

Baigram Charter of the Time of Kumāragupta I

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Edition

<Page 1r> <1> svasti<.> pañcanagaryyā bhaṭṭāraka-pādānuddhyātaḥ _ kumārāmātya-
kulavṛddhir etad-viṣayādhikaraṇaṁ ca _<2> vāyigrāmika-trivṛtṭa?<ā>-śrīgohālyoḥ
_ brāhmaṇottarān samvyavahāri-pramukhān grāma-kuṭumbinaḥ _ kuśalam
anu<3>varṇya bodhayanti<.> _

ṛvijñāpayator atraiva?<vijñāpayato 'traiva>-vāstavya-kuṭumbi-bhoyila-bhāskarāv<.>
āvayoh _ pitrā śivanandi<4>nā kārītakṛta?<o> bhagavato govindasvāmīnaḥ deva-
kulas tad-asāv alpa-vṛttikaḥ<.> Iha viṣaye samudaya-<5> bāhyādy-astamva-
khila-kṣṛta?<e>ttrṛta?<ā>ṇām akiñcit-pratīkārāṇān śāśvad-ācandrārka-tāraka-
bhojyānāḥṛmm? akṣaya-nīvyā<6> dvi-dīnārikya-kulya-vāpa-vikkrayo 'nuvṛttas<.>
tad arhathāvayos sakāśāt ṣṛṭi?<a>ḍ dīnārān aṣṭa ca rūpakān āyī<7>kṛtya bhaga-
vato govindasvāmīno deva-kule khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa-pratīsaṁskṛta?<ā>ra-karaṇāya ⊔
gandha-dhūpa-dīpa- _<8> sumanasā<ṁ> pravarttanāya ca trivṛtāyām bhogilasya
khila-kṣetra-kulya-vāpa-trayaṁ ⊔ śrīgohālyā<ṁ> Api<9> tala-vāṭakārtha<ṁ> sthala-

vāstuno droṇa-vāpaḥp?<m> ekaṁ _ bhāskarasyāpi sthala-vāstuno droṇa-vāpaṁ ca
dātu<10>m iti<.>_

yato yuṣmān bodhayāma<h><.> _ pustapāla-durgg(ā) dattārkkadāsayor avadhāraṇayā
Avadhṛta _<11>m astiḥa-viṣaye _ samudaya-bāhyādy-astamba-khila-kṣettrāṇā<rn>
śaśvad-ācandrārka-tāraka-bhojyānām dvi-dī<12>nārikya-kulya-vāpa-vikkrayo 'nu-
vṛttaḥ<.> Evaṁ-vidhāpratikara-khila-kṣettra-vikkraye ca na kaścid rājārttha-<13>
virodha Upacaya Eva _ bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām dharmma-phala-ṣaḍ-bhāgāvāptiś ca <.>_
tad diyatām iti Etayoḥ<14> bhoyila-bhāskarayos sakā<śā>t ṣaḍ dīnārān aṣṭa ca rūpakān
āyikṛtya bhagavato govindasvāmino<15> deva-kulasyārtthe bhoyilasya trivṛtāyām _
khila-kṣettra-kulya-vāpa-trayaṁ tala-vḥa?<ā>ṭakādy-artthaM <.>

<Page 1v> <16> śrīgohālyā<rn> sthala-vāstuno droṇa-vāpaṁ _ bhāskarasyāpy atraiva
sthalḥi?<a>-vḥa?<ā>stuno droṇa-vāpa _<17>ḥp?<m><.>

eva<rn> kulya-vāpa-trayaṁ sthala-droṇa-vāpa-dvayaṁ ca _ Akṣaya-nīvyās tāmra-
paṭṭena dattaM<.> ninna<18> ku 3 sthala-dro 2<.>

te yūyaṁ sva-karṣaṇāvirodhi-sthāne darvvikarmma-hastenāṣṭaka-navaka-
naḷābhyā<19>m apaviñcchya ᳚ cira-kāla-sthāyi-tuṣāṅgārādinā cihnaiś cāturddiśo
niyamyā dāsyathākṣaya-<20> nīvi-dharmmeḥn?<n>a ca śaśvat-kālam anupālay-
iṣyatha _ varttamāna-bhaviṣyaiś ca saṁvyavahāryy-ādibhir eta<21>d dharm-
māpekṣayānupālayitavyam iti<.> _ Uktaṁ ca bhagava<tā> veda-vyāsa-mahātmanā<.>_

1. Anuṣṭubh

sva-dattām para-dattām<22> v{v}ā
yo hareta vasundharā(rn)(l)
sa viṣṭhāyām kḥri?mir bhūtva
pitṛbhis saha pacyate_

2. Anuṣṭubh

ṣaṣṭim varṣa-saha<23>srāṇi
svargge ḥp?<m>odati bhūmidah_
Ākṣeptā cānumantā ca
tāny eva narake vase(T)

3. Anuṣṭubh

pūrvva<24>-dattām dvijātibhyo
yatnād rakṣa yudhiṣṭhira_
mahī<rn> mahḥi?<i>matām śreṣṭha
dānāc chreyo 'nupāla<25>nam

iti<.> sarī 100 20 8 māgha di 10 9<.>

Apparatus

<1> -pādānuddhyātāḥ _ ◇ -pādānuddhyātāḥ DB. — <1> °karaṇaṇ ca _ ◇ °karaṇaṇ ca DB.

<2> -śrīgohālyoḥ _ ◇ -śrīgohālyoḥ DB. — <2> -kuṭumbinaḥ _ ◇ -kuṭumbinaḥ DB.

<3> bodhayanti<.> _ ◇ bodhayanti<.> DB. — <3> -bhoyila- DB • This name is spelt thus also in lines 14 and 15, but -bhogila- in line 8. — <3> āvayoḥ _ ◇ āvayoḥ DB.

<4> kārītakā?<o> ◇ kārītika- DB • Note that devakula here rather clearly is taken to be masculine; tad seems to bear adverbial function.

<5> astamva-khila-kṣa?<e>ttrā?<ā>nām ◇ astamba-khila-kṣa?<e>ttrā?<ā>nām DB • Correct -stambakhilakṣetrānām. Basak 1931–1932 reads thus, but the plate clearly shows -mva- and -ttra-. — <5> śasvad-ācandrārka- ◇ śasvad ācandrārka- DB.

<6> ṣṛī?<a>ḍ DB • Basak 1931–1932 reads ṣaḍ but this is clearly not what the plate shows; cf. line 14, where ṣaḍ is clear.

<7> -kr̥tya DB ◇ -[kr̥]tya RB • On this shape of kr̥, recurring also below in line 14, cf. the Nandapur plate, line 15. — <7> -phuṭṭa- DB • Basak 1931–1932 suggests to emend sphuṭṭa. But phuṭṭa, being ‘evidently a Prakrit form’ (Basak 1931–1932), must be retained. See von Hinüber 2013 on this case. — <7> °sarīskā?<ā>ra- DB • Already corrected by Basak 1931–1932. — <7> -dīpa- _ ◇ -dīpa- DB • This space left blank at the end of the line shows the scribe respects the segmentation of word in the compound.

<8> sumanasā<ṛn> DB ◇ sumanasā[M] RB. — <8> śrīgohālyā<ṛn> Api ◇ śrīgohālyāś cāpi RB; śrīgohālyā?<ṣ>?<m> api DB • Correct śrīgohālyām api. RB reads śrīgohālyāścāpi and corrects this to śrīgohālyāñ cāpi.

<9> -vāṭakārtha<ṛn> ◇ -vāṭakārtha[M] RB; -vāṭakār(t)tha<ṛn> DB. — <9> -vāpa?<p>?<m> ◇ -vāpam RB; -vāpa(m) DB • Correct -vāpam. Basak 1931–1932 reads -vāpam, but the required m has not been written here. See shape of pe in line 21; same error p for m in lines 16–17 and 23.

<10> bodhayāma<ḥ> DB • Already corrected by Basak 1931–1932. — <10> -durgg(ā)da° ◇ -durgāda° RB DB • Or is the reading -durggada-? — <10> °ṇayā Avadhṛta _ ◇ °ṇayā Avadhṛta° DB; -ṇayāvadhṛta- RB.

<11> astīha-viṣaye _ ◇ astīha viṣay(e) DB. — <11> -kṣetrtrānā<ṛn> DB • Already corrected by Basak 1931–1932. — <11> -bhojyānām DB • -bhojyānām Basak 1931–1932 (misprint).

- ⟨13⟩ Upacaya Eva _ ◇ *Upacaya Eva* DB. — ⟨13⟩ ca⟨.⟩ _ tad ◇ *ca⟨.⟩ tad* DB.
- ⟨14⟩ bhoyila- DB • Understand *bhogila-*, as in line 8. — ⟨14⟩ sakā⟨śā⟩t DB • Emend *sakāśāt* (Basak 1931–1932).
- ⟨15⟩ bhoyilasya DB • Understand *bhogilasya*, as in line 8. — ⟨15⟩ tala-v_īa?⟨ā⟩takādy-artthaM ◇ *tala-vātakādy-artthaM* DB • Correct *talavātakādyarttham*, as Basak 1931–1932 reads.
- ⟨16⟩ śrīgohālyā⟨m⟩ DB • Already corrected by Basak 1931–1932. — ⟨16⟩ droṇa-vāpaṁ _ bhāska° ◇ *droṇa-vāpaṁ bhāska°* DB. — ⟨16⟩ atraiva ◇ *atr_ī?⟨ai⟩va* DB. — ⟨16⟩ sthal_ī?⟨a⟩-v_īa?⟨ā⟩stuno DB ◇ *sthalevastuno* RB • Correct *sthalavāstuno*. RB reads *sthalevastuno* and makes the same correction. The *akṣara* he reads *le* has a slightly different shape than the *le* in line 7. — ⟨16⟩ -vāpa _⟨17⟩_īp?⟨m⟩ ◇ *-vāpam* DB RB • See note on line 9.
- ⟨17⟩ ca _ Akṣa° DB • Basak 1931–1932 proposes in note to read *cākṣa-*, but the punctuation space between the two words means that non-application of sandhi is intentional. — ⟨17⟩ °kṣaya-nīvyās ◇ *°kṣaya-_īnīvyās?⟨nīvyā⟩* DB. — ⟨17⟩ dattaM DB ◇ *dattan* RB.
- ⟨18⟩ te DB • In Basak 1931–1932, one reads this note: “The Paharpur plate gives *tad-* instead *te* (l. 19) which is a much better reading.—Ed.” But the precise collocation *te yūyam* is also found in the Mahatī-Raktamālā (line 20) and Nandapur (line 13) plates.
- ⟨19⟩ -sthāyi-tuṣāṅgār-ādinā DB • Correct *-sthāyituṣāṅgārādinām* or *-sthāyituṣāṅgārādi-* (thus Nandapur, line 14)? The latter option is reflected in the translation. Basak 1931–1932 reads *-sthāyi-*. — ⟨19⟩ cāturddiśo DB • Corr. *caturdiśo* or *cāturddiśe?* Cf. Nandapur, line 14–15 *caturddiṇṇiyamitasīmānārṇ kṛtvā*.
- ⟨20⟩ dharmme_īn?⟨ṇ⟩a DB • Already corrected by Basak 1931–1932. — ⟨20⟩ anupālayiṣyatha _ vartta° ◇ *anupālayiṣyatha vartta°* DB.
- ⟨21⟩ bhagava⟨tā⟩ veda- DB • Basak 1931–1932 emends *bhagavadveda-*.
- ⟨22⟩ vasundharā⟨m⟩ ◇ *vasundharām* DB • The sign for final *M* does not have its usual shape.
- ⟨23⟩ _īp?⟨m⟩odati ◇ *modati* RB DB • See note on line 9. — ⟨23⟩ vase(T) ◇ *vaseT* DB • The sign for final *-T* does not have its usual shape.
- ⟨24⟩ dvijātibhyo ◇ *dvijātibhy_īā?⟨o⟩* DB. — ⟨24⟩ -dattām DB • *-dattām* Basak 1931–1932 (misprint)

Translation

⟨1–3⟩ Hail! From Pañcanagarī,¹ the princely advisor Kulavṛddhi, favored by the feet² of His Majesty the (Gupta) Sovereign,³ and the council of this district, greet the village tenants of ⟨the hamlets⟩ Trivṛtā and Śrī-Gohālī of ⟨the village⟩ Vāyigrāma⁴ — consisting chiefly of Brahmins,⁵ led by the administrator (*saṁvyavahārin*) — and inform them:

⟨3–10⟩ The two tenants Bhoyila and Bhāskara who reside in this very place⁶ respectfully request:

This temple of Lord Govindasvāmin, founded by our father Śivanandin, has limited means. In this district, the custom is sale for two *dīnāras* of one *kulyavāpa* of uncultivated land that is without revenue charges, covered with original shrubs,⁷ and yields no tax, as permanent endowment to be enjoyed in perpetuity as long as the moon, the sun and the stars ⟨will last⟩. Thus (tad), be so kind as to take from us in cash (*āyikṛtya*)⁸ six *dīnāras* and eight *rūpakas* and — for the purpose of carrying out the repairs of breaches (*khaṇḍa*) and cracks (*phuṭṭa*)⁹ in the temple of Lord Govindasvāmin, and for offerings of perfume, incense, lamps and flowers — give

- in ⟨the hamlet⟩ Trivṛtā, to Bhogila, three *kulyavāpas* of uncultivated land;
- and in ⟨the hamlet⟩ Śrī-Gohālī, to serve as parcel adjacent ⟨to the temple⟩,¹⁰ one *droṇavāpa* of inhabitable terrain;

¹See Sircar 1965, p. 356, n. 2 which identifies this with modern Panchbibi in Bogra District — a place I cannot identify. Perhaps it is the same as Panchanagar, subdistrict Kushmundi, dt. Dakshin Dinajpur, West Bengal, India, which seems a safe identification for Pañcanagarī.

²The expression *bhaṭṭāraka-pādānuddhyātāḥ* can also be found in Raktamālā #1 line 1 : *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānuddhyātāḥ kumārāmātya-yūthapatir*.

³According to the table in Willis 2005, p. 135, Kumāragupta's reign lasted till 477, after which date we enter Skandagupta's reign.

⁴Vāyigrāma is also mentioned in Damodarpur #3, line 9.

⁵The expression *brāhmaṇottarān* occurs in several other plates: Raktamālā Grant no. 1, year 159, line 2; A grant of land in the Tāvira district, line 6 ; Paharpur Charter of the Time of Budhagupta, line 3; Nandapur Plate of 169 GE, line 1 and A second grant concerning the Raktamālā line 2. The translation suggested here corresponds to the specific meaning of the compound *brāhmaṇottara*- reported by Apte 1890, p. 1174. If we only follow the meaning given by Apte 1890, № 8, p. 408 and Monier-Williams 1899, p. 178 for the word *-uttara in fine compositi*, the translation would be “followed by Brahmins”.

⁶Presumably in Vāyigrāma.

⁷See Sircar 1965, p. 356, n. 9 for this interpretation of *ādyastamba*.

⁸*āyikṛtya* is derived from *āya* in the sense of “income”, so “having made income from ...”. This expression can be found in Kalaikuri Copper-plate of Kumāragupta I (line 20), in Paharpur plate (line 18) and in Damodarpur Plate #3 (line 8).

⁹See von Hinüber 2013. Originally Buddhist terms used in Vaiṣṇava context! See also other trace of Prakrit as administrative language in *ninna = diṇṇa* l. 17. See also Sircar 1965, n. 2, p. 357.

¹⁰Note on *talavāṭaka*: see Sircar 1966, pp. 334–335.

- and <in the same hamlet> to Bhāskara, one *droṇavāpa* of inhabitable terrain.

<10–13> Wherefore we (Kulavṛddhi and the council) inform you: “It has been ascertained through the investigation of the record-keepers Durgādatta and Arkadāsa that the custom in this district is sale for two *dināras* of one *kulyavāpa* of uncultivated land that is without revenue charges, covered with original shrubs, to be enjoyed in perpetuity as long as the moon, the sun and the stars <will last>. And in the sale of such uncultivated land that yields no tax there is no conflict with the interest of the king; there is only benefit, and obtainment by His Majesty the Sovereign of a sixth part of the merit (accruing from the donation);¹¹ so that it ought to be given”

<13–18> After six *dināras* and eight *rūpakas* had been taken in cash from these two, Bhoyila and Bhāskara, for the purpose of the temple of Lord Govindasvāmin,

- to Bhoyila, in <the hamlet> Trivṛtā, three *kulyavāpas* of uncultivated land to serve as parcel adjacent <to the temple> etc.;
- in <the hamlet> Śrī-Gohālī,¹² one *droṇavāpa* of inhabitable terrain;
- and in this very place to Bhāskara, one *droṇavāpa* of inhabitable terrain;

in this way three *kulyavāpas* and two *droṇavāpas* have been given with a copper plate for a permanent endowment. Low (*ninna*): 3 *ku<lyavāpa>*; inhabitable: 2 *dro<ṇavāpa>*.

<18–21> You there (mentioned at the start of the grant) shall separate them off using two reeds, eight by ninefold with the ladle-work (*darvikarma*) cubit,¹³ in a place that does not conflict with your own cultivation; shall limit them in the four directions with long-lasting markers such as (pots filled with)¹⁴ chaff or charcoal; shall make the donation and shall protect it in perpetuity according to the rule of a permanent

¹¹Indeed, the king usually takes a sixth of each transaction as it is mentioned in *Manusmṛti* 7.131–132. Here, as the land yields no tax, the benefit for the king is only meritorious and due to his act of protection. This understanding is also confirmed by the final stanzas which emphasises the act of protection and by the verse I.331 from Yājñavalkya’s *Dharmaśāstra*: “*punyatṣaḍbhāgamādatte nyāyena paripālayan | sarvadānādhipikaṁ yasmānnyāyena paripālanam ||*” “He (the king) takes a sixth portion of the merits by providing protection justly, because providing protection justly greater than all gifts.” (Translation Olivelle 2019, p. 107).

¹²The place name Śrī-Gohālī can also be found in a A fragment of a second plate from Baigram and in A grant of land to monasteries at Śiṣipūjja, Madhyamasṛgālikā and Grāmakūṭtagohālī.

¹³A note is necessary on this translation. Predecessors have assumed *Darvikarma* was a proper noun, and that it designated the person after whom the standard had taken its name.

¹⁴This interpretation is based on the *Smṛti* passages cited in the commentary. Others sources give details about the manner to mark boundaries. For example, *Manusmṛti* 8.249–50 suggests demarcating boundaries by several objects (translation Olivelle 2005): “*upachannāni cānyāni sīmāliṅgāni kārayet | sīmājñāne nṛṇāṁ vikṣya nityaṁ loke viparyāyam ||*” “*aśmano ’sthini govālāṁś tuṣāṇ bhasma kapālikāḥ | karīṣam iṣṭakāṅgārāṁś śarkarā vālukās tathā ||*” “Seeing that in the world controversies constantly arise due to people’s ignorance of boundaries, he should also have other concealed boundary markers ensconced stones, bones, cow’s hair, chaff, ashes, potsherds, dried cow dung, bricks, coal (*aṅgāra*), pebbles, and sand.”

endowment. And out of deference to this rule it is to be protected by present and future administrators, etc.

⟨21–25⟩ And it has been said by the magnanimous Lord Vedavyāsa:

1.

The one who would steal land given by himself or another becomes a worm in excrement and is cooked with his ancestors.¹⁵

2.

The giver of land resides sixty thousand years in heaven; the one who challenges (a donation) as well as the one who approves (of the challenge) will reside as many ⟨years⟩ in hell.¹⁶

3.

You, excellent Yudhiṣṭhira, must strenuously protect land previously given to brahmins by kings. Safeguarding is even better than giving.¹⁷

⟨25⟩ Year 128, (month of) Māgha, day 19.

Commentary

Regarding the indication *ninna ku 3 sthala dro 2* (line 17), in Basak 1931–1932 one reads the following note: “This word (*ninna*) put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable. [*Phuṭṭa* (= Skt. *sphuṭṭa*) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for Skt. *nimna* meaning low land.—Ed.]”. The editor’s hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that *nimna* and *sthala* form a fixed pair.

Yājñavalkya’s *Dharmaśāstra* 2.154–5 gives also a list of materials used to mark boundaries (translation Olivelle 2019):

“*śimno vivāde kṣetrasya sāmāntāḥ sthaviṛa gaṇāḥ | gopāḥ śimnaḥ kṛśāno’nye sarve ca vanagocarāḥ ||*” “*nayeyur ete śimāntaḥ sthālāṅgāratuṣadrumaiḥ | setuvalmikanimnāsthicaityādyair upalakṣitam ||*” “When there is a dispute regarding a boundary of a field, neighbours, elderly people, persons from an association, herdmen, others farmers near the boundary, and all men roaming in the forest should ascertain the boundary revealed by mounds (*sthala*), charcoal (*aṅgāra*), chaff (*tuṣa*), and trees, and by dikes, anthills, trenches, bones, shrines, and the like.”. See also Sircar 1965, n. 7, p. 358

¹⁵This verse corresponds to the verse numbered 132 among the Stanzas on Bhūmidāna listed by Sircar (see Sircar 1965, appendix II, pp. 170–200).

¹⁶This verse corresponds to the verse numbered 123 among the Stanzas on Bhūmidāna listed by Sircar (see Sircar 1965, appendix II, pp. 170–200).

¹⁷This verse corresponds to the verse numbered 131 among the Stanzas on Bhūmidāna listed by Sircar (see Sircar 1965, appendix II, pp. 170–200), but shows a different reading of its first *pāda*.

See *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.93.19 *sthalanimnāni bhūmeś ca*, but particularly these stanzas from the *Nāradaśmṛti* (11.3–5):

“*grāmasīmāsu ca bahir ye syus tatkr̥ṣijīvinah | gopaśākunikavyādhā ye cānye vanagocarāḥ || samunnayeyus te sīmān lakṣaṇair upalakṣitām | tuṣāṅgāra kapālais ca kumbhair āyatanair drumaiḥ || abhijñātaiś ca valmikasthalanimnonnatādibhiḥ | kedārārāmamārgaiś ca purāṇaiḥ setubhis tathā ||*”

“In the case of the village boundaries, those who make their living by farming outside it, cowherds, bird catchers, hunters and others who inhabit the forest should delineate the boundary which is marked by such things as pots-of chaff, charcoal or crockery–shrines, trees, and by familiar markers such as ant hills, **mounds, depressions**, elevations, etc., and paddies, groves, roads, or old dikes.” (edition and translation Lariviere 1989)

In the context, the word *ninna* serves as an equivalent to (*khila*)*kṣetra*.

The *Nāradaśmṛti* passage just cited also clarifies another word figuring immediately after this indication in the inscription, viz. *tuṣāṅgāra*. The somewhat cryptic statement of the *Nāradaśmṛti* passage is in turn clarified by the following passage translated from fragments of the *Bṛhaspatishmṛti* (Jolly 1889, p. 351):

1.

This rule regarding rescission of purchase and sale has been declared. Hear the laws concerning boundaries of villages, fields, houses, and so forth.

2.

The determination of boundaries should be settled at the time of foundation, and it should be marked by visible and invisible signs, so as to dispel doubt.

3.

Wells, tanks, pools, large trees, gardens, temples, mounds, channels, the course of a river, reeds, shrubs, or piles of stones:

4.

By such visible signs as these a boundary line should always be caused to be marked; also, by other (marks) deposited underground which the earth is not likely to destroy.

5.

Dry cowdung, bones, chaff, charcoal, stones, potsherds, sand, bricks, cows' tails, cotton seeds, and ashes:

After having placed these substances in vessels, one should deposit them underground at the extremities of the boundary.¹⁸

First reported and edited in Basak 1931–1932. Recorded in ARIE 1956–57, p. 27, № 15, appendix A and ARIE 1961–62, p. 38, № 22, appendix 1. Re-edited by Arlo Griffiths, using photos furnished by Ryosuke Furui. The text has been encoded by Amandine Wattelier-Bricout using a digital edition created by Dániel Balogh for the Siddham project as starting point. Since some readings differ from this previous digital edition, they are reported in the apparatus. Some notes in the translation has been added by Amandine Wattelier-Bricout.

[RB] Basak, Radhagovinda. 1931–1932. “Baigram copper-plate inscription of the [Gupta-]year 128.” EI 21, pp. 78–83.

[A] Agrawala, Prithvi Kumar. 1983. *Imperial Gupta Epigraphs* (□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□). Ancient Indian Epigraphical Sources (□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□) 10, pt. 1 / 2. Varanasi: Books Asia, Distributed by Prithvi Prakashan. Entry 29.

¹⁸These translated stanzas seem to correspond to the following in the *Bṛhaspatismṛti* as reconstructed by Aiyangar 1941, *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, chapter 19, pp. 159–162:

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[DB] Balogh, Dániel. 2019. “Siddham Epigraphic Archive - Texts in EpiDoc [Data set].” Zenodo. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.2574901. [URL]. Item IN00061.

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ARIE 1956–57. *Annual report on Indian epigraphy for 1956-57*. Edited by B.C. Chandra. New Delhi: Manager of Publications (Department of Archaeology), 1957. Appendix A, item 15, page 27.

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