograph of apparently one of these from a European friend of his named Mr. Baumgarten. The former exhibited it in a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and read also a very learned paper dealing with the contents of the inscription. It records the building of a temple of the Buddhist goddess Tārā as well as a dwelling for Bhikshus who are described as versed in the Vinaya and the Mahāyāna, by a king called Kariyāna-Panaṅkarana at the instance of the Guru of the Śailendra kings. The inscription comes from a place called Kalasan in Central Java and is dated in 700 Śaka, i. e. 778 A. D. In course of his paper Sir Ramkrishna said, "the characters resemble those of North-Indian inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries; being a good deal like those in the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III., dated 730 Śaka or 808 A. D., the grant

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 316.
of Vākpatirāja of 1031 Samvat corresponding to 975 A. D., and the inscription at Deval in Rohilkhand dated 1049 Samvat or 993 A. D.; while the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription found at Ghosrāvan, near the old city of Nālandā in Magadha or Bihar, which I translated for Mr. Broadly in 1872, and which is to be referred to about the middle of the ninth century.\(^1\) Later on he said, “In the Fourth Volume of the Indian Antiquary (p. 356), two small Sanskrit inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters of which are unmistakably South-Indian; while our inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgarī character from the North, especially from Magadha or Bihar, thus, showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island.”\(^2\) The emigrants who are responsible for the script used in the epigraph must have settled in the island not long prior to 778 A. D. They could not certainly have been those, faintly though significantly, referred to by Fa-hien in the fifth century A. D.\(^3\) As Bhandarkar pointed out, “If they established a colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgarī letters of the inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later.”\(^4\) The Nāgarī characters of Northern India are found also in another inscription discovered at Kloverak in Java which is dated in Śaka year 704 i. e. A. D. 782. It refers to the consecration of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjughosha which had been set up at the instance of the preceptor of a king who is called in the inscription ‘the ornament of the Sālendra Dynasty’.\(^5\) The

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1 Op. cit., p. 4. The italics are mine.  
3 They arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa, “where various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of”—Legge, Fa-hien, p. 113.  
5 Influences of Indian Art, p. 54.
characters of these Buddhist inscriptions from Java have been pointed out to be in great contrast with those of the Brahmanical records from the island, and in view of this fact Prof. Vogel has rightly remarked, "Are we then to assume that the emigrants who introduced Buddhism into Java came from the North, as the promoters of Brahmanism in all likelihood hailed from the south of the Indian Continent?"¹ Indeed the palæography of the inscriptions is strongly in favour of such a hypothesis, and so also is the fact that a developed form of Northern Buddhism which included among other things the worship of Tārā and Mañjuśrī prevailed in the island as early as the eighth century A. D.

Now, if Java was influenced by Northern Buddhism, is there anything in its art which is particularly reminiscent of the art of Northern India? In the Raffles collection of the British Museum there is a number of miniature bronze images from Java some of which have been described and illustrated by Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy. Regarding one of these, which is a figure of Mañjuśrī and is assigned by him to the ninth century A. D., he observes that it "closely resembles a sculpture from Magadha illustrated by Foucher (Iconographic Bouddhique, Part II, p. 43, fig. 3)."² Similar conclusions, I may add, will also be arrived at from a study of the bronze images from Java in the Royal Museum at Batavia, illustrations of some of which have recently been published by Dr. N. J. Krom.³ The resemblance between the Buddhist images of Magadha of the Pāla period and those of Java cannot be easily ignored and is possibly to be ascribed to the fact that Java derived its Buddhism from Northern India. But the question arises, which part of Northern India contributed to this spread of Buddhism across the seas?

If we turn our attention to the accounts of the


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Chinese travellers Fa-Hien, Yuan-Chuang and I-Tsing we shall see that it was the eastern part of Northern India that had systematic maritime relations with the islands of the Indian Ocean and even China, in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries A. D. Fa-Hien boarded his ship at Tamralipti (modern Tamluk in Bengal) and proceeded on his way to China via Java.\(^1\) Two centuries later when Yuan-Chuang was going back to China, he was assured by king Bhāskaravarman of Karnasuvrana that ‘if you select the Southern sea-route then I will send official attendants to accompany you.’\(^2\) This ‘Southern sea-route’ of the days of Yuan-Chuang lay of course via Tamralipti. Again in 673 A. D. when I-Tsing came to visit India he landed at the same port along with ‘many hundreds of merchants’ who went to Central India.\(^3\) He also returned by the same route and observed: ‘This is the place where we embark while returning to China.’\(^4\) A second sea-port of eastern India was Harikela, which was also in Bengal and according to I-Tsing was the ‘eastern limit of Eastern India.’ From Simhala (Ceylon) he sailed for the North-east and came to Harikela.\(^5\)

Thus there was a convenient route connecting North-eastern India with Java, Sumatra and other islands of the Indian Archipelago. No Indian testimony was however, hitherto available to show that there was actual communication between North-eastern India and these islands. The present record is, therefore, the first of its kind that throws light on this very important topic. For it actually relates how there were interchanges of envoys between Devapāla, the Pāla king of Gauḍa and Magadha and Bālaputradeva, king of Sumatra. The latter built a Buddhist monastery at Nā-  

\(^2\) Beal’s Life of Hiuen-Tsang, p. 188.  
\(^3\) Takakusu, I-Tsing, p. XXXI.  
\(^4\) Ibid., pp. XXXIII-XXXIV.  
\(^5\) Ibid., p. XLVI.
landa and for its maintenance received a grant of five villages from the former. The manner in which this incident is described (see verse 32) shows that Balaputradeva had great fascination for Nalanda, the premier seat of Buddhism of Northern India, and that he himself was a devout Buddhist. He despatched possibly more than one embassies (dutaih, l. 63) to the Pala king no doubt for the furtherance of Buddhism in his own kingdom. The glory of Nalanda of the days of Devapala and his connection with it are clearly described in the Ghoshrawa inscription of Viradeva, who was ‘treated with reverence’ by him and was ‘permanently appointed to govern Nalanda’. Nalanda must have had an international reputation as a great centre of Buddhist culture, reaching beyond the seas, even in the time of Yuan-Chuang, and students (like I-Tsing for instance) flocked there not only from different parts of India, but also from distant foreign lands like China, to receive prolonged and systematic instruction in Buddhistic texts and practices. Regarding these foreign students the Chinese traveller I-Tsing himself observes: “They pass two or three years, generally in the Nalanda monastery in Central India, or in the country of Valabhi (Walā) in Western India. These two places are like Chin-ma, Shih-chü, Lung-mên, and Ch’ue-li in China, and there eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinion by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit (lit. ‘sharp point of the sword’), they proceed to the king’s court to lay down before it the sharp weapon (of their abilities); there they present their schemes and show their (political) talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government.” Such was the unique position of Nalanda in those days, and this explains why the king of Sumatra was so anxious to maintain a monastic

establishment there, undoubtedly for the convenience of Sumatran pilgrims to this great centre of Buddhism. The present record says that the monastery he built at Nālandā was for the residence of the Samgha of Buddhist monks, and he describes himself as its Wealth, Friend and Beauty.

This intimate connection of the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra with Nālandā is a fact of paramount importance and points to Magadha with its great centre of Buddhism viz. Nālandā, as the probable source from which the religion was derived by the islands of the Indian Archipelago. In view of this fact it would be possible to explain the discovery of Buddhist inscriptions in North-Indian characters and of images of the Buddhist pantheon having North-Indian affinities, in the island of Java. These Buddhist inscriptions, as already stated, belong to the last quarter of the eighth century A. D. and would be two or three generations earlier than the time of Devapāla, contemporary of Bālaputradeva, the third king of the Śailendra dynasty. The Śailendra king of Java who is alluded to in these records would therefore be the father, or more probably the grandfather, of Bālaputradeva. Thus the Śailendras seem to have been Buddhists from the very beginning.

About the royal dynasty of the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra much useful information has been collected by Mr. Hirānanda Śāstri with the help of Javanese archaeologists. The Śailendras, who appear to have been of South-Indian origin, were rulers of the kingdom of Śri-Vijaya, which is the old name of Palembang, in Sumatra. They must have come to power as early as the eighth century A. D. and ruled over their island possessions, which included Java and Sumatra, for close upon four centuries. Lines 52 ff. of the present record describe, as already stated, the family of Bālaputradeva, king of Sumatra. The name of his grand-father is given in l. 52 as Vīra-vairi-mathana, who is called king
of Java. The expression *Sṛi-Vira-vairi-mathan-āvagat-ābhidhānah* is translated by Mr. Sāstrī as ‘one whose name was comformable to the illustrious tormentor of brave foes.’ I have, however, no doubt that the word, which is prefixed by *Sṛi*, viz., Vira-vairi-mathana, was his actual name or viruda. Mr. Sāstrī says that ‘the name of the father of Bālaputradeva is not given at all’ (op. cit., p. 312). It must be noted, however, that more than three verses are devoted to him and the names of his wife, viz., Tārā and of his father-in-law, viz., Varmasetu, are mentioned in the record. It would be impossible to believe that all these are mentioned but not his own name. The first of the three verses devoted to Bālaputradeva’s father is as follows:

> तथाभवंचयपराश्रमसोल्लो राजेन्द्रमोलियतुरुविविषिद्धमः।
> सूतूर्विविशिर-परासर-भोमर्षेन-कर्षात्ति नान्ति तयः समारायाक्षः॥

One would naturally expect here not merely a description of Vira-vairi-mathana’s son (*sūnu*) but also his name or viruda. And I feel certain that his name or viruda was Samarāgravīra, which is the last word in the above verse. Names or *virudas* of kings with a word denoting ‘war’ as the first component e. g. Saṅgrāmabhīma, Saṅgrāmadhīra, Yuddhamalla and so on are too well-known from South-Indian inscriptions. If this view be accepted the genealogy of the line of Bālaputradeva would stand as follows:

*The Sailendras.*

**Viravairimathana**

| Samarāgravīra  |
| married Tārā, daughter of Varmasetu |

**Bālaputradeva**

(contemporary of Devapāla)

The mention in the inscription (v. 23) that Balavarman, who acted as the *Dūta* in the matter of this copper-plate
grant, was the ruler of Vyāghrataṭīmaṇḍala and the right hand person (dakṣiṇabhujā) of king Devāpāla is interesting. There is of course at present no data to locate Vyāghrataṭī. But it must have been the name of a portion of either Norther or Eastern Bengal. Vyāghrataṭī is mentioned in the Khālimpur copper-plate of Dharmapāla and the Anulīś copper-plate of Lākṣaṃaṇasena as being in the Pauḍrāvardhana-bhukti. In the former record the Mahāsāmanta-dhipati Nārāyaṇavarman is represented to have received a gift of land from king Dharmapāla in the Vyāghrataṭīmaṇḍala. Although it would be rather tempting to suggest that Balavarman and Nārāyaṇavarman belonged to the same family there are no adequate proofs in support of this conclusion. It is not clear from the inscription whether Balavarman was actually deputed by king Devāpāla as an ambassador to the court of the king of Sumatra. One thing, however, is very significant. Devapāla issues this grant from his Camp at Muddagiri, i.e., Mungir in Bihār and commissions a governor under him in charge of a territory in Bengal to communicate his orders to the Government of Sumatra. This probably means that as Bengal was bordering on the sea Balavarman would unquestionably be in a far more convenient position than anybody else to take charge of this commission which would require him either to proceed to the court of Sumatra, or to meet the Sumatran party that was probably awaiting the orders of king Devapāla, in Bengal.

I append a reading and translation of the record. The first fifteen verses which also occur in the Mungir plate have already been translated by Prof. Kielhorn in Indian Antiquary, vol. XXI, pp. 257-58, and the rest by Mr. Hirānanda Sastrī in Epigraphia Indica, vol. XVII, pp. 324-27. On many points I am unable to accept the latter’s reading and interpretation and these are indicated

in the footnotes to my reading. In regard to only one passage, I make my comments here.

In line 38, I read prajñāpāramitā-ādi-sakala-dharma-netrī-sthānasy-ārch-ārthe and not āyārthe, and translate not as 'towards the income for etc.' but 'for the worship of etc.' Further I agree with Dr. Thomas in reading tatraka-Bodhisatvagānaśya instead of Tāntrika-Bodhisatvagānaśya, although I cannot accept his interpretation of 'Bodhisattvagāna' meaning 'monks'. This expression frequently occurs in Buddhist literature e.g. dharmam gachchhāmi ṣaraṇam Bodhisatvagānaṁ tathā (Bodhicharyavatāra, Ch. 2, verse 26) where the natural sense 'multitude of Bodhisattvas' is clearly intended. Mr. Sāstrī has not been able I am afraid to explain the significance of ashta-mahāpurusha-pudgalasya which he translates as 'the eight great holy personages.' But the real meaning is something different. Buddhist philosophy distinguishes twelve classes of intelligent beings (pudgalas). Of these four are of the average ordinary class (puthu-jjanas) and eight of the noble or elect class (ariya). Of the eight classes again four are supposed to be in the 'stations' of Four Paths (maggas-ṭṭhāna) and the other four in those of the Four Fruits (phala-ṭṭhāna). These are the ashta-ārya-pudgala, which is the same as the ashta-mahāpurusha-pudgala of the present record. In the Mahāvyutpatti one of the epithets of Buddha is rājā āryapudgalānām, i.e., king of the āryapudgalas or 'the eight elect classes'. The expression ashta-mahāpurusha-pudgalasya is here in apposition to chāturdiś-ārya-bhikṣu-samghasya which follows, and the two expressions taken together would mean 'the community of monks from four quarters comprising the eight great classes of intelligent beings.'

Regarding place names I should only note that Śrīnagara

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1 Compendium of Philosophy (Pali Text Society, 1910), Introduction, pp. 49-50. See also Khuddakaṇḍha, 'Ratanaśutta,' verse 6.
was identified with Patna first by Sir Charles Wilkins in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, p. 130, It occurs in the form Śrīnagarabhukti also in Devapāla's Mungir Copper-plate,¹ and in the form Nagara-bhukti on a few Patna seals exhumed by Dr. Spooner, as well as in the Deobaranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II.² As regards Ajapuranaya it may be noted that a place Ajapura is mentioned also in the Bihār pillar inscription of Skandagupta.³

³ *Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 50.
TEXT.

[N.B. Hyphen has been used in the following transcript to indicate conjunction of letters for which no separate fount is available.]

Obverse.

1 चौः स्त्रिः। चित्रावर्ष्ण परार्धसुक्तः-सत्यचाराङ्गमयः
2 च्यतसिद्धिभिष्कितमन्तरः भगवतस्थलसङ्करत्नोऽर्थायः चित्ता
3 त् [★] वर्षः धातुकार्यसमिधिपदशीर्षिः महायानशाखाः रसिला
4 निँदे तिमासशाद सुगतुचार्यायः भूमिश्चरः।।। [[१]] सौभायवंडः
5 दर्तरेण स्त्रिययुन्द्रः गोपालः पतिरभवस्यारागः।।। [[२]]
6 हट्टने सति जतिनः सुरालि यज्ञस्वरः। यज्ञस्यहरियोऽपि
7 मोगवरिष्ठाः सति। सवायसुहायवित्तोचानानानुहनमेवः
8 वयुः दशस्मिनिष्टः।।। [[३]] चल्युः-बलवेदः स्वप्नः यस्य
9 विचारः
10 -या निचतं रजोभः।।। [[४]] पादप्रवचनममलरिचमिलिङ्गमानः
11 [[५]] सुचरस्मिन्हृत॥ [[६]] श्रावाभाजः चलतोऽस्य वर्णान्
12 प्रतिशायपः
13 तत् खरचं। श्रोधरमेर्मालिन चुतेन सीष्मृतः-सगंधितानामानुषः
14 पितुः॥।। [[७]] प्रचलीरव जनम्येदीयेवं चलकिरितः
15 कर्यये।
16 निचुपस्वमस्त्रः प्रपदेदेशरणः रेणुनिमित्त भूमिश्चरः।।। [[८]].

1 Expressed by a symbol.
2 The following 15 verses occur also in the Mungir plate of Devapâla (Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 254). The variants of the text are noted below.
3 The reading in the Mungir plate is sus̐hira.
5 This corrects Kielhorn's reading suvinayinām in the Mungir plate.
6 Metre: Praharshiṇi. 7 Read vvasundharāṁ.
8 Metre: Vainkṣṭhā. 9 There should be here only one stroke denoting the end of the second pāda.
10 Read antarikṣhāṁ. 11 Metre: Upajāti.
18 MONOGRAPHS OF THE VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, NO. I.

क्रियारूप विचित्रकृतपद्यसंग गंगा संमिलितबुधी।

11 तत्ततातीरः(भी)चेवः धयकः ज्योति: [०] ज्योत्वर्णां सुखवैयव यथा सकारात्मकः

12 शुद्धिः दुर्योगानि-कोकस्याच्यायतोसुभ्रविंद्रियायता।

13 श्रेयोत्तमोऽसुभ्रविंद्रियाः संप्रयोगासः पराः: सत्याधृतं विद्युम्बिलं स्त्रा शरां गतानानुभवः [१*]

14 चर्या श्रुत्तिनवनयः। राणा-वाणिः पाणिजयम्वः सत्यमिथिनं नैन॥

15 पाणिजयम्वाः सत्यमिथिनं नैन॥ [९*] चतुर्वरुरवः शरां: 

16 चतुर्वरुरवः शरां: सत्यमिथिनं नैन॥ [१२*] निमित्तोऽसुभ्रविंद्रियाः संस्कारां वत्ततां: 

17 राणयमान निष्प्रशंस्वप्रमवित्वेविवसव द्वार सौगतं पदं॥ [१२*]

1 The reading in the Mungir plate is -samet-ambudhau.
2 Read imānīlo.
3 Metre: Sārdūlavikṛddita.
4 This corrects Kielhorn's reading tair=tair in the Mungir plate. Cf. A. K. Maitra, Gauja-lekhamālā, p. 36, n.
5 Read sampreshitaṁ.
6 Read bhuvam.
7 Sāstrī reads m-divā=.
8 Metre: Āryā.
9 Metre: Harigī.
10 This stroke is unnecessary.
11 Metre: Āryā.
12 Metre: Rathoddhatā.
नालंदा कोपर-प्लेट देवपालदेव.

खाम्यकिंचित्यक्रमेण 1 करिमस्तामित्र 2 विन्यासविसुद्धामण्ड- 
मानवशाप्यः

18 [ सी ] द्रष्ट: पुनर्वन्महः 3 [ 1* ] कल्योऽजुः च यथा वालिभृ(च) 
भिषं स्तान्त्राराजीवः महामिस्त्रितहसिदिहितवरः: 
कान्ता 
विषयोगिनिः: 4 [ 13* ] य: पूवे बलि 

19 ना छतः: क्षतयुः चेनागमंग्रंजेर्वेतायं प्रहतः: 
प्रियप्रणयिना 
कष्ठ्य यो ह्यापे इ। विन्चित्तः: कलिना 
शक्तिविर गते कालेन 
लोकान्

20 र्5 वैन यागपवक्ष एव हि पुनिस्याहतसुकितिः: 6 [ 14* ] 
ता गझागमसहितात्-सवप्रभृत्वाकाशेतु( तो:) 
प्रियतदशास्त्रकीते 
कोरः: [ 1 ] जयमार्काः

21 निकेतनाचे विश्वोरासेविकूलमधवनाच यो वुमोज 7 [15* ] य 
ैव भागीरथीप्रवर्तमानानानाविधीनावातकां 
संविदितस्ये व 

22 -कस्मक्षरे,शिविरभमात् 8 निररिश्वयवयनाचयविहा (ढा) 
यामय- 
मानवशालक्षोमार्कमसंस्कर्ततज्जलसम्यश्चत्तात् 8 वटीवी- 
नालिकाः

23 नरपरिप्रायविष्कर्ता प्रभीयवयविबिन्नकरुपमार्चीत 
पिगल्लराजात् परमेश्वरशेषामानमात्तास्त्वज्जव (जैवः 
)10वः

24 पभुपालपादात्मकर्मनदवन: योसुनिगिरिमासाविष्ठित- 11 श्रीमल्य- 
स्त्रावरातः 12 परमर्हीगतः परमेश्वर-परमभटा (ढा) रक्तः म-

1 This stroke is unnecessary.
2 Kielhorn reads karīhi [ḥ svā] m = eva and remarks that 'in the lithograph there
is no visarga, and the syllable here read svā, looks rather like prā or mṛā' (op. cit., p.
255, n. 24). In all likelihood the above reading would occur in the Mangir grant also.
3 The reading in the Mangir plate is बांधवहाः.
4 Metre : शर्दुलविक्रिष्टि. The reading in the Mangir plate is chirahm 
विकरिष्टि.
5 Śastri reads m instead of m.
6 Metre : शर्दुलविक्रिष्टि.
7 Metre : राधोधाता.
8 Śastri corrects it as ‘मान = nira’ which is unnecessary.
9 Śastri corrects it as ‘dehād = udīchā’ which is unnecessary.
10 Śastri reads Janābu.
11 Śastri reads sd māvāsā and quotes the same reading at p. 310 of his article.
12 Śastri reads śrimāṇ.
25 -हाराजाविनाजः श्रीधरमपालेः दिनपादालुपाधः परमसोगः पर-भेषः परमभट्टार्कः महाराजाविनाजः श्रीमान्तेवः
26 लदेवः कुशंलीः चौमगरभूतीः राजग्रहविवाहः पातिः ब्रजपुरनः
प्रतिवासवस्मिन्नाविविष्टतः लोकः नन्दिमानः मनी-
27 वाटकः निर्मित्तिकानायनग्राविवः नरिकः ¹ चाचलानायग्राविवः
द्विप्रामः ग्याविवाहः पातिः कुमुदसूतविचोः प्रतिवासपालामः
28 क-प्रामेहः ससुपान्तः ( न ) सचननिब राजः राणः राजुपः
राजामातः महाकालशासनः महादशःताकितः महादशःनायकः
महाप्रतीतिहारः महाः
29 सामकः महादीशास्वाधिनः महाकुमाराम( सा )व [ १० ]
प्रमाणः गरमक [ १० ] राजाखानीः योपरिकः विश्वपाल [ १० ]
दाशापराधिकः चोरोपरा-
30 षिकः दाशिक [ १० ] दाशपारिक [ १० ] शैतिक [ १० ]
[ गो]षिकः चोरपाल [ १० ] कोटपालः ¹ खण्डरच [ १० ]
तदाशुजकः विनियुजः ¹ खण्डोशः नवल-व्यापः
31 तक [ १० ] किंशोरवंशवाणोमहिमधिकः ¹ दृष्टापः [ व ] षिकः
गमागमिकः शिमलरमाणः तरिकः तरपारिकः ⁴ गोडः
मातम-खण्ड-कुलिकः कशषः
32 टैः [ हृ ] श। चार-भ( ट )-चेवाकालीनवांसवाकरिणानु
खण्डमध्योपजिविनः प्रतिवासिनव ब्राह्म(ह्र)शोभरानः महसमः
कुतुम्बः पुरोसेदाकः
33 कः चण्डालपथानः समाचारपायिनः विदितसमतः भवतः

¹ The letter ṅha is dropped in Śāstri's transcript.
² Omitted in the Mungir plate.
³ Amātya instead of rājāmātya occurs in the Mungir plate.
⁴ Read koṭṭapāla as in the Mungir plate.
⁵ The list of officers in the Mungir plate includes prāntapāla which is here omitted.
⁶ Śāstri reads Odra which he corrects into Odra (Orissa). But the above reading is certain.
⁷ This stroke is omitted in Śāstri's transcript.
⁸ The Mungir plate has mahattara.
34. क्राम। नित्यायाय। इत्याय। पाणिक्रामाय। खशीमात्रपूर्व्यतिकोर्पयका। संतता। सोदेया। सापमधूका। सजलका।
35. ला। सोपरिकार। सद्रायाराय। सचीरीरण। प्रविष्टस्वरूपीया। भचारभक्तप्रेया दकिचित्तुप्रया [ झा ]
36. समस्तप्रवा गवेमेया। भूमिक्ष्यनव्यावानव्यांतिकीमार्या। समकायां पूज्यदत्तमुखास देवनद्वादेवश्रेष्ठः। मया
37. मातापितोरायण[ब] पुर्खयोगिबहवे। सुव[च्] हृपाचिप। स[ह] राज योवाजपुरद्विन हृदकुशुकेन वधिश्रवापिना।
38. मया। जीवान्नद्यायक्षिताया। करितस्त भगवतो दुह्मद्वारकाश्र
प्रस्तापमितादिकलक्षमोनिर्बलस्वयानसाधारिण।
39. कृ। विचिलसमयंशाराकशपुष्पहस्ति चातुर्गऽधिकविभच्छुर्विलिन्त्रस्तविक्षिद्वारप्रायमधेनक्षुणवार-न्याय।
40. वन्यायये धमरस्त्र सेकलायये विहाराय च। खण्डकुटि तिनिन्त्रायाय शालसीवल्य प्रतिपादित [ 1 2 ] [ 1 5 ] यतो
भवः। संवेदियः।
41. भूमिक्ष्यन्तिवार्डपः। च महानर्कापादि-भयाहानमिद्यम्युदीयोऽपालीय। प्रतिवाषिमिर्यादाय।

1. Sāstri reads sāreva (पीढ़ा)।
2. The a-stroke does not seem to occur in the original.
3. Kiernhoorn expressed his doubt about the reading of this passage in the Mungir plate. But the reading is certain.
4. Sāstri reads m for m।
5. These strokes are meaningless as the sentence does not end here.
6. The letter su is so written that it looks almost like mu or pu।
7. Read vay-contact viṣṇu-pitāh।
8. In Sāstri’s transcript these two letters are wrongly put at the end of line 37।
9. Read Nālandāṣṭ।
10. Sāstri reads rohā as ग्य। but the letter is very clear on the estampages.
11. I accept the suggestion of Dr. Thomas (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 325, n. 3)। Sāstri however reads tātriṣ्क। See remarks above।
12. Sāstri reads-pāla(/na)। But the first letter is pha and further dāna-phala-gaura-vat occurring in this context is well-known from other copper-plate grants।
13. In Sāstri’s transcript this stroke is omitted।
वण- विश्वेषद्वृत्ता यथाकालें समुचित्तमागमोगतेरहितमाणकायो-पनयः काय इति ॥ समुद्रः १६ क(का)सिंह-दिने २१ ॥ ॥

Reverse.

तथा च धमामुखानसन्नोका: ॥ ॥ ॥ वज्रमिकेन्द्राह दत्ता राजभिः ॥

सगरादिभिः ॥ ॥ ॥ यथा यथा यथा भूमिनः तथा तदा फलः ॥ ॥

खद्दामरद्दात्मा ॥ श्री ॥ द([२१])त वसुधरां ॥ स विषयाः

श्रमिभूवंशिपिदितमः ॥

सह पचाति ॥ ॥ [१७ * ] वशिस्वपरमार्ग[र]पि ॥ सगेः मोदिति

भूमिदः ॥ भाजिसा चालुम्बला च तानवेव ॥

नर्तके वबित ॥ [१८ * ] अन्य[त][न] विजातिस्यो यवाद्रन

बुधिषिर मही महीस्ततं वेदर्दः- ॥

नाक्शेरीपुपारः ॥ [२० * ] श्रामतकूलमस्तुदासुदरा ॥ च ॥-

रक्षरचेष्ठ दानमिदमयुमोदनायः ॥ लक्ष्मणसंहित-संहित-

उहुद- [च]*-

चलाया दानं फलं पररण्यःपरिपलां च ॥ [२० * ] इति

कलुदलक्षायुवन्दुवानला चिथमवुचिष्य मन्त्रमणिशिवतं च [१ * ]

सकलसमः ॥

दसुदहां च दु[ञ्जा] न चि पुरहः परकीचन्द्री विलोयः ॥ [२१ * ]

दचिरभुज दव राजः परवलजने सहाय-निर्पेशः ॥ [१ * ]

दृश्यं शीवलवर्षी विद्वेद धन्याकिसारिशिविन ||

[२२ * ]

चान्ति धन्यारथे दृश्यं शीवलवालविविष्य विद्वेद नीर्वर्षी

आप्रती- संश्लाधिपति: ॥[२३ * ]

1 Read sahvat.
2 Read samauna.
3 Read phalam; Sāstṛ reads it in the original. Metre: Anuṣṭubh.
4 Read dattāṁ paraddatāṁ vā. 5 Read viṣṭhāyuṁ. 6 Metre: Anuṣṭubh.
7 Read shashñhim. 8 Read sverge. 9 Metre: Anuṣṭubh.
10 Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read padanam.
11 Metre: Vasantaṭilaka.
52 श्रीवीरवैरिसमनानः मलसिसारामनियमिते विद्वानधार्मिकः ।
53 गतिमिधानः ॥४॥ [२४ *] हस्यायशिवै कृषियाय शासीनाय
शष्येन्द्रतिहिनयेषु पदन्धानः निश्चिद्रशु खनिररसलथः
वैतिः ॥
54 भूतवेव यथा शुद्धानि जगाम कीर्तीः ॥२॥ [२५ *] श्रुमधिे यववति
रूप । खः यथा कौपारमङ्गिबः सन वद्येशिया विवोपि ।
वन्नारामिः
55 हि परोपवाटुद्वः जायले जगति भूपस्तिप्रकारः ॥४॥
[२६ *] तथाभावव्यपराकम शीलशासी राजस्मौलियतः
नवंड़िताःः
56 युगः । श्रुतवेद्विचित्रपदरथाय-शैमेशनु-कर्षिज्ञ सन्निषोऽथः
समरायवैरः ॥५॥ [२७ *] श्रुतवमम्प्रत्ययः-[ दु्््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््'''
सवरण्यः यथे नयाविनिःः
57 तस्म पदीयः ॥७ कव्सिनिलन करिणा शनकस्वितीः
शंकस्विनीयदलाः शमसयास्मूहृ ॥८ [२८ *] चक्षुःपच-
क्षेत्रजममूहृवन-मण्डलः
58 [९] नान्दीविचित्रपदेव यथागौमिन्नारं ॥१० [२९ *] यौनोमीवे
शुराचिपय विदिता सन्धैययोतिरिव [ प्रीतिः ]११ श्रेष्ठसूतीय
मथायरः

1 Metre : Vasantatilaka. Śāstri reads "nugatāḥbhidhānāb.
2 Metre : Vasantatilaka.
3 Read nripasya. The punctuation mark between pa and sya is misplaced.
4 Metre : Praharshā. Read bhīraḥ-
5 Metre : Vasantatilaka. Śāstri thinks that the reading dhira is also possible.
6 But the first letter is clearly vī and not dhī.
7 Śāstri reads talagha(duv)dhi.
8 Śāstri reads padottham which is wrong.
9 Read sanakṣaṁ viṣṭrṇaṁ=. In Śāstri’s transcript viṣṭrṇa occurs instead of viṣṭrṇaṁ.
10 I would have expected sanakṣaṁ instead of sanakṣam.
11 Metre : Anuṣṭubh. Read-ratam.
12 This reading suggested by Śāstri is by no means certain, but may be provisionally adopted. The first letter looks like Pri.
59 पोङ्ग चौमुं गरिरिव । राजा: सोमकुलान्वयख महत: 
श्वामसितोः स्वत: तट्टाभूतन्त्रनिबूतत्वमहिषयो तारिव 
तत्राम्बा ॥ [30 *] मायाः

60 यामिव कामेदिवविजयो श्वेतोदन्वालाज: सख्तः नন्दितपबमः 
हदयः श्वेतोहमायमिव। तत्त्रायल[ख] नरेन्द्रवनमसत्वदारार्थ्विव 
न्दायन: सभ्रूचीपितकेश्वरेष्यश्च: श्वेतातुपचोभवतः ॥३
[31 *] नालन्दासुष्टबन्दलवधमनसा भक्ता च श्वेतोदनेऽव च श्वेत 
सतिरंगतरः

62 'क्षीरमिमा चोभनाः। यस्तोनिरवसीधारधश्वमः 
सुभार्श्व 
भित्रियम नानासदुश्भिचुसुश्वरसतित्वामि: ॥५
[32 *] भवतः

63 तव समसववनिवाश्वद्दीवीरारुः । क्षला शामनमाहितादरत्या 
सम्प्रावर्तमेव हृदतेतर:। भास्माः (न) पच्च विपशिष्टोपार्यवथिष्टाः

64 निमानलन: पिलो[ल्ल]कालितदवाय च दद्री शैविस्रवल्ल 
क्षण ॥ [33 *] याबबोः प्रवयः प्रदुष्टंज्जाराचोभितामात्र 
च गाजः गुरुविः

65 ध्वरे शान्तः प्रतिदिनमचलो हेलया यायुव्विः। यावचा- 
श्वेतोदयानी रविलोकयुङ्कोषांश्च्यमानी श्रुतावालोकिरिया 
प्रभवः

66 तु जगतामसित्या रोपयतीः [34 *]
TRANSLATION.
Om! Welfare!

(Verse 1). May the beatitude attained by Siddhārtha, whose mind is well concentrated upon the cause of others, who is ever making himself accustomed to the Good Path, who having discovered the ways of beatitude for the dwellers of the three worlds by means of supreme exertion has attained Nirvāṇa, and who is the Enlightened one and master of all the stages of perfection, lead the people of the Lord to welfare which nothing can transcend.

(V. 2). Possessed of unique conjugal fortune, Gopāla became the husband of the Earth, the co-wife of the goddess of Fortune. Even (the deeds of) Pṛthu, Sagara and others came to be regarded as real only because there was the example of that good king before the accomplished (world).

(V. 3). Having conquered the Earth reaching up to the sea and considering that his elephants would now be a useless burden (to him) he set them free, and they retiring to the forests met again, with tears, their near and dear ones who had also tearful eyes.

(V. 4). When his innumerable forces moved, the sky crusted over with the dust of the Earth became for a long time a fit ground for the birds to walk upon.

(V. 5). He became cleared of his debt to his ancestors in heaven, by having a son, Dharmapāla, who followed the spirit of the Śāstras, controlled those that swerved from the path of righteousness and kept the castes confined to their respective spheres of duty.

1 Bodhisattvas are born for the good of others—cf. Bodhisattvānāṁ parārthat anya-karma na kalpate. Śikṣāsambhūtah, p. 117.
2 Viz. the Ten Bhūmis. See Mitra, Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 81.
3 Cf. tyāgena yo vyadhatva śradheṣyām= Anagarīja kathām in Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, verse 12.
(V. 6). The Earth in the form of dust took refuge in the undisturbed sky being oppressed by his elephants which wandered about like so many moving mountains.

(V. 7). The servants of that king, who was engaged in uprooting with ease all the wicked ones and in subduing the three worlds, attained liberation in the next world since they kept his company and bathed at Kedāra, performed religious observances at the spot where the Ganges meets the sea, at Gokarna and other (sacred places).

(V. 8). On the conclusion of his world conquest the captive princes, who being (now) released returned to their respective kingdoms after being made to forget all the grudge (they bore against him) by means of various marks of high distinction, remembered the good treatment accorded to them by the king, and their hearts yearned for him out of affection as happens to those banished from Heaven, remembering their past existence.

(V. 9). By that householder, the Lord of the Earth, was taken in marriage the hand of Raṇṇādevi, the daughter of Paravala, the ornament of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

(V. 10). That pure-souled lady rose above the other members of the royal seraglio by reason of her inherent noble qualities. "Is she an incarnation of the goddess of Fortune, is she the Earth goddess that has assumed a visible shape, is she an embodiment of the king’s fame or the tutelary deity (of the royal househo’d)?"—Such was the deliberation on which she kept engaged the subjects (of the king).

(V. 11). As from a sea-shell comes forth the precious pearl, so also from that illustrious lady, devoted to her husband, was born a son of beautiful countenance, named Devapāladeva.

(V. 12). Pure in mind, considerate in speech and having purity also in bodily action he inherited the kingdom, free from disquiet, from his father, even as the Bodhisattva, attained the status of the Enlightened one.

(V. 13). When he passed through the Vindhya forest in course of his conquering expedition, his elephants again met
their kindred ones whose tears began to gush forth (at their sight); and in the country of Kamboja, his youthful horses after having crushed the power of rival kings, met again their beloved ones, for whom they had long cherished affectionate feelings and with whom they (now) set up a pleasant neigh.

(V. 14). He has most clearly re-opened the path of charity which was first introduced by Bali the in Kṛita age, a'ong which walked the son of Bṛigu in the Tretā age, on which Karna, the lover of friends, set his foot in the Dvāpara age, but which, since the enemy of the Saka had gone to heaven, was closed by Kali in course of time.

(V. 15). He ruled over the Earth without a rival upto the place hallowed by Gaṅgā's descent, the Bridge testifying to the achievements of Rāvana's enemy, the sea which is the abode of Varuṇa and upto that (sea) wherefrom Lakshmi was born.1

(LL. 21-26). Now from his royal camp of victory, situated at Mudgagiri, where the line of various boats proceeding along the course of the Ganges, appears like a series of mountain tops that had been sunk to build a (second) Setubandha; where the brightness of the day becomes darkened by the dense herd of rutting elephants and it seems as if the eternal rainy season has set in; where the sky becomes grey with the dust raised by the hard hoofs of innumerable horses which are brought as presents by many kings of the North; and where the Earth is bent low under the weight of the footsoldiers of the numberless princes of Jambudvīpa (i.e. India) assembled to do homage to the Supreme lord (i.e. the king);—the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha), the Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Devapāladeva, who meditates on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha), the Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Dharmapāladeva, being in good health,—

(LL. 28-33). commands those that are present, namely, the Rājarāṇaka, the Rājaputraka, the Rājāmātya, the Mahākārtakr-

1 Cf. Badal pillar inscription, verse 5. Ă-Revā- janakāt etc.
tika, the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, the Mahāpratihāra, the Mahāśāmanta
the Mahādauḥśādhasūdhhanika, the Mahākumārāmātya, the Pra-
mātri, the Sarabhāṅga, the Rājasthāṇīya, the Uparika, the Visha-
yapati, the Dāsāparādhika, the Chaurodharaṇīka, the Dāṇḍika,
the Dāṇḍapāsika, the Sāulkika, the Gāulkika, the Kṣetrapāla,
the Kottapāla, the Khaṇḍaraksha, the Tadāyuktaka, the Vini-
yuktaka, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, camels,
feet, those in charge of young horses, mares, cows and buffaloes,
the Dātapaśīśanīka, the Gaṃāgamika, the Abhitvaramāṇaka,
the Tarika, the Tarapatika, the Gauḍas, the Mālāvas, the Khaṇḍas,
the Kulikas, the Kaṇṇāṭas, the Hunas, the Chaṭas, the Bhaṭas,
the servants and others who are not specified here, those dependent
on ‘his own lotus feet,’ the residents, the best of Brāhmaṇas, from
the chief among householders down to the Medas, the Andhra-
kas and the Chaṇḍālas,—

(Ll. 26-28). in respect of the following villages: In the Śrī
nagarabhukti— Nandivanāka and Manivāṭaka, circumscribed
within their respective boundaries, situated in the Ajapura-naya;
Naṭikā, situated in the Pilipinḵānaya and Hastigrāma in the
Achalānaya of the Rājagriha-vishaya; and the village of Pālāmaka
situated in the Kumudasūtra-vīthi of the Gayā-vishaya:

(Ll. 33-37). Be it known to you that the Mahārāja Bāla-
putradeva, Lord of Suvaraṇṇadvipa, by the mouth of the dūtakas
( envoys), has informed Us as follows1:

“I have built a monastery at Nālandā”— (Accordingly) I have
granted by means of a charter the aforesaid villages viz. Nandi-
vanāka, Manivāṭaka, Naṭikā, Hastigrāma and Pālāmaka, cir-
cumscribed within their respective boundaries, including grass,
pūti plant2 and pastures, with surface and with mango and
madhūka trees, with land and water, with uparikara, dasāparā-
dha, and police protection, exempt from all forced labour,
without being entered by Chaṭas and Bhaṭas, exempt from all

1 Of Khalimpur plateau: mahāśāmantaśdhipati. Śrī- Nārāyaṇa varmmanā dūtaka-yuvarāja-
śri-Tribhuvanaṃ pālamukhana vayam evam vijñāpatā yathā etc. (ll. 49ff.). There should
have been the word iti after viharab kārtab.
2 Probably same as pūṭika; see Bhānuji on Amara II, 48.
dues, with all the taxes due to the Royal family, according to the principle of Bhūmichchhidra, for as long as the Sun, Moon and Earth endure and with the exclusion of (those parts of the villages) that were granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas before, and were or are being enjoyed now, for the sake of the increase of my own\(^1\) merit and fame as well as those of my parents—

(Ll. 38-40) for the worship at the aforesaid place, of the lord Buddha-bhāṭṭāraka, who is the eye of all\(^2\) the Virtues including Prajñāpāramitā; for offerings, oblations, abode, garments, food, lying and sitting accommodation as well as medicine for the sick and such other purposes, in respect of the Bodhisattvas (installed) there and the Community of Buddhist monks from the Four quarters, comprising the Eight classes of great personages; for the copying etc. of religious texts; and for the overhauling of the monastery when damaged or broken.

(Ll. 42-42). Therefore, you should all signify your approval to this grant and protect it in consideration of the fact that a gift of land brings great merit (to the giver) and its taking away entails the terror of falling into the great Hell and so forth. The inhabitants (of the villages) also having heard my order should obey it and pay regularly their dues such as bhāga and bhoga taxes, gold etc. The year 39, the 21st day of Kāṛṭṭika.

(L. 43). There are also verses in praise of Dharma.

[Here follow six of the customary verses, vv. 16-21].

(V.22). In this religious matter, Balavarmman, who was the right hand as it were of the king and who never required the help (of others) in crushing the forces of the enemy, performed the function of the Messenger.

(V. 23).\(^3\) In this religious function, Balavarmman, the lord of Vyāghrataṭimandala, performed the service of the Messenger of Devapāladeva.

(V. 24). There was a king of Yavabhūmi (Java), known by the appellation of Viravairimathana, who was an ornament

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\(^1\) I. E. of king Devapāla.

\(^2\) i.e. the ten Pāramiṭās or 'transcendental virtues' according to Buddhist texts.

\(^3\) The repetition in this verse of the fact recorded in verse 22 is to be noted.
of the Sailendra family. The lotus-petals of his feet were un-
folded by the light of the sparkling jewels in the strings around
the heads of innumerable princes.

(V. 25). His fame assuming as it were a bodily form travelled
throughout the worlds, placing her feet on palaces, lilies, lotuses,
conches, the moon, jasmine flowers and snow¹, and was sung in
all the quarters, incessantly and without interval.

(V. 26). When that king bent his brow in anger the Fortune
goddesses of his enemies also collapsed along with their hearts.
Truly, in this world, those that are crooked invariably get into
a variety of ways of effectively striking blow at others.²

(V. 27). Of him there was a son Samarāgravīra (by name),
who was endowed with a knowledge of the Śāstras, valour and
good character, whose two feet were deeply caressed by the hun-
dreds of heads of paramount sovereigns and who acquired as
much renown as that of Yudhishṭhira, Parāśara, Bhimasena,
Karna and Arjuna.

(V. 28). The multitude of stinging dust of the earth raised
by his army moving in the battlefield and by the wind caused
to blow by the ears of their elephants, gradually came down
(i.e. settled down) from the sky on account of the (rainlike) ichor
issuing out of the cheeks (of the elephants).

(V. 29). By his fame the world became eternally deprived
of the Dark fortnight and was (thus) comparable to the family
of the lord of the Daityas (who had not Krishṇa on their side).³

(V. 30). The lady named Tārā, who was like Tārā (goddess)
herself, a daughter of the great king Varmasetu of the Soma li-
neage, became the Chief queen of that lord of the earth, just as
Paulomi was known to have been that of Indra, Priti that of the
Mindborn one (i.e. Cupid), the Mountain’s daughter (Pārvatī)
that of Śiva and Lakshmi, that of Mura’s enemy (i.e. Vishnu).

¹ Fame is conceived by Sanskrit poets as white, hence its comparison with palaces,
snow etc. which are proverbially white.
² In this verse the words bhasya and vaktra are used as hlisha. The former denotes
both ‘defeat’ and ‘bending’ and the latter ‘crooked’ as well as ‘bent’.
³ There is a Masha on Krishnapaksha. One of the epithets of Krishṇa is Daityārī.
Just as darkness was made non-existent in the world so also Krishṇa was not on the side
of the Daityas.
(V. 31). Just as from Māyā was born the son of Suddhodana (i. e. Buddha), the conqueror of the god of Love, or Kārttikeya, who delighted the hearts of all the gods from Śiva and Umā, so also from her (Tārā) was born his (Samarāgravīra’s) son Bālaputra-deva, before whose lotuslike footstool a host of kings bowed down. He was a past master in lowering the pride of all the lords of the Earth.

(V. 32). With a mind attracted by the excellent qualities of Nālandā and through devotion for the Buddha, and considering also that the fickle goddess of Fortune is as unsteady as the waves of a mountain stream, he who was the Wealth, Friend and Beauty of the Buddhist Community, built at the above place that monastery, which was white with lofty buildings plastered with stucco and where resided the Community of various monks possessed of virtues.

(V. 33). Having on that behalf respectfully sought through ambassadors the aforesaid five villages for aforesaid purposes from king Devapāla, who was as it were the preceptor in the initiation of the wives of all his enemies to widowhood, he through devotion executed a charter and made a gift of them (i. e. the villages), for the increase of the welfare of himself, his parents and the (whole) world.¹

(V. 34). As long as there is stir on the sea, as long as the limbs of Gaṅgā remain trembling on account of the thick plaited hair of Śiva, as long as the lord of the serpents carries unmoved and without effort, the heavy weight of the Earth everyday, as long as the jewel-like crests of the Eastern and Western mountains are rubbed by the hoofs of the horses of the Sun god, so long also may this pious deed endure establishing virtues in this world.

¹ Of line 37 above where a similar expression is used in regard to Devapāla, the original donor.