CHAPTER XIV
A LITERARY STUDY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS IN DETAIL:
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ANCIENT PERIOD

An Introductory Remark:

In this chapter an attempt is made to discuss the literary beauty of the inscriptions of ancient Assam. Some of the inscriptions do not have literary values at all, some have little and while others have a good deal of literary beauty. The inscriptions containing longer descriptions usually have more literary value. The literary standard of the different inscriptions issued by a particular king is generally found to be uniform in all the inscriptions. Further, the inscriptions of a certain period exhibit almost the same degree of literary beauty. In this chapter two charters from each of the three ruling dynasties of ancient Assam are subjected to detailed investigations for the purpose of sorting out their literary worth and forming an idea about the standard of the inscriptive poetry as pertaining to the period concerned.

A Study of the Dubi Copper Plate of Bhaskaravarman:

It is the earliest of all the copper plate charters issued by the kings of ancient Assam that have come to light till now. This charter is assigned to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. This chapter contains the longest composition among all the epigraphic records of Assam. It covers altogether 6 plates of writing of which 5 plates are now available, consisting of 76
verses followed by a comparatively smaller prose portion. The whole of the composition on the basis of its contents can be divided into three sections: (1) benediction to the deity, (2) comparatively a very larger description of the predecessors of the donor king followed by the description of the donor king himself and (3) the names of the donor brahmans of the grant. As the last plate of the grant is now not available the usual concluding verses on the merits of bhūmidāna are also not available. Besides the loss of the final plate, 15 verses (VV. 8, 9, 10, 20, 42, 43, 51, 52, 56, 57, 58, 66, 67, 72 and 73) along with the last line of the prose part remain incomplete on account of corrosion of the plates.

The first benedictory portion which covers the first verse is same with the first verse of the Midhanpur plates of the king. The description of the predecessors of the donor king which covers the larger portion of the grant containing verses 2-70, is very rich in literary elements. Verses 73-76 are devoted to the description of the donor king of which verse 75 possesses the richest poetic imagery of the composition. The final remaining portion of the inscription, consisting of 6 lines in prose, gives the list of the brahmin donees along with their gotras. This portion has no use for the purpose of literary study.

**Metres:**

The poet of the epigraph uses different Sanskrit metres as follows: VV. 1, 13, 22 Vamsaesthavila; VV. 2, 37, 50-53, 55, 56
62, 67, 68, 70, 76, Sārdula vikridita; V. 3, Upajāti of Indravajra and Indravaiwa; VV. 4, 6, 9, 11, 18, 20, 28, 49, 57, Upajāti of Indravajra and Upendravajra; VV. 5, 15, 40, Upajāti of Indravaiwa and Vaṃsaṭhāvīla; VV. 7, 8, 10, 12, 17, 25, 27, 29, 32–36, 38, 41–48, 59, 61, 65, Anustubh; VV. 14, 16, 56, Indravaiwa; VV. 19, 26, 30, 76, Indravajra; V. 21, Upendravajra; V. 23, Upajāti of Upendravajra and Indravaiwa; VV. 31, 66, 69, 73, 74, Srāgdhara; V. 39 Upajāti of Indravaiwa and Indravajra, V. 54, Mandākranta; VV. 60, 64, Ārya; VV. 63, 71, Vasantatilakā; V. 72, Sikharinī.

Out of these metres, Anustubh is most frequently used, i.e., in as many as 25 verses. Next to this, Sārdula vikridita is employed in 13 verses. Anustubh is a shorter metre giving smaller room for many words while Sārdula vikridita is a longer metre having wider scope for using many words. The poet deliberately uses these two types of metres for showing the capacity of presenting the things both in shorter and longer metres. The frequent change of metres shows that the poet had a full command over the art. In many of the compositions of this class, only a single metre is used or one principal metre is used with a second only in the concluding verse or verses. The Mahākāvyas also present a similar phenomenon. Each canto is composed in a particular metre, having the last one or two verses in a different metre.

Language:

The literary passage of the present CP is written in a verse form. The language of the verses is usually simple, and especially
the compounds of extraordinary length are almost absent.
However the longest compound found in this inscription is sauryākrāntakṣeitipatirdoratnavidōtyotīṅghrī (V. 54) containing 17 syllables followed by two more compounds containing 16 syllables each and occurring in V. 42 and V. 48 respectively. The style suggests the poet's desire for presenting the ideas in a simple manner as far as practicable. Apart from the use of a very few long compounds there is nothing very artificial in the composition.

Alāmākāra:

Of the Sabdālaṁkāras the poet uses only Anuprāsa, which is found in many verses, besides a very fine example of Lātānuprāsa which is found in verse 17, which runs as follows:

\[
\text{tasya kalyānasēṣṇa kalyānacayasadambhṛtaḥ/}
\text{kalyānāvarma nṛpatīrbhūtaḥ kalyānākārakah/}
\]

Of the Arthałaṁkāras Upaṁā is more frequently employed while Rūpaka and Śīsa are employed rather rarely. In the expression 'vajradhara-prabhāvah śīvajradattah' of Verse 4, there is an Upaṁā. In the first quarter of verse 50, 'tasyārātikula-ravindasaṁśeṁ' - 'the king who was a moon to the lotus-like host of enemies' there is a Paramparita Rūpaka. A very successful execution of Sānga Rūpaka is found in verse 59 where the depth of the scholarship of king Susthitavarma in respect of different Āśtras is described as follows:

"He swammed across the large and very deep ocean of the subjects of studies, perturbed by huge currents, having waters
in the form of grammar, sharks (timā) in the form of polity, alligators in the form of Śāṅkhya, resonant with the chirping of the cranes (gṛāsag) in the form of Māṇḍūkya, fanned on all sides by the wind in the form of Logic, full of the series of waves in the form of explanations and covered by the foam in the form of Nyāya.  

cf. yena vyākaraṇodaka naṅatimih sāṅkhyaṃukro mahan
āṅgaksavahusārasanurasitaśtaśtarkanilavijitah/
vṛkhyānornormaiparamparāśaśadgahano nyāyarthaphanayakula
stírno jñeyasaritpatiparakarnahan srutvisālikulaḥ//

The poet exhibits his skill in the employment of Utprekaś as well as Pratiyāmānotprekaś. Thus, for example, there is an Utprekaś in the following verse:

śrīmāhābhūtāvarmaṇamahābhūtamivaṃparam/
tam khyātablavarmanam abhyavastacca manadah// (V. 29)

"The destroyer of the vanity of enemies (i.e., Nārāyanaṁvarmā) installed Mahābhūtāvarma, who was famous for his armour in the form of physical strength and who was yet another great element (i.e., mahābhūta) as it were, as the king."

Again, there is a Pratiyāmānotprekaś in the following verse because of the reason that the implications of the verses may emerge out in bolder relief only if the word īva is dragged into complete the text of the verse:

1As translated in IAA.
“He (i.e., Candramukhavarma) became the solitary object of attention of the eyes of the city damsels, which had their sides quivering with the play of Cupid and which had 'as it were' the intention of defeating one another”.

In the expression 'saumyo'pi bhayakrd' of verse 30, a Virodhabhāsa Alamkāra is used. A successful use of Arthantaranyāsa Alamkāra is met in verse 47 which runs as:

\[\text{tatsāngavirāhe nṛṇāṁ maraṇam jīvitamapi/}
\[\text{satsāṅgamo hi vidusāṁ bhubaśa rakaśa ca giyate/}

“It is a death to even the living beings when they are devoid of his company; for, it is said that the company of the good is both an embellishment and a protection”.\(^2\)

In verse 64, there is an Utpreka in the first half and a suggested Viśama Alamkāra based on two Rūpakas in the last half. The verse runs as:

\[\text{eśirāniradamanandrasāandra iṅkhandamandalo hyaparah/}
\[\text{sajjanakumudānando durjjanamanujābjasāṅkocah/}

“The illustrious Aridamanendra was like another full moon since he was a delight to the lily in the form of good men and

\(^2\)In the light of the translation of IAA.
the closing of petals to the lotus in the form of wicked men.\(^3\)

As said above, Ślesa is a very rare thing in the present CP, but a common feature of the Midhanpur CP of the same king. An instance of this Alamkāra is found in verse 12, where the word vyāla means both snakes (belonging to the ocean) and passionate or fashionable men (i.e., bhujanga).

\[
\text{of. agādhasvacchaghambhīro vyālaratnopasevitah/}
\text{mahātvāschaityayogacca tulye jaladhīna nṛpah//}
\]

In the literary passage of the composition the use of suitable poetic qualities (i.e., Gānas) also may be noticed in many appropriate places. That in the descriptions of the valour of the kings, the poet very sincerely uses the Ojah Guna can be seen in the following assorted expressions: 'ksitau ksitibhujaṅrajaṅdhirājo vibhuḥ' 'who was all powerful on earth being the king of kings' (V. 2), 'vṛtrāsaktinihatāripakṣah kṣapakarākāramukhō mahaujahāḥ' 'who was the killer of the enemy and who had a moon-like face and was possessed of great strength' (V. 18). The repetition of ka is very helpful for the Ojah Guna and the final word mahaujahā in verse 18 also nicely suggests the presence of Ojah in the verse.

Even without taking recourse to the concept of Gānas, it may be observed in a general way that the poet has very successfully brought the sound of the words in full harmony with sense. In other words, the choice of the syllables and the metres appear\[^3\]

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\(^{3}\) In the light of the translation of IAA.
to be in full consonance with the meaning and the sentiments (Rasas) conveyed by the composition concerned. For example,

(1) digdanti hastasphutakarkkasena
    jitvā karaṇahavamūrdhi sākram/
    tammatreṣa yā vijihara kundale
    tasyātmajah śrībhagadattanāma// (V. 3)

"Baraka, who with his arm, as prominent and as hard as the trunk of a quarter-elephant, defeated Indra in the forefront of a battlefield and snatched away the ear-rings from his mother, had a son named Śrī Bhagadatta".  

Here the harsh syllables hasta-sphuta-karkka are very suitable for the contextual Vīra Rasa.

(2) taṣyāratikularavindasaśine bhaumavayasaśāghino
    nānasastrapadārthaṁścitamatervavedu śadhitinah/
    prakhyātanvayapaurusasya nṛpaterapannatramaśchide
    devi śrīriva rūpinī priyatamā kāntābhavan mānini// (V. 50)

"The king who was a moon to the lotus-like host of enemies and the very pride of the Bhauma-family and who had a clear conception of the purport of various sāstras (lores) and also thorough study of the Vedas, possessed of a renowned lineage and prowess, and who could remove the wants of the persons taking shelter from him, had a queen as beautiful as Śrī (i.e., Lakhñī), beloved, and dear to himself and endowed with pride".  

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4In the light of the translation of IAA.
Here, the soft syllables found in 'arātikularavindaśatīnaḥ' and 'devi śīrira rupiṇi priyatamē kāntābhavan mānīnī' are in full harmony with the description of conjugal love and family peace. In this verse the emphasis is laid more on the king's beloved queen. That is why the reference to the king's being dreadful to the enemies is also presented with soft syllables in 'arātikularavindaśatīnaḥ', 'of him who was a moon for the cluster of lotuses identical with his enemies'. The poetical convention that 'the lotuses bloom so long as the sun is there and fade away when there is the moon' is also very nicely presented through this verse.

(3) yāvetau prathama vayasyapi pṛthu praspadhi sattvodgemaun
śākrānām vidhina pragatyā pitari kāṁantarn-nilīne kkrmañāt/
pāpte gaudavale valinyapi jale viśrambahsamṛmbhataḥ
stokaireba valācyutāvive valairyo līlayopasthitau// (V.68)

"The father having disappeared in the other world (i.e., heaven) for mingling up with the person of Indra, and the army of the Gaudaś, very powerful in the water, having gradually arrived, the two sons, though they were only in their youth, but yet endowed with the growth of a large and challenging valour, appeared on the spot with all ease, even with a handful of soldiers like Bala (i.e., Salarāma) and Auyuta (i.e., Krishna)."

This verse contains a delineation of Vīra Rasa. Here the harsh syllables like 'pṛthu praspadhi' are very much suitable for the
said sentiment. Likewise the Sardulavikridita metre, which is long and forceful, is also in full harmony with the said sentiment, i.e., Vira Rasa.

In comparison to the Midhanpur CP, the things of the present CP are shown in a very simple manner. A complex poetic fancy very rarely occurs in the present grant. One of the few complex imageries is contained in verse 25; which can be translated as follows:

"In the mirror of the king's look (for beauty) she stood as the epitome of the foremost limit of beauty, (or so far as the mirror of intelligence of the king is concerned, she shone therein as an epitome of the foremost limit of good conduct of the king) and on her own part she was so devoted to the king that she shone like a constant lusture in a moon in the form of that king".6

'The mirror of the king's look' suggests here 'the mirror of the intelligence of the king' and the queen shines therein (i.e., in the mirror of the intelligence) as an epitome of the foremost limit of good conduct of the king.

The richest poetic imagery, however, is found in the second foot of verse 75, where the description runs as follows:

kīrttirdurjjanavāgurodaragata muktvargīvojihita. The literal meaning of this passage is that "Bhāskaravarman restored his personal glory from the dutes of the wicked and let it loose like releasing

6As translated in IAA.

cf. adyā bhūpālameryyāda sthitirdarasatadarppoṇa//
tasminnāpascandre tu devī kāntirivasārita//
a deer from the trap of a wicked hunter and letting the deer loose”. But the actual implication is that the deer once released from the trap would jump away and hurriedly run away to a very long distance. Like-wise Śhākara also caused the royal glory of Kāmarūpa to travel to very great distance within a short span of time after he could get released from a state of captivity in the kingdom of Gauḍa.

The poet of the present CP chooses Vaidarbhi style (Riti) for his composition. While defining this style, Visvānāthakavirāja says:

\[\text{madhuryavyañjakairvañai rasana lalitamika/}
\text{avṛttiralpavṛttirvā vaidarbhi ritiriṣyate/}

\text{Śāhityadarppana, ix, 2}

“A dulcet (i.e., Lalitamika) composition with letters manifesting sweetness (i.e., Madhurya) with few (Alpavṛtti) or no compounds (i.e., Ayṛttī) is designated the Vaidarbhi style”.

The main characteristics of Vaidarbhi Riti are viz., (1) employment of the syllables which are suitable for the Madhurya Guna, (2) employment of Padalālitya, and (3) absence of compounds or presence of very little quantity of compound.

Throughout this dissertation the term Padalālitya is taken as a technical term which stands for an Anuprāsa of reduplication of consonants or of conjunct consonants having a nasal as the first member in the light of A.R. Sharma’s ‘On the concept of Padalālitya in literary criticism’ Vide A Corpus of Indian Studies, pp. 257-270.
Although because of the very nature of the contents of the inscription there is more scope for Ojāḥ and less scope for Nādhurya, yet in places like 'tasyāraṭikāraṇavindasasīnāḥ', (V. 50) Nādhurya is also delineated. Taking Padalālity to mean an elegance of words in a general way, the same may be illustrated by a clause like 'devī sūrīva rūpiṇī priyatamā kāntā bhavan mānīnaḥ' (V. 50). That longer compounds are few and far between in this inscription has already been illustrated a little earlier.

Whatever be the total literary value of this inscription, one thing seems to be almost definite that the composer of this inscription had the necessary training to become a poet. He had full acquaintance with the epic and the puranic lore as evidenced, for instance, by the following verse:

\[
\begin{align*}
skandeneva girindrajaśa ditiriva traileskabhartrā bhṛṣam \\
kṛṣṇeneva sa devakī bhagavatā daityārinī sūrimatā/ \\
protkhāṭahitamandalena valinā sampūrṇaśandrativaśa \\
sā sūrīsūsthitavarmmaḥ guṇavatā devī cīram nandita/\end{align*}
\] (V. 53)

"The queen had always been exceedingly delighted by Śrī Sūsthitavarmma, who was full of good qualities and possessed of a luster like that of the full moon and powerful and responsible for the uprooting of the host of enemies, like the daughter of the king of mountains (i.e., Pārvatī) by Skanda (i.e., Kārttikeya), like Aditi by the protector of the three worlds (i.e., Viṣṇu) and..."
like Devaki by the illustrious lord Krishna, the enemy of the demons.

Apart from this the post of the Dubi plates seems to have studied the Alankāra sāstra in particular as suggested by the references to kavītya (i.e., poetic talent), marga (i.e., Riti or poetic style), lelita-pada (i.e., Padalālitya) and alaṅkṛti (i.e., figures of speech) in the following verse:

\[
\text{manasāstrārthatattvavrutavitatadhiyo yena vāditvamuccai-
stadvacālaṃkṛtaih susphutalalitapadaṁ sarvvaṃrōggāṁ kavitvam/
yena praṇaya pracāhābhīṁ pratinatamasāṁ sādhusamāsāṁ sarvvaṁ
evacchāghātosechrisoçcainaṁnijajayajanitē svā patakā sa dikṣau/}(V.74)
\]

"Me had planted very high the banner of his victory, raised up by deliberate strikes, in different directions after having acquired, with the darkness-dispelling rays of his intellect in the assemblies of the noble men, all (virtues) like the argumentative capacity of one whose intellect has matured by learning the essence of the meaning of various sāstras and the faculty of a post as evidenced by the compositions of various styles endowed with elegant and perspicuous words and various types of figures."

The term sarvamārgam seems to imply that the author of the Dubi plates was familiar with the Kavyadarsa of Dandin, who applies the term mārga for what is called Riti by Vamanā, although the gap of time between Dandin and the author of the Dubi plates must have been very small.

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8As translated in IA.
In fine it may be observed that in comparison to the Nidhanpur grant of the same king Bhāskaravarman the present inscription is not so rich in literary merits. But yet, the present inscription stands as an unequivocal testimony to the fact that court poetry was a subject which was assiduously cultivated in ancient Assam as early as in the early part of the seventh century A.D.

A Study of the Nidhanpur Copper Plates of Bhāskaravarman

This is the second earliest of all the CP grants of Assam discovered up-to-date. This grant may be assigned to a date between C. 620 and 643 A.D. with this charter king Bhāskaravarman granted a plot of revenue-free land to more than 200 brahmanas belonging to more than 40 gotras in pursuance of an earlier grant made by Bhāskara's great-grand-father Bhūtivarman. This charter originally consisted of seven plates. But now one of those plates, i.e., the fourth or the fifth one, is lost. But despite this loss the literary portion of the inscription remains unaffected.

The Nidhanpur CP grant of Bhāskaravarman shows its close touch with the classical Kāvyā literature in many respect and proves in the clearest manner that inscriptive writing reached a standard degree of literary composition in this region in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. The available plates of this inscription cover altogether 103 lines of prose in the middle proceed by 28 verses in the beginning and followed by 3 more verses at the end.
The whole of the composition can be divided into certain sections as follows:

(1) Verses 1-3 are the mangala verses of which the first two are addressed to Lord Siva and the third one is an address to Dharma.

(2) Verses 4-21 describe the predecessors of the donor king.

(3) Verses 22-25 followed by a prose passage consisting of lines 34-49 describe the donor king Bhāskaravārman.

(4) Lines 49-54 say that at the loss of the earlier charter offered to the particular brahmin donees by king Bhūtivārman, Bhāskaravārman, having informed the respectable persons, issued fresh grant for the said brahmīns with this inscription.

(5) Lines 53-136 give the names and particulars of the brahmin donees and the particulars of the land donated.

(6) Verses 26-27 are the prohibitory or imperatory verses describing the merits for maintaining the grant and also the sufferances for disobeying the same.

(7) Verse 28 informs us that the earlier charter was burnt and hence these newly written letters are different in form.

Thus, the composition of the Nidhanpur Copper Plates of Bhāskaravārman belongs to that class of mixed compositions which in poetica are frequently called by the name campū (i.e., mixture of both prose and verse). Cf. gadyapadyamānī kāpi campūrityabhidhiyate/ (Kavyādarsa, I, 31). In campūkāvya, both prose and verse are used with the same degree of literary importance, and the mixture of both
produces an exceptional charm. Commenting on this beauty, Shojarāja says:

\[
gadyānubandharasamṛitapadyasūktir-\text{hṛuyāhīvādyakalayā kalitavā gītīr/}
tasmaddadhātu kavimārgajusām sukhāya
campūprabandharacanām ravanā madīa//
\]

Campūrāmāvāna, Bālakānda, V. 3

"A noble saying in verse associated with a composition in prose and rasa becomes as agreeable to the heart as a vocal song accompanied by instrumental music. Therefore, let my tongue present a composition in the campū form for the pleasure of those who follow the path of the poets (i.e., the men of taste)".

The present CP possesses certain relationship with the descriptions of the kings which are found in the Kathās and Ākhyāyikās. The description of the donor king of the present grant finds very good parallels in the descriptions of king Sudraka of Kadamba and king Harsa of Harṣasara of Bāna. The description of king Bhāskaravarman of the present CP consists of one sentence with many adjectival as well as appositional phrases and a number of relative sentences. In the prose passage, the main sentence related to the donor king is "mahārājādhirājāh eṣṭiḥbhāskaravrmmadēvah kusāli" "Bhāskaravarman, the king of kings is in good health", and in addition to this, plenty of adjectival phrases contained in as many as 15 lines are added.

The first four sections of the composition have a great value for the present investigation and accordingly the same are going
to be examined thoroughly as follows:

Verse 1:

Text:

pranamya devam sasi sekharam priyam
pinaka na bhasmaka sair vibhushitam/
vibhutaya bhutimata dvijanmanam
karomi ohuyah aphushavastamujjvalam/

Trans: "Having saluted the God, who wears the moon as the crest-jewel, who is lovely, who holds the pinaka bow and who is decorated with particles of ashes, I once again clarify the well-known words for the benefit of the prosperous Brähmanas".

This is the first mangala verse of this inscription. This verse, however, already occurs in the Dubi plates of the same king. As it contains a salutation to God Śiva, this verse may be said to have 'Deva-Viṣayaka-Rati-Bhāva' as the sentiment, i.e., the sentiment of devotion for God Śiva.

It is rich in Anuprāsa because of repetition of certain phonemes in the expressions: sasi sekharam, priyam pinaka na and vibhūsi tam vibhūtaya bhūtimata m.

The word bhūtimata m has a pun. The word bhūti means prosperity as well as ash. Hence bhūtimata m, as an adjective to dvijanmanam may also mean 'of the Brāhmaṇas who carried the ashes, i.e., ruins of the CP grant earlier issued to them by king Bhūtivarman'. It is duly indicated in lines 51f and v. 28 that the earlier charter has been burnt by accidental fire.
Verse 2:

Text: mahānauhastyaśvapattisampatyupātta/
jayasāvdaṇvarthaskandhavārāt karnāsuvarṇā vāsamāt//
bhogisvarakṛtaparikaramikṣamajitakamarūpam avimuktam/
paramesvārasya rūpam nijabhūtivibhūsītam jayati//

Trans: "Let there be welfare to all. (This charter is issued) from the (royal) residence of Karnasuvarṇa, the royal palace (skandhāvāra) which has acquired (upātta) the propriety in respect of the meaning (anvartha) of the word 'victory (jaya) (prefixed to it), owing to possession of splendid ships, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.

Victorious is the form of the great Lord (Śiva), never forsaken (avimukta), bedecked with the own splendour (or ashes), having a girdle made of the Lord of Snakes, that destroyed the body of Kāma (Cupid) with a mere glance".

Here the word paramesvara may mean the king; for, there is a common tradition of the Kāmarūpa kings being referred to like that. This verse has a lot of pun. Bhūgaṇ = a man having enjoyment. It also means the vassal kings (lāvaraṇa) who had many ways and means for enjoyment. The expression - bhogisvarakṛtaparikaram means the king who was surrounded by the chief of the (rich) men having enough enjoyment. It gives an idea that the kingdom was full of prosperity. Ikenajitakamarūpam = the king who has own over the (heart of) Kāmarūpa with his (very pleasant) look alone. Avimuktam = the king who is never abandoned by his subjects out of love and devotion.
AvimuktA as applying to Lord Siva means 'not abandoned by the devotees' and 'not abandoned by his consort Parvati in his ardhanarIśvara form'. The homonyms bhogin and bhūti are also found in the compositions of later classical Sanskrit poets. Almost a similar idea is met in a verse of Sāhityadarpana, Chap. II, as follows:

\[\text{Verse 3:}\]

\[\begin{align*}
durgālamghitavigraho manasijam sammilayametajasa & 
prodyadrājakalo gṛhitagarīma viśavgrto bhopibhih/ 
nakṣatresakṛteśano girigurau gadem rucim dhārayan 
gamakraya vibhutibhūṣitatanu rajatyumavallabhah/
\end{align*}\]

Text: \text{jayati jagadskavandhurlokadvitayasya sampado hetuḥ/}
\text{parahitāmūrttiradṛṣṭaphalānumeṣa sthitidharmah/}

Trans: "Victorious is Dharma, the sole friend of the creation, the cause of prosperity in both the worlds, whose very form is the good done to others, who is unseen and whose existence can be inferred only from the results".

The word jayati is used here in the sense of a salute parallel to the mangala verse of Mamata's Kavyaprakāsa.

\[\text{of. niyatikṛtaniyamaraḥhitām hādaikamayīmananyaparatantram/}
\text{navarasaarucirām nirmitimśadhatī bhārati keverjayati/}
\]

'Dharma' is 'parahitāmūrti' (i.e., it is visible in the form of good done to others) and yet it is said to be 'adṛṣṭa' (i.e., invisible). Hence, this presents a case of Virodhaḥbhāsa Alakāra.
**Verse 4:**

Text: dhātrīmucokeśipsaramsvaunidhah kapaṭakolarūpasya/ sakraḥṛṣṭeś sunurabhūt parthivavṛndārako narakah//

Trans: “Naraka, the chief of the rulers of the earth (who was as it were a god on earth) was the son of the holder of the wheel (sakra), who, with a view to lifting up the earth from under the ocean, assumed the distinguished form of a boar.”

Here the expression ‘parthivavṛndāraka’ means ‘chief among the kings’ and it may also mean ‘a god on the earth’ having an echo of the traditional conception of divine origin of kings.

of.”devā manuṣarūpena carantyete mahītale”, *Rāmāyana*, Kiskindha, 18.42;
“mahatī devatā hyeśa naramūpena tiśthati”, *Rauṇa Sāhitā*, VII.8 and
“lokaśamaya-vikrayaṇuvīdhana-matramanuṣayasā lokadhamma devasya”,
Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, line 28.

This is how there is a Śāla Alaikara in the said expression. There is also an Apahnuti Alaikara in ‘kapaṭakolarūpasya’.

**Verse 5:**

Text: tasmād rataṇarākān narakadājanistatī mṛpatirindrasakhaḥ/ bhagadattaḥ khyātajayāma viṣayaḥ yudhi yah samāhavatā//

Trans: “From that Naraka, by whom the Naraka (hell) was never seen, was born king Bhagadatta, the friend of Indra, who challenged in battle (even) Vijaya (i.e., Arjuna), renowned for conquests”.

In this verse there are two Yamasī Alaikaras in the expression ‘adṛṣṭanarākān narakat’ and ‘khyātajayāma viṣayaḥ’. In Sanskrit Poetics
it is maintained that the presence of the Yamaka Alamkāra is not at all suitable to the context of Śrṅgāra Rasa and particularly to the Vipralambha variety of Śrṅgāra. Ānandavardhana says:

\[ \text{dhvnyātmabhūte śṛṅgāre yamakādinibandhanam/} \\
\text{saktāvapi prasāditvam vipralambha visāṣatāh/} \]

*(Dhvanīśāla, II. 13)*

But it may be observed that the occurrence of Yamaka in the present verse is not contrary to the literary taste because here not context is that of Vīra Rasa.

**Verse 6:**

Text : tasyātāmajah kṣatārera vajra-gatirvajradattanāmbhūt/
\[ \text{śatamakhamakhandabalamagatir aṛṣayadyah sadā saṁkhya/} \]

Trans : "Of that killer of enemies there was a son named Vajradatta who was as speedy as the thunderbolt (vajra) and with an unflinching energy and progress always pleased Indra on the occasion of fighting!"

In this verse there is a Latānuprāsa Alamkāra in the expression vajragatir-vajradatta and a Chhakunuprāsa in the portion śatamakh마-

**Verse 6:**

Text : mātasyāya virahitah prakāsaratnāh suśe dvairathalaghuh/
\[ \text{pañcama iva hi samudraḥ samudravāṃśabhavattasya/} \]

Trans : "His son was Samudravarman, who was as it were the fifth samudra (ocean) being devoid of anarchy (i.e., mātasyāyāya,
which is common to other four oceans), having jewels as open exhibits (unlike the other oceans which have jewels hidden below) and being brisk in duels (i.e., dvairathalaghu, unlike the other oceans which are dvairatha guru or heavy with the tussle of waves).

In this verse there is a Lātānuprāsa in the portion samudrah samudravarna, and there is an Utpreksa in the expression pāncama iva hi samudraḥ. Samudra varmā is said to be the fifth samudra and this fifth samudra is said to have certain traits which are not found in the other four usual samudrak. This is how this verse happens to contain a suggested Vyatirska Alamkāra as well.

Because of the reference to mātasyayā this verse finds a parallel in the first half of the fourth verse of the Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāla Deva, which runs as follows:

matayanyapohitum prakrtibhirlekhmyah karaṁ grahitah
śrigopala iti kṣitiśasīraśaṁ cūdamaniśatastutah

Verse 9:

Text: avikhādita valavarma valavarmaṁ sūnurajanista/ kṣitipasya dattadevyāṁ senaṁ yasyābhyaśmittriya//

Trans: "That king had a son born of (his queen) Dattadevi, (named) Balavarman, whose force (vāla) and armour (barma) never broke up and whose army would easily march against enemies".

In this verse there is a Lātānuprāsa in the expression 'avikhādita valavarma valavarman'. Here also the sound and the

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9 See, Rajbali Pandey's Historical and Literary Inscriptions, p.225.
sense seem to be in full harmony, because the harsh syllables are so suitable for the contextual Vīra Rasa.

Verse 11:

Text: gandharvavati tasmadganapatiṁiva dānavarṣaṇamajasram/
ganapatimaṇiṭayuṇagaṇanamatu kalihānaye tanayam//

Trans: "From him (queen) Gandharvavati begot a son Gaṇapati (by name) who was incessantly raining gifts (dānavarṣaṇa), was endowed with innumerable qualities, for the extermination of the Kali age (i.e. strife) like Lord Gaṇapati, who has an incessant flow of iohor (dānavarṣaṇa), is endowed with innumerable qualities for the extermination of strife (Kali)."

In this verse there is a Pūrṇopama Alamkāra based on ālisa. There is also a Yamaka with the repetition of gaṇa besides an Anuprāsa of gaṇa.

Verse 12:

Text: tanmahisi jajñavatī jajñavatīvaranīḥ sutamasetu/
jajñavidhimāspadamanalamanvīva mahendravarmananam//

Trans: "His queen Yajñavatī brought forth a son Mahendravarman, who was the support for the sacrificial rites like the fire, the very foundation for sacrificial rites, in the manner of the friction-wood (araṇi), which is also the source of sacrifices (yajñavatī)."

There is a Latanuprāsa in the portion 'yajñavatī yajñavatīva', and two Upamās in 'yajñavatīva' and 'analam iva' respectively.
Verse 13:

Text: 

\[ \begin{align*} 
& \text{tasmād janayādātmajamātmavidah suvratā bhūvah sthitaya/} \\
& \text{nārāyaṇavarmanānam janakamivādhigatasāmkhyaṛtham}// \\
\end{align*} \]

Trans: "From him, the knower of the self, Suvaratā (the queen) 

begot a son (named) Nārāyaṇavarman, who having mastered the signifi-

ance of Sāmkhya was similar to Janaka (or his own father), for 

the stability of the world."

This verse presents a rather complex imagery. The expression 

'bhūvah sthitaya nārāyaṇavarmanānam' suggests an identity of the 

king with god Nārāyaṇa (i.e., Viṣṇu) who being one of the trinity 

happens to be responsible for the maintenance (sthiti) of the 

creation. Thus the present verse may be supposed to have a suggested 

Rūpaka Alankāra. In 'janakam ivādhigata sāmkhyaṛtham' there is an 

Upamā Alankāra. The expression 'sāmkhyaṛtha' may, however, mean 

'implications of Sāmkhya philosophy' as well as 'a booty in the 

battle' (literally 'a wealth connected with battle'). Thus there 

is also a Ślesa Alankāra in the word 'adīgatasāmkhyaṛtham'.

Verse 14:

Text: 

\[ \begin{align*} 
& \text{prakṛtiriva tasya puṃso devavatī sthiragunānuvandhaya/} \\
& \text{ṣaṭṭhamiva mahābhūtaś caḥśahu mahābhūtavarmmanām}// \\
\end{align*} \]

Trans: "From him, Devavatī, like Prakṛti from the (celebrated) 

Puruṣa, bore Mahābhūtavarman, the sixth Mahābhūta (basic element) as 

it were, for the steady succession of all the qualities."
Here in prakrtiriva etc., there is an Upama Alamkāra and in aastham iva mahābhūtam, there is an Utpreksa Alamkāra.

It may be noted here that according to the interpretation of P.N. Bhattacharyya, Devavati conceived Mahābhūtavarman from him (i.e., Nārāyaṇavarman) in the manner of Prakṛti conceiving the sixth great element from the Puruṣa. According to A.A. Sharma, Puruṣa is said to be nīkṛtya (i.e., without any action), hence he is not the cause for the evolution of the elements. It is maintained in this context that Puruṣa is said to be neither a Prakṛti nor Vikṛti, and hence nothing can evolve out of Puruṣa. While identifying the true form of Prakṛti and the Puruṣa in this context, it is observed: "Prakṛti, here, means vyakta Prakṛti and Puruṣa (Pūrṇa) means Prakṛti in avyakta stage. In the avyakta stage Puruṣa and Prakṛti are identical. In none of the earlier verses reference is made to any laudable quality of the queen and it is not conventional to speak of a son inheriting the qualities of a mother. "Devavati conceived Mahābhūtavarman from him (i.e., Nārāyaṇavarman) in the manner of Prakṛti conceiving the sixth great element from the Puruṣa" - the simile here, according to P.N. Bhattacharyya, seems to be little faulty because Mahābhūtases are not the immediate progeny of Prakṛti as was the king of Devavati. He

11 IAA, pp. 69-70.
12 Ibid., p. 70.
13 Ibid., p. 70.
says that out of Prakṛti there was the evolution of mahat, 
thence of āhamāra, whence of five tanmatras and therefrom of 
the Mahābhūtas.14 On the basis of "mūlapraśkritavikṛtir mahadādyāh 
prakṛtivikṛtayāḥ saptah" (Śaṅkhyaśāra) he again thinks that 
there is no room for a fault.15

Verse 15 :

Text : candraukhaatasya sutas/andra iva kalākalāparamanīyāh/ 
vijñānavatī dyauriva yaṁ susūva dhvantaśantikaraṇam/

Trans : "His son was Chandramukha, who was charming by (possess-
ing) all the arts as the moon (by the digits), whom Vaiśravana brought forth, as the sky did (the moon), a dispeller of (all) gloom 
as the moon dispels the darkness)."

Here there is a Yamaka in kalākalāpe and two Upamās in and 
dyaur iva respectively. It is said that while the moon becomes 
beautiful on account of all the digits (kala) Chandramukha became 
charming on account of having mastery over all the arts (kala).

Verse 16 :

Text : bhogavatībhogavatībhūtah sthitavārvamanastrapate hatuh/ 
āśīdbhogipateriva bhūmibhṛtonanantānakṣaṇaya/

Trans : "Thereafter (queen) Bhogavati of (good) enjoyment 
became the cause (of birth) of Sthitavarman, the supporter of the 
world, who had innumerable (sources of) enjoyment like Bhogavati

15 Ibid., p. 30.
(the city of the snakes of the nether regions), the source of prosperity of the chief of snakes, the supporter of the earth, who has a myriad of hoods). 

There is a Laśānaprāsa in 'bhogavatī bhogavatībhūteh'. In the whole of the verse there is a Pūrnopama based on Śleṣa (i.e., pun) as found in the words 'bhogavatī', 'bhūti', 'bhogipati' and 'bhūmibhūti'.

Verse 17:

Text: tasmadagādha mūrtterskalitaratnādupodhalakaṁśikāt/

kṣīrodaheertaiva nṛpādakalanka sṛimāṅkobhūt//

Trans: "From that king of unfathomable nature, of innumerable gems, of association with the (royal) Fortune was born Śri Mṛgāṅka, who had no blemish (akalanka) like a moon (as it would have been) without any spot, born from the milky ocean, unfathomable in magnitude, possessed of innumerable gems, wherefrom Lakṣmī was obtained".

In this verse there is a Pūrnopama Alamkāra based on Śleṣa. The Śleṣa (pun) is found in the words āgadhamūrtī, skalitaratna and upodhalakamika. There is a Vācyā Virodhabāsa when the prince is called Sṛimāṅka but at the same time described to be free from any spot (kalanka). The prince is shown to be superior to the moon by virtue of having no spot. Hence, there is a suggested Vyatireka Alamkāra with prince Sṛimāṅka and the moon as the Upamaya and the Upamāna respectively.

Verse 18:

Text: udapādi nayanadevyam sūnustasya svavāhudhrta raṇyāh/

devah susthitavarmma yāḥ khyatan sṛimāṅka iti//
Trans: "His (i.e., Sthitavarmā's) son, king Susthitavarmā was born of Nayanādevī. Susthitavarmā held the kingdom in his own hands and was known as Sri Margāṅka."

Although it is not easily discernible, there is a beautiful execution of the Adhika Alāṅkāra, when it is said that the king holds the whole kingdom in his own hands, (which are in fact much smaller as containers for the kingdom which is so large!). cf. 'svabhūdhṛtarājyāḥ'.

Verse 19:

Text: pratyurasām vilasantīm taddhāna iva yām mūdā harivarhāti/
śā /śīrarthijanjethyaḥ keśīriva viśānītā yena//

Trans: "By whom was given away to suppliants, as if it were (a clod of) earth (keśīriva), that shining Lakṣmī (i.e., wealth as vast as the earth) whom (god) Nari holds fast to his bosom like a miser holding his wealth, though this Lakṣmī is (unreliable enough) to shine in the bosom of everybody".

This verse is very rich in imagery. Nārāyaṇa holds Lakṣmī with great affection in spite of her fickle nature in the manner of a miser, who is blindly in love with his wealth. King Śrīmāṅgaṅka, in contrast with Nārāyaṇa had the least attachment for her and made her available to his subjects without any hesitation in the form of gifts and donations. It may also be suggested that his wealth was as vast as the earth (keśīriva) and was offered to others unhesitatingly, in the manner of giving away clods (keśīriva).
There are two Upamās in 'taddhāna iva' etc., and 'kaitir iva', etc. Because of the contrast between the king and Narāyana there is also a suggested Vyatīraka Alāmākara.

Verse 20:

Text: कूट्तयुगीवा स्यामादेवी तस्मादजिज्ञानतनायायाम/ 
     /ससिनामवा सुप्रात्सिष्ठितावर्मनांमानपास्ताये तामासामः

Trans: "From him Syāmādevī, (divine) like that goddess (Syāma) of the Kṛta (i.e., golden) age, generated a son Supratīṣṭhitāvarman, the moon as it were to dispel (all gloom)."

Here, the word Kूट्तयुगी may be explained as the name of a goddess connected with the Kṛtayuga, i.e., Satyayuga. Thus Kूट्तयुगी is goddess Kṛtyā; Kṛtyā is Satyā; Satyā is Kālī; and Kālī is Syāma. Hence queen Syāmādevī was similar to goddess Kूट्तयुगी both in name and in virtues. After this interpretation the present verse may be shown to have an Utpreṣa Alāmākara in the expression 'कूट्तयुगीवा स्यामादेवी'. This expression means that 'queen Syāmādevī (who is also a devī, i.e., goddess) is as it were the goddess Kूट्तयुगी (who is also called Kṛtyā or Kālī or Syāma). There is also an Upamā in 'ससिनाम इवा सुप्रात्सिष्ठितावर्मनांमानः'.

Verse 21:

Text: यायोन्नतिः परार्थी विद्याधराः बाक्रवर्त्ती सेव्यस्या/
     /सागायस्या सुप्रात्सिष्ठिताकटाकास्या कुलासास्येवा

Trans: "Whose prosperity was for the benefit of others, who was possessed of elephants and attended by the chief among the
learned and possessed of a well established capital like a Kulācala (i.e., one of the seven or eight select great mountains known as Kulācala), whose height is for the benefit of others, which is haunted by the chief of Viḍyādharas, is rich in elephants and possessed of a ridge”.

In this verse there is a Pūrṇopama based on Śīla (i.e., pun). Śīla is found in each of the expressions: ‘unmatih’, ‘viḍyādharacakravartisvvyasya’, ‘sagajasya’ and ‘supratisthitakatakasya’.

Verse 22:

Text: saīva śyāmādevi tasyānujama kalitodayamasūta/
śrībhāskaravarmāṇam bhāskaramiva tejasāṁ nilayam/

Trans: “The same Śyāmādevi also brought forth his younger brother Śri Bhāskararvarman, who like the sun was of incalculable rise and the abode of all splendour”.

Here there is a Laṭānuprāsa in the expression ‘śrībhāskaravarmāṇam bhāskaramiva’. In the whole verse there is a Pūrṇopama based on Śīla found in the expressions: ‘akalitodayam’ and ‘tejasāṁ nilayam’. It deserves to be highly appreciated that while one of the two brothers is compared to the moon in the earlier verse, the other brother is compared to the sun in the present verse.

Verse 23:

Text: ekopī hi yath puśāṁ ṛṇḍayaśvabhilaskitarāḥ svabhāvena/
śuddhasu darpanāsviva vahu susāmāṃ sanmukhīnāsu//
Translation: "Who even being only one, is, on account of his own (good) nature, soverely and elegantly reflected in the hearts of people, always looking towards him with agreeable disposition in the manner of being reflected in a number of clean mirrors placed face to face".

This verse is devoted to the description of the popularity of king Bhāskararavam. There is an Upamā Alamkāra in the whole verse. Moreover there is a suggestion in "ekopī hi yah pumām hṛdayeṣvabhilakṣitah" — that the patron king himself is like the Supreme Self. There is a parallel to this idea in the last line of the first verse of the Bargaon CP of Ratnapāla, where Śiva is said to have assumed plurality while remaining essentially one.

svaṁ yaṁ paramātmavat prthuguno hyskopyansake bhave
prākāmyandadhadeva bhoti bhuvane sa syāṁ śriye śankarah//

The similarity with the Supreme Self is based on the fact that the Supreme Self, which is one, also gets reflected in the various individual selves like the moon (or the sun) getting severally reflected in the ripples of water. cf.

eka eva hi bhūtāṁ bhūte bhūte vyavasthitah/
ekadha vahudhā caiva dṛṣyate jalaśandravat//

(Brahmavindu. 12 quoted in IAA, p. 73)

Verse 24:

Text: yasyāvinatamatanubhīstajobhirākṣaṁ nrpatibhavaneva/
udapattresviva bhūrisu vilokyate Bhāskarasyeva//
Trans: "Whose mark (i.e., picture) was seen in the houses of kings, untarnished on account of great lustre, like the disc of the sun in several water pots".

Poetic imagery is very rich in this verse also. In the earlier verse the patron king is said to get reflected in the hearts of the people. Here his figure is said to have got reflected in the houses of the vassals in the form of his portraits. This verse contains an Upama Alamkara.

Verse 25:

Text: avyālaḥ svārohaḥ kalpadrumavatsamṛddhibhūripalalḥ/
       chāyopāśītajanatāparīvesṭitapādāmūlo yah//

Trans: "Who is without cruelty, easily accessible, endowed with plenty of fruits in the form of prosperity and feet surrounded by people who resort to his protection like the wish-yielding tree when it is not encircled by snakes, and is easily accessible, laden with fruits in the form of prosperity and is possessed of roots surrounded by people who take shelter in its shade".

Here king Bhāskara is compared to the wish-yielding tree which is shown to have certain qualities in common with the king. Thus there is a Pūrṇopama based on Śiśa (pum) found in the expressions: 'samṛddhibhūripalalḥ' and 'chāyopāśītajanatāparīvesṭitapādāmūlo'. But the epithets 'avyālaḥ' and 'svārohaḥ' do not apply to the wish-yielding tree, which is 'savyālaḥ' (always encircled by snakes) and 'durārohaḥ' (not fit to be climbed) so to say. This situation
presents the case of a Vyatireka Alamkāra. Hence the present
verse may be supposed to contain a Sāmkara of Pūrnopama and
Vyatireka Alamkāras. This shows that the poet was capable of
producing certain very complex imageries.

Concluding Verses:

In this inscription there are three more verses, i.e., No. 26
to 28 at the end of the whole charter. Of these No. 26 and 27 are
usual bhūmadāna verses borrowed from the Smṛti literature.¹⁶ The
last verse is, however, an original composition of the present
author, But all these three verses have no literary merit of any
considerable worth.

On the Metres of the Nidhanpur CP Grant:

Unlike the poet of the Dubi Plates, the poet of the Nidhanpur
Plates does not employ a number of different metres. There are only
the following three metres. V. 1, Vamsāstähāvīla; VVs. 2-25 and 28,
Ārya; VVs. 26-27 Anuṣṭubh. In fact the author of the present CP uses
only Ārya metre in all the 28 verses composed by himself. Because
the first verse, which occurs in Vamsāstähāvīla metre is borrowed
from the Dubi Plates and No. 26 and 27 which occur in Anuṣṭubh are
are borrowed from the Smṛti literature. The fact that the composer
of the Nidhanpur Grant used only one variety of metre does not mean
that he was an inferior artist. This rather tends to confirm that

¹⁶These verses correspond to verses 38 and 40 of the Āpuddharma-
Kāṇḍa of the Brhaspati Smṛti. Vide Aiyanger, Brhaspati Smṛti (Re-
constructed), p. 370 f.
this poet who may be called the author of an *Arya-pancayInaatl* was a poet of no mean order. Because *Arya* is a very short metre giving smaller room for many words, and yet the post successfully contains his larger ideas in smaller verses. The post betrays his dexterity in the use of the choicest words having pun. The composer through the uniform use of the *Arya* metre rather exhibits an extraordinary literary talent.

**On the Literary Elements of the Prose Portion**

Literary elements are contained by little more than fifteen inscribed lines of the charter, i.e., from line 34 to 49. This whole passage is devoted to the description of the donor king Bhāskaravarman. This prose passage, like literary prose passage of the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription, devoted to the description of the patron king Samudragupta, consists of only one sentence ending with the clause 'eśiḥāskaravarmmadaveh kusāli', preceded by a series of adjectival clauses containing varieties of Alamkāras and other literary elements. The text of this prose passage occurs as follows:

"ityapi sa jagadudayakalpanāstamayahetunā bhagavāta kamala-
sambhavāvakirnnavarnnasramadharmapravabhāgaya nirmiṃto bhuvana-
patirivodayantaraktamandalo yathāyathamucitakaranikaravitaraṇā-
kulitakalitimirasahjayatayaprakāsitāryya dharmālokaḥ svabhūja-
valatulitasakalasāmanta cakravikramah sthitinayasaṃstavopacita-
bhāktisu prākrtisu paramparināsu nikāmamupakalpitankabhogin vrtmā
samarcvijitanarapisātā vihitavividhanutivacanakusumaracita
rucirakirttircitavatansānkah siviriva paropakāravisāraṇanabhirata-

*i*
Moreover, he, who has been created by the lord (Brahma) born of the lotus, the cause of the origin, arrangement and destruction of the universe, for the proper distribution of the duties of (various) castes and stages of life, which have been lying in a confused state; who like a lord of the world (Jagatpati) at the very time of accession to the throne (udaya) could endear the circle of the friends and foes (mandala) to him like the sun (jagatpati), which assumes a red disc (anuraktamandala) in time of its rise and like the sun which makes an equal distribution of its rays, caused the light of the Aryadharma to appear again, after having dispelled the darkness of the kali age with an equal distribution of the revenue. Who has surpassed the whole ring of his feudatories by the strength of his own arm, who has devised many a way of enjoyment for his hereditary subjects, whose (loyal) devotion (to him) has been
enlarging through steadfastness, modesty and singing of praise, who is adorned with a wonderful ornament of splendid fame made by the flowers in the form of various words of praise composed by hundreds of kings vanquished by him in battle; whose virtuous spirit like that Śivi remains engaged in making gifts for the benefit of others, who like another preceptor of the gods (i.e., another Brhaspati) makes his powers recognised by others with his skill in the act of timely effecting a coordination or a division of the precepts relating to the gunas (i.e., six elements of foreign policy), whose own conduct is adorned by learning, valour, patience, prowess and good actions, who is avoided by faults as if they were dispelled by his taking resort to their rivals (i.e., the virtus), who has exhibited his inherent interest in the ābhīgāmika qualities by embracing the Lakṣāmi (i.e., the Royal Fortune) of Kāmarūpa with a staunch incessant excessive passion of love; who is, as it were, the very life-breath of Dharma, whose person has been overpowered by the protection of the wealth and fortune of the fear-stricken whose power of influence is exhibited by the elevation of the rank obtained in order of succession from (Naraka) the son of Vasumati (i.e., Earth), is the king of kings Śrī Bhāskaravarman, possessed of well-being”.

This passage contains the following Alāṃkāras:

Anuprāsa in avakīrṇa-varṇasārama (Line 35), karanikaravitaranā-kulitakalitimir (Line 36), valatulitasakala (Line 37), cakravikramaḥ (Line 38), paramparināṣu (Line 38), vīhita-vividhanuti (Lines 39-40)
śiviriva paropakāraviśrāṇana (Lines 40-41), suragururivāparah
parairavahita prabhāva (Line 42), sauryadhairya-cāutīrya (Lines
42-43)

Utparokṣa in suragururivāparah (Line 42), pratipakṣa-samarayā-
nirākrtair iva vivarjito dosaih (Line 44), samucchvasa iva
bhagavato dharmsya (Line 46)

Upama in its Pūrṇopama variety in bhuvanapatiriva, etc., (Line 35)
and śīvī iṣa paropakāraviśrāṇanabhiratasattvavṛttih (Line 40 f)
Rūpaka in samaravijitanarapatīvatavihitavividhanutīvasagnakusumā-
racita-rucirākṛttrītirāvat荼ānkaḥ (Line 39 f) based on an
Atisayoktī found in ... kusumā-rajita ....

Vvstireka in svabhujavatulitasakalasamantacakraśakramah (Line
37 f)

Śīpas in raktamandalah and ucitakaranikara (Lines 35 f)
Śīpasokitī based on Atisayoktī in pranayarasaśāhara-śākramā-
lakṣaṁisamālingana, etc. (Lines 45 f)

It may be noted here that in order to attain the status of
a Kavya any literary composition should have some Rasa as well as
besides the Alamkāras. This norm laid down by the traditional
Indian theory of literary criticism also seems to be only adhered
to by the present prose passage because, this passage appears to
have a Bhavadhvani, if not a Rasa, in the form of a Raja-Vijayaka-
Rati-Śhāvya aided by other sentiments like Vīra-Rasa in 'svabhujavala-
tulitasakalasamanatacakraśakramah' etc., and Srṅgāra-Rasa in 'pranaya-
rasaśāharaśākramālakṣaṁisamālingana' etc.
On the Language:

The language of the verses is as a whole simple and the compounds of extraordinary length are almost avoided. In the prose portion, especially the portion related to the description of king Bhaskaravarman, however, the things are quite different. In this particular portion, plenty of compound words are used where simple words are only the exceptions. This is because the manuals on poetics almost unanimously agree to the use of long compound words in prose; while the different schools are not so unanimous about the admissibility of long compound words in verses. Thus Dandin says,

\[
\text{ojāh samāsabhūyastvam etad gadyaśya jīvitam/}
\text{padye pyādaśeśānyām idam śakā parāyaṇam/}
\]

(\textit{Kāvyādhyāya} I, 80)

"The grandeur (strength) (of language consists) in the frequency of compounds; it is the very life of (poetic) prose. Even in verses, it is regarded as the main feature by those who do not belong to the southern school."

Along with the use of the simple words, the poet preferably chooses the soft sounding syllables for the entire literary passage of the composition. The soft sounding syllables \(c\), \(n\), \(t\), and \(n\) which cause the manifestation of sweetness are abundantly used. The dentals preceded by the last of the series, as in vandhu (V. 3), Vṛndāraka (V. 4), vandhāya (V. 14), ananta (V. 16), samvandha (Line 42) are very helpful to the delineation of Mādhurya Guṇa. The presence of \(n\) in the expression gamapatimāghitagunāgananam is specifically
noteworthy. The poet makes attempt to bring the sound of the words into harmony with the sense in the expressions as – khyātajayām vijayaṃ (V. 5), candra-mukhastasya sutasandra (V. 15), bhogavati-bhogavatībhūteḥ (V. 16) and śrībhāskaravarmamānām bhāskaramiva (V. 22).

Unlike the author of the Dubī Plates who presents Vīra Rasa very frequently, the author of the Midhanpur Plates shows it in a very few places. Verse 9 is a very good example of Vīra Rasa.

cf. avikhanditavravā vai varavā taye sūnurjanista/
keśitaśaya dattadevyāṃ senā yasyādhyamittrīya//

"That king had a son born of (his queen) Dattadevi, (named) Balavarman, whose force (bala) and armour (varma) never broke up and whose army would easily march against enemies". ¹⁷

The style of the literary passage of the Midhanpur Copper Plates exhibit some affinities with the literary style of Sāṇa. The description of king Bhāskaravarma as found in the prose portion of the Midhanpur Plates bears a striking similarity with the description of king Sudraka of Sāṇa’s Kādambarī. For illustration, a portion of the description of king Sudraka is quoted below:

arayo rasikanām, pratyādeśo dhānuamatām, dhaureyaḥ
sahasikanām, agranirvidagdhanām, vainātaya iva vinatānan-
dajananaḥ, vainya iva capakotisamutsāritaratikulīcaka
rāja sudrako nāma/

Since the Midhanpur Copper Plates bear certain similarities with the writing’s of Sāṇa some observers may be lead to conjecture

¹⁷As translated in IAA.
that the post of the Midhanpur Grant was influenced by Bāṇa. But the dates of the compositions of Bāṇa's works and of the present inscription are yet to be definitely fixed, although it is beyond any doubt that Bāṇabhatta and the post of the present inscription were both contemporaneous. Yet in the absence of a very definite date for the composition of the present inscription it cannot be safely said that the author of the Midhanpur Plates was influenced by him. Indian poets, while describing their patrons usually follow the same traditional method of the epics, Purāṇas and other older works. It is, perhaps, for this reason, there are certain affinities with Bāṇa's writings in the Midhanpur Copper Plates of Bhāskararvarman. G. Bühler is also of the opinion that "Indian poets, even when describing the triumphs of historical kings, their very masters and patrons, are frequently quite inaccurate in their geographical and ethnographical accounts and instead of giving actual facts, they take their stand on the traditional accounts in the epics, Purāṇas and other older works that describe digvijaya-e."

A Study of the Tezpur Copper Plates of Vanamāla:

After making an assessment of the Dubi and the Midhanpur Plates of Bhāskararvarman and giving an idea about the standard of Kāvya literature of ancient Kāmarūpa towards the closing part of the rule of the Varman dynasty, it is now proposed to see the literary beauty of the inscriptions left by the Alescha line of rulers. For this purpose the Tezpur Copper Plates of Vanamāla are

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18 Vide The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Kāvya (translated by V. H. Ghate), p. 95.
taken up first. With this CP grant king Vanamāla donated a
village called Abhisūravaṭaka to a brahmin named Indoka. This
inscription is assigned to the middle of the 9th century A.D.
The text of this inscription from the beginning up to Vanamāla-
varmadēvah kusalī (in line 20 of the prose portion) is common
with the text of the subsequently discovered Parbatiyā Copper
Plates of the same king except for 4½ verses since the text
covering verse 258 to verse 29 of the Tezpur Plates does not
occur in the Parbatiyā Plates. The concluding part of the Parbatiyā
Plates, which is not identical with the present CP, describes the
boundary of the donated land, mentions the name and particulars of
the brahmin donee, gives the boundary of the donated land, states
the particular occasion along with the two imprecatory verses at
the end. This portion of the said inscription does not have so
much value for the proposed examination. The composition of the
grant taken for the proposed discussion may be divided under the
following sections:

1. The auspicious sign Ājī and the word Svasti at the
beginning.

2. The two benedictory verses, invoking the river Lauhitya
(i.e., modern Brahmaputra) and god Pinākī (i.e., Siva) respectively.

3. Verses 3-15 describe the predecessors of the donor king
Vanamāla.

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19 IAA, p. 95.
(4) Verses 16-29 describe the various distinguishing qualities of the donor king.

(5) Lines 1-3 describe the capital city from which the charter is issued.

(6) Lines 4-13 describe the river Lāuhitya by the side of which the capital city is situated.

(7) Verses 30-32 give the name and particulars of the brahmin donee.

(8) Verse 27 states the location of the donated village.

(9) Lines 21-23 give the boundary of the donated village.

(10) Line 24 mentions the regnal year 19 and gives a symbol like '→'

**Metres:**

The Tezpur CP Grant of Vanamāla contains the following metres:

V. I, Sragdharā; VV. 2, 18, 26, 31, Anustubh; VV. 3-6, 8-11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23, 27 Āryā; VV. 7, 12, 13, 32 Indravajrā; V. 14, Vasantatilaka; VV. 16, 25, Mandākrānta; V. 20, Rathoddhata; V. 24, Sārḍūlavikrīdita; V. 28, Sālinī; V. 29, Pramitākṣara; V. 30, Upajāti (Indravajrā and Upendravajrā); V. 33, Anuṣṭubh (Vipulā).

This survey of the metres shows that the poet had a good mastery over the art of making verses. In the first benedictory verse, many qualifying words for the river Lāuhitya are used and

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So far as the present inscription is concerned, only the prose portion (occurring between verse 29 and verse 30 and after verse 33) is provided with line-numbers. (See IAA, p. 96 n)
for this the poet rightly chooses the longer Sragdhara metre. The use of Mandākrānta metre in verses 16 and 25, proves poet's best choice to suit the imageries contained in the respective verses. Out of 33 verses of the composition, 18 are in the Āryā metre, this shows the poet's proficiency in presenting his rich ideas in smaller verses containing fewer words. It is more interesting to note that verse 28 is written in Śalini metre and verse 29 in Pramitākṣaṇa metre, and the poet uses the words Śalini and Pramitākṣaṇa in the respective verses in certain other suitable senses intelligently. A somewhat similar technique was followed by Gaṅgādaśa in Chandmangalā in time of defining metres with sentences containing names of the metres defined while they are themselves fitted into the metres concerned. In Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā, one whole chapter (i.e., Ch. 104, viz. Grahagocara-dhyāya) presents such verses, to describe the effects of grahas in different position which contain the names of the various metres in which they are themselves composed. This particular characteristic is further noticed in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, where a whole canto (i.e., x. 31) containing references to Lakṣmī (Indirā) is composed in the Indirā metre and in the first verse the word Indirā is used in some other suitable sense.

(10.31.1)

On the Literary Elements of the Verses:

Sabdālaṁkāras which are very frequently met in both the Dubi and the Nidhanpur Plates of Bhāskaravarman, are not so much prominent...
in the present CP. A very fine example of Anuprāsa, however, is found in the first line of verse 6: "tusṭena tesa tasmai dattam-uparipattanādvināthatvam". The whole literary passage, on the contrary, is very rich in Arthālakāras. Upama, Rūpaka, Vyatireka, Atisayokta and Ślesa are employed in many places of the literary portion. Utpreka, Tulyayugita and Virodhābhāsa also occur in certain verses of the composition. A plenty of Upama is found in this inscription and the poet appears to have handled Upama very successfully in both its Pūrnā and Luptā varieties.

The literary elements present in the verse portion are now proposed to be shown below verse by verse.

**Verse 1:**

Text: 

ṣrimatkailāsabhūbhṛṣṭirṇhukanakasālāsāncayasphālanotthai-
rasārairhaimapankavilatuhinakaraih siktavaisāṁśarthaḥ/
ambhaḥ kri été subhūśā pravarasuravadhūkesahastacyutairvve
nēkesadruprasūnairarunitasalilōvayē sa lauhityasindhuḥ/.

Translation: "Let you be protected by the river Lauhitya, which has sprinkled over the body of the celestial beings with showers, looking like the rays of the moon polluted with the mud of gold, gushing up on account of the waters dashing against the accumulation of huge gold-rocks of the Mount Kailāsa, and wherein the waters rendered red by the (Pārijāta) flowers of the flower-tree of the king of the heaven, which have fallen down from the (embellished) bundle of the hair of the (beautifully dressed) superior damsels of the heaven, who have indulged in a water-sport".
This is a mangala verse containing a salutation to river Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. The word sindhu may mean river as well as ocean. If the word is supposed to mean ocean then the expression 'lauhityasindhu' contains a Rūpaka Alamkāra. The clause 'nākesadru-prasūnair arūnitasalilah' contains a Tadguna Alamkāra. The first half contains an Atisayokti Alamkāra. As a salutation to the river Lauhitya personified as a deity, this verse contains a Deva-Viśayaka-Rati-Śhāva-Dhvani.

Verse 2:

Text: sa punātu pinākī vo yaorchā svardhunijalam/
     kīrṇam recakavātena tārakāprakaraṇāya//

Translation: "Let you be purified by the Holder of the Pināka (i.e., Śiva) in whose head the waters of the (heavenly) Ganges, being scattered by the recaka-vāyu (i.e., recaka wind) look like a host of stars".

It is also a mangala verse containing a salutation to god Śiva. Hence, this verse also contains a Deva-Viśayaka-Rati-Śhāva-Dhvani. There is an Atisayokti Alamkāra in 'svardhunijalam kīrṇam recakavātena'. In the expression 'tārakāprakaraṇāya' there is an Anuprāsa and an ī upamā of the Lupta variety based on the suffix kvan.

Verse 3:

Text: naraka iti sūnurasīdādivarāhasya bhuvi taduddhāre/
     aditeḥ kundalāharana pratāpamapi yo hareraharat//

Translation: "There was a son of Ādīvarāha (i.e., Viśnu in his Bear incarnation), from Bhū (i.e., the earth), named Naraka, born in time
of saving her (i.e., the earth, from the universal deluge), who in time of stealing away the kundalas (i.e., ear-rings) of Aditi stole away the valour of Hari (i.e., Indra, Aditi's son) as well”.

In the expression 'pratāpam api yo harer aharat' there is an Atisayokti of the 'asambandha sambandha-rupa' type.

**Verse 7**

(Text and translation are given in a later section)

In the first half of this verse there is a Tadguna Alamkāra. This verse contains a very nice delineation of Vīra Rasa. The sound is very skilfully made to match with the sense of the verse.

**Verse 8**

Text: sa hi pūrvvairnarapatigunasaṃhārarāgānuraṅjitadigantah/
sālastambhapramukhaih sriharisantaimahipalaih/

Trans: "He used to delight the ends of the quarters with good qualities like his predecessor kings beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Sri Marīṣa".

There is a Tadguna Alamkāra in the portion ‘…… rāgānuraṅjitadigantah’.

**Verse 10**

Text: srijivadevisamjñā rājñī hṛdayānugābhavattasya/
bahujanavandya mahatah prabhātasandhysva janani/

Trans: "He had a dear wife named Sri Jivādā, who was adorable to many and the progenitor of a great light like the morning twilight".
The word *trīṭhaḥ* may mean either light or a man (i.e. a hero) having lustre. Hence, in this verse there is a Pūrnopama based on Śīṣa.

**Verse 11**

Text : 

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tasyāntasya tu rājñāḥ autobhavannṛpasīrorocitāṅghriyugah/
   sīharjaro nrpendrah sriyā svayam yah samupagūdhah//
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Trans : "He had a son from her, named, Harjara, who was a king of kings (i.e., Nrpendra), whose feet used to be worshipped by the heads of the kings and who used to be embraced by Lakṣāṇī hersel'f".

Here there is a Samaeokti because of the clause *'sriyā svayam yah samupagūdhah'*.

**Verse 12**

Text : In the light of the text of the Parbatiyā Plates, this verse should better be read as follows :

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dharmmapravādeṣu yudhiṣṭhīro yo bhīmoriverse samore ca jīṇu/
   rekopyanakairiṇī sadgūnau ghaṁniṁśeṣakuntītaṅkatvametah/
```

Trans : "He was (identical with) Yudhiṣṭhīra in religious discourses, and (with) Bhīma to the host of enemies, and (with) Jīṇu (i.e., Arjuna) in the battlefield. Thus, even being one, he gained identity with all the sons of Kuntī by virtue of several good qualities as stated above".

The words *Yudhiṣṭhīra*, *Bhīma* and *Jīṇu*, also may be taken to mean 'steady in battle (or disputations)', terrible, and victorious respectively. Thus this verse appears to embody an Ullekha Alamkāra, of the Visayabheda variety, based on an Atisayokti, which again is
based on a Slesa due to the double meanings of *yudhiaśīkara* etc., as shown above. There is again an Atisayokti in asserting that Marjara, even being only one person, became all the sons of Kuntī.

**Verse 13 - 15:** (These three verses constitute a single imagery. As such it is better to read them at a stretch.)

**Text:**

gopījanānanditamānasasya dveṣyasva vākeṣaḥ parihṛtya viṣṇuḥ/
niḥsasaṁjasjanadahasamethamādāya saundaryyyamihājagāma//

varṇādyasasagunajatamayambabhāra

patyurmanātulabalasya rathāṅgapāṇeḥ/

tanāhamagramahīṣī jagatibhujosya

bhūtvā jana na khalu tāghavamabhyaupaiṃi//

iti yaasya mahādevī vilosya manasonugabhavallakṣeṣā/

śrīmattarābhidhāna pramādāratnottamā nrpaṭeḥ//

**Translation:** "Lakṣmī, being an object of contempt, as it were, left the bosom of Viṣṇu, whose mind used to be delighted by a host of Gopiśe, assumed the beauty of the body of all the women and came here (i.e., to the place of Marjara).

'This (king) has all the qualities of my husband Cakrapāṇi (i.e., Viṣṇu, the holder of the wheel) including his colour and as such I shall not be the object of a censure of the world if I become the chief queen of this protector of the world'.

Lakṣmī, having thought like this became the chief queen of that king, being fully agreeable to his mental make-up and being the best amongst the women with the name Śrīmattarā."
There is an Utprakāsa in the expression dvayeṣya. There is an Atisāyokti in the expression 'niḥsaṇaḥ ... samatham saundaryam ādāya'; another Atisāyokti in 'iti yasya mahādevī vilocaṇa' and yet another Atisāyokti based on the total idea of goddess Lakṣmī herself becoming the beloved of Harjara. (cf. manasonugā'bhava-lakṣmī).

**Verse 16**:

Text: 
 táśyaṁ/śaśakti/pamuktoddharmapādaṇbājapīṭha-
śyābhūt sūnūrnpagunamaharatnamālavibhūṣaḥ/
 táśyaṁ devyamakhilabhuvanānandako yah śāśiva
śrīmaṇ khyato jagati vanamālābhidhānah keśitaḥ/

Trans: "This king, the stool for the resting of whose lotus-feet used to be rubbed by the crests of all the (subordinate) kings, had from this queen a son illustrious like the moon, a king famed with the name Vanamāla, embellished with a garland of big jewels in the form of royal qualities".

In this verse there are three Alāmākāras as follows: Atisāyokti in 'aśāśakṣiti...... pādaṇbājapīṭhasya', Rūpaka in 'nṛpagunamaharatnamālā' and Pūrṇopama in 'akhilabhuvanānandako yah śāśiva'.

**Verse 17**:

Text: 
 jalanidhitatavanamālāśaśimāvadhīmedinipatitvasya/
yegaya iti máma dhātā cakre vanamāla iti yasya/

Trans: "The Creator (Dhātā) named him Vanamāla, seeing that he was fit for the kingship of the whole world up to the limits of the rows of forests (Vanamāla) lying on the shores of the ocean".
This verse contains an Atisayokti Alamkāra.

**Verse 18:**

Text: prabalārātimatevaghaṭadhvāntorumasmatim/
divākarāyitam yena vidāryya ramaḥūmigām/

Trans: "Having dispelled the huge accumulation of darkness in the form of the crowds of intoxicated elephants of the powerful enemies in the battle-field, he behaved like a sun."

There is a Rūpaka in the first half and a Luptopama based on kyan pratyaya in 'divākarāyitam yena'.

**Verse 19:**

Text: kṣititanayanprativamsaprabhavanarendramāṃbāre yena/
ephūtameva mrgāṅkāyitamatyāyyārātimitimraugham/

Trans: "Having dispelled the darkness in the form of enemies, he (also) behaved like a moon in the clear sky in the form of the line of kings belonging to the family of (Naraka) the son of the earth."

There are the following Alamkārae: Anuprāsa in the last foot, Rūpaka in the first half and in 'arātimitimraugham' and a Luptopama based on the use of kyan pratyaya in 'mrgāṅkāyitam'.

**Verse 20:**

Text: bhūridṛptaripuvīravāhinīśilavajramuruvikramāsinī/
yena rājakamaśeśamasyata śrīrakāri ciraṃskabhartrke/

Trans: "He has led Lakṣmī to be alone in the company of only one husband by throwing off, with the sword in the form of a great
valour, the whole host of the kings who were themselves like bolts to the mountain in the form of an army of highly proud enemy-heroes".

There is a Paramparita Rūpaka in the first half and an Anuprāsa in the last foot.

Verses 21 - 23: These three verses will be quoted later on in another context. These three verses may be said to have three suggested Vyātrikā Alamkāras.

Verses 24:

Text: dhūruhe nahuṣasya yena patitam kālantaradalayam saudham bhaktinatākhitāmaravaraavrātarccitāngghreh punah/ prāleyācalasṛṅgatungamatulagrāmabhavesyājanai- ryuktam hetukasūlinah kṣitibhujā bhaktya navam cakrusā/

Trans: "(He was) the king who bore the burden (responsibility) of Nahusa by newly constructing with devotion the abode of Nāṭaka- sulin, whose feet are worshipped by all the gods with devotion, which (abode) is as tall as the peak of the Pārśvagālighera (i.e. Himalaya mountain) and endowed with matchless villages, people, elephants and courtiers, which had tumbled down to the earth earlier, in course of time".

There is an Atisayekti in 'dhūruhe nahuṣasya' and Samāsaga Upama in 'saudham prālayācalasṛṅgatungam'. There is Padalālitya in 'prālayācalasṛṅgatungamatula'. The last quoted clause is evidently endowed with Anuprāsa.
Verse 25:

Text: yasyāṇanantadyutinātita nāgaloke hasantī
dīnāgānāṁ āsātajanitāṁ sīkarālim ā ca dīkṣā/ sampūrṇendörviyati vimalāṃśūmālam vicitrām
rājōnalpā visēratitaraṁ kīrttirādyāpyajāsamām

Trans: "He was the king whose excessively white huge fame is moving about even to-day laughing at the lustre of Anantanāga in the Pātāla, at the fogs formed by the respiration of the quarter-elephants in the quarters and at the variegated pure rays of the moon in the sky".

In the whole of this inscription this verse is perhaps the richest in imagery. It is based on the Kavisamaya which maintains fame to be white. Vanaśilā's fame is said to be excessively far-reaching so as to reach the Pātāla and the sky and the quarters of the horizon, and to be excessively white so as to laugh at the lustre of the snake Ananta, etc. Because of the superiority of the whiteness of the fame to the whiteness of Anantanāga, etc., there are three Vyatirska Alamkāras, together presenting an Atisayokti Alamkāra covering the whole verse.

Verse 26:

Text: satyāgambhirīrṛyyatungatvapratāpataḥṣatgyāvakramaiḥ/
yojayaddharmmajābdhyādribhanukarnāmarutsutāṁ

Trans: "He, with truth, profundity, height, prowess, sacrifice and valour, surpassed the son of Dharma (i.e., Yudhisthira), the ocean, the mountain, the sun, Karna and the son of the wind (i.e., Manuṣṭhan or Śīma) respectively".
Because of claiming superiority of Vanamāla over Yuchisṭhira, etc., there are four Vyatireka Alamkāras and a Samerṣṭī Alamkāra because of the collocation of the said Vyatirekas.

Verse 27:
Text: yasya yasahṣeṣīnādām bhuvaṇe dhaivalikṛtam vilokya dṛśā/
       savrīḍa ivodeti prālayamarīcīradyāpi//

Trans: "Seeing with own eyes that this whole world is whitened by the 'moon of his fame', the moon even today seems to rise in the sky, as it were, with shame".

This verse is very rich in Alamkāras, which are based on the Kavisamaya of conceiving fame as white. The Alamkāras found here are as follows: Rūpaka in 'yasahṣeṣīnā'; Atisayokti Alamkāras in 'dhaivalikṛtam' and in the total idea conveyed by the verse; Utpreka in 'savrīḍa iva' and Samasokti due to the personification of the moon (of. 'vilokya dṛśā').

Verse 28:
Text: devāgārām vadyagītaprāṇādair-
       naṇāraṇam satrīnām vyāḥṛtaṁca/
       gāyahṛtyayāpyabjaramyāṁ suvāpye
       desa desa sālinīm yasya kirttim//

Trans: "The temples with the sweet sound of the musical instruments and songs, the parks with the chantings of the performers of the sacrifices and the beautiful ponds, charming with the lotuses and scattered in various countries, even today proclaim his pure fame".
This verse contains an Añiṣayokti based on Tulyayogitā Alamkāra.

Verse 29:

Text: bahuhemaraupya
gajavājimahī 
promadādiratnanicayaṁ bahusah/ 
pradāvavāramaniśem nigadam 
promitākṣarōpi bahuvāgabhavat//

Trans: "He who has been making gifts of the best of (i.e. ratnā) plenty of gold, silver, elephants, horses, land and women on numerous occasions and as such being compelled to utter the dānavākyya incessantly, had to become a man of more speech (literally a chatter-box) though by nature he was a man of limited speech".

This verse is rich in Anuprāsa, and there is a Virodhābhāsa in the expression 'pramitākṣarōpi bahuvāgabhavat'.

Verse 30:

Text: babhūva sandilyakulapradīpo 
vedārthavidbhijjatanāmadheyah/ 
sāngam yajurvedamadhitavān 
yastyāīī sucirdvagunopapannabh/

Trans: "There was a generous brahmin, with pure godly qualities, named Bhijjāta, who was like a lamp in the family of the brahmīmes of Sandilya gotra, and who studied the whole of Yajurveda along with the ancillaries (aṅgas)".

This verse contains a Paramparita Rūpaka in the epithet 'sandilyakulapradīpa'.

This verse contains an Añiṣayokti based on Tulyayogitā Alamkāra.
On the Literary Elements of the Prose Portion:

The prose passage occupies a large portion of this composition and betrays a very close touch with the tradition of the classical prose writers. Because of the adequate proportion of the prose portion and because of its being as rich as the verse portion in respect of literary beauty, the literary portion of the present inscription fully deserves to be reckoned as a piece of campū kāvya. Here the compounds occur more frequently than single words, and in most cases, they exhibit extraordinary length. Thus, in lines 3ff (of IAA) there occur the longest compound in the portion "udaya-velācāla ....... salilena" involving 26 words and 69 letters. Such long compounds extending over 20 to 30 letters are numerous. By this, the composer of the present CP surpasses the composer of the Midhampur Plates of Bhāskararavarmā. It appears that the present author knows very well the canons laid down by the Sanskrit poetics to whom, Ojaḥ or Samāsa-Bhūyastva, i.e., profusion of compounds is the principal feature of a prose composition.

For a proper analysis of the literary elements present therein it becomes indispensable to quote the literary prose portion along with its translation as follows:

1. \( \text{prapritasamastavarnāramadaparimitasubhagasādhuvidvajjanā-} \)
   \( \text{dhiṣṭhānādvicitrājaturāgā-} \)

2. \( \text{āvikādhirūdhhairmahanarapatibhiravanipatisēvārtham gacohadbhīh} \)
   \( \text{pratyāgechadbhisā} \)
(3) saṅkulamahārajājaṃgūdasamkhyaṃgajatūragapadaśīdhananirantarānuddhasakaladigantarāduda-
(4) yavelācakatottungatastāravāriṇāvārttavārhiṇā-
keśāvadhrāntabhujagavāra-
(5) muktaphutkāraprakāmpitāṅskataruvāgalitakusamanikara-
parimalasurabh-nilīloma
(6) tadupavananalagadāvānaladaladhyamānakālāgūrdhūmasambhavā-
mbudharavindasugandhijalaugha
(7) pravṛbhīni/udayatāmahādharpavanagandhipernāṅkurabhujām
kvacīt svayaṃ mṛtānāmānaya
(8) pranayavaddhakulayūthānāmapatatra vṛkasamghavinīhatādardha-
bhakṣitamāmājevitanām
(9) kastūrikāmrīgānām madagandhenaṃmoditasakalatīropakānta-
rāvāsijanapadām/a
(10) sakalasurāsurāmukutaṃmanimayukhaṃnaṃjarīraṇjītacaranapītha-
bhīyaṃ sīkāmesvarasahagaurī-
(11) bhāṭṭārīkābhīyajismiḥitaśirasaḥ kāmaṅkaṭāigṛh satatanitambā-
ksālaṅdaṅdhikatarapavitra-
(12) pāyasaṃpurṇaṃsrotasa/majjadvilāsininukacakalasatāslistā-
madapankāvilaugandhāmbhaśa/a
(13) vasaṅganābhiriva nānabharanaśobhitaprakāṭavayavābhirbāla-
kumarābhāhiriva kvanat-
(14) kinkinībhīv kārnāṭībhāhiriva kathinābhīghtasamvariddha-
vagābhīrvavaraśībhāhirivā samara-
(15) dharinabhirdasavadanantaḥpurikābhīrivaruvācitasantaradasaṅgābhīhiḥ pavanakāmini

(16) bhīrīvātyantavegavatībhīhiḥ ramanīyadaluhānganābhīrīva sakalajananamanohārīnībhīhiḥ natībhīrīva

(17) narttakapuruṣakramaṇaśamvardhdhitakampābhīrīrugatadvārāpā-libhīrīva satatottanāsthānākāminībhīhi

(18) naurbhīralaṅkātobhayātiropantadesaṁa sīlātuḥityabhāttā- rakeneryaṇātha-

(19) sīhārūppesvārāt sa parasamāheshvare mātāpitṛpādānudhyātā- paramesvāraparāyaṇe-

(20) cittako mahārajaḥdhirajaśrīvāranamālāvarmaśdevaḥ kusālī//

"There the people belonging to all the castes and all the stages of life (āṣrama) are extremely happy. This is the place of residence of innumerable fortunate and honest scholars, where the broad royal roads remain crowded with kings who come to pay homage to the monarch and go back being seated on colourful elephants, horses and sīvikās (palkins) and where all the quarters always remain blocked with innumerable military potentialities in the form of elephants, horses and soldiers. (Lines 1 to 4). This prosperous city of Hārūppesvāra is blessed with the presence of the Lord Lauhitya. (Line 21) (This river Lauhitya is as follows) : In this river the waters have become fragrant on account of coming in contact with the pollens of the flowers, which have fallen down from various trees, shaken by the hissing sound of a crowd of snakes, frightened by the cackling sound of the excited peacocks that have been reclining in their homes in
the tall trees standing on the Udayavelācala (i.e., the tallest mountain of the eastern region) (Lines 4 to 6). (This was the river) where the waves are rendered fragrant by the cloudes formed by the smokes of black agaru trees burnt by the forest-fire occurring in the parks of the city of Naruppavāra. (Lines 6 to 7). The regions on the bank of this river remain plunged in the aroma of the secretions of the musk-deer, who feed on the sheets of the scented leaves of the trees growing on bowers of the chief mountain of the eastern region (literally the region where the sun rises) and who move either alone or in herds being attached with love to the chief of a group or in smaller groups spared by the herds of leopards, which kill a number of deer and get over-fed on their flesh. (Lines 8 to 10). The current of this river is full with waters which have become purer an account of constantly flowing over the slopes of the mountain Kāmakūta, at the top of which there is the residence of the illustrious god Kāmesāvara and the goddess Mahāgaurī, whose foot-stool is illumined by the series of rays issuing from the crest-jewels of all the gods and demons (Lines 11-13). The waters in this river are fragrant on account of being addled with the mud of musk besmeared on the surface of the pitcher-like breasts of luxurious ladies who have taken a plunge. (Lines 13 to 14)

The regions adjoining both the banks of this river are embellished with rows of beats (which were as follows 1) (Line 20).

The beats, like harlots, display the bodies, embellished with varieties of ornaments. They wear jingling bells like small girls.
They get their speed accelerated by hard strokes like the women of Karnāṭa (who get excited by hard assaults). Like prostitutes they hold chowries (cāmaraśa). They have red teeth (all round their person) like the damsels of the harem of (the ten-headed) Rāvaṇa. They are extremely speedy as if they are consorts of (god) Pavana (i.e., Vāyu). They charm one and all like the beautiful women of Dālūhā. Like dancing girls, their trembling increases with the approach of dancers. They always desire to remain in a higher position (i.e., a higher level of water) like the gods who happen to have a down fall. (Lines 14 to 20)

From this city of Mārūppēśvara, Mahārajādhirāja Śrī Vanaśaladeva, who is a great devotee of Mahēśvara (i.e., Śiva), engrossed in the meditation on the feet of the parents, with his soul attached to the supreme god, enjoys well-being (Lines 21-23) (and makes the gift of a village).  

The whole of the description of the city of Mārūppēśvara is a very good example of Udāra Alamkāra. There are also other Alamkāras as follows:

Anupraśa in sādhanaṁnarantaraniruddha (Line 3), parimalasurabhisaśalīlana (Line 5), sakalasūrasura, maṇjariranjīta (Line 10), satatanitamba (Line 11)

Yasaka in narapatibhir evanipatisvārtham (Line 2)

Atisāvyakti in 'asaṁkhya-gaja..... niruddhasakaladigantarād' (Line 3), '..... phutkērapra-kampitanskatara..... ' (Lines 4-5),

21 As translated in IAA.
The whole passage is rich in Padalalitya because of recurrence of conjunct consonants involving nasals as in 'nirantara ........... digantara' (Line 3) and 'manjariranjita' (Line 10).

The Treatment of Rasas

The author of the Tezpur Grant of Vanamala appears to have a very good background of Rasas. Vīra Rasa is very successfully executed in verse 7 where the valour of king Sālambha is narrated.

"In his family there occurred a king with the wonderful name Sālambha, who was the slayer of the heroes of the enemy force and whose foot-stool used to be illuminated by the rays of the head-jewels of the (defeated) kings."

Also in verse 18, which has been quoted in an earlier section, there is Vīra Rasa, and particularly in the first half the syllables

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22 The reading prālabha is modified as sālambha in the light of the Parbatiya Plates.

23 As translated in IAA.
appear to be very much suitable for a smooth delineation of the said Rasa.

The sentiment delineated through the verses 21 to 23 at a stretch deserves to be specially examined. That is why the text and the translation are presented first.

Text: yasa pratapabhitya bahuripujayino pradinipalabah/
keciddia'o vijagrubh prasabhama yayurambarannyanya// (V.21)
rajnamanyasaam ye nisitamajavisumrapa amusuh/
yasmattato vibhitya bhunim duraam nijas vijahuh// (V.22)
yairabhimukhaam ripunamaghatitam makkarigachatapaih/
vikramkritihetostairyasyahjalelah krtah kaityapaih// (V.23)

Trans: "Out of fear for his (i.e., Vanamāla's) prowess some of even those kings who have themselves defeated many enemies, ran away to various quarters and others took the path to the sky. (V.21)

And those amongst the other kings, who used to shoot sharp arrows in the battle field, left their own land at long distance out of fear for him. (V.22)

Those kings, who for a display of their valour used to arrange excited elephants against their enemies, had to salute him with folded palms. (V.23)"

These verses depict the behaviour of the other kings who were in constant fear of king Vanamāla and could not stand the great prowess of king Vanamāla. Because of the occurrence of the words bhītyā and vibhītyā these verses may in the first eight appear to
have Bhayānaka Rasa. But in fact these verses do not give the relish of Bhayānaka Rasa, since no reader would ever identify himself with the timid weaker kings. If the reader can identify himself with the personality of Vanamāla he may get the relish of Vīra Rasa. But the most natural situation is that the reader simply admires the heroism of Vanamāla and thus shares the sentiment of the composer of the prastāti leading to the relish of a Rāja-Visāyaka-Rati-Shāva. Hence, this cluster of verses may be recognised as presenting a case of Shāva–Ohvani.

It may, however, be questioned as to how Abhinavagupta could present the following verse of Abhinavagupta, which describes the fear of the deer chased by king Dūṣyanta, in course of his hunting expedition, and which contains the word bhava, as an example of Bhayānaka Rasa in his commentary on Bharata’s Rasasūtra in the Nātyasastra Ch. VI.

(I. 7)

In reply to this question it may be pointed out that in case of the said verse of Kalidāsa, the readers actually feel a sense of sympathy for the deer and really experience an identification with the deer and, therefore, can experience the same feeling of fear as that of the deer and thus have the relish of the Bhayānaka Rasa.
In this connection a casual reference to the definition of Kāvyam may not be out of place. While defining poetry Viśvanātha says, 'vākyam rasātmakaṁ kāvyam' (Śāhityavāpana, Ch. I). He considers Rasa (i.e., Flavour) to be the soul of poetry. But Rasa is not found in all the verses of a piece of composition. Even all the verses of Meghadūta do not have Rasa. In Kāvyas Rasa is met occasionally and it is felt only for a short time. Referring to this Viśvanātha again says, 'nanu tarhi prabandhāntarvartinām keśācinnirāsaṁ padyānāṁ kāvyatvaṁ na syāditī cet, na/rasavat- padyāntargatanirasapadānāṁīva padyarāsaṇa prabandharasenaiva tesaṁ rasavattāṅgikārāt/' (Śāhityavāpana, Ch. I). He himself raises an objection to this definition of poetry and says that if Flavour is only the essence of poetry then some Flavourless verses in the composition will not be poetry. In reply to this he says that like the Flavourless words of a verse having Flavour. The Flavourless verses of a composition having some Flavour as a whole may be supposed to have Flavour. Thus, according to him, the verses without Flavour also possess the essence of poetry.

Some General Remarks:

The author of the epigraph is fully acquainted with the prescribed Kavisamayas (i.e., poetical conventions). The expressions—yasya yasahsāśinedam bhuvanan dhavalikratam vilokya drśa 24 where fame

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24 cf. First line, V. 27.
is stated to be white fails under the Kavisamayas prescribed by Visvanātha.25 The author’s familiarity with the Kavisamayas handed down by the famous Sanskrit poets is corroborated by the comparison of the donor king Vanamāla with Dharma (i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira), the ocean, the mountain, the sun, Karna and the son of the wind (i.e., Hanumān or Śīma) for truth, profundity, height, prowess, sacrifice and valour respectively.26

In verse I, the author shows his superior ability for a poetic description. From the descriptive point of view, the poet in this benedictory verse, surpasses the composers of the benedictory verses of the earlier epigraphs of Assam. This mangala verse contains several points of relationship with the tradition of classical Kāvyas. For instance, the mount Kailāsa and the Pārijāta flowers or the Pārijāta flower tree of heaven are very commonly referred to by the Sanskrit poets. Verses 12 and 13, to a certain extent, reflect the model of Śaṇa. Verse 25 may very easily remind the readers of the style of Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, because of bringing forth an imagery of the sky and making a reference to the diṅnāgac in a verse in the Mandākrānta metre having a close similarity with that verse of Meghadūta which contains the lines:

śnādāsāt sarasānāsaūd utpato’dāmukhah kham
diṅnāgānām pathi pariha sne samānāh astavale

(Meghadūta, Purvamsaṁga, 148)

25 cf. mālīyam vyasānī pāpe, yasāsī dhaivalatā etc. Saṁityadarpana, Ch. VII, V. 23.

26 cf. V. 26.
It appears that the author knows very well the canons laid down by the Sanskrit poets. The style adopted by the author is called Gaudiś style in poetics. Visvanātha defines this style as:

\[ \text{ojahprakāśaṁ-varṇair-bandha \ adambarāḥ puṇah sambāśabhuḷā gaudī} \quad (\text{Śāhītyadpadāna, IX, }3) \]

"The Gaudī is a grand style, composed of letters manifesting energy, and abounding in compounds".

The frequency and the length of compounds appear to be almost common features in the composition. The portion tasyaṁ-sasaktipamukutodgrastapādābjaṅpāṁyāśbūt (in verse 16) is a very fine example of Gaudī style. Here the compound is long and the letters ke, t, st are so suitable for manifesting energy and thus have become so helpful here for the delineation of Ojah Guna.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis of the literary elements of the Tezpur CP Grant of Venamāla it may perhaps be safely opined that the composer of the said CP Grant (and for that matter also of the Parbatiya CP Grant of the same king) was a poet of no mean order.

A Study of the Utterbarbil Copper Plates of Balavarman III:

An Introductory Note: The second copper plate charter, taken up for examining the literary standard of Sanskrit Kavya under the Acrocha rule, is the Utterbarbil Copper Plates of Balavarman III. This inscription is assigned to the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. It will be seen in course of a detailed discussion of the grant that the author deliberately takes a lot of care to bring
his composition to a standard Kāvyā form. This gives an idea about the extent of the cultivation of standard epigraphical poetry in Assam in this period. One of the striking features of this composition is that it bears very close resemblances with the style, ideas and expressions of Kālidāsa. It contains altogether 30 verses along with the two proportionately smaller prose passages in the middle and at the end. The first two verses in the beginning are the benedictory verses addressed to Lord Rudra and the river Lauhitya respectively; verses 3 to 24 cover the larger portion of the composition describing the donor king and his predecessors; verse 25 describes the capital city; the prose passage in the middle covering lines 32 to 43 describes the donor king and also the land donated; verses 26 to 30 describe the brahmin donors and the occasion of the donation, and the prose passage at the end consisting of lines 52 to 54 declares the eight boundaries of the donated land. There are a number of scribal errors and the only striking mistake being the repetition of the second verse. The formal part of the grant is identical with that of the Newgong Copper Plates of the same king. The first 25 verses and another 5 lines of the prose passage in the middle describing the king and his station, are identical. Descriptions of the location and extent of the two different plots of land donated in the two different grants obviously possesses different expressions. Yet the tone and texture are very similar. The privileges attached to the donated lands are almost identical in expression in both the grants. After the formal part, there are 5 more verses in the Uttarbarbil Plates.
for describing the donee and the occasion of donation followed by the boundary of the land while in the Nowgong Plates there are 7 more verses devoted to the description of the donee and the occasion of the gift followed by the boundary of the land. Thus, the difference of the two grants virtually lies only in respect of the description of the donees and the boundaries of the lands. Thus it should not be deemed unreasonable to believe that both these two grants were composed by the same author.

The literary passage of the Uttarbarbil Plates contains a mixture of both prose and verse and is devoted to the description of the royal genealogy and the praise of the donor king. Thus the composition of this inscription belongs to that type of Kavya which is called Viruda.27

of. gadyapadyamayi rājastutir virudamuoyate/

(Śāhityadarpāṇa, VI)

The Metres:

The author chooses the following metres: VVs. 1-4, 8-10, 13, 14, 17, 19-25, 30 Āryā; VVs. 5, 6, 12, 15, Upajāṭi (of Indravajrā and Upendra-vajrā); V. 7, Upajāṭi (of Vasantalilakā and Indravajrā); V. 11, Puṣpītāgrā. VVs. 16, 18, Anustubh; VVs. 26-29, Vamsaṣṭhavilā. The author of the present CP like the author of the Midhanpuri Plates uses Āryā metre in majority of the verses and thus presents the rich ideas in verses containing a few words. The Upajāṭi of Indravajrā

27 Almost all the compositions of the charters of the rulers of ancient Assam belong to the Viruda type of Kāvya.
and Upendravajra and also the Upajati of Vasantatila and Indravajra are deliberately sought to show the skill in the use of two metres in the same verse. The use of a long metre (e.g., Puṣpitāgrā in verse 11) shows the poet's capacity for description. The use of both short and long metres proves that the poet can express his ideas in the verses containing a few words and also in the verses having many words.

A Note on Parallelism:

Verse 2 is the second mangala verse of the composition and it closely follows the tradition of the classical Kāvyas. The poet says, "Let your sins be dispelled by the pure waters, of the sea-like (river) Lauhitya, which are rendered fragrant by the musks of the musk deer that roam about the slopes of the Kailāsa mountain, and are dotted with small moon-like spots by the drops of the ichor of the celestial elephants". The mountain Kailāsa along with its flora and fauna happens to be a favourite theme for the Sanskrit poets. Thus Vatsabhatti also finds an occasion to describe; "And (where) other (houses) resemble the high summits of the Kailāsa, with long terraces and stone seats, resounding with the noise of music, covered with gay pictures, and adorned with groves of waving plantain trees".

The description of the river Lauhitya as found in the first beneficatory verse of the plates of Vanamāla is richer in content

28 As translated in IAA.
29 Vide Vatsabhatti's Prasasti (V. 11) as translated by V.S. Ghate in the Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Kāvyā, p. 28.
than the present verse. The verse of the grants of Vanamāla is composed in Sragdharā metre and the present verse is composed in Aryā metre, and the author apparently has limited scope for description. It is not unlikely that the present author has taken the idea from the plates of Vanamūla and given a shape according to his own taste.

The portion 'aravāvivā pāvakāḥ' of verse 19 seems to have been framed on the model of verse 12 of the Midhanpur Plates of Bhāskaravarman, where there is the expression 'tammahīśi yajñavatī yajñavatīvarāṇah'...... etc.

Verse 13, which is concerned with the description of king Vanamūla runs as follows:

na kruddha vikṛta na ca hastam na ca vacan śrutam nīcet/
na ca kiṃciduktamahitamahitamālam sādāvā yasyābhūt/

"There never occurred any deformity in his face; neither through anger nor through a laugh; his mouth never uttered an ugly word which is generally heard from the ordinary people; it never spoke an unwholesome word; his character was always highly adorable". 30

Here it may perhaps be safely opined that this verse at least partially takes the model of the following verse of Kiratarjunīya:

na tena sajyām kvaścidudyatam dhanaḥ kṛtaḥ na vā kopavijihmahamanam/
gunānurāgama sirobhiruhyata naradhīpaimālyamīvasya śāsanam/

(i. 21)

30 Translation is as given in IAA.
verses 16-17 and 23 devoted to the description of a son being placed on the throne by the king may remind the reader of Samudragupta being placed on the throne by his father, as described in the Prayaga Prasasti of Harisena.

of. sneha vyālulitena vāspaguruṇā tattvēksinā caksuṣā/
yah pitrābhito nirikṣya nikhilām pāhyevamurvīmiti//\(^{31}\) (V.4)

A Note on Similarities with Kalidāsa's Poetry:

It has already been pointed out that the present composition bears the marks of influence of Kalidāsa in respect of style, idea and expression. Presence of such influences may be pointed out in not less than seven places of the present inscription as shown below:

(1) The first line of verse 5, 'tāmbūlavallīparināddhapūgam kṛṣṇagurukandhanivesāvatīsālam' reflects the modell of Kalidāsa.

of. tāmbūlavallīparināddhapūgāśvelalalālingitacandanāsū/
tāmaḷapatrāsteranāsū rāntum praṣīda sāvanmalayasthalīsū//

(Raghuvarman, VI, 64)

The word tāmbūla is mentioned by Śrihāsa also.

of. vidhāya tāmbūlaputīṃ karaṅkagām
babhāna tāmbūlekaraṅkavāhīni//

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\(^{31}\)This verse suggests the selection of Samudragupta as an heir to the throne in a tense atmosphere in the court. There were perhaps many rivals to the throne and there might have been adverse reactions to the royal announcement. For detail see Raj NaLi Pandey's note in the Historical and Literary Inscriptions, pp. 72-73. But such an atmosphere is not hinted at in the present inscription and the author only says that the king thought of performing his last duty (i.e., to make the son a king) only. (cf. V.22).
damasvasurbhāvamavetya bhāratīm
nayānayā vaktraparīśramām samaṃ//

(Maṅgalagaurīta, XII, 76)

"Then a maid, the bearer of the betel casket, who understood Damayanti’s feelings, taking a betel-roll in the fold of her hand, said to Sarasvati, 'Do thou lighten the fatigue of thy mouth with this.'"32

(2) The expression, 'rāja prajāraṇjanaladvahavarnno' in the second half of verse seven clearly appears to be an adaptation of the following verse of Raghuvamsa:

asaśa saranyah saramenmukhāma magadhāsatvam magadhapratīṣṭhah/
 rājā prajāraṇjañaladvahavarnah parantapo nāma yathārthanāmā//

(VI, 21)

(3) The expression 'varnasramanām gururekavirāh' as the last foot of verse seven also seems to have been based on the model of Raghuvamsa, 5.19, cf.

varnasramanām gurave sa varṇī
tvaceṣṭeṣeḥ prastutam ācācāke//

(4) The first half of verse 9, 'tadvamś vanavapram parikhīrtasāgaram mahīm bhuktvā' seems to bear an echo of the following verse of Raghuvamsa:

sa velā-vapra-valayāṃ parikhīrtasāgaram/
ananyasasāsaṃvirvīṃ saśaśaikapurīmiva// (I.30)

32 As translated by K.K. Handiqui in the Maṅgalagaurīta of Śrīharaṇa.
(5) The second half of verse 12, 'visālavakṣāstanuvṛttamadhya pinaddhakaṇṭhaḥ parighābhavāhuh' is also coined on the model of Kālidāsa.

cf. avantiṇātho'yaumudgrahabāhu
visālavakṣāstanuvṛttamadhyaḥ/

(Raghuveśa, VI, 32 first half)

(6) Verse 17 says that king Vanaguḍāla handed over to his son the (royal) umbrella, as white as the moon, along with the pair of chowries and became merged in the (heavenly) glow of Maheśvara (i.e., retired to heaven) through the process of fasting. This reference to the royal umbrella together with the chowries appears to have a correspondence with a similar reference in Kālidāsa also.

cf. janāya suddhāntanagaraṇaṃ samsāta
kumāraṇaṁmrtaśaṁvitāksaram/
adayaṁśīt trayameva bhūpateh
(saiprabhaḥ) chatramubhe ca cāmaṃ//

(Raghuveśa, III, 16)

(7) The next verse of the inscription runs as follows:

prāptarājanena tenadhṛ rājaṁ śrīvīravāhunaḥ/
kulena kāntyā vaysām ambānāmatmanassamā// (V.18)

Mara the portion 'kulena kāntyā vaysā' is identical with the portion 'kulena kāntyā vaysā' of Raghuveśa, VI, 79.

Thus the author of the inscription is indebted to Kālidāsa both for the ideas and expressions. This indicates an attempt towards the
production of standard Kāvya in the inscription of ancient Assam.

**On Alamkāras:**

The author of this inscription, both in the verses as well as in the prose passage, seems to be very much conscious about Alāmkāras and makes sufficient labour to show his mastery over it. His proficiency both in the Sabdālāmkāras and in the Arthālāmkāras apparently indicates that he had a sound background of Sanskrit rhetoric. Of the Sabdālāmkāras Anuprāsa is severally employed. In fact, the very first verse of the inscription begins with an Anuprāsa. cf. bhavatu bhavatimirabhidurām tejo raudram, etc. (V.1). Of the Arthālāmkāras Upama is most frequently employed. But this is the most natural thing for a poet who is such a great admirer of Kālidāsa, for, the most salient feature of Kālidāsa's art is also Upamā, cf.

\[
\text{upamā kālidāsaasya} \\
\text{bhāraverarthagauravam/} \\
\text{naisadhe padalālityam} \\
\text{māghe santi traye gunāh//}
\]

**Literary Elements in the Verse Portion:**

**Verse 1:**

Text: bhavatu bhavatimirabhidurām tejo raudram prasāntaye jagatah/ parivartttate samagram kalpāntanisāvasāne yat/

Translation: "Let the lustre of lord Rudra, capable of dispelling the darkness of the world (i.e., of the period of birth and rebirth) be the cause of peace of the world, since the whole (situation) changes at the end of the night of universal destruction".
This verse begins with an Anuprāsa. There are Rūpakas in 'bhavatimīra' and 'kalpāntanīśa'. There is a 'Deva-Viśayaka-Rati-Bhāva' as the Rasa.

**Verse 2 :**

Text : surakarimadasandrakitaṁ salilāṁ lauhitayavāridheramalam/
kailāsakatakamṛgamadavāsitamapaharatu duritamvaḥ//

Trans : "Let your sins be dispelled by the pure waters, of the sea-like (river) Lauhitya, which are rendered fragrant by the musks of the musk deer that roam about the slopes of the Kailāsa mountain, and are dotted with small moon-like spots by the drops of the icher of the celestial elephants".

This verse contains Anuprāsa in 'salilāṁ lauhityavāridheramalam' etc; two Tadhga Alamkāras in 'surakarimadasandrakitam' and '...... mṛgamadavāsitam' and both are based on Atisayokti.

**Verse 3 :**

Text : pralayapayadhau māgnāmuddharato vasumatīmupendrasya/
naraka iti sūnarāśidasurasuhṛtkrodarūpabhṛtah//

Trans : "Upendra (i.e., Viṣṇu), who assumed the form of a boar (in his boar incarnation) and rescued the Earth, plunged in the waters of the universal deluge, had a son named Naraka, who was a friend of the asuras".

There is Anuprāsa in 'sūnarāśid asurasuhṛtkrodarūpabhṛtah'.

**Verse 4 :**

Text : trailokyavijayatuṅgamyenapahṛtām yaso mahendrasya//
aditeh kundalayugalañ kapuladolayitamharatā//

Trans: "Ms stole away the pair of ear-ornaments, dangling about the cheeks of Aditi (i.e., the mother of the gods) and thereby stole away the high fame of Mahendra (i.e., the great Indra), which accrued out of his conquering the three worlds".

There is an Anuprāsa in the second half.

Verse 5:

Text: tāmvalavalliparinaddhapūgam kraṇaguruskandhanivesitailema// sa kāmarūpe jitakāmarūpam prāgjyotisākhyam puramadhyuvāsa//

Trans: "That (king Naraka), who surpassed (even) Kāma (i.e., the Cupid) in beauty (or, who had already conquered the Kāmarūpa) used to live in a city named Prāgjyotisa in (the kingdom named) Kāmarūpa, where there were areca-nut trees, which used to be covered by encircling betel leaf creepers, and the trunks of the black sandal trees which used to be encircled by the cardamom trees".

Anuprāsa in 'tāmvalavalli' and Latānuprāsa in 'kāmarūpe jita- kāmarūpam'.

Verse 6:

Text: madāndhagandhadvipakarnātalantrtyammayūrapavame sa tasmin/
     vasantamāsādyamurāricakram ranas rānaisī divamārūroha//

Trans: "Having resided in that place (i.e., in Prāgjyotisa), where, in the parks, the peacocks used to dance in consonance with the beating-time of the movement of the ears of the intoxicated elephants of the..."
best variety, that king Naraka, ever eager to fight, became struck
by the wheel of Viṣṇu and retired to the heaven”.

This verse is laden with a series of Anuprāśas. Padalālītya in
'madāndhagandha' is noteworthy.

Verse 7:

Text: bhūpālameulimaniṣumvitatapadapitha
stasyaṁmajobhūd bhagadattanāma/
rāja prajārajanalavdhavarnno
varṇṇasramanāṇanguruskavirah/

Trans: “His son was Bhagadatta by name, a king whose foot-stool
used to be kissed by the crest-jewels of the (vassal) kings; he earned
singular fame by being pleasant to the subjects; he regulated all castes
and all āṣramas (i.e., stages of life), and he was the hero without a
parallel”.

This verse is very rich in Anuprāśas. There is a Lāṭānuprāśa in
'........ varṇo varṇāsramanānām'.

Verse 8:

Text: tadvaṁśe vanavapram parikhiktasāgrām mahī mohitvā/
astaṅgateṣu rajasu sālastambhobhavannrpatih/

Trans: “When a number of (moon-like) kings of that family, having
ruled over the earth, surrounded by ramparts in the form of forests,
and by canals in the form of the seas, disappeared (i.e., ceased to be,
through demise), Īśālaṁbha became the king”.

Rūpaka in 'vanavapram' and Atisāyokti in 'parikhiktasāgarām'.
Verse 10:

Text: pala-va-va-prabhtisamati-krtasatayavamsyeu/ abhavadyuhuvii nrpacandro dvija-jvaro harjjararo nma/

Trans: "After the demise of several kings of his family like Palaka and Vijaya, there appeared on earth a moon amongst the kings, named Harjjara, a veritable menace to his enemies."

Rupa in 'nrpacandrah' and 'dvija-jvaro harjjararo', Anuprása in 'dvija-jvaro harjjararo' and the quality of Ojah in the second half.

Verse 11:

Text: ahamahamikaya vivandisunam/ samadiya svaya nakhaprabaappratana/ na mukutanayavibhanti rajn/ ravikarasamvalita iva pradipah/

Trans: "The crest-jewels of the kings, who were vying with each other with their desire to salute him, could not shine better on account of (being surpassed by) the series of rays issuing forth from the nails of his lotus-feet, like the lamps overwhelmed by the rays of the sun."

Purnopama in 'ravikarasambalita iva pradipah' etc.

Verse 12:

Text: tasyatatmajah sirvanamaladevo rajo cirem bhektparo bhavebhu/
visalavasatanuvrttasamadhyah pinaocchakanthah parighabhavabhuh/

Trans: "His son Sri Vanamaladeva, a devotee of Siva, was the king for a pretty long time; his chest was wide, the waist was thin and round, the shoulders were firm and the arms were like (iron) beams."
Anuprasa in 'bhaktiparo bhavebhūt'. The second half is rich in the quality of Ojah.

**Verse 13** which is already quoted with translation contains a Yamaka in 'uktam ahitam mahitam'.

**Verse 14**

Text: yenātulāpi satulā jagati visālāpi bhūrikṛtasālā/
pantih prasāadanamakṛtavitāpi saecitra//

Trans: "With him (as the resident) the row of palaces became atulā (i.e., matchless) even while remaining satulā (i.e., containing sloping beams); became visālā (i.e., large) even while being bhūrī-kṛtasālā (i.e., consisting of many rooms); became akṛtavitā (i.e., devoid of non-uniformity in colour) while remaining saecitra (i.e., while containing pictures within)."

This verse contains a Virodhābhāsa Alākāra.

**Verse 15**

Text: tasyātmajah śrījayamāladevaḥ
keśāmvarṣeriva sitarasmih/
_bhābhūva yasyāskhalitam bhramanti
yasāmsi kundendusamaprabhāni//

Trans: "Like the moon arising from the ocean of milk, from him was born his son Śrī Jayamāladeva, whose fame, as radiant as the jasmine and the moon, travelled along (i.e., spread) without any stumbling".

There is a Pūrnopama in the first half. The expression 'yasāmsi kundendusamaprabhāni' also contains a Pūrnopama based on a Kavisamaya.
Verse 16 - 17:

Text: sa ārīmān vanamālopi rājā rājivalocanaḥ/
avayopetām tanūjaṁ pṛapta Vyavananam//
śohatraṁ saśadharadhamalah cāmarayugalānvitam praḍāyāsmei/
anāsanavidhinā virāstejasī maheśvare līnah//

Trans: "That valourous illustrious lotus-eyed king Vanamāla also observing his son to have attained youth and to be endowed with modesty handed over to him the (royal) umbrella, as white as the moon, along with the pair of chawries and became merged in the (heavenly) glow of Maheśvare (i.e., retired to heaven) through the process of fasting".

Anuprāsa in 'rājā rājivalocanaḥ' and Upāsā in 'ohatrao aadhara dhavala'.

Verse 18:

Text: tenodapādi tasyaṁaranaṁviva pāvakaḥ prayasyavidā/
valavarmas tīrthaṁ ārīmaṭanayah samagrampusīktaḥ//

Trans: "Like fire produced from the arani (i.e., the fire-producing wood) that king, skilled in application (of the theoretical knowledges), also got from her an illustrious son named Salavarma, endowed with all the good qualities".

Upāsā in 'tasyaṁ aranaṁviva'.

Verse 19:

Text: seītasaerūḥacaladalanibheṇayanah pīnakendharah sūbhujah/
abhinsvadinakar-kaśahatavidalītanavanalinakentisacchāyah//

Trans: "His eyes were like the petals of the blue lotus, shoulders were firm, arms were stout and his (total) beauty was like the lusture
of the lotus, blossoming newly, being struck by the rays of the early morning sun.

Anuprāsa and Upamā in 'asita .......... nayanah', Yamaka in 'dinakara kara' and Upamā in 'abhinava .......... sacchayah'.

Verse 21:

Text: gaocati tithimati kāle sa kadācit karmmanām vipākavaśat/
raja rujāhibhūto lamghitabhisajā rāṇastambhāh/

Trans: "After a good length of time, that king (i.e., Virabahu) who was like a pillar of the battlefield became overwhelmed by a disease, which was beyond the control of the physicians, through the maturity of his actions".

Anuprāsa in 'rajarujāhibhūto' and Upamā in 'rāṇastambhāh'.

Verse 22:

Text: nihsāram samsāram jalalavaloḷana jīvitam punsam/
viganyya vīravāhuḥ kartavyamacintayačheśam/

Trans: "Finding the world to be hollow and the life of the human beings to be as fickle as a drop of water, Vīrābahu thought of (performing) his last duties".

Yamaka in 'nihsāram samsāram' and Anuprāsa and Upamā in 'jalalavaloḷana jīvitam'.

Verse 23:

Text: atha punyehani nrpatistanayantamudagravigraham vidhivat/
kesarikśorasaddrśam cimhāsanamaulitamanayat/
Trans: "Then on an auspicious date the king (i.e. Virabahu) placed on the throne his son, who was similar to a lion-cub with his robust figure".

Anuprasa and Upama in 'kesari-kisora-sadram'.

Verse 24:

Text: tadanantaramadhipam prajyam tadrjayamajyamiva vahnih/ valavarmapi didip proccaritasakalariputimirah//

Trans: "After receiving (the kingship of) that large kingdom, Balavaran also began to shine, like a fire that has received a pour of ghee, having dispelled the darkness in the form of all his enemies".

Yamaka in 'prajyam tadrjayam ajyam', Upama in 'ajyam iva vahnih', Rupaka in 'riputimira' and Atisayekti in 'proccarita-sakala-riputimirah'

Verse 26:

Text: abhudasasrasrutisastravinmakah\n krti dvijendro bhramauampanyavah/
 avapa kañvo yajusam nivasabhu—
 asurālayam yaḥ khalu gargasamajnakah//

Trans: "Once there was a superior brahmana of the Upamanyu gotra, named Garga, who was a master of the entire Vedic lore, reputed through the performance of several sacrifices, a follower of the Kānya school of Vedas, and the very repository of the Yajurveda; he (in due course of time) reached the heaven".

There is an Anuprasa in 'nivasabhussurālayam' and a Pratiyamanā Utpreka in 'yajuṣām nivasabhuḥ' which in order to give a consistent meaning should drag in the word 'iva'. 
Verse 28:

Text: kulodbhava somalateva pavani
vasiśṭhabhāryeva pativrataḥ hi yā/
śaśīva garbheśvarikā saṃkṣeretoh
priyabhavattasya dhareva dhairyatah/

Translation: "He (i.e., Gaṅghishthira) had a wife, belonging to a good family, who was pure like the Soma-creeper, devoted to the husband like the wife of Vasīṣṭha, mother of a great progeny like Śaci, the beloved of Indra and was like the earth in respect of patience."

This verse contains as many as four Pūrṇopāmes, which stand as an unquestionable testimony to the literary craftsmanship of the poet.

Literary Elements in the Prose Passage:

The prose passage in the middle is divided into two parts – one is devoted to the description of the donor king during his stay at the capital city and the other is devoted to the description of the particulars related to the land donated. In the first part the use of extraordinary long compound words, which are very common in the literary prose passages of other epigraphs, is not noticed. The mode of expression is simple. It is interesting that while this passage is conspicuously free from the more favourite Upanā Alākara, it contains two rather unusual Alākarae, cf.

$tatra śrīmatī hadappēvaranāmanī kāteke krtvāsatirutkhatāśila-
tāmāricinīcayamecakītena vēhunā vijitasakaladīkca kra-vālo dhīraḥ
pradhane bhīrurayāsāśi tīkṣna ripuṣu ardutaro gurusu/ satyavāgāve-
vīśamvēdi krtvāvikalathanāh etūlalakṣe/ mātāpitprādānudhyanadhaudā-
kumasaḥ/ paramesvarah paramabhattārako maha-raja-dhirajah
That paramēvara (i.e., the great king), paramabhaṭṭāraka (i.e., the great master), mahārajaḥdirāja (i.e., the king of kings), the illustrious Balavarmadeva, who has conquered the entire horizon with his arms, that have been coloured by the rays issuing out of his open sword, who is steady in the battle fields, afraid of disreputation, fierce to the enemies, mild enough to the superiors, truthful and not crafty, not used to boasting after the performance of a work, munificent and free from all sins through the worship of the feet of the parents, resides in that illustrious city of Madappesvara and is in good health.\(^{33}\) (Lines 32-36)

Here there is Anuprāsa in 'marīcincayamecakitena' etc., Rūpaka in 'asilātā' and Atisayokti in 'vijitasakaladikcakravālaḥ'. The two rather unusual Alamkāras are as follows: Tadgūna in 'marīcincayamecakitena bāhunā' and Ullskha in 'dhirāḥ pradhane ...... mṛdutaro guruṣu'.

The second part of the passage containing the particulars of the land donated has nothing to do with literary elements. Unlike in the first part, the author here uses certain long compound words. The avoidance of long compound words in one part and the use of long compound words in the other suggest an attempt at giving a new light to the prose composition of the inscriptions.

Some Concluding Remarks:

Some of the verses as well as the prose passage show an affinity

\(^{33}\)As translated in IAA.
with the Gaudi style. But on the basis of certain affinities found here and there, it can not be safely argued that the style adopted here is the Gaudi style. The author is conscious about the sounds of words and in the verses Samantā-34 or evenness in form is mostly observed. As a matter of fact, at the time of reciting the verses, one forgets to take into account whether these verses are written in Gaudi or in Vaidarbhi style. This composition may, therefore, be said to have Pāncaśī Riti as in the Kādambarī of Bāma.

It may perhaps be noted here that while this inscription contains a good piece of literary art endowed with Alankāras and other literary elements, it may also be said to be endowed with some amount of greatness35 because of containing some noble ideas as in verse 22 (nihaśaram saṃśāram etc.) or by way of delineating an ideal character like that of Balavarma III as in the words "dhīraḥ pradhana, bhīru-rayasaṣi .......... mātāpitṛpādānudhyānadhauta kalmaśaḥ".

From the above analysis it may perhaps be concluded without hesitation, that during the time of Balavarma III there existed a large number of Kāvyas in Assam and the author of the present inscription took these Kāvyas as his model. Apart from the prose passage where he presents something of his own, he mostly imitates the model of the great Sanskrit poets. He cultivated himself in the study of standard Sanskrit Kāvyas and endeavoured to express his ideas in the

34 cf. Kāvyadāra, I, 47-49.
35 The process of a 'good poetry' becoming 'great poetry' is discussed by M.M. Sharma in The Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics, Ch. V, pp. 253-254.
model of those Kāvyas. He was not a poet who can claim the credit of originality but an artist of no mean order. His proficiency in the use of metres and the excellent use of Alamkāras prove that he was acquainted with the rules of Indian poetics and tried to satisfy the norms of the theory. However, the overall impression which may be gathered from this inscription is that court poetry was a subject which was most diligently cultivated in Assam towards the closing part of the ninth century A.D.

A Study of the Bargāon Copper Plate Grant of Ratnapāla:

An Introductory Note: After an assessment of the plates of Balavarnan III and giving an idea of the literary standard of the days of the Abhaccha line of rulers, it is now proposed to find out the literary values of the epigraphs left by the Pāla kings of Assam. It is gathered from the assessment of the earlier inscriptions that gradually there grew up a tendency among the composers of the epigraphs to produce some standard Kāvyas, and for this the authors mostly imitated the style of the famous Sanskrit authors. During the rule of the Pāla kings more vigorous effort has been made to produce standard Kāvyas in the inscriptions and that is why these Kāvyas bear very close resemblances with the famous classical Sanskrit Kāvyas occurring in either prose or verse form.

From amongst the CP grants issued by the kings of the Pāla family the Bargāon CP Grant of Ratnapāla assigned to C. 1035 A.D. is taken up first for a literary assessment. It will be seen that the literary passage of the Bargāon grant may lead to a genuine impression that during the reign of Ratnapāla Kāvya literature reached a high level
This grant contains 18 verses followed by a long prose passage covering 30 lines of the inscriptions. The first two verses at the beginning are the benedictory verses devoted to Lord Śaṅkara (i.e., Śiva) and the river Lauhitya respectively. Verses 3 to 12 present a brief account of the predecessors of the donor king Ratnapāla, and verses 13 to 15 describe the distinguishing qualities of the donor king himself. Lines 28 to 52 forming the early part of the prose passage give a description of the patron king. Lines 52 to 58 contain the later part of the same prose passage, which does not have any literary importance. Then there are another five verses for describing the donee brahmans followed by seven and half lines in prose for giving the boundary of the donated land.

The literary passage covers the first 15 verses along with the earlier part of the prose passage giving the description of the donor king. The literary portion of the Suvalkuchi grant of Ratnapāla is identical with that of the Bargaon grant. The first 15 verses of the Corabāri grant are also common with those of the present grant. All the three grants of the king were possibly composed by the same author.

The verses of this epigraph are composed with a higher order of literary talent. The literary prose passage is also of a very high standard of composition and is as beautiful as that of Banaśbhaṭṭa. But in comparison to earlier inscriptions, the verses of this inscription appear to be very laboriously constructed. Some of the verses possess very complex ideas, while some are very rich both in ideas and expressions. Coining of words according to some uncommon rules of
grammar is also another feature of this composition. These features are discussed below in some detail.

**Literary Elements in the Verse Portion:**

**The Metres:** The poet uses the following metres. VV. 1-2, 10-11, Sārḍūlavikridita; V. 3, Vamaśasthavila; VV. 4-9, 13-15, Vasantatilaka; V. 9, Sṛgdrā; V. 12, Mālinī; VV. 16, 17, 19, Indrawajrā; V. 18, Upajāti of Indrawajrā and Upandraṇvajrā; V. 20, Anuṣṭubh.

**Other Literary Elements:**

**Verse 1**

Text: draṣṭeva prativimbakairmnakhagataih evamnrtyeṣam padvidheh sauvasaśiva gatim subhām prakāṭayandrayonisantāndavim/ evam yah paramātmavatprthuguno nayanpyāṇi bhave prākāmyandadhadeva bhāti bhuvane sasyat śīyam śankarah//

Trans: "Let (Lord) Śaṃkara, who is, as it were, the spectator of the wealth of his own dancing art, as reflected in the nails of his own, and at the same time is engaged in exhibiting the ceaseless motion of his auspicious tāndava dance like some one seated on a horse of superior breed, and who, thus, like the supreme self assumes plurality while remaining essentially one, shines in the world with the help of his irresistible will, be source of welfare for all".

This verse presents several ideas about the deity Śaṃkara. Śaṃkara is presented as the source of welfare and prosperity, as the supreme dancer dancing the cosmic tāndava dance, as the supreme yogin because of possessing indomitable will and also as the Supreme Self, because of manifesting himself as many, while remaining essentially one.36 Lord

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36 A reader may also come across in verse 23 of the Midhanpur Plate of Bhaokaravarna the potentiality of becoming many while remaining essentially one—sukopi hi yah pumeśam hṛdayesvabhilakātah’.
Śiva manifests himself in various forms and performs the dance
drama of the world.

This verse contains three Upamāsa in draṣṭeva, etc.; sauvaśvīva,
etc. and paramātmavat prthugunah etc. There is a Virodhaṅbhāsa in
'ekopyanskī bhavan'. As a whole this verse presents a case of Deva-
Viṣayaka-Rāti-Bhava-Dhvani.

**Verse 2**

Text: mūrttā kim vaihatiha sitakararuk kim sphaṭikī vidrutih
kimvāghaughavibhedaikanirata saktih subhā sāṅkari/
yasyāpāṅgatimityavatyā janata jāyeta dhanyā drutām
pāyāsas pranīhatya sarvavakalusam lauhityasindhurjagat/

Trans: "Let the world be protected, after the destruction of all
the sins, by the sea in the form of the river Lauhitya (i.e., the
river Brahmaputra), regarding the current of the waters of which
people may be pleased to conjecture as follows- 'Is it the moonlight
itself that flows here after assuming a physical form?' or 'Is it
a flow of melted crystals?' or 'Is it the auspicious power of Lord
Śankara intently engaged in destroying the whole host of sins?'".

The verses having the invocation to the river Lauhitya in the
copper plate charters of the Kāmarūpa rulers are very rich in descrip-
tion. This verse, where an address is made to the river Lauhitya, is
also highly poetic. Because of the whiteness of the waters of Lauhitya
there is the confusion with moonlight assuming a physical form, with
melting crystals, and also with the powers of Śiva capable of destroy-
ing the sin. According to poetic convention sin is black, and the
past has done full justice by showing the power of destroying sin as white. Thus this imagery is based on the poetic convention or Kavisamaya referred to in the Śāhityadarpana with the clause "mālīnayam vyomini pāpa".

In this verse there is a Rūpaka in 'Lauhityasindhu'. As a whole the verse contains a Sande ha Alamkāra and presents a case of Deva-Viṣayaka-Rati-Bhava-Dhyani.

Verse 3 :

Text : dharām hareruddhārath kirākrteh
payodhimagnām narakosurasaakah/
sa sūnurāsītsuresayōṣidabjīnī
śriyampratīndūyitamēva yena hi//

Trans : "Lord Hari, who, in the form of a bear, rescued the earth plunged in the waters of the universal deluge, had a son named Naraka, who was partially an asura and behaved like the moon in respect of the lotus-ponds in the form of the damselfs of the heaven".

Anuprāsa in "dharām ..... kirākrteh" and "sa sūnurāsītsure ...". Rūpaka in "sura-yōṣidabjīnī". Taddhitaga Upama involving the suffix kyaṅ in "indūyitam".

Verse 4 :

Text : yaścāvaleti jaratīti bhiyā yuteti
mūdheti vandhurahiteti vipadjateti/
hitvādītim samavajitya surānahārsit
tatkundle surayasmahaśaśī ivāgraye//
Trans: "After completely defeating the gods, he (i.e., Naraka), however, spared (their mother) Aditi with the consideration that she is weak, old, frightened, perplexed and left alone by the relatives as a destitute, but stole away her ear-ornaments which were like the best fame and brilliance of the gods."

Ullekha Alamkāra in the whole of the first half. Utprekeśa in "suryasomahesā iṣṭāgya".

Verse 5:

Text: kāntāmukhaivvahuvidehāviva virāvindai-
stejasvibhi raviganāniva sandadhāne/
prāgjyotiesa vasadasea pravare puranām
dordarppa samaraṇacārturerījitasṛiḥ//

Trans: "Me (i.e., Naraka) resided in the best of the cities, Prāgjyotiaśa, which seemed to have many moons because of (the presence of) the faces of the beautiful damsels and seemed to have many suns due to (the presence of) the illustrious warriors; moving along with the glory of his arms in this city he (i.e., Naraka) earned the (royal) fortune in a more beautiful manner."

The second half is full of Anuprāsas. The first half contains two Utprekṣas.

Verse 6:

Text: yuddha purātana itiddhagunāḥ piteti
yāvaddvicintya kṛpayā sa caśera mandāṁ/
tevaddheristamanayaddivamātītāṁc-
stejānyahau nūriha no gāṇanāsti bandhau//
Trans: "Lord Hari took him to the heaven as soon as he (i.e., Maraka) started to move about in the battle-field with a spirit of compunction with the idea, 'my father, though always full of spirited qualities has now become old'; it is strange that one who is intent on enlarging the extent of power never takes account of (blood) relationship".

This verse seems to have been somewhat laboriously constructed. It contains an Arthāntaranyāsa based on an Atisayokti.

Verse 7:

Text: dhīrastatastatayasāḥ paṭagunthitāso
yaso’pi raktamakaredbhuvanaṁ gunaughaiḥ/
bhavyaḥ sa bhūrivibhavo bhagadattanāma
tasyātmajah keitichurāṁ vibharaṁcaśakāra//

Trans: "After that, the burden of the earth came to be shouldered by his son named Bhagadatta; he was steady, dignified and possessor of a huge wealth; all the directions were covered by the silken canvas of his wide fame, and with the host of his qualities he made the whole world his admirer".

Yamaka in 'dhīrastatastatayasāḥ' and Anuprāsa in "bhavyaḥ ...... bhagadattanāma". Atisayokti in "tata-yasaḥpaṭa-gunthitāsaḥ". This Atisayokti is based on a Rūpaka in "yasaḥ-paṭa", which is based on the Kavisamaya of recognising fame as white, i.e., as white as a piece of silk cloth.

Verse 8:

Text: vajriva nirjitaripuh prthuvajrakāntīḥ
svorjārjavārjjitajagajjayelabdhekārīttīḥ/
After the demise of his brother, mighty Vajradatta received the kingdom like fire receiving the glow after the setting of the sun. Like Indra, Vajradatta was a conqueror of his enemies and he had a lusture like that of the bolt. He earned fame by conquering the whole world with his enthusiasm and simplicity.

This verse is very excellently composed. There are three Upamās in vajriva, etc.; prthu-vajrakantih and sikhiva balavan, etc. It is rich in Anuprāsa and contains Ojah Guna because of the reduplications of j with preceding rephas and because of other forceful syllables.

Verse 9 and Verse 10 may perhaps be skipped over because there is very little of literary excellence except Anuprāsa in the expressions 'pravicintya tatprakṛtayah' and 'bhubhārarakṣaksamam'. Both the verses appear to have been labouriously constructed.

That Brahmapāla has defeated his enemies in the battlefield all alone is nothing strange, for, there is indeed the example of Mara (Siva), Hari, Bhisma and many others (in this respect) - thus
thinking, when his soldiers observed him (i.e., Brahmapala) and saw that he remained in his own place, and (yet) his enemies were fleeing away in eight directions, they (themselves) became astonished."

There is an Ārthī Upāma in "atrodāharāṇam", etc.

**Verse 12**

Text: vibhavaphalavilāsāsvādadājātabhilāsah
   sa yuvatimupayame yānurāgājjanesu/
   avanikulasamutthah kamāpasamprāptalakṣyāḥ
   sthitamiva kuladevī nāmadheyamvabhāra/

Trans: "With a desire to enjoy the pleasures accruing out of wealth, he married a (certain) young lady, who out of affection for the subjects assumed the name Kuladevi, symbolising, as it were, the steady presence of the royal fortune belonging to the king of the Bhauma family."

This is a beautiful composition in Mālinī metre with Anuprāsa in the first foot and Utpreksā in 'lakṣyāḥ sthitam iva', etc.

**Verse 14**

Text: durvaravairikarikumbhabhidābhavāsena-
   srutovahāhaticālakarimuktikābhīh/
   yadyudchabhūrvvipanīvaddhṛtapādmarāgā-
   sobhistā viravaniyāṃ nīkaraṁ prakīrtā//

Trans: "His (i.e., of Ratnapala) battlefields (i.e., the battle-fields where he fought) shone like a market of jewels, having a plenty of padmarāga jewels, because of the gajamuktās (i.e., pearls
supposed to be found inside the fore-head of elephants) being carried away by the force of the torrents of blood arising out of the breaking of the temples of the irresistible elephants of the enemies and because of being crowded by merchants in the form of the warriors".

Upamā in 'vipaṇivad' etc.; Rūpaka in 'viravanijām'; Anuprāsa in the first half, Ojah Guṇa particularly in the second half and Atisayyokti in the whole verse.

Verse 15:

Text: simhasanetha narakanvayajāvjabhānum
samveṣyastām divamagādakalanīkagandah/
kālocitām vicaritum hi mahānubhāvāḥ
samvidrāte hi guṇadosavido bhavaṇya//

Tran: "Afterwards, the faultless hero (Brahmapāla) retired to the heaven after placing him, who was like a sun for the lotuses in the form of persons belonging to the family of Naraka, on throns; thus, the great persons who are aware of the merits and demerits of the world surely know what should be done in the respective appropriate occasions".

Paramparita Rūpaka in 'narakanvayajābjabhānum' and Arthāntara-nyāsa in the whole verse.

Verse 16 and Verse 17 may perhaps be skipped over as devoid of literary excellence except for an Anuprāsa in 'guṇasīlasāli' (V. 17).

Verse 18:

Text: śyāmāyikā tasya Ḫabhūva patni
pativrata āilagunopapanna//
ugrendulekheva virājate yā
vīśuddharūpā tamaṇaṇa nihanti

Trans: "He had a wife named Śyāmāyikā accomplished with
class and qualities and devoted to the husband, with her pure
form she shone like a sharp digit of the moon, that destroys darkness".

There is a Pūrṇopama in 'ugrendulekheva', etc. based on a āśeṣa
in the word tamaṇaṇa, which means 'darkness' so far as the moon is
concerned and 'sin' so far as Śyāmāyikā is concerned.

Verse 19:

Text: asaṃabhucchastravidām dhuruṇa-
strastah autogāt khalu viradattah/
yām prāpya dharmāxayamugravuddhiṁ
kālaṁ kalinyakṛtavadbabhūva

Trans: "From this (wife) was born a son named Viradatta, who
was foremost amongst the knowers of the śāstras and afraid of sins;
after finding this follower of virtues who possessed a sharp intellect,
the Kali age became subdued, as it were".

Anuprāsa in 'kālaṁ kalir' etc. Upākṛśa in 'kālaṁ kalir
nyakṛtavad babhūva', where the suffix vati in 'nyakṛtavad' is
employed in the sense of ēva.

Literary Excellence of the Prose Passage:

The literary prose passage of this inscription is a very long
passage covering as many as 25 lines of lines of the inscription.
This whole text makes a single sentence with 'śrīratnapulavarmma-
devaṁ kusāli' (Line 52) as the main clause. All that precedes
consists of several clauses, which qualify Śrī Ratnapāla. In this connection the city of Durjaya, the place of residence of king Ratnapāla is described in a grand style. This gives an occasion for describing the rampart around the city as well as the River Brahmaputra which flows by the city.

This passage is very richly endowed with figures of speech and poetical imageries. The texture is characterised by the presence of very long compounds as well as by the presence of several single words at a stretch. This passage, as it will be seen from the following quotation begins with its longest compound containing as many as 59 syllables. of. "nisitāsi ...... santāpayam" (Lines 28 - 30). An instance of employing several single words at a stretch is provided by the passage "tatra ca jadatā ... vāmatā kāminīṣu" (Lines 40 - 42) where out of twenty words only three words happen to be smallest possible compounds.

In ideas, expressions this passage maintains such a high degree of literary excellence that it may easily be put on a par with the prose of Bāṇabhatta.

For the convenience of a detailed study of the excellences the passage concerned is broken up into several sections below:

(a) (rāja ratnapālah)37 yathārthābhidhānam prayojotīṣeṣu
durjayākhyāṃ purāṃ adhyāyavaśa (Lines 39 - 40).

37 For linking up the different sections of the passage some clauses are newly supplied within bracket.
“(King Ratnapâla) used to reside in the befittingly named city of Durjaya, in the kingdom called Prâjyotisa”.

(b) nisîtâsimicimanjârijâtâbhuvalavijitanarapatisate-
pâyanikratasamadâjâgâhatâtyandânamvîsiksarasârasamupasamita-
santâpam (Lines 28 – 30).

"The heat of the city of Durjaya was allayed by the shower of the drops of Jehovah flowing from the temples of the rows of the spirited elephants presented by the hundreds of kings defeated by the power of (the king’s) arm entangled with the series of rays issuing from the sharp swords".

Apart from Amârasas this passage contains an Atraśayokti Alâmkâra.

(c) sakalârikâtâkalunthanalamâta-subhâtâhuvítipâta-sî-
señatâmapi mahâjanânânâsajogyam/ samadâsundarśimitasudhâdhaveñu-
saudhasikharasahsrântarnhitâ-taranismandalam/ maiyâcalasthaliruha-
kânanamivanskabhogisâtasavitam/ nabhovartamâvâptavudhagurukâya-
lâmâram/ kailâsgirisikharâmiva paramesvarahîthânam/ vitroes-
nisuvitâca/ (Lines 30 – 34).

"The city was fit for the residence of great men, although it was full of the forests of the trees in the form of the arms of the strong warriors, ever eager to plunder the cities of all the enemies. Here the orb of the sun used to be covered from view by the tops of the thousands of white-washed mansions, as white as the sails of the intoxicated beautiful damsels. This city was the residence of hundreds of people devoted to enjoyment (bhogin) like the (sandal) trees, growing on the soil of the mount Malayâ, which are infested
by hundreds of snakes (bhogins). Like the sky embellished with (the planets) Budha, Guru (i.e., Brahma) and Kāvya (i.e., Sukra), this city was the place of poetical figures (kāvyālāmkārās) created (or discussed) by the learned men (budhas) and the preceptors (gurus). Like the peak of the mount Kailāsa, which was the abode of Paramesvara (i.e., Lord Siva) this city was also the abode of Paramesvara (i.e., the king or the lord Siva of the local temple) and like the peak of the mount Kailāsa, inhabited by the god Kuvera (i.e., Vītĕa), this city was also inhabited by rich men (i.e., vītĕas).

Rūpaka in ‘subhaṭabāhuvitāpatavī’; Virodhābhāsa in ‘.... sāṅkaṭamapi mahājananivīśayoygam’; Rūpaka in ‘..... smitasudhā’, which involves a Kavisamaya of recognising smile as white; Tadgūna in ‘..... smitasudhādhaivalita’; Atīsayokti in ‘..... saudha sīkharesahresrantarhita-taranimandalam’; Udatta in ‘samada .... taranimandala’; Pūrnopamās based on Ślesa in ‘malayācala .... sevitam’; ‘nabhostavo va .... kāvyālāmkrām’, ‘kailāsa .... adhiṣṭhānem’, ‘vītēniasvītanca’. The last two clauses together present a case of Tulyayogita also.

(d) yacca sākṣakīḍāsakunidrāhpunjarēna gurjjarādhirājaprajvaṇa

durddāntagaudondrakatkupākalema keralasācalasālaśajatunā vahika-

tāyikatāyikatānkakārīna dākṣinātyaksauṃvipatirājayakamāṇa kṣapitārati-
pakṣatayā kṣitipavakṣahkāpatapateneva prakārenāvṛttaprantam (Lines 34–36)
"The outskirts of the city of Durjaya were covered by a rampart which was like a stout cage for the play-bird in the form of the king of Sakas, a fever for the king of Gurjaras, a Kūṭapakala disease for the untameable elephant in the form of the king of Gauda, a bitumen (śilājatu) for the mountain in the form of the king of Kerala, a veritable source of fear for the kings of Bānika and Tāyika, a pulmonary consumption for the kings of Deccan; because of destroying the side of the enemies it (i.e., the rampart) was like a (white silken) cloth covering the door panel in the form of the chest of the king".

This passage is full of Rūpakas and Paramparita Rūpakas.

(a) unmuḍakalahanaśakāminikulakunīṭitasālamaranmandāndolitorṃśikaraśīrpadāmitapaśvārtaseudhasikharadhirūgahasundarśuratotsavāyāsena kailāsakaridukulakadalikapāṭenānokanakakamīnivihramāṇāndarpananena lauhityāmbhodhinā virājamanam (Lines 36 - 39).

"The city of Durjaya was beautified by the sea-like Lauhitya, which was the remover of the fatigue caused by erotic dalliances of the beautiful damsels, seated on the open tops of the palatial buildings, with the help of the particles of water, issuing out of the waves very lightly stirred by the beautiful breeze mingled with the cackling of the host of intoxicated female swans, which (i.e., the Lauhitya) was like the silken banner carried by the elephant in the form of mount Kailāsa, and which was like a bejeweled mirror of the damsels of the heaven, working as an aid to their preparation for amorous sport".

This passage is very rich in Padalālitya and for that matter in Anuprāśa. There is Paramparita Rūpaka in 'kailāsa .... kadalikapāṭena'
and Rūpaka in '..... manidarpanena'.

(f) mananiyāṃ anekamanujapatisarthanām (durjayākhyapuram)
(Line 39).

"The city of Durjaya was the object of adoration for innumerable hosts of kings".

(g) tatra ca jagata hārayaastīsu devastīsau cañcalata hārisu
na mānasēsu bhāṅguratā bhrūvibhramesu na pratipannesu sopasargagatā
dhātuṣu na prajāsu vāmata kāminīṣu skhalitam madhumadamudita-kāminī-
gatīṣu niheprhatā dosakāriṣu niratyaṇamadhupanāsaktirmadhukarakulesu
atyantam priyānuvarttanaṁ rathānganāmasu pīśitasita svapadeṣu
(Lines 40 - 43).

"In that city of Durjaya, there used to be jagata (i.e., liquidness) only in the (pearl-) necklaces but never any jagata (i.e., dullness) in the sense organs; there used to be cañcalata (i.e., fickleness) in the minds (of people); there used to be bhāṅguratā (i.e., fickleness) only in the play of brows but never any bhāṅguratā (i.e., undoing or breach of trust) in respect of deeds undertaken; there used to be sopasargagatā (i.e., prefixing of upasargas) only in respect of the roots (i.e., chātus) but never any sopasargatā (i.e., illness) in respect of the subjects; there used to be vāmata (i.e., beauty) only in the damsels (and never any vāmata or crookedness in respect of others); there used to be skhalitam (i.e., faltering of steps) only in case of the beautiful women elated through the intoxication caused by wine (and never any skhalita or breach of conduct of the people in general); there used to be a sense of apathy (niheprhatā) only towards the wrong-doers (and never towards ordinary
fellow beings); there used to be desire for incessant madhupāna
(i.e., sucking of honey) only in case of the swarms of bees (and
niratyayamadhupānasakti or interest incessant drinking of wine
was never to be seen in case of the ordinary citizens); there used
to be excessive allegiance to the beloved only in case of the
oakravāka birds (and never in case of the citizens) and there used
to be taking of meat (pisītāsitā) only in case of the animals (and
never in case of the citizens)"

There are four Sabdi Parisamkhyā Alamkāras from 'jadāta
harayastieu, nendriyesu'...... upto 'sopasarggātā dhātusū na
prajāsa'. Again there are six Arthī Parisamkhyā Alamkāras from
'vāmatā kāminisā' upto 'pisītā sitā svapadesa'.

The beauty of the Sabdi Parisamkhyās found here may be safely
compared with the beauty of the same found in the following passage
of Banabhāṭṭa's Kadambaṭṭa occurring in the context of the description
of Jābali's āstama

of. yatra ca mahābhārata sakunivadhah, purāṇa vāyupralapitam,
vayaḥparināmena dvijapatnam, upavancandamsa jadyam, agnīnām
bhūtimattvam, sākānam gitaśravanavyasanam, sikhārdinām nṛtyapakṣapātah,
bhujagamanām bhogah, kapīnām ārīphalābhilāsah, mūlāṇamadhogatih/

Similarly the Arthī Parisamkhyās found in the inscription may be
put on a par with those found in the Kadambaṭṭa in the same context as
stated above;

of. yatra ca malinatā havirdhūmeṣu na cariteṣu, mukharāgaḥ
sokeṣu na kopaṣu, tikanatā kusāgresu na svabhāvaṣu, caṇḍalatā kadali-
The said Parisamkhyaas are very nicely matched with some Anuprasas in the inscription.

(h) tatra vāsavāvāsaspardhini (durjjayākhyeypura) (Lines 43 - 44) .......................................................... mahārajādhirājaśrivrahamapala-
varmmadévapatāndanudhyāta paramesvaraparamabhāttāraka mahārajādhirājaśri-
ratnapalavarmmadeva kuśāli// (Lines 51 - 52).

"In that city (of Durjjayā), which can vie with the abode of Vāsava (i.e., Indra) there resides with all well-being the mahārajā-
dhirāja paramesvaraparamabhāttāraka Śrī Ratnapalavarmadēva, ever
devoted to the worship of the feet of mahārajādhirāja Śrī Brahmapal-
avarmādeva".

(i) vidhuriva vivardhitasilavelājaladhimandalaḥ satrusarasi
darsitapadmāpaharāsaḥ mārttandā īva bhūbhrocchironivesitapadāḥ
kamalākārodbhāsanalāālasaśca paramesvaropī kāmarūpaṇāndī bhaumā-
nvyopyullāśitadānavaṁīḥ purūṣottamopyajanārddanaṁ viropī māttabhā-
gāmi yasya ca manmathanīthi rūpām tīraskṛtāmbhodhīgāmbhiryyam
jagadvijayaṁśi sauryyaṁ skandāskandāṁ viṛiyam yaśarjuno yaśasī
bhīmaśeno yudhi kṛtaṁśa krudhi dāvānaṁ vipaśeṁviṛudhi sāsadhara
vidyānabhāsi mālayānāṁ sujanaśumanāṁ sauryoritamāśa udayācale
mitrodgamasampadi yaḥ/ (Lines 44 - 50).

"(The king Ratnapūla), like the moon, that enlarges the volume
of the waters of the sea in the shore, has enlarged the kings of the
who are like the sea in respect of never transgressing the shore in the form of the limits of good conduct. He has exhibited a stealing of the royal fortune that blooms in the form of lotuses in the lakes appearing in the form of enemies like the moon that causes loss of lusture of the lotuses in the lakes. Like the sun placing its rays on the top of the mountains, he has also placed his feet on the heads of the kings, and like the sun that leads the lotus-pond to bloom he is also desirous of illuminining the very source of royal fortune. Even being the parameswara (i.e., a king) he is the promoter of joy of Kamrupa. Even belonging to the family of Naraka he causes the pleasure of the enemy of demons (i.e., of god Visnu or any god through his devotion and religious deeds). Even being the Purusottama (i.e., Lord Visnu or 'the best amongst men') he is not the janarddana (i.e., Lord Visnu or 'a tormentor of people'). Even being a vira (i.e., a bold warrior or 'motionless') he moves like an intoxicated elephant. His beauty surpasses even that of the Cupid. In gravity he is even more than the sea. His valour is predictive of the conquest of the whole world. In energy he surpasses even (the god) Skanda. Moreover, he is an Arjuna in fame, a Bhimasena in the battle field, the god Yama in anger, a forest-fire in rest of the grasses in form of the enemies, a moon in the sky of learning, a southern breeze in respect of the flowers in the form of the noblemen, a sun in respect of the darkness in the form of enemies, an Udayagala in respect of the wealth of the rising of the mitra (i.e., the sun or the friends or the ally)."

This passage begins with two pairs of Purnopama based on Slesa, each pair being based on Tulyayogita. These Alamkaras are followed
by three vīrodhābhāsas based on Ślesa beginning with the clause ‘paramesvareṇaṁ kāmarūpānandī’. These are followed by three Vyati- rekhaṇa in Ratnapāla’s being described as superior to Manmatha (Cupid), Ambhedhi (Ocean) and Skanda (Kārttikeya) in different ways. These are followed by three Rūpakas beginning with the clause ‘arjuno yaśasi’. The passage finishes with five Paramparita Rūpakas beginning with the clause ‘dāvānalo vipakaṇaḥ viruddhi’.

Concluding Remarks:

On the basis of the foregoing analysis it may be observed that the author of the plates of Ratnapāla was a great Sanskrit scholar endowed with superior literary talents. He had the knowledge of prosody and possessed a very good conception of rhetoric. He had mastery over grammar also. The verses having complex ideas prove that he had very sincerely studied the epics, kāvyas and purāṇas. With the sound background of these works he attained a scholarship so as to express his rich ideas with a masterly idiom. Literary merit as exhibited by the very high standard of prose leads to the impression that he had been very intimately acquainted with the famous prose works, particularly the works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

In making an assessment of the literary standard of the inscriptions left by the kings of ancient Assam, the plates of Ratnapāla tends to provide some new information. From the time of Bhaṇkaravarman to the time of Balavarman III, in the copper plate charters Ārāma metre is preferably employed. But from the days of Ratnapāla onwards longer metres are mostly used in the land grant charters. Further, the ideas of the verses of the earlier epigraphs are not so difficult. But
In this composition, the ideas of some of the verses have become very difficult. Although more complex ideas are introduced, sincere efforts are made to maintain the poetic flow. The use of longer metres proves that importance is given towards the richness of description. Thus, in this piece of literary composition it is seen a trend of the development of Kāvyā literature of ancient Assam from a simple to a more complex form. The literary style of the present composition may give the genuine impression that during Ratnapāla's reign Kāmarūpa had a high standard of literary and scholarly activities which is possible normally only in an atmosphere of peace and prosperity.

A Study of the Puspabhadra Copper Plate Grant of Dharmapāla

The second grant, now chosen for showing the literary standard of Sanskrit Kāvyā under the Pāla kings of Assam is the Puspabhadra Grant of Dharmapāla. This inscription is assigned to the first half of the 12th century A.D. There are three grants of Dharmapāla namely the Subhankarapātaka grant, the Khanāmukh grant and the Puspabhadra grant. The literary texts of the Subhankarapātaka grant and the Khanāmukh grant are identical. The text of the Puspabhadra grant is completely different from the text of the two grants of the same king. The Subhankarapātaka plates and the Khanāmukh plates bear affinities with the charters issued by the earlier rulers of ancient Assam while the Puspabhadra grant involves some new features, which are important for the literary study. The said features are pointed out below:

(1) In the manner of some of the earlier charters issued by the Kāmarūpa rulers, the first benedictory verses of the Subhankarapātaka
and the Khanāmukh grants are also devoted to Lord Śiva (in the form of Ardha-yuva-tiṣṭhāvāra). But in the Puspabhadra grant even the name Śiva is not mentioned.

(2) In the Subhankarapatāka grant and in the Khanāmukh grant, in the manner of the grants of the earlier rulers of Kāmarūpa, there occurs the expression '....... pādāṇudhyāta' (i.e., 'ever devoted to the feet'), as an adjective to the name of the donor king. This common term is used for showing the donor king as the follower of his immediate predecessor. But this term is not found in the Puspabhadra grant.

(3) The first eight verses of the Puspabhadra grant are composed by the donor king Dharmapāla himself. This very peculiar feature of this grant is not found in any other copper plate charter of ancient Assam.

(4) The Puspabhadra grant suggests the old age of the donor king Dharmapāla. The king in his old age turns his mind towards Dharma and reminds the future king about the transitoriness of this universe (V.7). In no charter of ancient Assam there is such an address of the donor king towards the future rulers.

(5) In verse 8 of the Puspabhadra plates, the donor king Dharmapāla declares himself as 'the crest jewel of the circle of poets, a possessor of the whole host of arts'. While referring to this point of the Puspabhadra grant P.N. Bhattacharya says that although the Subhankarapatāka grant contains a lot of information about Dharmapāla's contributions it says nothing about his poetic talent.39 He further

adds that in the Subhāṅkarapāṭaka grant instead of showing the king as 'kavioakravalacudamani' he is described as 'jitavirāraticakra'.

M.N. Sharma is also of the opinion that "The suggestion as the curse of fate and destiny, as we have in the seventh verse of the present grant, should come only from a king who is already too old and imbued with the spirit of renunciation. Dharmapāla, at his younger age, liked to be described as a hero (jitavirāraticakra) in the earlier two grants, while in the present grant, presumably due to his old age, he describes himself as a consummate poet (kavioakravalacudamani)".

(6) Excluding the first eight verses, the rest of the Puspabhadra grant was composed by a very modest poet named Aniruddha. But this poet was in no way inferior to the composer of the other two grants of Dharmapāla.

(7) Verse 7 is almost like an imprecatory verse of a royal charter. This kind of verses usually occur towards the closing parts of the charters. But here it occurs in the earlier part of the composition.

Of all the features mentioned above the most important one is that the first eight verses of this grant are composed by the donor king himself. Thus the Puspabhadra grant of Dharmapāla contains a clue to learn the literary merit of a king of the 12th century A.D. Hence, a study of this grant is deemed desirable.

40 Ibid.
41 IAA, p. 257.
The contents of the whole composition may be divided into sections as follows:

(1) Verse 1 is the maṅgala verse devoted to Lord Viṣṇu.

(2) Verses 2-5 describe the predecessors of the donor king.

(3) Verses 6 and 8 describe the donor king Dharmapāla. Verse 8, further states that this prasāasti (i.e., up to verse 8) is composed by Dharmapāla.

(4) Verse 7 is an appeal to the future kings made by the donor king himself.

(5) Lines 16-17 describe the donor king Dharmapāla during his stay in the capital city.

(6) Line 18 declares the name of the donee along with the specific mention of the land donated.

(7) Lines 19-23 give the particulars of the donated land.

(8) Verses 9-13 describe the village of the donee brahmīn.

(9) Verses 14-17 describe the predecessors of the donee brahmīn.

(10) Verse 18 describes the donee brahmīn.

(11) Verse 19 gives a description of the wife of the donee.

(12) Verse 20 is devoted to the description of the donor king Dharmapāla.

(13) Verse 21 again mentions the name of the donee along with the specification of the donated land.

(14) Verse 22 says that this prasāasti has been composed by one named Sri Aniruddha.
(15) Line 45 gives the name of the engraver.

(16) Lines 46-47 state the location of the land donated along with the specific mention of its capacity of producing a particular amount of paddy.

(17) Lines 47 to 56 describe the boundary of the donated land.

A few verses contain a greater degree of literary beauty. These verses are discussed below in some detail.

Verse I is highly poetic and is very rich in description. Here, the poet Dhammapala presents the past events in such a manner as if they have happened just now before the eyes. There are many other benedictory verses which are much developed both in form and in ideas but none is found to be characterised by such an unusual presentation. The poet says:

śrīmaṇ sa krodarūpo jayati vasumatiṃandalalīdhadamatraḥ
potrotkīrnādricakrah khurayugasikharaksunnapātālapānkhah/
vagavyāksiptavisvapralayajapavanaisyasya nisāvāvātair-
bhūyaḥ bhūyaḥ pratāmyātimitimakarasakulāḥ pītāuktāḥ samudrāḥ//

"Let there be victory to the god Viṣṇu, who assumed the form of a boar, by whose task the Earth was lifted up, by the forepart of whose face the host of mountains were dug up, the tips of the pair of whose hoofs pugged the mire of the nether world, and who with the wind, caused by his breath, surpassed even the severe gale of the time of universal annihilation in speed, and caused great agony to the host of whales (timi) and crocodiles by (repeatedly) drinking up and then releasing the waters of (all the) ocean".
Verses 4 runs thus —

tadvamśe nṛpatirvabhūva nayavan dharmme nivaddhadaraḥ
śīrgopāla iti pratāpadahanaplustadvisatkānanaḥ/
*yasyādāpi sudhāsahodaragunāgramopaṛuddhātatiḥ
svarggāṅgāgurubhāṅgasāṅgaraṇajītaḥ phena iriva paṇḍutaḥ//

"In that family was born a just king named Śrī Gopāla, who had
great interest in virtues and the fire of whose prowess burnt the
forests in the form of his enemies, whose nectar-like (and white)
virtues (i.e., fame because of virtues) extended up to the heavenly
Ganges, which being obstructed by the same and being defeated in the
battle, as it were, emits even today an abundant quantity of foam to
overflow banks".

The term gunāagrama implies fame, which is white. King Śrī Gopāla's
fame extends up to the region of the heavenly Ganges, like the rushing
waters of a river in full spate, which move forward violently. Here
the imagination of the poet reaches the heavenly region from the
surface of the earth. This imagination of our poet has a good parallel
with P.B. Shelley's Skylark. Shelley's Skylark flies from the earth
gradually goes higher and higher and ultimately vanishes out from the
sight.

of. "Higher still and higher

From the earth thou springest
Like a cloud of fire;
The blue deep thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest.

......
The pale purple even
Melt around thy flight;
Like a star of heaven
In the broad daylight
Thou art unseen, but yet I hear thy shrill delight". 42

The two poets, no doubt express two different sentiments; but the imageries are very similar. The Ganges overflows the bank with an abundant quantity of foams (phena), caused by the tussle of two opposite currents namely one of the river itself and one of the onrush of the fame of the king. This tussle is described as a battle and the Ganges is supposed to have got defeated in the battle and wounded seriously by the victorious enemy. In the first half of the verse there is a change of Rasa. The first pada of the verse refers to the virtuous spirit of the king while the second pada narrates his prowess in respect of the enemies. Sānta prevails in the first pada while there is Vīra in the second pada. The first pada contains the syllables which are soft to be pronounced but the second pada contains some harsh sounding syllables.

Verse 6:

tasmānaṁṛpo bhuvanagītacunābhirāmo
dharmmaikadattahādayojani dharmaṇpālañ/ yasmin mukhāmburuḥkasarajabhivāsa
luvdheva vāg bhagavati cīram adhyuvāsa//

"From him was born king Dharmapāla, who was charming with his virtues, sung throughout the world, and whose heart was dedicated only to Dharma. In the lotus of whose mouth the goddess of Learning (vāk) ever resided, as it were, out of attachment for the aroma of the pollens of it*.

The expression dharmakadattahṛdayojani dharmapālah (The heart of Dharmapāla was dedicated only to Dharma) is very nice. But Dharmapāla was not only virtuous but also learned as indicated in the second half. Imagery is rich in the second half of the verse where it is said "In the lotus of his mouth the goddess of Learning (vāk) ever resided, as it were, out of attachment for the aroma of the pollens of it".

Verse 7 : In this verse king Dharmapāla reminds the future kings about the transitory nature of this universe and makes an appeal to give up the false vanity on account of possessing the kingdom and to perform Dharma.

of. he bhāvino nṛpaτeyo pranayena
yācaṁ ēdharmmapalanṛpateḥ āṣnuteti yūyam/
vidyucchañcapalarañjamṛśābhitā mānyah
tyājyaḥ kadācidapi nityasukho na dharmmah//

"Oh future kings ! please listen with love to this request of king Dharmapāla that you should give up your false vanity on account of (possessing) the kingdom, as transitory (literally, fickle) as the streak of lightening, but should never give up Dharma, which is the perennial source of pleasure".

Here, Dharmapāla appears to be pessimistic in nature. Such a
passimistic attitude towards human life is very common in the inscriptional poetry. A few assorted examples may be given as follows:

(1) kamaladāmbuṁdulolaśriyamanucintya manuṣyajīvitaṁ
takalamidasaśvatam ca vubudhvā na hi purusāḥ
parakīrttayo vilopyāḥ//43

(2) caladalajalalolam jīvanāṁ yauvanantat
dhanamidamanucintyasantarantat kṛtaṁ//
kuruta kuruta cīttam śreyas punyabhājam
bhavati hi paraṁ kīrttāḥ pālitaśānijaeva//44

"Life, youth and riches are unstable as the water (drop) on the (lotus) leaf moved (by the wind). Therefore, reflecting on this, and knowing what has been done, make, oh make, your hearts desire for the attainment of final happiness. The fame of others, when cherished, becomes like (our) own."

Verse 10: This verse is devoted to the description of Khyātipali, the ancestral village of the donee as follows:

homadhumavalaye viyadgata
yajvanāṁ kratusu kālikābhramāt/
yatra dambaramakāndatāndave
tenurunmukhasikāh/sikhandināḥ/

"In that place, when on the occasion of the sacrifices performed by the sacrificing brāhmaṇas curling of sacrificial smoke ascended


44 JASB, Vol. XLII, Part I (No. 1-4). Vide 'Note On the Chitagong Copper Plate (V.11)."
the sky, the peacocks used to start an untimely dancing with
upturred crest on account of mistaking the smoke as dark clouds".
Here, an untimely dance of the peacocks reminds the untimely
spring as shown by Kālidāsa in the Kumārasambhava (Ch. III).

**Verse 17** : In this verse poet Aniruddha excels in the description
of the mother of the dowe as follows:

\[
\text{saubhāgyaratnagirividrumavalguvalli}
\]
\[
lāvanyapaṅkabhavevalamrñalayaśṭih}/
\]
\[
ānandakandalatikā śrṅgāsvanetrā
\]
\[
etramidhā kila babhūva tadiyapatni}/
\]

"He had a wife named Netrā, who was the beautiful creeper of
emerald growing in the jewel-mountain of good luck; (who was) a
green (i.e., delicate and immature) lotus-stalk growing in the
mud of beauty (lāvanya); (who was) a creeper sprouting out of a
bulb (kanda) of delight, and who had eyes like those of a young
deer".

**Verse 20** : This verse is devoted to the description of the
world-wide fame of Dharmapāla of.

\[
kāmarūpa nagare nṛpobhavad
dharmapāla iti sānvayaḥvayaḥ}/
\]
\[
yasya kīrttivaraṭājagajjarat
\]
\[
pañjarodaragatā sma rājate}/
\]

The second half of the verse is highly poetic. "The swan in
the form of whose fame could shine even having been confined
within the worn out cage of this world". According to poetical
convention Kīrtti (i.e. fame) is white and hence it is quite.
reasonable to compare fame to a female swan, which is all white in colour except for the beak and the feet. The suggested idea is that the whole world is too small a container for the boundless fame of Dharmapāla.

The verses are composed in the following metres: V. I, Sragdharā; VV. 2, 5–8, 13, 15–19, 21 Vasantatilakā; V. 3, 4, 14, Sarđulavikrīdita; V. 9, 10, 20, Rathoddhata; V. 11, Sikharinī; V. 12, Anusūbh; V. 22, Upajāti of Indra-vajrā (1–2) and Upendra-vajrā (3–4).

The choice of metres in this piece of composition is noteworthy. In both the grants of Bhāskaravarma, Vasantatilakā is not used at all. In the first pāda of verse 6 of the Kuruvābāhī grant and in verse 8 of the Hāyunthal grant of king Harjaravarma, Vasantatilakā is employed. Similarly only one verse in each of the grant of Vanamāla and Balavarman III, is composed in Vasantatilakā metre. But from the time of Ratnapāla to the time of Dharmapāla, Vasantatilakā is found to be employed more and more in the copper plate charters. In the grants of Ratnapāla and Indrapāla, in comparison to other metres, Vasantatilakā is more numerously employed. In the Khanāmukh plates of Dharmapāla verses 1 to 3 are consistently composed in the Vasantatilakā metre. In the Subhaṅkara-pātaka plates, out of 19 verses, 16 verses are in the Vasantatilakā metre. In the present grant of the king 12 verses are composed in

45 The names of the grants of Indrapāla are mentioned in the list of the inscriptions given in chapter II.
the Vasantatilaka metre. On the other hand, in this grant not a single verse is composed in Aryā metre. In the other two grants of the king only one verse (V.15) is composed in Aryā metre. This verse too is devoted to the introduction of the poet composer himself where the scope for description is very limited. Vasantatilaka is a metre which possesses sweetness and from the above analysis it appears that the poets of the copper plate charters of Kāmarūpa in subsequent days developed a preference for melodious compositions.

Of the Sabdālaṁkāras Anuprāsa is very common in the hands of the poets of the copper plate charters of Assam. King Dharmapāla who himself is the composer of the first eight verses of this grant is also no exception to this tradition. Post Aniruddha, the composer of the major portion of the present charter, is skilled in the use of Anuprāsa and Yamaka. In the expression 'bhūṣānamadharmadūṣaṇam' (V.9) there is a Yamaka. This verse presents Anuprāsa also. In the portion 'daabaraaaktandatandave tenurunmukhasikhāh sīkhandinah' of verse 10 Anuprāsa is very beautifully executed. Here a very good deal of padalālitya is also seen on account of the alliteration of

46 khyātipalyabhidhamastisadbija-
brātabhūṣānamadharmadūṣaṇam/
graṃaratnamatiyatnanirmitam
 dharmamandiramiva prajāṣe//

//
nd and presence of the conjunct consonants mb. In verse 16, post Aniruddha excels in Anuprāsa and Yamaka Alamkāras. The Arthālamkāras as exhibited by this composition prove that both Dharmapāla and Aniruddha were highly acquainted with the rules of rhetoric. Rūpaka and Utpreka are more prominent in the portion composed by the king himself. In the portions pālānva- yāmbujaravih, kavīokravālacudāmanih and guṇaratnasindhuḥ of verse 8 there are three Parampara Rūpakas. In the expressions 'phenaivopaplutā' of verse 4 and 'lubdheva' etc. of verse 6 Utpreka Alamkāras are nicely executed. In the expression 'mukhā- mburuhakoṣarjobhivāsa' of verse 6, there is a Rūpaka accompanied by an Atisayokti because of asserting the presence of the pollens in the face. Unlike many of the poets of the epigraphs, Dharmapāla does not prefer the use of Upamā Alamkāra. However, we meet an Upamā in the portion 'sudhāsahodara-gunagrāma' of verse 4. In the portion 'gurubhangasangarejītā' of verse 4 also there is an Atisayokti Alamkāra. Verse I, where an invocation is made to Viṣṇu, possesses a Bhāvika Alamkāra. While giving an idea of this unusual

The presence of a Yamaka in the first half is noteworthy.
Alāṅkāra R. M. Sharma writes, "In Bhāvika, a past or present event is vividly presented so as to appear like one happening just before the eyes". Alāṅkāras like Upāma, Rūpaka and Utpreka are also found in the portion composed by the poet Aniruddha. In the portion 'yat yamigaṅgāsangocchalita jala kallelavahalāh' of verse 11, there is an Upāma involved in Samāsa. In the second half of verse 19.0 "The petals of her eyes were as fickle as those of a frightened fawn, and her face was as charming as a blooming lotus", there are two Upāmas. In the portion 'grāmaratnamatiyān iraṁi dharma mandiramiva prajāerjā' of verse 9, there is an Utpreka. There are four Paramparita Rūpakas in verse 17 and a Rūpaka in 'sakalavipra kulapradīpah' of verse 18 which describes the donors. A very fine execution of Bhrāntimad Alāṅkāra is met in verse 10.

Dharmapāla is a poet of considerable merit. Verse 3 implies an idea that he is very intelligent in approach. In this verse, referring to the virtues of his predecessors, the poet says, "Who indeed is capable of describing their virtues? Because, we are bewildered to learn from legends, about their limitless greatness, and our tongue is one and not a thousand in number and our intellect also does not have the mirth to play on words".

of. tasminneva mahān vayena yanidhau śrīvrahmapālādaya
bhūtā ye nṛpapungavāḥ kathayitum tesaṁ gunāṁ kah kaśmah/

49 IAA, p. 266.
50 tasyānaghapramayabhāgathādharmabhāvyā
nāryākrītīh śatadyaṃ racanaiva kāpi/
uttraśtā vālaherinīcalanastapatrā
patreti phullasātapatramukhi babhūva//
Dharmapala seems to have taken more pain for composing verse I and verse 4. Poet Aniruddha, in comparison to Dharmapala, is simple in approach. The ideas of certain verses of Dharmapala are very complex. Such complex ideas are not found in Aniruddha although he has composed a greater number of verses.

The prose passage at the end giving the boundary of the donated land has no literary importance. The literary prose part in the middle is short in extent and gives nothing new for literary assessment. So, in this piece of composition although there is an admixture of both prose and verse, the verses alone are important for a literary assessment.

Now after making a detailed study of a few inscriptions of ancient Assam and giving a brief idea of the literary standard of the period it is now proposed to pass on to see the literary values of the epigraphs of medieval Assam.