



HAL
open science

Manahali Copperplate Inscription of Madanapāla, Year 8

Ryosuke Furui

► **To cite this version:**

Ryosuke Furui. Manahali Copperplate Inscription of Madanapāla, Year 8. *Pratna Samiksha: a Journal of Archaeology*, 2023, 13, pp.81-96. hal-04754947

HAL Id: hal-04754947

<https://hal.science/hal-04754947v1>

Submitted on 14 Nov 2024

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial - ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Pratna Samiksha

A Journal of Archaeology

New Series

Volume 13

2023



CENTRE FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES & TRAINING

EASTERN INDIA • KOLKATA

Pratna Samiksha, New Series

is an annual, peer reviewed, and international journal published by the Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India, Kolkata.

Editorial Address

Pratna Samiksha: A Journal of Archaeology
Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training,
Eastern India, State Archaeological Museum
Old Building, First Floor, 1 Satyen Roy Road
Behala, Kolkata 700 034
email: castei5n@gmail.com

Chairperson, Editorial Advisory Board
Sugata Bose

Editor
Sharmi Chakraborty

Founding Editor
Gautam Sengupta

Editorial Assistant
Mithu Karmakar

Editorial Advisory Board

Sugata Bose
Chairman, Centre for Archaeological Studies &
Training, Eastern India, Kolkata
Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History and Affairs
Department of History, Harvard University

Kalyan Kumar Chakravarty
Vice-Chairman, Centre for Archaeological Studies &
Training, Eastern India, Kolkata
Former Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademi and
Former Director General, National Museum, New Delhi

Sekhar Banerjee
Member Secretary, Centre for Archaeological Studies &
Training, Eastern India, Kolkata

K. Paddayya
Professor Emeritus, Deccan College Post-Graduate and
Research Institute, Pune

Rupendra Kumar Chattopadhyay
Former Vivekananda Chair Professor of Social Science
University of Calcutta, Kolkata

Susmita Basu Majumder
Professor, Department of Ancient Indian History &
Culture, University of Calcutta, Kolkata

Subir Biswas

Professor and Head, Department of Anthropology
West Bengal State University, Barasat

Amlan Jyoti Saha (*ex officio*)

Director of Archaeology and Museums
Department of Information & Cultural Affairs
Government of West Bengal

The responsibility of the facts stated, opinions expressed and conclusions reached are entirely those of the author of the respective article. Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India does not accept any responsibility for them.

© 2023 Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training,
Eastern India

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

ISSN 2229 7979

Periodicity: Annual

Subscription (per volume): ₹1,000.00

Published by the Member Secretary,
Sekhar Banerjee (WBICS), for the
Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training,
Eastern India (An Autonomous Institution of the
Government of West Bengal)
State Archaeological Museum
Old Building, First Floor
1 Satyen Roy Road, Behala
Kolkata 700 034
castei5n@gmail.com

Printed and bound in India by
Basumati Corporation Limited
166 BB Ganguly Street, Kolkata 700 012
basumati.corp@gmail.com

Contents

EXPLORATIONS

- The Prehistoric Sites in Barkagaon, Hazaribagh District, Jharkhand:
A Geoarchaeological Study
Shubham Rajak and Siddhartha Saha 1
- Recent Discovery of Protohistoric Sites in Bolpur, West Bengal:
A Report
Siddhartha Saha and Suchira Roychoudhury 21

INSCRIPTIONS

- Early Inscriptions from Ghantasala, Andhra Pradesh
Smita Halder 43
- Unpublished Stone Inscription from Anjaneri
Anjali Sanjay Vekhande 59
- A Note on a Hitherto Unpublished Copperplate of Rājyapāla
Rajat Sanyal, Subir Sarkar and Aditi Nath Sarkar 65
- Manahali Copperplate Inscription of Madanapāla, Year 8
Ryosuke Furui 81
- Bidyadharapur Bilingual Inscription of Puruṣottamadeva
Subrata Kumar Acharya and Md. Tarique Rasool 97

ARCHITECTURE

- Three Nine-bayed Mosques of West Bengal
Indrajit Chaudhuri 103
- The Imambara of Murshidabad and the Unnoticed Mosque Inside:
A Structural Review
Samhita Sen 125

COIN

- Gupta Gold Coin-hoards from Uttar Pradesh: Recent Research
Subhasree Banik 137

INSCRIPTIONS

Manahali Copperplate Inscription of Madanapāla, Year 8

RYOSUKE FURUI

Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, the University of Tokyo

ABSTRACT: This article provides a revised edition of the Manahali copperplate inscription of Madanapāla, dated year 8 of his reign (1151/52 CE), based on the digital photographs provided by The Asiatic Society. While the earliest of his three grants, the Rajibpur plate dated year 2, was jointly issued with Gopāla IV, his nephew cum predecessor, the present grant was singularly issued by Madanapāla. It has some features different from the other two grants issued earlier or later, of which the prominent are the appearance of Pauṇḍravardhana as a name of *bhukti* which is otherwise called Pauṇḍravardhana and the use of lunar date. These features could be connected with his attempt to assert the control over expanded territory and the superior position against both Gopāla IV and Vijayasena, his contenders. The plate also attests to the attempt of Madanapāla to consolidate his control through administrative and fiscal rearrangements.

KEYWORDS: Bengal, epigraphy, copperplate grant, the twelfth century, Madanapāla.

Introduction

Madanapāla is so far the last of the kings who can be properly located in the genealogy of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. He is also one of the rare Pāla kings whose reign can be fixed in absolute chronology, thanks to the Valgudar image inscription dated in both his regnal year and Śaka Era, fixing the beginning of his reign to 1144/45 CE (Sircar 1949–50: 142).¹ Of this king, three copperplate inscriptions are known to date. Among them, the earliest one, the Rajibpur plate of year 2, was jointly issued by him and Gopāla IV, his nephew and predecessor (Furui 2015: 40–8). The Manahali plate dated year 8, to be re-edited in the present article, is so far the earliest grant singularly issued by Madanapāla.

The plate was said to have been discovered from village Manahali of Dinajpur district, while excavating a tank within a park of the village in 1875 (Vasu 1900a: 66). In view of the longitude, the latitude and the location in reference to Deokot or rather Bangarh provided by Vasu (Vasu 1900a: 66, note 1), the village could be identified with present Manahali village in Tapan block/tehsil of South Dinajpur district of West Bengal.²

The plate is currently kept by the Asiatic Society as No. 12 of inscriptions on copperplates among their collection (Banerji 1910: 490).

The Manahali copperplate inscription was first edited and published by Nagendra Nath Vasu in 1900 (Vasu 1900a). He also incorporated impressions of the inscription and its Bengali transcription in his article on the Pāla dynasty for the eleventh volume of the *Biśvakoṣa*, a Bengali encyclopaedia (Vasu 1900b: 316–17). The edition of Vasu was reproduced in the corpuses of Bengal inscriptions edited by Akshay Kumar Maitreya (Maitreya 1912: 147–58) and then by Ramaranjan Mukherjee and Sachindra Kumar Maity (Mukherjee and Maity 1967: 209–19), without major revisions.

The situation changed after the discovery of the two plates of Madanapāla from village Rajibpur in 1990 and the subsequent studies on the plates (Furui 2015: 39). The decipherment of these plates provided an opportunity to revise the reading of the Manahali grant against their texts which pertain to the same administrative division and have many elements of contents in common. Adding to that, I could acquire

the digital photographs of the Manahali plate from the Asiatic Society in 2019. They are good enough for decipherment, though reading of some characters on the lower left part of the obverse, which are unclear on the photograph, needs confirmation by personally studying the plate. Encouraged by these factors, I decided to re-edit the Manahali plate.

General Remarks

According to Vasu, the plate is $15\frac{3}{4}$ " by 16" in size (Vasu 1900a: 66), which corresponds to 40 cm high and 40.6 cm wide approximately. A cast seal soldered to its top has a design common to many Pāla plates: a motif of Dharmacakra flanked by deer on both sides, a line of legend mentioning the name of the king below it and a small *stupa* on the top (Vasu 1900a: 66). The image and legend of the seal are worn and blurred but still visible and readable. Vasu does not provide size or diameter of the seal, so that they need to be measured by personally studying the plate. The plate is engraved breadthways on both sides in Gauḍī script datable to the twelfth century. It has 58 lines of inscriptions, of which 35 lines are on the obverse and 23 lines on the reverse. Apart from the regular lines of inscription, four characters *ni*, which seems to be an abbreviation of *nibaddha*, ‘confirmed’, are engraved at the upper left margin of the obverse, above line 1, in two groups separated by a space (Pl. 1).

The characters are engraved clearly in most cases, and qualified Sanskrit stanzas and proses are conveyed almost correctly. However, there are some engraving mistakes and orthographical anomalies which are indicated in the text and notes to the text below. Some are features common to the early medieval inscriptions of Bengal, namely, undifferentiation of *ba* and *va*, gemination of consonant with superscript or subscript *ra* and so on. Others like *ttajan* for *tyajan* (l. 14) and *prattarthi°* for *pratyarthi°* seem to reflect the pronunciation of the time close to that of modern Bengali, as Vasu points out (Vasu 1900a: 66–7).

Some palaeographical features underlined in the two Rajibpur plates of Gopāla IV and

Madanapāla are also found in the present grant. A mark consisting of two vertical lines one above another, which Richard Salomon describes as indicating a word divided between lines (Salomon 1998: 67), are found at the end of some lines, though they do not necessarily function in this manner. For nasalisation, a special form of *anusvāra*, a dot or a circle and a lower stroke similar to the modern Bengali *anusvāra* (Bhattacharya 1969: 253) is used, apart from the ordinary *anusvāra* of a dot above an *akṣara* and the *anunāsika* sign of a dot and a crescent below it.³ *Pha* both in conjunct and alone is in a shape close to *ha* but differentiated from it by bending right arm towards left.⁴

Edition of the Text

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

In this edition, I follow a set of transliteration rules modified from those followed in my previous publications in this journal. The rules I follow are those defined by the ERC-sponsored DHARMA project (Balogh and Griffiths 2020), which require ṛ/Ṛ instead of ɾ/Ṛ (for vocalic r) and ṁ instead of ṁ (for *anusvāra*). The other conventions are as follows:

- (...) graphic elements of which the reading is uncertain.
- [...] graphic elements wholly lost or unreadable on the plate but restorable on the basis of philological considerations.
- {...} expected graphic elements omitted by the engraver.
- <<...>> superfluous graphic elements added by the engraver.
- ṁ* *anusvāra* expressed by a special form, a dot or a circle and a lower stroke.
 - *virāma*.
- V independent vowel or a vowel expressed by a separate *akṣara*.
- C a consonant omitted of its inherent vowel by a special form of *akṣara*, not by a *virāma*.
 - ‡ a sign added to the end of a line, two bars arranged vertically, presumably to indicate continuance of a word to the next line but not necessarily so.

TEXT

SEAL

śrī-madanapāla(h)

OBVERSE

(Upper left margin above line 1) ni ni ni ni

(1) [siddham] Om̐ namo vuddhāya|| svasti||

- I.** [sragdharā]
maitrīm* kārūṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ preyasīm* sandadhānaḥ
samyak-samvodhi-vidyā-sarid-amala-jala(⟨h⟩)-kṣāli | (2)tājñāna-paṅkaḥ |
jītvā yaḥ kāma-kāri-prabhavam abhibhavam śāsvatīm prāpa śānti
sa śrīmān· lokanātho jayati daśa-valo 'nyaś ca gopāla-deva(3)ḥ ||
- II.** [śārdūlavikrīḍita]
lakṣmī-janma-niketanam sama-karo voḍhu[m] kṣamaḥ kṣmā-bharam
pakṣa-ccheda-bhayād upasthitavatām ekāśrayo bhū-bhṛtām* |
maryādā-paripālanaika-ni(4)rataḥ śauryālayo 'smād abhūt·
dugdhāmbhodhi-vilāsa-hāsa-vasatiḥ śrī-dharmmapālo nṛpaḥ ||
- III.** [sragdharā]
rāmasyeva gṛhīta-satya-tapasas tasyānurūpo guṇaiḥ
(5)saumitrer udapādi tulya-mahimā vākpāla nāmānujaḥ(⟨|⟩)
yaḥ śrīmān· naya-vikramaika-vasati(r) bhrātuḥ sthitaḥ śāsane
śūnyāḥ śatru-patā(k)inībhira | (6)karod ekāpatrā diṣaḥ ||
- IV.** [vasantatilakā]
tasmād upendra-caritair jagatīm punānaḥ
putro vabhūva vijayī jayapāla-nāmā |
dharmma-dviṣām śamayitā yudhi devapāle
yaḥ pū(7)rvva-je bhuvana-rājya-sukhāny anaiṣit(·) ||
- V.** [āryā]
śrīmad-vigrahapālas tat-sūnur ajātaśatrur iva jātaḥ |
śatru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilopi-vimalāsi-jala-dhāraḥ || |
- VI.** [sragdharā]
(8)dik-pālaiḥ kṣiti-pālanāya dadhataṁ dehe vibhaktān· guṇān·
śrīmantaṁ janayām vabhūva tanayam nārāyaṇam sna tābhūm |
yaḥ kṣoṇī-patibhiḥ siro-maṇi-rucā(9)śliṣṭā(m)ghri-pīṭhopalam
nyāyopāttam alaṅ-cakāra caritaiḥ svair eva dharmmāsanam ||
- VII.** [vasantatilakā]
toyāśayair jjaladhi-m(ū)la-gabhīra-ga(r)vbhai(r)
devālayaiś (ca) kula-bhū-dhara(10)-tulya-kakṣ(⟨y⟩)aiḥ(⟨|⟩)
vikhyāta-kīrtir abhavat tanayaś ca tasya
śrī-rājyapāla Iti madhyama-loka-pālaḥ ||
- VIII.** [sragdharā]
tasmāt pūrvva-kṣiti-dhrān nidhir iva mahasām rāṣ(tra)(11)kūṭānvayendos
tuṅgasyottuṅga-maular duhitari tanayo bhāgyadevyām prasūtaḥ |
śrīmān· gopāla-devaś cirataram avaner eka-patnyā Ivai(12)ko
bharttā bhūn naika-ratna-dyuti-khacita-catuḥ-sindhu-citrāṅśukāyāḥ ||

- IX.** [vasantatilakā]
 tasmād vabhūva savitur vvasu-koṭi-varṣī
 kālena candra Iva viḡrahapāla(13)-devaḥ|
 netra-priyeṇa vimalena kalāmayena
 yenoditena dalito bhuvanasya tāpaḥ||
- X.** [mālinī]
 hata-sakala-vipakṣaḥ saṅgare vāhu-da(r)pā(d)
 (a)nadhi(14)kṛta-viluptam rājyam āsādyā pitryam|
 nihita-caraṇa-padmo bhū-bhṛtām mū(r)ddhni tasmād
 abhavad avani-pālaḥ śrī-mahīpāla-devaḥ||
- XI.** [śikhariṇī]
 ttajan(·) yo!(15)śāsaṅgam śīrasi kṛta-pādaḥ kṣiti-bhṛtām
 vitanvan· sarvvāśaḥ prasabham udayādrer iva raviḥ|
 guṇa-grāmmā snigdha-prakṛtir anurāgai(16)ka-vasatis
 tato dhanyaḥ puṇ(y)air ajani nayapālo nara-patiḥ||
- XII.** [śārdūlavikrīḍita]
 pītaḥ saj-jana-locanaiḥ smara-ripoḥ pūjānuraktaḥ sadā
 saṅg(r)āme dha!(17)valo dhika-graha-kṛtām kālaḥ kule vidviṣām|
 cātur-vvanṇya-samāśrayaḥ sita-yaśaḥ-pūrair jḡagal-lambhayan(·)
 tasmād viḡrahapāla-deva-nṛ!(18)-patiḥ puṇyair jjanānām abhūt·||
- XIII.** [upajāti]
 tan-nandanaś candana-vāri-hāri
 -kī(r)tti-prabhānandita-viśva-gītaḥ|
 śrīmān mahīpāla Iti dviṭiṣo|
 (19)dvijeśa-mauliḥ śivavad vabhūva||
- XIV.** [śārdūlavikrīḍita]
 tasyābhūd anujo mahendra-mahimā (s)kandaḥ pratāpa-śriyām
 ekaḥ sāhasa-sārathir gguṇamayāḥ! (20)śrī-sūrapālo nṛpaḥ(|)
 yaḥ sva(c)chanda-nisa(r)gga-vibhrama-bharā-virvbhūta-sarvvāyudha
 -prāgalbhyena manaḥsu drismaya-bhayanṁ sadyas tatāna dviṣām||
- XV.** [śārdūlavikrīḍita]
 E!(21)tasyāpi sahodaro nara-patir ddivya-prajā-nirvbhara
 -kṣobhāhūta-vidhūta-vāsava-dhṛtiḥ śrī-rāmapālo 'bhavat(·)|
 śāsaty eva (22)ciraṁ jaganti janake yaḥ śaiśave pi sphurat
 tejobhiḥ para-cakra-cetasi camat-kāraṁ cakāra sthiraṁ||
- XVI.** [vasantatilakā]
 tasmād ajāyata nijā!(23)yata-vāhu-vīrya
 -niṣpīta-pīvara-virodhi-yaśaḥ-payodhiḥ|
 medasvi-kīrttir amarendra-vadhū-kapola
 -karppūra-pattra-makarīṣu ku(24)mārapālaḥ||
- XVII.** [śārdūlavikrīḍita]
 prattartthi-pramadā-kadamvaka-śiraḥ-sindūra-lopa-krama
 -krīḍā-pāṭala-pāṇir eṣa susuve gopālam urvī-bhujam|
 (25)dhātri-pālana-jṛmbhamāṇa-mahimā karpūra-pāmśūtkaṛair
 devaḥ kīrttim aye nija(m) vitanute yaḥ śeśave krīḍitaṁ*||

XVIII. [mālinī]

tad-anu madana|**(26)**devī-nandanaś candra-gauraiś
 śucita-bhuvana-garvbhaḥ pāmśubhiḥ kīrtti-pūraiḥ|
 kṣitīm acaramatātas tasya saptāvḍhi-dāmnīm
 abhṛta madanapā**(27)**lo rāmapālātma-janmā |{}

sa khalu bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānā-vidha-nau-vāṭaka-sampādita-
 setu-vandha-nihita-sāila|

(28)-śikhara-⟨śre⟩ṇī-vibhrāmāt niratiśaya-manāpana-kari-ghaṭā-
 śyāmayamāna-vāsara-lakṣmī-samāravdha-santata-jalada-samaya-sandehā
(29)d udicīnāneka-nara-pati-prābhṛti-kṛtāprameya-haya-vāhinī-khara-
 thurotkhāta-dhūli-dhūṣariha-dig-antarālāt• parameśvara-sevā
(30)-samāgatāśeṣa-jamvudvīpa-bhū-pālānanta-pāda-bhara-namad-avaneḥ śrī-
 rāmāvati-nagara-parisara-samāvāsita-śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvā|
(31)rāt•| paramasaugato mahārājādhirāja⟨{h}⟩-śrī-rāmapāla-deva-
 pādānudhyātaḥ parameśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārako mahārājādhirā
(32)jaḥ śrīman-madanapāla-devaḥ kuśali|| śrī-pauṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau
 koṭivarṣa-viṣaye halāvartta-maṇḍale koṣṭhāgāra-sam-vimśaty-āvārikopeta-su
(33)kaivadya(dva)sāvaddhāraṭṭake trīśatikāyām bhūmau samupāgatāśeṣa-rāja-
 puruṣān• rāja-rājānyaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahāsāndhivi
(34)grahika-mahākṣapaṭalika-mahāsāmanta-mahāsepāpati-mahāpratihāra-
 dauḥśādhāsādhānika-mahākumārāmātya-rājasthāni|
(35)yoparika-cauroddharaṇika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsika-śaunika-kṣetrapa-
 prāntapāla-koṭṭapāla-Aṅgarakṣa-tad-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka

REVERSE

(36)-hastyastoṣṭranauvalavyāpṛtaka-kīśoravaḍavāgomahiṣyājāvīkādhyaḥkṣa-
 dūta-preṣaṇika-gamāgamika-Atitvaramāṇa-vi
(37)-ṣayapati-grāmapati-tarika-śaulkika-gaulmika-gauḍa-mālava-coḍa-khasa-
 hūṇa-kulika-karṇṇāṭa-lāṭa-cāṭa-bhaṭa-sevakādī
(38)n(•) Anyāśś cākīrttitān•| rāja-pādopajīvina⟨{h}⟩ prativāsino
 vrāhmaṇottarān(•) mahattamottama-kuṭumvīḥ-purogama-caṇḍāla-
 paryantān(•) ya
(39)thārha(m) mānayati vodhayati samādisati ca{|} viditam astu bhavatām*||
 yathoparilikṣito yaṁ grāmaḥ|| sva-sīmā-tṛṇa-pluti-gocara-paryantaḥ||
(40) sa-talaḥ soddeśaḥ sāmra-madhūkaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-garttośaraḥ sa-
 jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ sa-da⟨{ra}⟩śāpasāraḥ sa-cauroddharaṇikaḥ parihṛta-sarvva
(41)-pīḍaḥ A-cāṭa-bhaṭṭa-praveśaḥ Akiñcita-paragrājyaḥ bhāga-bhoga-kara-
 hiraṇyādi-pratyāya-sametaḥ ratna-traya-rāja-sambhoga-varjḥḥjitaḥ
(42) bhūmi-cchidra-nyāyena Ā-candrārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam māta-pitror
 ātmanaś ca puṇya-yaśo bhivṛddhaye| (sāṇḍila)-sagotrāya śāṇḍi|
(43)lyāsita-devala-pravarāya paṇḍita-śrībhūṣaṇa-savrahmacāriṇe
 sāmavedāntarggata-kauthuma-śākhādhyāyine campāhiṭṭiyāya|
(44) campāhiṭṭi-vāstavyāya vatsaśvāmi-prapautrāya prajāpatiśvāmi-pautrāya
 śaunakaśvāmi-putrāya paṇḍita-bhaṭṭaputra-śrī-vaṭeśvaraśvā
(45)miśarmmaṇe paṭṭamahādevī-śrī-citramatikayā vedavyāsa-prokta-

- prapāṭhita-mahābhārata-samutsarggita-dakṣiṇātvena bhagava
(46)ntaṃ vuddha-bhaṭṭārakam uddīśya śāsani-kṛtya pradatto 'smābhiḥ| Ato
 bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair evānumantavyaṃ* bhāvibhir api pūmi-pati
(47)bhir bhūmer ddāna-phala-gauravāt(·) Apaharaṇe mahā⟨⟨n·⟩⟩-naraka-
 pāta-bhayāc ca dānam idam anumodyānumodya pālanīyaṃ* prativāsi
(48)bhiś ca kṣetra-karair ājñā-vidheyī-bhūya⟨⟨ḥ⟩⟩ yathā-kālaṃ samucita-
 bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiraṇyādi-pratyāyopanayaḥ kārya Iti||
(49) samvaT 8 candra-gatyā caitra-karmma-dine 15⟨||⟩ bhavanti cātra
 dharmmānusaṃsinaḥ ślokāḥ||
- XIX.** [anuṣṭubh]
 vahubhir vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ! **(50)**sagrādibhiḥ⟨|⟩
 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ*||
- XX.** [anuṣṭubh]
 bhūmiṃ yaḥ pratigṛhnāti yaś ca bhūmiṃ prayacchati|
 Ubhau tau puṇya! **(51)**-karmmaṇau niyataṃ svargga-gāminau||
- XXI.** [anuṣṭubh]
 gām ekāṃ svarntam eka(m) vva bhūmer apy arddham aṅgulaṃ*⟨|⟩
 haraṃ narakam āyāti⟨⟨|⟩⟩ yāvad āhūti **(52)**samplavaṃ*||
- XXII.** [anuṣṭubh]
 ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargge tiṣṭhati bhūmidah⟨|⟩
 Ākṣeptā cānumantā ca tāny eva narake vaset·||
- XXIII.** [anuṣṭubh]
 sva-dattāṃ* pa**(53)**ra-dattā⟨m⟩ vā⟨⟨m⟩⟩ yo hareta vasundharāṃ⟨|⟩
 sa viṣṭhāyāṃ kṛmir bhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ saha pacyate||
- XXIV.** [anuṣṭubh]
 Āsphoṭayanti pitaro valgayanti pitāma**(54)**hāḥ|
 bhūmi-do 'smada-kule jātaḥ sa nas trātā bhavisyati||
- XXV.** [śālinī]
 sarvvān etān(·) bhāvinaḥ pārthivendrān·
 bhūyo bhūya⟨ḥ⟩ prārthayety e**(55)**sa rāmaḥ⟨|⟩
 sāmānyo yaṃ dharmma-setur narāṇāṃ
 kāle kāle pālanīyaḥ krameṇa||
- XXVI.** [puṣpitaḅgrā]
 Iti kamala-dalāmvu-vindu-lolāṃ
 śriyam a**(56)**nucintya manusya-jīvitāṃ ca⟨|⟩
 sakalam idam udāhṛtaṃ ca vuddhvā
 na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayo vilopyāḥ||
- XXVII.** [anuṣṭubh]
 kṛtaḥ sakala**(57)**-nīti-jñō dhairya-sthairya-mahodadhiḥ⟨|⟩
 sāndhivigrahikaḥ śrīmān· bhīmadevo 'tra dūtakaḥ||
- XXVIII.** [anuṣṭubh]
 rājye madanapālasya Aṣṭame **(58)**parivacchare |
 tāmra-paṭṭam imaṃ śilpī tathāgatasaro 'khanat·||

NOTES TO THE TEXT

- 1 [siddham]: expressed by a symbol, a loop open to the right.
- 2 śāśvatīm: NV śāśvatām. śānti: emend śāntīm.
- 6 ekātpatrā: NV ekātpatro, emend ekātapatrā. diṣaḥ: NV diśaḥ, emend as such.
- 8 sna tābhūm: NV sa tābhūm, emend sa prabhūm. siro: emend śiro-.
- 9 ā(m)ghri: NV ānghri.
- 10 °kākṣ(y)aiḥ: NV kakṣaiḥ. tasmāt: NV tasmā(t).
- 11 °endos: NV °e[n]dos. °maular: NV °mauler, emend as such.
- 12 °varṣi: NV °vardhī.
- 13 °da(r)pā(d) (a)nadhi: As NV notes, the akṣara (d)(a) seems to be added later and looks like *avagraha* sign (Vasu 1900a: 70, n.2).
- 14 mū(r)ddhni: NV mūrdhni. ttajan(·) yo: emend tyajan do.
- 15 °grāmmā: NV °grāmyā, emend °grāhyā.
- 17 °vvanṇya: NV °vvarṇya, emend °varṇya.
- 18 dviṭiṣo: NV dviṭyo, emend kṣiṭiṣo.
- 19 (s)kandaḥ: NV kandaḥ. °mayāḥ: NV °nayaḥ.
- 20 °bharā: NV °bharā[n]. °virvbhūta: correct form is vibhūta but the metre requires this form, NV vivbhrat. drismaya: NV vismaya, emend as such.
- 22 pi sphurat: NV visphurat.
- 23 °niṣpīta: emend °niṣpīta. °makarīṣu: NV makarī sa.
- 24 prattartthi: emend pratyarthi. susuve: NV susuve, emend as such. urvī: NV ūrvī.
- 25 aye nija(m): NV ayonija[m], emend ayaṁ nijaṁ. śeśave: NV śaiśave, emend as such.
- 26 acaramatātas: NV avaramatātas.
- 28 śikhara-(śre)ṇī: NV śikhar[i]ṇī. °vibhrāmāt: NV °vibhramān, emend as such. °manāpana: NV °ghanāghana, emend as such. °śyāmāyamaṇa: NV °śyāmāyamaṇa, emend as such.
- 29 udicīnā: emend udicīnā. °thuro: NV °khuro, emend as such. °dhūṣariha: NV °dhūṣarita, emend °dhūsarita.
- 32 koṣṭhāgāra: NV (kāṣṭhagiri).
- 32–33 °sukaivadya(dva)sāvaddhāraṭṭake: NV (°sakaivadārvacatṭaraṭṭake).
- 33 triśatikāyām: NV tṛ[m]śatikāyām. °rājānyaka: emend °rājanyaka.
- 34 °sepāpati: emend °senāpati.
- 35 °dāṇḍapāsika: emend °dāṇḍapāsika. °āyuktaka: NV °āyukta.
- 36 hastyasto: NV hastyasvo, emend hastyaśvo. °mahiṣyā: NV °mahiṣā, emend °mahiṣya. °Atitvaramāṇa: emend °Abhitvaramāṇa.
- 38 °kuṭumvīḥ: NV °kuṭumvīm, emend °kuṭumbi.
- 39 samādisati: emend samādīṣati. °likṣito: emend °likhito. °pluti: emend °pūti.
- 40 sa-garttośaraḥ: emend sa-garttośaraḥ. sa-da(⟨ra⟩)śāpasāraḥ: emend sa-daśāpacāraḥ. sa-cauroddharaṇikaḥ: emend sa-cauroddharaṇaḥ.
- 41 Akiñcita-paragrājyaḥ: NV akiñcita-paragrāhyaḥ, emend Akiñcit-pragrāhyaḥ. bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiraṇyādi: NV [samasta]-bhāga-bhoga-hiraṇyādi.
- 42 (sāṇḍila): NV (kautsa), emend śaṇḍila.
- 43 °āsita: emend °āsita. °śrībhuṣaṇa: NV °śrī-bhūṣaṇa. °kauthuma: NV °kautthuma.
- 44 vatsaśvāmi: emend vatsasvāmi. prajāpatiśvāmi: emend prajāpatīśvāmi. śaunakaśvāmi: emend śaunakasvāmi.
- 44–45 °vaṭeśvaraśvāmi: emend °vaṭeśvarasvāmi.
- 46 pūmi-pati: NV pami-pati, emend bhūmi-pati.
- 47 mahā(⟨n⟩): NV mahāna.
- 49 °ānusaṁsinaḥ: emend °ānuśaṁsinaḥ.
- 50 pratigṛhṇāti: NV pratigṛhṇāti, emend as such.
- 51 svarntam: NV svarṇam, emend svarṇam. āhūti: NV āhūta.
- 52 ṣaṣṭīm: emend ṣaṣṭim.

- 54 'smada°: emend 'smat°. bhavisyati: emend bhaviṣyati. prārthayety: NV prārthayaty, emend as such.
 54–55 esa: emend eṣa.
 56 manusya° emend manuṣya.
 58 parivacchare: emend parivatsare.

Translation

Seal Illustrious Madanapāladeva
 Margin Confirmed. Confirmed. Confirmed.
 Confirmed.
 Main Part Success! Om, salutation to the
 Buddha. Welfare! (l.1)

- 1 The one with mind delighted by the jewel of compassion, who is united with beloved goddess Benevolence, whose dirt of ignorance is cleansed by pure water of the stream of knowledge of perfect enlightenment, who, after conquering the powerful cause of existence producing desire, acquired eternal tranquillity, may he, the illustrious Lord of the World (i.e. the Buddha) possessing ten powers be victorious, otherwise also Gopāladeva (I)! (ll.1–3)
 2 From him was born illustrious king Dharmapāla, who was the birthplace of Lakṣmī (i.e. the ocean) with *makaras* {was levying fair tax on the origin of wealth}, able to carry the burden of the earth, a sole refuge for mountains {kings} approaching him in fear of cutting of their wings {destruction of their troops}, devoted to the protection of custom, an abode of heroism and a dwelling of smile with beauty of milk-ocean. (ll.3–4)
 3 Of him, who gained genuine asceticism like Rāma, there was the brother named Vākpāla, similar (to him) and born with virtues of the son of Sumitrā (i.e. Lakṣmaṇa), having equal greatness. He was an illustrious sole abode of conduct and valour, adhered to the order of his brother and made quarters under one umbrella without enemy armies. (ll.4–6)

- 4 From him was born the son, the victor named Jayapāla, who cleansed the world by his deeds of Upendra (i.e. Viṣṇu). He, the tranquiliser of enemies of Dharma in battle, brought comforts of world kingship to Devapāla, his elder. (ll.6–7)
 5 Illustrious Vīgrahapāla (I), his son like Ajātaśatru (i.e. Indra), was born. He was the stream of water that was the clean sword destroying decorations of wives of his enemies. (l.7)
 6 He procreated his illustrious son Nārāyaṇa(pāla), the master, who held in his body virtues parted by the guardians of quarters for the protection of the earth. He decorated by his own deeds the properly acquired seat of *dharmā*, the stone of whose footstool was attached by lustre of crest-jewels by kings. (ll.8–9)
 7 And his son, the protector of central world named illustrious Rājyapāla was born, with the fame known by the bed of water inside the deep bottom of the ocean and by the abodes of deities which equalled the rooms of kings of the lineage. (ll.9–10)
 8 From him in Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of Tuṅga, the moon of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage with raised crown, was born the son like the treasury of greatness of previous kings. (He,) illustrious Gopāladeva (III) was for a long time like the only one husband of the earth, the devoted wife who had manifold garments of four oceans studded with lustre of many gems. (ll.10–12)
 9 From him, as if the moon raining ten million of rays was born from the sun at proper time, was born Vīgrahapāladeva (II). By him who is dear to eyes, spotless, having rays {branches of arts} and elevated, the heat of the world was dispersed. (ll.12–13)
 10 From him was born illustrious king Mahīpāladeva (I), who had all the enemies destroyed in battle because of the pride of his arms after stabilising the ancestral kingdom unrulled and lost, and had his

- lotus-like feet laid on the heads of kings. (ll.13–14)
- 11 King Nayapāla, abandoning association with vices, putting his feet on heads of kings, forcibly filling all the spaces, to be gained by virtues, having affectionate subjects, the sole abode of affection and rich with virtues, was born from him, as if the sun (was born) from the Udaya Mountain. (ll.14–16)
- 12 King Vighrahapāladeva (III), who was drunk by the eyes of good people, always pleased with worship of the enemy of love (i.e. Śiva), beautiful in battle, the death for enemies in the family who made excellent grabbing, the shelter of those belonging to four *varṇas*, bestowing the world with his swelling white fame, was born from him with virtues. (ll.16–18)
- 13 His son, the king named Mahīpāla (II), the illustrious, who was sung by the all delighted by the splendour of his fame surpassing *candana* water, the foremost among masters of twice-born {having moon on his crest}, was born having auspiciousness {like Śiva}. (ll.18–19)
- 14 There was his younger brother king Śūrapāla (II), having greatness of Mahendra, Skanda in fortune of valour, the sole bold charioteer and possessing virtues. He, by his proficiency in all the weapons arisen from the excess of restlessness due to his own will and nature, spread immediately wonder and fear in the minds of his enemies. (ll.19–20)
- 15 There was also his uterine brother, king, illustrious Rāmapāla, whose firmness of Vāsava (i.e. Indra) was invoked and shaken by vehement disturbance of people of heaven {Divya}. When his father was ruling for long time and leaving (this world), even in his childhood, he made lasting astonishment in the heart of enemy circles by his glittering splendour. (ll.20–22)
- 16 From him was born Kumārapāla, who had the ocean of thick fame of enemies drunk

- up by valour of his own long arms, having robust fame on female *makaras* which were marks of camphor on the cheek of wife of the king of deities. (ll.22–24)
- 17 He, whose hand was pale red due to sport of serial robbing of vermilion on the heads of group of women of his opponents, procreated king Gopāla (IV). This king, whose greatness is expanding for the protection of the earth, extends his own fame by raining a heap of dust of camphor playfully in his childhood. (ll.24–25)
- 18 Afterwards there was the son of Madanadevī, who had the inside of the earth purified by strong streams of his fame white like the moon. Because of his not being the last, Madanapāla, the son of Rāmapāla, supported the earth with girdle of seven oceans. (ll.25–27)

From the illustrious military camp of victory pitched in the neighbourhood of illustrious Rāmāvatīnagara, where the group of mountain peaks laid by the bridge produced by various kinds of large ships going around the path of river Bhāgīrathī are rolling, where the doubt of the time of lasting cloud occurred because of daylight darkened by the assembly of unsurpassed rutting elephants, where the intermediate space of directions is made grey by dust dug up by the hard hooves of innumerable horse troops gifted by many northern kings and where the earth bows to the weight of innumerable foot soldiers of all the kings of Jambudvīpa coming for the service to the supreme lord. (ll.27–31)

Paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhivāja illustrious Madanapāladeva, healthy, the devout worshipper of Sugata, who was accepted by his majesty *mahārājādhivāja* illustrious Rāmapāladeva, honours, announces and orders according to order all the approached royal officials beginning with *rāja*, *rājanyaka*, *rājaputra*, *rājāmātya*, *mahāsāndhivīgrahika*, *mahākṣapaṭalika*, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāsenāpati*, *mahāpratīhāra*,

dauḥsādhasādhanika, mahākumārāmātya, rājasthānīya, uparika, cauroddharanika, dāṇḍika, dāṇḍapāsika, śaunika, kṣetrapa, prāntapāla, koṭṭapāla, aṅgarakṣa, their āyuktakas and viniyuktakas, hastyaśvoṣṭranaubalavyāpṛtaka, kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣyajāvīkādhyakṣa, dūta, preṣanika, gamāgamika, abhitvaramāṇa, viṣayapati, grāmapati, tarika, śaulkika, gaulmika, Gauḍa, Mālava, Coḍa, Khasa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇāta, Lāṭa, cāṭa, bhaṭa and sevaka, and the other unnamed dependants on the royal feet, and the residents accompanied by brāhmaṇas, headed by mahattamas, uttamas and kuṭumbins reaching to cāṇḍālas, at the land of three hundred in Āraṭṭaka tied to Sukaivadyadvasa and accompanied by twenty stalls (āvārikā), belonging to granary in Halāvarta maṇḍala of Koṭīvarṣa viṣaya in illustrious Pauṇḍravardhana bhukti (as follows): (ll.32–39)

“It should be known to you. This village as written above, as far as its own border, grass field and pasture ground, was given by us in the name of the venerable Lord Buddha after making royal grant, with flat land, with raised ground, with mango and mahua trees, with watering place, with ditch and saline land, with forest and shrub, with fine of ten offences, with the right to catch thieves, exempted from all the burdens, without entry of cāṭas and bhaṭtas, without anything taken away, accompanied by contribution of bhāga, bhoga, kara, hiraṇya and so on, excluding royal estate (rājasambhoga) of the three jewels (i.e. Buddhist establishment), by the rule of land reclamation, as long as the moon, the sun and the earth exist, for the increase of merit and fame of parents and myself, to paṇḍita bhaṭṭaputra illustrious Vaṭeśvarasvāmīśarman, belonging to Śaṇḍila gotra, Śaṇḍilya, Āsita and Devala pravara, co-disciple of paṇḍita Śrībhūṣaṇa, learning Kauthuma śākhā belonging to the Sāmaveda, of Campāhiṭṭī and residing in Campāhiṭṭī,

the great-grandson of Vatsasvāmin, the grandson of Prajāpatisvāmin and the son of Śaunakasvāmin, because of being reward by the chief queen (*paṭṭamahādevī*) illustrious Citramatikā given for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* spoken by Vedavyāsa. (ll.39–46) Hence it should be consented to by you all. (l.46) This donation should also be protected by future kings after repeatedly approving it out of respect for merit of donation of land and from fear of falling to the great hell in case of its violation. (ll.46–47) And the practice of appropriate contribution of bhāga, bhoga, kara, hiraṇya and so on should be made at proper time by residing cultivators after becoming subject to hearing the order (of donee).” (ll.47–48) Year 8 month Caitra day of karman 15 by the movement of the moon. (l.49) Here are verses instructing dharma (as follows): (l.49)

- 19 The earth was given by many kings beginning with Sagara. To the one to whom the land belongs, belongs then the merit. (ll.49–50)
- 20 The one who gains land and the one who gives land, both of them with meritorious deeds are surely going to heaven. (ll.50–51)
- 21 The one stealing a cow, one piece of gold or a half aṅgula of land comes to hell as long as he invokes deluge. (ll.51–52)
- 22 For sixty thousand years, a giver of land stays in heaven. The one who denies it and the one who agrees with him lives in hell for the same period. (l.52)
- 23 Either given by himself or given by the others, the one who stole land, he would be boiled with his ancestors after becoming an insect in excreta. (ll.52–53)
- 24 Fathers tremble and paternal grandfathers jump, he, the land giver born in our family, will be the saviour of us. (ll.53–54)
- 25 To all these future kings, this Rāma demands repeatedly. “This common bridge of dharma for men should be always protected with effort.” (ll.54–55)

- 26 After thus considering wealth and human life fragile as a drop of water on a lotus petal, also after knowing all that is said, the meritorious deeds of others should not be destroyed by human beings. (ll.55–56)
- 27 *Sāndhivigrahika* illustrious Bhīmadeva, the great ocean of intelligence and firmness, was here made the messenger. (ll.56–57)
- 28 In the reign of Madanapāla, in the eighth year, the artisan Tathāgatasara engraved this copperplate. (ll.57–58)

Discussion

The plate records the donation of a plot of land, deemed to be a village, to a *brāhmaṇa* enacted by king Madanapāla. The inaugural elements including auspicious sign and words and invocation of the Buddha are much the same as the two Rajibpur plates (l.1, cf. Furui 2015: 41, l.1; 49, l.1). The eulogy of the Pāla kings consisting of 18 verses is identical with that of the Rajibpur plate of Madanapāla dated year 22 (ll.1–27, cf. Furui 2015: 49–51, ll.1–27). The place of issue, the military camp pitched at the neighbourhood of Rāmāvatīnagara, is also the same as both Rajibpur plates (ll.30–31, cf. Furui 2015: 43, l.35; 51, ll.30–31).

The concerned settlement administratively belonged to Halāvartta *maṇḍala* of Koṭīvarṣa *viṣaya* in Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (l.32), the same unit in which donations were made in the two Rajibpur plates (Furui 2015: 43, l.37; 51, ll.32–33). The name of *bhukti*, however, is anomalous, as all the other Pāla plates so far known, including the aforementioned Rajibpur plates of Gopāla IV and the same king, use Puṇḍravardhana to denote the same *bhukti* of North Bengal (ex. Sircar 1951-52: 7, l.28; 11, l.27). Its adoption by Madanapāla in this particular period and the reversion to Puṇḍravardhana later in his reign need some explanation.

Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti* first appeared in the Paschimbhag plate of Śrīcandra, datable to the first half of the tenth century, as the highest administrative unit to which Śrīhaṭṭa *maṇḍala* belonged (Sircar 1973: 66, l.27). In the Sena

grants, it came to denote a large administrative unit covering Khāḍī *viṣaya/maṇḍala* in lower Bhagirathi basin, Varendrī, the northern sub-region of Bengal, and Vaṅga, the southern sub-region (Majumdar 1929: 63, l.31; 102, l.33; 87, l.34; 125, l.47; 146, l.42; 171). This expansion was initiated by Vijayasena, who adopted it by the time when he issued his Barrackpur plate in the 62nd year of his reign (Majumdar 1929: 57–67). As discussed elsewhere, Madanapāla was confronting in North Bengal with both Gopāla IV, who kept his influence after the possible usurpation by his uncle, and Vijayasena, who was encroaching upon the Pāla territory (Furui 2015: 57). The adoption of Pauṇḍravardhana as name for the *bhukti* could be taken as Madanapāla's assertion of the control over expanded territory and the superior position against these contenders. The reversion to the earlier appellation of Puṇḍravardhana in his later grant points to the failure of this attempt in front of the growing power of the Senas, which retained Pauṇḍravardhana in their grants.⁵

The description of the concerned settlement shows the effort of Madanapāla to tighten his control over the remaining territory. The village or hamlet Āraṭṭaka is described as belonging to granary (*koṣṭhāgāra*), accompanied by 20 stalls or shops (*āvārikā*) and tied to Sukaivadyadvasa, another settlement (ll.32–33). The attachment of a particular settlement to granary, a phenomenon not found in the earlier Pāla grants, could be a new fiscal arrangement introduced by Madanapāla, to be followed by the attachment of southern neighbourhood (*dakṣiṇāvadhī*) to the granary of Devikoṭa mentioned in the Rajibpur plate of the same king dated year 22 (Furui 2015: 58). Together with the exclusion of royal estate of the Buddhist establishment, which is listed as one of the conditions of donation (l.41), it shows the attempt of Madanapāla to keep particular settlements and their revenue under his own control. The reference to the number of stalls, on the other hand, points to the elaboration of local assessment in addition to the estimation of production in currency units, expressed by 'three hundred' attached to the donated plot in

the present plate (l.33), which has been practised from the earlier period (Furui 2020: 146). The presence of stalls also attests to the progress in commercialisation of rural economy in North Bengal (Furui 2020: 154–55).

The order of the king recorded in the inscription is addressed to the royal officials or dependants, of whom 45 offices and titles are listed, and the residents related to the land plot to be donated. Compared with the Rajibpur plate of year 2, the present plate has *dāṇḍika* and *khasa* added, and *śaunakika* and *hūṇika* respectively replaced by *śaunika* and *kulika* in the list of officials (ll.35, 37, cf. Furui 2015: 43, ll.39–40, 42). *Mahattara* among the residents also changes to *mahattama* (l.38, cf. Furui 2015: 44, l.43). In the address of the Rajibpur plate of year 22, on the other hand, *mahāsādhnika* is added and *kulika* turns back to *hūṇika* (Furui 2015: 52, l.36; 53, l.39, cf. present plate, ll.34, 37). While the increasing number of listed offices and titles from 43 to 45 and then to 46 in these plates seems to indicate a gradual expansion of officials and the change of *śaunakika* to *śaunika* suggests standardisation of their nomenclature, the oscillation between *hūṇika* and *kulika*, together with prevalent mistakes rather suggests the limited literacy of Tathāgatasara, the engraver of all the plates.

The terms and conditions of donation in the present grant are almost the same as those in the Rajibpur plate of year 2, except the omission of pasture (*gocara*) from the limit of the donated village and the insertion of *kara* into *akiñcit-pragrāhya* in the latter (Furui 2015: 44, ll.44, 46), and the addition of *hiranya* to tribute (*pratyāya*) and the clause excluding royal estate of the Buddhist establishment from donation in the former (l.41). As discussed above, the last clause indicates Madanapāla's attempt to tighten his control. It is followed by a similar clause in his Rajibpur plate dated year 22, in which royal estate includes enclosed land (*vṛtī*) of the Buddhist establishment, *kaivartas* and *carmakāras* (Furui 2015: 53, l.43).

Vaṭeśvarasvāmin, the donee, is a Sāmavedin of Kauthuma school and belongs to Śaṅḍila/Śaṅḍilya *gotra* and three *pravara* of Śaṅḍilya,

Āsita and Devala (ll.42–43), the combination also found in the Amgachi plate of Vighrahapāla III (Banerji 1919-20: 297–98, ll.36–39). Remarkable is the reference to Campāhiṭṭī, which the donee both belongs to and resides in (ll.43–44). This expression makes a stark contrast with the reference to both villages of origin and residence of donee in the other Pāla plates (ex. Furui 2015: 45, l.48; 53, l.46), which suggests migration of *brāhmaṇa* family (Furui 2020: 152). As discussed elsewhere, the present case shows settling of *brāhmaṇas* in particular locality and slowing tendency of Brahmanical migration (Furui 2020: 204).

The reason of donation is stated to be reward for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* (l.45). It was conferred on the donee by Citramatikā, the chief queen, as remuneration of service rendered in the form of reciting the epic for her and probably on her initiative. It gives a rare glimpse of the agency of a woman of high position in arranging a religious or cultural event, though her right to the resources mobilised for the occasion is obscured due to its subsumption under the royal power to enact tax-free land and village grants. What to note is that the *Mahābhārata* was recited by a Sāmavedin of Kauthuma school. It shows a wide range of knowledge and activities with which highly qualified *brāhmaṇas* of Bengal were acquainted and involved.

The present grant is dated to the eighth year of Madanapāla's reign (ll.49, 57–58), datable to 1151/52 CE in view of the Valgudar image inscription dated day 11 of month Jyaiṣṭha, in year 18 of Madanapāla's reign and year 1083 in Śaka Era, which falls within year 1161 CE (Sircar 1949–50: 142, 145). The month and day are preceded by the word 'by the movement of the moon' (*candra-gatyā*), which makes the present plate one of rare inscriptions of Bengal mentioning lunar date (Furui 2019: 117, note 6). The meaning of *karman* prefixed to day (*dina*), which is also found in the Rajibpur plate of year 22 (Furui 2015: 53, l.51), is unclear from the context. The use of lunar date and the absence of indication for fortnight (*pakṣa*) tempt me to take *karman* as an indicator of fortnight. But this assumption is

denied by the fact that the day mentioned in the last plate is 16, most probably in solar date (Furui 2015: 53, l.51). Thus the application of lunar date was a temporary measure introduced by Madanapāla and withdrawn later in his reign. The reason of this policy and its withdrawal is again unclear, but a similar pattern observed in the case of Pauṇḍravardhana discussed above is notable.

The eight benedictory and imprecatory verses (ll.49–56, vv.19–26), common to those in both the Rajibpur plates (Furui 2015: 45, ll.55–61, vv.20–27; 53, ll.51–58, vv.19–26), are followed by the two verses mentioning the messenger and engraver (ll.56–58, vv.27–28). The present plate lacks a verse eulogising Madanapāla (Furui 2015: 45, ll.61–62, v.28) or mentioning

his donation to the donee *brāhmaṇa* (Furui 2015: 53, ll.58–59, v.27) found in each of the Rajibpur plates between the benedictory and imprecatory verses and the verses on messenger and engraver. Both the messenger and engraver, *sāndhivigrahika* Bhīmadeva and *śilpin* Tathāgatasara, fulfil the same duties in the two Rajibpur plates as mentioned in the last two verses of each plate (Furui 2015: 45, ll.62–63, vv.29–30; 53, ll.59–60, vv.28–29). The verses show slight changes in each plate and the description of Bhīmadeva as ‘the ruby on the crest of *sāmantaś*’ (*sāmanta-śiro-mauli-māṇikya*) added to the verse in the Rajibpur plate of year 22, apart from *sāndhivigrahika* also found in the other plates, suggests his promotion finally reaching to the high position expressed in his Rajghat stone inscription (Sircar 1957–8).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: I would like to thank Dr Satyabrata Chakrabarti, General Secretary, and Dr Keka Banerjee, Curator of Museum of The Asiatic Society for providing me with the digital photographs of the concerned copperplate. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewer whose valuable comments corrected several mistakes of mine. The research which resulted in the present work was supported by JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (19K01014).

NOTES

1. The other king is Rāmapāla, whose reign is now fixed to the period between 1078/79 and 1131 CE by Shin’ichiro Hori’s study of a manuscript (Hori 2019: 50–1).
2. ‘Manahali’ in Indian Village Directory (<https://villageinfo.in/west-bengal/dakshin-dinajpur/tapan/manahali.html>) (Accessed 22/11/2022).
3. I mistook the first *anusvāra* for *anunāsika* in the previous edition of the Rajibpur plates (Furui 2015: 40). I herewith correct the mistake.
4. For this shape of *pha*, see Bhattacharya 1969: 355, note 4. This corrects my earlier misconception of the substitution of *ha* for *pha* in the Rajibpur plates (Furui 2015: 40).
5. It should be added that Pauṇḍravardhana *bhukti* continued to appear in the plates of Dāmodaradeva and Vīradharadeva, the kings who ruled eastern Bengal in the thirteenth century, as the unit above Samataṭa *maṇḍala* (Barua and Chakravarti 1947–8: 188, ll.14–15; Dani 1953–4: 188, ll.26–27; Bhattacharyya 1983–4: 26, ll.9–10).

REFERENCES

- Balogh, Dániel and Arlo Griffiths (2020). ‘DHARMA Transliteration Guide, Version 3’, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-02272407> (accessed 22/11/2022).
- Banerji, Rakhal Das (1910). ‘Catalogue of Inscriptions on Copper-plates in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal’, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series* 6 (9): 485–96.
- Banerji, R(akhal). D(as). 1919–20 (1982). ‘The Amgachhi Grant of Vighraha-Pala III: the 12th Year’, *Epigraphia Indica* 15: 293–301.
- Barua, B.M. and Pulin Behari Chakravarti 1947–48 (1985). ‘Meher Plate of Damodaradeva’, *Epigraphia Indica* 27: 182–91.
- Bhattacharya, Suresh Chandra (1969). ‘The Evolution of Script in North-Eastern India from c.A.D.

- 400 to 1200, with Special Reference to Bengal', unpublished PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Bhattacharya, Suresh Chandra 1983–84 (1984). 'Mainamati Copper Plate of Vīradharadeva', *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 14 (1–2): 17–28.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan 1953–54 (1987). 'Sobharampur Plate of Damodaradeva, Saka 1158', *Epigraphia Indica* 30: 184–8.
- Furui, Ryosuke (2015). 'Rajibpur Copperplate Inscriptions of Gopāla IV and Madanapāla', *Pratna Samiksha: A Journal of Archaeology, New Series* 6: 39–61.
- (2019). 'Sujanagar Stone Inscription of the Time of Bhojavarman, Year 7', *Pratna Samiksha: A Journal of Archaeology, New Series* 10: 115–22.
- (2020). *Land and Society in Early South Asia: Eastern India 400–1250 AD*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Hori, Shin'ichiro (2019). 'On the Exact Date of the *Pañcarakṣā* Manuscript Copied in the Regnal Year 39 of Rāmapāla in the Catherine Glynn Benkaim Collection', *Bulletin of the International Institute for Buddhist Studies* 2: 49–55.
- Maitreya, Akshay Kumar (ed.) (1912). *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Rajshahi: The Varendra Research Society.
- Majumdar, Nani Gopal (ed.) (1929). *Inscriptions of Bengal Volume III: Containing Inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmanas and the Senas, and of Īśvaraghoshā and Dāmodara*, Rajshahi: The Varendra Research Society.
- Mukherjee, Ramaranjan and Sachindra Kumar Maity (eds) (1967). *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions: Bearing on History and Civilization of Bengal*, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- Salomon, Richard (1998). *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Other Indo-Aryan Languages*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sircar, D.C. 1949–50 (1985). 'Three Inscriptions from Valgudar', *Epigraphia Indica* 28: 137–45.
- 1951–52 (1987). 'Two Pala Plates from Belwa', *Epigraphia Indica* 29: 1–13.
- 1957–58 (1987). 'Rajghat Inscription of Bhimadeva', *Epigraphia Indica* 32: 277–82.
- (1973). *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, Calcutta: Sanskrit College.
- Vasu, N.N. (1900a). 'Copper-plate Inscription of Madanapala', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 69 (1): 66–73.
- (1900b) (1307 BS). 'Pālarājavamśa', *Biśbakoṣa 11: Partugīja-Puliś*: 308–18, Kalikātā: Greṭ İdın Press.