

**KINGS, BRĀHMAṆAS, AND TEMPLES IN ORISSA:  
AN EPIGRAPHIC STUDY (300-1147 C.E.)**

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### Abstract

Royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas have been interpreted either as a factor of political integration or disintegration in Indian history. Through the first thorough presentation and analysis of the epigraphic data from Orissa, this study argues that the period 300-1147 C.E. was one of intensive state formation and political development in which royal grants played an important integrative role. During this period, Brāhmaṇas, many of whom were ritual specialists associated with the Yajur Veda, emerged as land-holders endowed by royal decree with privileged control over land. Despite the consistent appearance of sectarian affiliations in the royal inscriptions, temples did not benefit from royal patronage on a comparable scale. Until the close of the period under review, it was the gift of land to Brāhmaṇas, not the royally-endowed temple establishment, that was a major basis of royal legitimation and political integration in Orissa.

## Résumé

Les dotations royales aux Brāhmaṇas ont été interprétées soit comme un élément d'intégration politique dans l'histoire indienne, soit de désintégration. Grâce à la première présentation et analyse minutieuse des données épigraphiques d'Orissa, cette étude affirme que, pendant la période allant de 300 à 1147 av J.C., ces dotations ont joué un rôle significatif d'intégration dans la formation de l'État et dans le développement politique. A cette époque, les Brāhmaṇas, dont un grand nombre furent des spécialistes du rituel associés au Yajur Veda, apparurent comme des propriétaires privilégiés dotés par décret royal de contrôle sur les terres. En dépit de l'apparition régulière d'affiliations sectaires dans les inscriptions royales, les temples ne trouvèrent pas dans le patronage royal un avantage comparable. Jusqu'à la fin de la période étudiée, c'étaient les dotations aux Brāhmaṇas, et non pas celles faites aux temples qui formaient la base de légitimation royale et d'intégration politique en Orissa.

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## Abbhreviations

<u>ABORI</u>	<u>Journal of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute</u>
<u>ARSIE</u>	<u>Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy</u>
<u>EI</u>	<u>Epigraphia Indica</u>
<u>IA</u>	<u>Indian Antiquary</u>
<u>IAAR</u>	<u>Indian Archaeology -- A Review</u>
<u>IESHR</u>	<u>Indian Economic and Social History Review</u>
<u>IHQ</u>	<u>Indian Historical Quarterly</u>
<u>IO</u>	<u>Inscriptions of Orissa</u>
<u>JAHRs</u>	<u>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</u>
<u>JASB</u>	<u>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</u>
<u>JASBS, N.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series</u>
<u>JASL</u>	<u>Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters</u>
<u>JBORS</u>	<u>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</u>
<u>JESHO</u>	<u>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</u>
<u>JNSI</u>	<u>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</u>
<u>Jour. of the Bih. Res. Soc</u>	<u>Journal of the Bihar Research Society</u>
<u>JPASB, N.S.</u>	<u>Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,</u>
<u>New</u>	<u>Series</u>
<u>JRASBL</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters</u>
<u>MER</u>	<u>Madras Epigraphical Report</u>
<u>Mon. Will.</u>	<u>Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Monier-Williams</u>
<u>OHRJ</u>	<u>Orissa Historical Research Journal</u>
<u>PIHC</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</u>
<u>QJAHRs</u>	<u>Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</u>

## Introduction

The historical research of the last few decades has done much to challenge the postulate of a changeless Indian past characterized by the existence of inert, self-sufficient village communities superimposed by autocratic monarchical rule. The issue of royal grants to Brāhmanas<sup>1</sup> and temples has become central to one of the foremost debates in modern Indian historiography -- the nature of the early medieval political, economic, and religious order. Royal grants to Brāhmanas have been seen by some scholars as a prime cause of the emergence in early medieval times of a feudal order characterized, among other things, by political and economic fragmentation.<sup>2</sup> However, there are those who emphasize the role played by these grants in political and cultural integration.<sup>3</sup>

### Land grants and the early medieval political and economic order

According to R. S. Sharma, the nature of land rights in early medieval times are indicative of a decentralized feudalism. He asserts that "the political essence of feudalism lay in the organisation of the whole administrative structure on the basis of land, its economic essence lay in the institution of serfdom in which peasants were attached to the soil held by landed intermediaries placed between the king and the actual tillers, who had to pay rent in kind and labour to them. The system was based on a self-sufficient economy in which things were mainly produced for the local use of peasants and their lords and not for the market."<sup>4</sup> According to Sharma, the main features of feudalism can be seen in the Gupta

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'Brāhmana' has often inaccurately been translated as 'priest'. For a discussion of this issue, see pp. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Ram Sharan Sharma, Indian Feudalism c. 300-1200, Centre of Advanced Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, Lectures and Seminars, no. 1-A (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1965).

<sup>3</sup> See H. Kulke, "Fragmentation and Segmentation Versus Integration? Reflections on the Concepts of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History," Studies in History 4, no. 2 (1982): 237-63, "Early State Formation and Royal Legitimation in Late Ancient Orissa," in Sidelights on the History of Orissa, ed. Manmath Nath Das (Vidyapuri, Cuttack: Pitamber Misra, 1977), "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms," in The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies, no. 8, eds. Ancharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke and Gaya Charan Tripathi (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1978), pp. 125-38. It may be pointed out that even the proponents of Indian feudalism do concede the political, economic, and culturally integrative role of the Brāhmana beneficiaries of land grants (See R. S. Sharma, Social Changes in Early Medieval India [circa A.D. 500-1200], First Devraj Memorial Lecture 1969, Delhi: Amrik Singh, Secretary, Inter-University Board of India and Ceylon, on behalf of the Devraj Chandra Memorial Committee, 1969, pp. 5, 16).

<sup>4</sup> Sharma, Indian Feudalism, p. 1.

period and were intensified in the post-Gupta period. Some of these feudal features were as follows: royal grants of land; the transfer to the beneficiaries of fiscal and judicial rights, the grant of rights over peasants, artisans and merchants; an increased incidence of forced labour; the decline in trade and coinage, payment of officials through land revenue assignments; and the growth of the obligations of the *sāmantas* (subordinate or feudatory rulers).<sup>5</sup> Sharma bases his hypotheses to a large extent on the evidence of royal land grants, both religious and secular. He asserts that the "origin and development of political feudalism is to be sought in the land grants made to brahmanas from the first century onwards."<sup>6</sup> He acknowledges that such grants did have a positive role to play in extending the margin of cultivation and the dissemination of agricultural technology in tribal areas, and that they also played a positive role in the processes of cultural assimilation and political integration. But, according to him, these positive aspects were countered by the fact that the grants created vested interests that led to the fragmentation of political authority.<sup>7</sup> Since Sharma's pioneering work on the subject, the hypothesis of Indian feudalism has been subject to a vigorous redefinition and reworking by some, while it has been questioned and rejected by others.<sup>8</sup>

The depiction of the early medieval period as one of political fragmentation by proponents of the Indian feudalism thesis can be questioned on the basis of evidence of the commencement of a process of intensive state formation at the sub-regional and regional level in the post-Gupta period in many parts of the Indian subcontinent.<sup>9</sup> Further, while the evidence of grants in favour of secular or military assignees would tend to support the hypothesis of the state making grants of land or revenue assignments in lieu of cash payments to administrative personnel or in expectation of military support from military chiefs, the fact remains that the majority of royal grants were made in favour of Brahmanas or temples, the number of secular assignees being comparatively few. The rationale of the

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<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

<sup>8</sup> For a re-working of the theory, see, for instance, D. N. Jha, "Early Indian Feudalism: A Historiographical Critique," Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, Indian History Congress, 40th session, Waltair (December 1979). For a rejection of the applicability of the feudal model to India, see D. C. Sircar, Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as Revealed by Epigraphical Records (Lucknow: University of Lucknow, 1969), pp. 32-34. Sircar rejects the designation of the early medieval Indian order as feudal. He uses the term 'landlordism' rather than feudalism, arguing that, apart from the Vijayanagara period, there is no evidence in the Indian context of the holding of land in return for services, which, according to him, was the central principle of European feudalism.

<sup>9</sup> See Kulke, "Fragmentation and Segmentation Versus Integration? Reflections on the Concepts of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History," pp. 245-56.

state's deliberate erosion of its power through large-scale grants of land to Brāhmaṇas is not convincingly demonstrated by proponents of the feudalism school

In contrast to the feudalism school's emphasis on political and economic fragmentation and its essentially negative view of land grants vis à vis the economy, is Burton Stein's elaboration of the concept of 'nuclear areas' in the context of agrarian integration in early medieval South India <sup>10</sup> "These nuclear areas, most abstractly conceived, are ecological systems, that is, consisting of relatively intensively organized and interrelated human activities and biological and physical processes. More concretely, the nuclear areas were localities comprising a set of natural and social elements which represented the most advanced level of early South Indian life." According to Stein, during the Pallava and Cōla period, the nuclear areas were located in the relatively densely populated drainage basins of the major rivers or in those areas where access to other forms of irrigation made the production of a regular food surplus possible. Within such areas, he suggests, agrarian integration was achieved through the institutions of the brahmadeya (the land endowed to Brāhmaṇas) and the periyānāḍu (the assembly of the territorial unit known as the nāḍu) <sup>11</sup>

According to Hermann Kulke, the concept of nuclear areas is of value not only in relation to agrarian integration but also as far as the political process of early state formation is concerned. Kulke argues that in Orissa, the riverine tracts constituted important nuclear areas of sub-regional power in the early phases of state formation, some of these areas becoming, in the later period, the bases of regional kingdoms in Orissa <sup>12</sup> More specifically, in relation to the period 1000-1200 C.E., Kulke identifies three means whereby medieval kings, in the absence of a centralized bureaucracy, attempted to deal with the problem of political integration: patronage of important tirthas (places of pilgrimage), a policy of systematic and large-scale settlement of Brāhmaṇas, and the construction of imperial temples <sup>13</sup> Kulke's emphasis on the integrative role of grants to Brāhmaṇas in particular reflects a view of early medieval India that is diametrically opposed to that of the proponents of Indian feudalism; he views this period as one of intensive state development and political and cultural integration in areas such as Orissa.

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<sup>10</sup> "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India," in Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, p. 180

<sup>11</sup> *ibid*

<sup>12</sup> Kulke, "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms," pp. 126-27

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*, p. 132

In the context of models of the early medieval Indian state, reference must also be made to that of the segmentary state, which has been applied by Burton Stein to the South Indian context. The segmentary state model stands in opposition to the depiction of the early medieval state as either centralized or feudal.<sup>14</sup> As elaborated by Stein in relation to South India, it is not based so much on the evidence of royal land grants as on the denial of the existence of a bureaucracy, fiscal apparatus, standing army, and centralized political control. The segmentary state hypothesis is derived from Aidan W. Southall's study of the political organization of the African Alur tribe. Southall makes a fundamental distinction between the unitary and segmentary state: "Whereas the unitary state is a structure in which there is a central monopoly of power exercised by a specialised administrative staff within defined territorial limits, the segmentary state is a structure in which specialised political power is exercised within a pyramidal series of segments tied together at any one level, by the oppositions between them at a higher level, and ultimately defined by their joint opposition to adjacent unrelated groups."<sup>15</sup> Some of the characteristics of Southall's segmentary state are as follows: Territorial sovereignty in the segmentary state diffuses through a series of zones, and is strongest near the centre and more restricted towards the periphery, where it often shades into a ritual hegemony. Apart from the centralized government, there are various peripheral foci of administration over which the centre's control is limited. The specialized administrative staff is replicated, albeit on a reduced scale, at the peripheral levels. The effective monopoly of force exercised by the centre exists only within a limited range.<sup>16</sup> Burton Stein suggests that sovereignty in a segmentary state is dual, consisting of actual political control and ritual sovereignty.<sup>17</sup> He argues that "South Indian kings were essentially ritual figures except in the often circumscribed core territories of their capitals where they commanded and managed resources and men by virtue of their compelling coercive power (*kṣātra*)."<sup>18</sup>

While it is not the purpose here to discuss the details of the various aspects and implications of the hypotheses of the segmentary state and ritual kingship, especially the

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<sup>14</sup> The emphasis on segmentation in Stein's discussion of the nature of the medieval South Indian polity contrasts with his focus on integration in his discussion of brahmadeyas vis à vis the agrarian scene.

<sup>15</sup> Aidan W. Southall, Alur Society: A Study in Process and Types of Domination (Cambridge W. Heffer & Sons Ltd, 1953), p. 260.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

<sup>17</sup> Burton Stein, "The Segmentary State in South Indian History, in Realm and Region in Traditional India, ed. Richard G. Fox (New Delhi: Vikas, 1977), pp. 10-11.

<sup>18</sup> Burton Stein, Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 24.

empirical underpinnings of these theories, a few general comments may be made.<sup>19</sup> As far as the hypothesis of the segmentary state is concerned, questions may be raised about the validity of a model which, by virtue of the way it has been defined, includes within its purview state systems which, apart from the segmentation of authority that they share, have very little else in common -- for instance, the tribal Alur and medieval European feudal systems. The questions that arise with reference to ritual kingship include the following: Are ritual sovereignty and effective political power mutually exclusive categories? Is there not a connection between ritual sovereignty and 'real power'? How does the former come to be established without the latter? Does the absence of a centralized system and lack of a monopoly over military resources necessarily preclude the existence of effective political power and control?

The debate over the nature of the early medieval state is of value insofar as it has challenged the traditional stereotype of the highly centralized Indian state and focused attention on the issue of land rights and the desirability of interpretative models for the understanding of the medieval Indian political order. Nevertheless, authoritative pronouncements on the nature of the medieval 'Indian' economy and polity cannot be made in the absence of detailed region-based studies of political and economic structures which would give a more complete picture of the regional and chronological variations in the nature of these structures. It is quite possible that such studies would indicate that there is no one model that satisfactorily treats the data from the entire Indian subcontinent for the ancient and early medieval periods.

The empirical evidence regarding the details of royal grants is of direct relevance for understanding the nature of the political, economic, and religious order in ancient and early medieval India. This study presents the first detailed analysis of royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas and temples during the period 300-1147 C.E.. The focus is on the relationship between kings, Brāhmaṇas, and temples in Orissa during this period, particularly the relationship between grants to Brāhmaṇas and temples and the formation and stabilization of kingdoms.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> For a critique of the theories of Indian feudalism and the segmentary state, see Kulke, "Fragmentation and Segmentation Versus Integration? Reflections on the Concepts of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History;" and B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Political Processes and Structures of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of Perspective," *Social Scientist* 13, no. 6 (June 1985) 3-34.

<sup>20</sup> A detailed analysis of administrative structure, especially the titles, official designation, and fiscal terms that occur in the inscriptions lies beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, appendices appearing at the end of this work provide lists of such technical terms.



### The sources of this study

The starting point of this study was the compilation of a comprehensive list of the published inscriptions of the various dynasties of ancient and medieval Orissa. Some of the earlier inscriptions have been catalogued by S. C. De.<sup>21</sup> A much larger number of inscriptions have been collected in the five volumes of Inscriptions of Orissa edited by S. N. Rajaguru and a sixth volume of the same edited by Snigdha Tripathy.<sup>22</sup> However, these works do not give a complete list of the published inscriptions of all the ancient and early medieval Orissan dynasties, and it is hoped that this work will make a contribution in this respect.

This study is based on an analysis of 302 Sanskrit inscriptions of Orissa,<sup>23</sup> ranging in time from the fourth to the middle of the twelfth century C.E.. The rationale of the selection of this particular time-frame is that from the fourth century, a large number of inscriptions recording royal endowments become available; hence the terminus a quo of this study. The terminus ad quem is constituted by the end of the reign of the imperial Ganga king Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga (1078--1147 C.E.), the construction of the Jagannātha temple during the later years of whose reign marks a distinct stage in the relationship between kingship and the sacred domain. Since ancient and modern political boundaries do not necessarily coincide, the geographical perimeters of the study on occasion expand to include, apart from the thirteen districts comprising the modern state of Orissa, areas such as the Medinipur district of Bengal, the Raipur, Raigarh, and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh, and the Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam, and East Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh.

The majority of the inscriptions that form the source material of this study are royal charters recording grants of land made by kings to Brāhmaṇas or to temples. As is to be expected with inscriptions with a wide chronological as well as spatial range, the inscriptions display a considerable degree of variation in appearance, style, language, script,

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<sup>21</sup> Sushil Chandra De, ed., Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Orissa (Bhubaneswar: The Superintendent, Research and Museum, 1961)

<sup>22</sup> Satyanarayan Rajaguru, ed., Inscriptions of Orissa, 5 vols (Berhampur and Bhubaneswar: B. V. Nath, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Govt of Orissa; Gauri Kumar Brahma, Secretary, Orissa Sahitya Akademi; A. Joshi, Assistant Director, Orissa State Museum; H. C. Das, Superintendent of Museums, Orissa 1958-76), Snigdha Tripathy, ed., Inscriptions of Orissa, vol. 6 (Bhubaneswar: H. C. Dash, Superintendent of Museums, Orissa, 1974)

<sup>23</sup> While the language of the inscriptions that form the basis of this study is Sanskrit, the influence of local dialect is often discernable. A few of the later inscriptions contain a mixture of Sanskrit with Telugu or with Oriya. The large number of Ganga inscriptions in the Telugu language and/or script that have been found on the walls of temples of Andhra Pradesh have not been included as sources for this study.

and technical vocabulary. While a few are engraved on stone, sometimes on stone slabs imbedded in the walls of temples, the majority are engraved on one or more copper plates, strung together on a ring when the plates are more than one in number. The plates usually display the seal of the monarch who issued the grant; this seal often bears certain motifs revealing the religious affiliations of the king, and may also bear a short legend.

The arrangement of the contents of the land grant charters generally follows a more or less uniform pattern. The inscriptions usually open with an auspicious formula, which may be followed by a eulogy of a deity (or the Buddha, in the case of Buddhist kings), and the eulogy and genealogy of the royal donor. The genealogical portions make the land grant charters fulfill, in addition to their main purpose of recording gifts or transactions of land, the role of "secular public notice records," maintaining for posterity information concerning the dynasties during whose rule the epigraphs were incised.<sup>24</sup> The genealogical portion of the grant is usually followed by a specification of the place whence the charter was issued and a list of officials and categories of individuals informed about the grant. Then follow the details of the location of the gifted land, the beneficiary, the purpose of the grant, and the date. Some of the land grant charters give a detailed account of the boundaries of the land. Almost all contain certain conventional benedictory and imprecatory verses. The inscriptions usually conclude with the names and titles of certain individuals associated with the grant, such as the writer, the engraver, and the *dūtaka* (the 'messenger,' who delivered the king's order regarding the grant to the local authorities).<sup>25</sup>

Notwithstanding their importance for the reconstruction of political, social, economic, and religious history, there are certain problems that arise in the utilization of the epigraphic sources. Among these are the imperfect reading and editing of the text of many of the epigraphs by scholars. This is further aggravated by the fact that language of the inscriptions is often an imperfect variety of Sanskrit, replete with orthographical and grammatical errors and with a marked influence of local dialect, which often renders difficult the interpretation of the contents. Also, these are, after all, records issued by royal courts, embellished with panegyric, following an almost monotonous conventional form in terms of style and even content. The epigraphic technical vocabulary -- especially that relating to the titles and designations of officials, fiscal terms, and the terms of the grants -- is often obscure, permitting only a very general and tentative understanding of its meaning.

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<sup>24</sup> Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, p. 154

<sup>25</sup> Certain inscriptions list additional persons involved in the drawing up and execution of the grant: the name and designation of the person who heated the plates (for the purpose of fixing the seal) or who sealed the plates, and sometimes of the individuals who witnessed the grant, or with whose cognisance the grant was made, are sometimes given

Finally, the dating of the epigraphic sources is also fraught with difficulties. Palaeography can only indicate the approximate age of an inscription, and many of the inscriptions are dated in regnal years or in eras, the initial dates of which are controversial.

#### The organization and scope of this study

Given the long chronological span of this study, the inscriptions and the evidence yielded by them have been divided into three rough chronological periods: Period I -- the fourth to the seventh century; Period II -- the seventh to the tenth century, and Period III -- the tenth to the mid-twelfth century. This division into two more or less equal and one shorter period is based on places where the 'cuts' could be made with a modicum of tidiness. As the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa does not yield easily to this sort of systemization, this periodization is a rough, overlapping one, and there is a certain degree of 'spillage' between the phases. It may be noted, however, that Period I falls within what is spoken of in general terms as the 'ancient' period, while Periods II and III correspond to what is often referred to as the 'early medieval' period of Indian history.

A review of the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa forms the starting point of this study. Chapter I gives a chronological account of the dynastic history of Orissa from the fourth to the mid-twelfth century, with an additional focus on royal titles of political import and the geographical locale of kingdoms. A series of maps indicate the find-spots of the inscriptions and political centres whence they were issued, where identifiable.<sup>26</sup> Chapter II examines the royal *praśasti* (panegyric) for the religious elements with which kingship sought to identify, particularly the sectarian affiliations of kings. The *Brāhmaṇa* beneficiaries of royal endowments form the subject of Chapter III. The *brahmadeya* holdings (the land-holdings gifted to *Brāhmanas*), their location, and the nature of the privileges and exemptions bestowed on them, are discussed in Chapter IV. Chapter V examines the data relating to royal endowments to religious establishments, particularly temples -- the deities patronised and the terms of the land holdings gifted in their favour. In each chapter, the data provided by the inscriptions is presented first; this is followed by a

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<sup>26</sup> Maps have generally been prepared for dynasties with more than one inscription, and only if the specific find-spots are known. A few place-names that I have not been able to locate on the maps do not make an appearance. It may be noted that in some cases, more than one inscription has been found at a particular find-spot. It has not been possible to indicate this on the maps due to constraints of space. The following sources have been used for the preparation of the maps: National Atlas of India (Calcutta: National Atlas and Thematic Mapping Organisation, Department of Science and Technology, Government of India, 1980, scale 1: 1,000,000); AMS World Topographical Series (Washington D. C.: Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, ed. 6, 1956; scale 1: 1,000,000); R. Stroobandt, Corpus Topographicum Indiae, pt 1: Epigraphical Find-spots (Gent, 1974).

summary of the evidence and the general trends that emerge from it. This has been done in order not to sacrifice precision and specificity in dealing with a large body of inscriptions belonging to a large number of dynastic groups, in the process of making general observations on the basis of the data. The concluding chapter draws on the conclusions of each of the five preceding chapters to make some general observations on the nature of the relationship between kings, Brāhmaṇas, and temples in ancient and early medieval Orissa.

As the subject of this study is situated at a point of convergence of political, social, economic, and religious history, a variety of issues and debates drawn from these areas are of direct relevance. Some of these are discussed below.

### The early state problems of definition and origins

In the fourth century B.C.E., parts of Orissa came to be included in the Magadhan empire under the Nanda dynasty (364-324 B.C.E.). In 261 B.C.E., Kalinga<sup>27</sup> was conquered by the Maurya emperor Aśoka. The headquarters of Aśokan rule in Kalinga were located in the Mahanadi delta and the Rishikulya valley -- at Tosali (in or around Dhauli in Puri district) and Samāpā (in the vicinity of Jaugada in Ganjam district). The earliest epigraphic evidence of indigenous state formation in Orissa is constituted by the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela of the Mahāmeghavāvana family and the Cedi lineage: the inscription may be assigned roughly to the first century B.C.E.. The political centre of the Cedi kingdom seems to have been located around Bhubaneswar and the Mahanadi delta area. In the early centuries of the common era, numismatic evidence indicates that parts of Orissa came to be included in the Kuṣāṇa empire, probably ruled through Kuṣāṇa viceroys. An inscription found in the temple of Bhadrakālī, about five miles from Bhadrak town in Baleshwar district, indicates the rule in this area of a king named Gana in about the third century C.E..<sup>28</sup> The evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta indicates that several principalities of Orissa came under Gupta domination in the fourth century C.E..<sup>29</sup> It is from this period onwards that, after

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<sup>27</sup> The term 'Kalinga' had varying connotations in different periods of Orissan history. As a province of the Maurya empire, it probably corresponded to the modern Puri-Ganjam area of Orissa.

<sup>28</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Bhadrak Inscription of Gana, Regnal Year 8," *EI* 29, pt. 6 (April 1952): 169-74. See also D. C. Sircar, "An Ancient King of Utkala," *OHRJ* 1, no. 2 (1952): 22-26. K. C. Panigrahi ("Bhadrak Inscription of Gana: Regnal Year 8," *IHQ* 35, 1959: 241, 245) reads the name of the king as Surasarmma.

<sup>29</sup> John Faithfull Fleet, ed. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 3: *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1888; 3d ed., rev., Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1970), 7, ll 19-20 (hereafter cited as Fleet, *CII*, 3).

several phases of domination by large North Indian empires -- those of the Nandas, Mauryas, Kuṣāṇas, and Guptas -- internal political and social developments in Orissa reached the point of maturity required for the commencement of a sustained process of monarchical state formation.

Some of the aspects of the more general debate on the definition, nature and origins of the state, especially the early state, are of relevance to an understanding of the political process of the transition from chieftaincies to monarchies in ancient Orissa. In the western intellectual tradition, the secular debate on the origins and nature of the state goes back at least to the sixteenth century to the writings of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. While it is not the intention here to summarize the large body of literature on the subject, some of the recent contributions to the debate on state formation that are of direct relevance to the present study may be highlighted.

The origins of the state have been traced to a variety of factors. These include population pressure; geographical location and circumscription, long-distance trade, technological change; control over irrigation networks, social stratification, conflict -- between individuals, kin-groups, classes, and societies, warfare and conquest, defence against aggression; and the many recognizable benefits of state organization.<sup>30</sup> While none of these factors alone can be demonstrated to have provided the impetus to statehood in all cases, different combinations of these can be seen to have been operational in various contexts.

One of the major problems that arises in the context of the early state is that of the definition of the state and the bases of the distinction between the state and non-state. These definitions, in fact, also reflect theories of the origins and nature of the state. While most of them refer to the state in general, including the pre-industrial as well as industrial state within their purview, it is the former, and more particularly the early stage of the former, that is the focus of interest for this study. Elman R. Service describes the state as characterized by the existence of civil law and formal government that are "institutionalized, enacted, official, " and which "employ, threaten, or imply the actual use of force."<sup>31</sup> Thus, he sees the power of force and the power of authority as the essential ingredients of the

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<sup>30</sup> For a summary and discussion of some of these theories, see Ronald Cohen, "State Origins: A Reappraisal," in The Early State, ed. Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), p. 69, and Elman R. Service, "Classical and Modern Theories of the Origins of Government," in Origins of the State: The Anthropology of Political Evolution, ed. Ronald Cohen and Elman R. Service (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978), pp. 21-34.

<sup>31</sup> Elman R. Service, Origins of the State and Civilization: The Process of Cultural Evolution (New York, London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1975), p. 14.

state.<sup>32</sup> Ronald Cohen sees the state as a specific type of political system characterized by a centralized bureaucracy and dominant control of the mechanisms of force by the central authority.<sup>33</sup> He further emphasizes that the difference between chieftaincies and states lies in the state's ability to counter forces of political fission.<sup>34</sup> The central element in Morton H. Fried's conception of the state is social stratification based on differential access of members of a society to basic productive necessities.<sup>35</sup> Fried also makes the useful distinction between pristine states -- those which emerged from indigenous stimuli, usually with no more advanced models present -- and secondary states -- which had the model of already-existing states at hand and whose origins were related to pressures from the latter.<sup>36</sup> Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik, define the early state as "a centralized socio-political organization for the regulation of social relations in a complex, stratified society divided into at least two basic strata, or emergent social classes -- viz. the rulers and the ruled," the relations of political dominance and tributary obligations between the rulers and the ruled being legitimized by a common ideology founded on reciprocity.<sup>37</sup>

As what is being dealt with is an evolutionary process, often very gradual, it is difficult to identify the precise point in the continuum of political development where the transition to statehood takes place. In relation to the early state, the problem of the transition from pre-statehood to statehood has been addressed in various ways. One of these is Service's delineation of the period of transition as a distinct evolutionary phase which he describes as the chiefdom stage, characterized by "centralized direction, hereditary hierarchical status arrangements with an aristocratic ethos, but no formal, legal apparatus of forceful repression."<sup>38</sup> He adds that the organization of the chiefdom is theocratic, the form of submission to authority being that of a religious congregation to a priest-chief.<sup>39</sup> An attempt to calibrate the differences among the early states and to distinguish them from the mature state comes from Claessen and Skalnik, who speak of three types of early states --

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Ronald Cohen, "State Origins: A Reappraisal," p. 69.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid*, pp. 69-70

<sup>35</sup> Morton H. Fried, "The State, the Chicken, and the Egg: or, What came First," in Origins of the State: The Anthropology of Political Evolution, ed. Ronald Cohen and Elman R. Service, p. 36

<sup>36</sup> *ibid*, p. 37 The distinction between pristine and secondary states is discussed in greater detail by Fried in his Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 231-42.

<sup>37</sup> Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik, "The Early State: Models and Reality," in The Early State, ed. Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik, p. 640

<sup>38</sup> Service, Origins of the State and Civilization: The Process of Cultural Evolution, p. 16.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid*

the inchoate early state, the typical early state, and the transitional early state.<sup>40</sup> The criteria on the basis of which they make this distinction are the following: the degree of development of trade and markets (whether these were of local or supra-local importance), the mode of succession to important functions (whether this was hereditary or through appointment), the evidence of the extent of private ownership of land, the method of remuneration of functionaries (whether in kind or in the form of regular salaries); and the degree of development of the judicial and taxation systems (the extent to which these were well-developed and in the hands of specialized functionaries).<sup>41</sup> Claessen and Skaln   claim that their tripartite model of the early state is supported by empirical data drawn from a variety of cultural contexts. The problem, however, is not simply one of definition. There is also the question of how to identify the criteria or diagnostic features of statehood or non-statehood on the basis of the kind of evidence, literary and archaeological, that is available in relation to ancient political systems. This is a problem that arises in the case of the ancient and early medieval polity of Orissa.

The uneasiness of the solutions to the problem of defining statehood, even those that expressly profess to be sensitive to the problem, results in part from the great variability and variety in the types, organization, and features of the historical states. Thus, the emphasis on centralization that appears in many definitions, may be questioned in the Indian context. Some of the remarks made by Romila Thapar in relation to the typology of early empires seem to be of relevance for a general understanding of the early Indian state.<sup>42</sup> Thapar questions the traditional characterization of ancient empires as uniform and highly centralized political structures and suggests that these empires can be best understood in terms of the relations between what she terms the 'metropolitan state' (the nucleus of a highly-developed state) and the peripheral territories over which the metropolitan state extends its power through conquest. She points out that the earliest empires subsumed a wide range of politico-economic systems (some pre-state ones, others which had already attained statehood) with which the metropolitan state maintained a variety of flexible relationships and over which the nature and extent of its control varied.

Thapar's focus on the heterogeneity within the network of political and economic relationships that characterized early empires such as the Mauryan appears to be of some relevance in the understanding the nature of the more modest states (she herself states that the empire should be seen as a further, more evolved form of the state), especially the

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<sup>40</sup> Claessen and Skaln  , "The Early State: Models and Reality," p. 641.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 640-41.

<sup>42</sup> Romila Thapar, "The State as Empire," in *The Study of the State*, ed. Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skaln   (The Hague: Mouton, 1981), pp. 409-26.

relationship between pre-state tribal societies and the early monarchical states. More directly, her highlighting of the impact of the hegemony of the metropolitan state on state development in the peripheral areas isolates what seems to have been one of the important factors in the emergence of monarchical states in peripheral areas such as Orissa.

Sudarshan Senivaratne has used Thapar's concept of the metropolitan state to reconstruct the process of secondary state formation in Orissa and Andhra.<sup>43</sup> Senivaratne discusses the internal as well as external impetus to secondary state formation in the Indian subcontinent. The internal developments that occurred prior to the conquest of these areas by the metropolitan state and made the later transition to statehood possible include the emergence of an agrarian subsistence base, demographic expansion, the development of rudimentary craft specialization and an exchange network, a degree of social differentiation, and the emergence of spheres of political influence.<sup>44</sup> The external impetus was constituted by the impact of the metropolitan state -- the Mauryan in the case of Kalinga, and the Sātavāhana in the case of Andhra. According to Senivaratne, "...during the period of metropolitan state hegemony the prestate social elites acquired cultural sophistication, legitimization of social status, and a familiarity with the state apparatus required for a more efficient control over subjects and resources."<sup>45</sup> He points out that it is not surprising that when the great empires disintegrated, the erstwhile seats of provincial governments emerged as centres of political power under local ruling groups.<sup>46</sup>

The debate on the nature and origins of the state indicates that state formation and the stabilization of state structures was a complex process emerging from the convergence of variety of factors that differed in various historical and cultural contexts. These processes cannot be seen simply as political in nature; they involved factors operating at various other levels -- social, economic, religious, and what may broadly be termed as 'cultural'. As the result of the endeavours of scholars such as R. D. Banerji, D. C. Sircar, S. N. Rajaguru, and K. C. Panigrahi, we now have the skeleton of a dynastic history of Orissa within the framework of a relative chronology.<sup>47</sup> On the basis of the research conducted to date on the

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<sup>43</sup> Sudarshan Senivaratne, "Kalinga and Andhra: the process of secondary state formation in early India," in The Study of the State, ed. Claessen and Skalnik, pp. 317-38.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, p. 319

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, p. 334

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, p. 328

<sup>47</sup> The contribution of these writers appears in a large number of articles cited in the bibliography of this work. Apart from these articles, reference may be made to the following works: R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa: from the earliest times to the British period, 2 vols (Calcutta: Prabhasi Press, 1930-31); Satyanarayan Rajaguru, ed., Inscriptions of Orissa, 5 vols; Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, History of Orissa (Hindu Period) (Cuttack: Kitab Mahal, 1981).



political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa, it is now possible to address questions of a different order. There is scope for reconstructing the process of transition from the stage of the relatively small, unstable chieftaincies and kingdoms to that of the more ambitious and successful ventures epitomized by the Ganga empire, by focusing on royal policies, integrative mechanisms and strategies of stabilization.<sup>48</sup> In the area and period that form the focus of this study, royal religious grants appear to have been among the factors that created networks of integration crucial to state formation and stabilization.

### Kingship and the sacred domain

There are a number of authoritative secondary works on the history, mythology and iconography of the various Indian religious sects, especially Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva.<sup>49</sup> In contrast to South India, where the hymns of the Ālvārs and Nāyaṇārs present abundant source material on the perspectives of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, the reconstruction of the early history of sectarianism in Orissa is confounded by the lack of literary sources and is based almost entirely on epigraphical and architectural sources.<sup>50</sup> Until the twelfth century C.E., judging from the predominance of Śaiva temples, Orissa was a predominantly Śaiva region. Then, in the twelfth century C.E., the worship of the deity Puruṣottama (later known as Jagannātha) was raised to the status of an imperial cult with the construction of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri by the Ganga monarch Anantavarman Codaganga. In 1230 C.E., Anāṅgabhīma III dedicated his empire to Puruṣottama, describing himself as the deputy and son of the god. These events can be viewed as part of the process of the consolidation of the Gaṅga imperium, especially as the rapidly growing power of the Delhi

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<sup>48</sup> These are questions that have been put forward for the first time in relation to Orissa by Hermann Kulke, to whose writings I am indebted. See for instance, Kulke, "Fragmentation and Segmentation Versus Integration? Reflections on the Concepts of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History," "Early State Formation and Royal Legitimation in Late Ancient Orissa," "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms."

<sup>49</sup> See, for instance, J. N. Banerjea, Paurāṇic and Tāntric Religion (early phase) (Calcutta University of Calcutta, 1966), R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems, reprint ed. (Varanasi Indological Book House, 1965), Fred W. Clothey and J. Bruce Longs, eds., Experiencing Śiva Encounters with a Hindu Deity (Columbia, Mo South Asia Books, 1983), J. Canda, Viṣṇuism and Śaivism A Comparison (London University of London, The Athlone Press, 1970), Norman Joel Cutler, Songs of Experience The Poetics of Tamil Devotion (Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1986), Friedhelm Hardy, Viraha-Bhakti The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India (Delhi Oxford University Press, 1983), Suvira Jaiswal, The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism Vaisnavism from 200 BC to 500 AD, 2d rev and enl. ed. (New Delhi Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981).

<sup>50</sup> See, for instance, Satyendranath Patnaik, Brāhmanical Religion in Ancient Orissa (New Delhi Ashish Publishing House, 1987).

Sultanate came to be recognized as a threat to the existence of that imperial structure. The cult of Jagannātha and the interface of religion and politics that it reflects has long attracted the attention of scholars. Accordingly, there are a number of studies on this cult, including the recent work, The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, representing the joint research of Heidelberg and Utkala Universities.<sup>51</sup> The relationship of kingship with the religious domain in the pre-twelfth century period, is, however, less well-understood.

The study of ancient Indian kingship has traditionally been based on literary sources. There is an abundance of secondary literature on issues such as the origins and nature of Indian kingship.<sup>52</sup> The issue of the relationship between kingship and the sacred domain has often focused on or assumed the divinity of the Indian king. The brahmanical tradition does not, in fact, reveal a consistent theory of kingship, and the questions of the divinity of the king and the nature and basis of his authority are a problem that brahmanical literary tradition certainly grapples with but does not resolve. On the one hand, there is the frequent comparison between king and deity, the statement in Manu 7. 4-5 that the king was created from the particles of Indra, the Wind god, Yama, the Sun, Agni, Varuṇa, the Moon, and Kubera,<sup>53</sup> on the other, there is the statement found in the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana Parva 61. 32-33), which gives the remorseless recommendation that a wicked king should be killed as if he were a mad dog. According to Kane, these dramatically different sorts of statements were simply delivered from two different points of view and were addressed to two different audiences: the statements emphasizing the power and preeminence of the king were made by the *smṛtikāras* in the interests of maintaining peace and order and were addressed to the subjects of the king, while the denunciation of wicked kings was to guard against the very real possibility of the abuse of the power entrusted to

<sup>51</sup> Annerlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke and Gaya Charan Tripathi eds., The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, South Asia Institute, New Delhi Branch, Heidelberg University, South Asian Studies, no. 8 (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1978).

<sup>52</sup> See, for instance, Pandurang Vaman Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law), 5 vols. (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, 1930-62, 2d ed., 1968-77), vol. 3, 2d ed. (1973), pp. 1-103; J. Gonda, Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969); Louis Dumont, "The Conception of Kingship in Ancient India," Contributions to Indian Sociology 6 (December 1962): 48-77; J. C. Heesterman, "The Conundrum of the King's Authority," in Kingship and Authority in South Asia, South Asian Publications Series, no. 3, ed. J. F. Richards (Wisconsin University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978), pp. 1-27.

<sup>53</sup> These deities appear in later literature as the 'lokapālas' or guardians of the universe. Protection is one of the main duties of the king, and J. Gonda points out that in later texts such as the Raghuvamśa and the Rājataranginī, the epithet 'lokapāla' is also applied to the king (Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View, p. 30).

kings, and was addressed to kings and their ministers.<sup>54</sup> Gonda observes that there is no contradiction between the portrayal of the king as a 'deva' (god), on the one hand, and the denunciation of wicked kings and the sanction of regicide under certain conditions, on the other, because morality is not inherent in the idea of the deva, whether god or king.<sup>55</sup> According to him, the different statements on the issue are not reflections of two different views of kingship but the reflection of the dichotomy between the ideal and the actual.<sup>56</sup> Robert Lingat voices the somewhat similar view that it was not the king but the royal function that was regarded as divine by the *smṛtikāras*.<sup>57</sup> He suggests that the emphasis in some texts on the divine origin and nature of kingship was in order to endow the king's person with respect and glory, and was never presented as the essential reason why the king should be obeyed.<sup>58</sup> J. C. Heesterman, on the other hand, suggests that the ambivalence of the brahmanical texts on this issue reflects a very real and irresolvable problem -- that of ultimate authority. The statements in the texts, according to him, do not add up to a coherent and consistent theory of sacral kingship.<sup>59</sup> The fact that it is the Brāhmaṇa who reigns supreme in the realm of religious values means that "kingship remains, even theoretically, suspended between sacrality and secularity, divinity and mortal humanity, legitimate authority and arbitrary power, dharma and adharma."<sup>60</sup>

While questions relating to the nature of ancient Indian kingship have usually been addressed on the basis of evidence from ancient literature, the images of the ancient Indian king, whether as warrior, protector of his subjects, or maintainer of the social order, have also been gleaned from these sources. For a historical, diachronic reconstruction of kingship as an institution subject to vicissitudes and change, the portrayal of kingship as it appears in the normative literature needs to be supplemented by evidence from a variety of other sources, including inscriptions. The various elements that constitute the image of the king in ancient and early medieval inscriptions are no doubt related to and drawn from the stereotypes depicted in literary sources. However, an examination of royal epithets and the description of kings in the inscriptions has the potential of revealing the changing nuances in the ideology of kingship over the centuries.

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<sup>54</sup> Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, 3. 27

<sup>55</sup> Gonda, *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View*, pp. 33-34

<sup>56</sup> *ibid.*, p. 35. According to Gonda, the inviolability of the unrighteous monarch in *Nārada Smṛti* 18. 21 is an exception, the general Dharmaśāstra position was that only good kings were to be considered devas.

<sup>57</sup> R. Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, trans. with additions by J. Duncan M. Derrett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 208.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> J. C. Heesterman, "The Conundrum of the King's Authority," p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

The details of the royal *praśasti* (the eulogistic introduction of the royal inscriptions) often replete with hyperbolic panegyric and genealogies interwoven with myth, are often dismissed by historians as not constituting evidence worthy of perusal. In a departure from this tradition, Nicholas Dirks has used epigraphic evidence to trace the history of kingship in South India from the first and early second centuries B.C.E. to the tenth century and has catalogued a shift from *yajña* (sacrifice) to *dāna* (ritual giving) as the primary constitutive ritual of early South Indian kingdoms.<sup>61</sup> Dirks draws on A. M. Hocart's ideas on kingship, particularly his view of political systems in terms of ritual systems and his idea of 'incorporative' kingship.<sup>62</sup> George W. Spencer's analysis of the themes and variations in Cōla fictive genealogies emphasizes the importance of the role of these genealogies in political validation. "A royal genealogy is an assertion of the king's status pride couched in the idiom of kingship. It is an idealized view of the king as a larger-than-life figure, descended from gods and heroes. But more than that, it is an ideological construct, a statement about the nature of the world and the place of kingship in it."<sup>63</sup>

A reconstruction of the various elements that comprised the idealized image of kingship as it appears in the inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa is one of the undertakings of this study. The focus is on the religious elements with which kings sought to identify during the period 300-1147 C.E., especially on the sectarian affiliations of kings. Apart from an examination of the royal *praśasti*, this study also examines the details of royal grants to religious establishments, in order to elucidate the relationship between royal patronage and temple establishments, a relationship that has often been assumed rather than demonstrated. The reconstruction of this relationship is important not only for the history of kingship, but also for the history of sectarianism in Orissa, particularly the shift from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism for information on the patrons and leaders of sectarianism, and for the reconstruction of the mechanisms of dissemination of sectarian ideas, which may have played an important culturally integrative role in ancient and early medieval India.

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<sup>61</sup> Nicholas B. Dirks, "Political Authority and Structural Change in Early South Indian History," *IESHR* 13, no. 2 (April-June 1976) 125-57.

<sup>62</sup> "We can thus distinguish between two types of kings: kings who include in their divinity the divinities of their chieftains, and kings who are one indivisible and only god, and whose chieftains consequently cannot be different gods, but only dimmer reflections of the same god as their liege. These monotheistic kings belong to the ethical rites, for monotheism, centralization, and moralization go very much together" (A. M. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors: An Essay in the Comparative Anatomy of Human Society*, 1st published Cairo Printing Office Paul Barbey, 1936, new ed. and with an Introduction by Rodney Needham, Chicago and London University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. 89).

<sup>63</sup> George W. Spencer, "Heirs Apparent: Fiction and function in Chola mythical genealogies," *IESHR* 21, no. 4 (1984) 416.

### The Brāhmaṇa in ancient normative literature; modern studies of the Brāhmaṇa

Sanskrit normative literature is replete with the exaltation of the social preeminence of the Brāhmaṇa. The ideal Brāhmaṇa is described in the Dharmaśāstras as embodying the virtues of learning and personal excellence and leading a life of poverty and simplicity. According to Manu 4.2-3, a Brāhmaṇa should, except in time of distress, pursue one of the various prescribed means of subsistence that cause minimal pain to others, and he should accumulate only that amount which he requires for bare subsistence. According to Manu 4.6-7, of the Brāhmaṇa householder who possesses enough to fill a granary, he who possesses enough to fill a grain-jar, he who collects enough for three days, and he who has enough to provide only for the next day, each later-mentioned one is more distinguished than his predecessor. The Brāhmaṇa is enjoined not to attach himself to sensual pleasures and to strive towards contentment and self-control (Manu 4.12, 16). He is exhorted to perform the rites prescribed in the Veda and to avoid all means of subsistence that interfere in the study of the Veda (Manu 4.14, 17). He is instructed (Manu 3.67-72) to diligently perform the five great sacrifices, brahmayajña, which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda; pitṛyajña or caru, which consists in offerings to the ancestors, daivayajña or agnihotra, which consists in making offerings to the fire, balī or bhūtayajña which consists in the making of oblations to all beings, and manuṣyayajña (also known as atithi) which consists in honouring guests.<sup>64</sup> Manu (4.11) exhorts the Brāhmaṇa to live a pure, straightforward life and never for the sake of subsistence follow the ways of the world.

The Dharmaśāstras lay down the six duties of the Brāhmaṇa as consisting in yajana (performing sacrifices), yājana (performing sacrifices for others), adhyayana (study), adhyāpana (teaching), dāna (offering gifts), and pratigraha (accepting gifts). Three of these duties -- sacrificing, study, and offering gifts -- are shared by the Brāhmaṇas with the other

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<sup>64</sup> On the pañca-mahāyajñas, see Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra 2, pt. 2 698-99. References to the pañca-mahāyajñas occur in later Vedic literature, e.g. in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.5.6.1 and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 2.10 and in the Dharmaśāstras (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 697-98). The householder did not need the ministrations of an officiating priest in order to perform the pañca-mahāyajñas, the aim of the performance of these rites was not the attainment of personal material or spiritual goals but the discharging of one's debt to the gods, the ancestors, the ancient sages, and to all beings (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 697). Some of the Dharmaśāstras came to give the *raison d'être* of the pañca-mahāyajñas as the atonement for the injury that is caused to human life in the hearth, grinding mill, broomstick, winnowing basket and such household items, mortar and pestle, and water-jar (Kane, *ibid.*, p. 698). Kane cites Manu 3.68-71, Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra 59.19-20, Śaṅkhyāyana Grhya Sūtra 5.1-2, and Matsya Purāṇa 52.15-16 in this regard.

two twice-born varṇas, the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.<sup>65</sup> It may be pointed out, however, that even though the acceptance of gifts was regarded as one of the activities appropriate to the Brāhmaṇa, and even though the normative texts eulogize the giving of gifts to Brāhmaṇas, at the same time the texts are replete with numerous restrictions and prescriptions concerning the appropriateness or otherwise of the donor, of the recipient, and of the gift itself. In fact, the ideal Brāhmaṇa is one who does not accept any kind of gift (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 13. 4. 3. 14).<sup>66</sup>

The normative texts emphasize the importance of the purohita (chaplain; literally, 'one who is placed in front') to the king. The king needs the purohita to officiate at his sacrifice; the gods do not accept the offerings of a king who does not have a purohita (Āitareya Brāhmaṇa 8. 24). But the purohita was more than an officiant in the sacrifice; he was depicted as the counsellor of the king, as an important complement to royal authority. The relationship between purohita and king is described in the ancient texts as that between sky and earth (Rg Veda 10. 61, Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5. 1. 5. 8).<sup>67</sup> Later, the food and gifts of the king are said to take away the Brāhmaṇa's lustre (Manu 4. 218; Mahābhārata 13. 35. 23).<sup>68</sup> According to the Yājñavalkya Smṛti 1. 213, the Brāhmaṇa who, although entitled to, did not accept a gift, attains to the highest world.<sup>69</sup> Manu 4. 186 declares that a Brāhmaṇa should not frequently resort to accepting gifts as the acceptance of gifts results in the loss of the Brāhmaṇa's spiritual power.<sup>70</sup>

In the Rg Veda, Brāhmaṇas appear as priests officiating in the sacrifice, as ṛṣis (seers), as reciters of hymns.<sup>71</sup> The Dharmaśāstras bear testimony to the great variety of

<sup>65</sup> According to J. C. Heesterman, the significance of this is that "... only the brahmin is complete and independent in that he alone encompasses both sides of the relationships involved" ("Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer," in J. C. Heesterman, The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and Society, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1985, p. 214, n. 89).

<sup>66</sup> The emphasis in post-Vedic times on the non-acceptance of gifts on the part of Brāhmaṇas may possibly be seen as a consequence of the influence of the heterodox religions.

<sup>67</sup> Ananda K. Coomaraswamy argues that the marriage formula "I am That, thou art This, I am Sky, thou art Earth," addressed, according to Āitareya Brāhmaṇa 8. 27, by the purohita to the king, was in fact spoken by the king to the purohita, as it is the king who is undoubtedly the feminine partner in this "marriage" between the sacerdotum (brahma) and regnum (kṣatra). According to Coomaraswamy, "the whole of Indian political theory is implied and subsumed" in these words (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government, New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1942; 1st Indian ed., New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978, p. 1).

<sup>68</sup> Cited by Heesterman, "Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer," pp. 37-38.

<sup>69</sup> Cited by Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, 2, pt. 1: 113.

<sup>70</sup> Cited by Kane, *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> While the terms Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya occur frequently in the early parts of the Rg Veda, the origins of the four-fold varṇa classification lie in the later Vedic age. The earliest

vocations followed by Brāhmaṇas in the subsequent period, and suggest that many of them fell short of Brāhmaṇa ideals. Manu (3 150-165) includes the following among those who should not be invited to a śrāddha.<sup>72</sup> Brāhmaṇas who are thieves, outcastes, eunuchs, or atheists; temple-priests, paid servants of a village or a king, those who do not maintain the sacred fire; those who neglect the five great sacrifices; those who teach for a stipulated fee and are taught on that condition, those who instruct Śūdra pupils and those who are taught by a Śūdra, those who subsist by astrology, those who constantly ask for favours, and those who live by tending cattle or by agriculture.<sup>73</sup> Ati (verses 373-83) classifies Brāhmaṇas into ten categories which include Kṣatra-Brāhmaṇas (warrior-Brāhmaṇas), Vaiśya-Brāhmaṇas (Brāhmaṇas who pursue vocations appropriate to Vaiśyas, viz agriculture, animal rearing, and trade), and Śūdra Brāhmaṇas (Brāhmaṇas who sell lac, salt, dyes, milk, ghee, honey, and meat).<sup>74</sup> Needless to say, Brāhmaṇas of this sort were not regarded with much favour by the law-givers.

Vocation, thus, formed an important basis of differentiation within the Brāhmaṇa class. Another basis was that of regional status. This was related to the definition in brahmanical literature of what constituted Āryavarta, land of the Āryas. According to Manu (2. 21), Āryavarta included all of northern India bounded by the Vindhya in the south and the ocean in the east and west. In the opinion of the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (1. 1, 2. 6) and the Vasīṣṭha Dharmasūtra (1. 12), however, Āryavarta meant only the Gangetic doab. According to the former text, the eastern peoples such as the Puṇḍras, Vangas, and Kaliṅgas were of 'mixed origin' (saṁkīrna-yonayah); to venture into their territory was an act which merited the performance of expiatory sacrifices such as the Punaṣṭoma or the Sarvapṛṣṭha (Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra 1. 1. 29). The attitude towards the eastern regions, where Aryanization made its impact after it had spread over northern India, had its reflection in the regional status of Brāhmaṇas. According to the Matsya Purāṇa (16. 16), Brāhmaṇas who lived in the Mleccha countries, in Triśaṅku, Barbarā, Odra, Andhra,

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reference to this classification occurs in the Puruṣasūkta which occurs in Book 10 (10. 90) of the Rg Veda, this book is regarded as a later interpolation. It may be noted that the Puruṣasūkta does not mention the term varṇa, and refers to the origins of the Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya (the term Kṣatriya is not used), Vaiśya, and Śūdra.

<sup>72</sup> The śrāddha is "...a ceremony in honour and for the benefit of dead relatives observed with great strictness at various fixed periods and on occasions of rejoicing as well as mourning by the surviving relatives.." (Mon. Will., p. 1097).

<sup>73</sup> It may be noted that while some of these categories refer to Brāhmaṇas in particular, others seem to apply to members of the twice-born varṇas (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya) in general.

<sup>74</sup> Cited by Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, 2, pt. 1. 130-31.

Takka, Draviḍa, and Koṅkaṇa, were not to be invited to śrāddhas.<sup>75</sup> In general, the Brāhmaṇas of the north were considered superior to those who belonged to the east and to other parts of the subcontinent

The normative texts themselves indicate the divergence between the ideal of the Brāhmaṇa and the reality of the situation. One of the means whereby these texts came to terms with this divergence was through the idea of Āpad-dharma (duties in distress). Thus, Manu 10. 116 enumerates ten means whereby a Brāhmaṇa may maintain himself in times of distress: learning, arts and crafts, work for wages, the service of others, rearing cattle, trade, agriculture, contentment with little, alms, and usury.

One of the major branches of modern scholarship on the subject of the Brāhmaṇas has focused on the relationship between king and Brāhmaṇa as reflected in the relationship in Vedic literature, especially the Brāhmaṇa texts, between brahma (the spiritual principle) and kṣatra (the principle of secular power), and between Mitra and Varuṇa, the two gods personifying these principles.<sup>76</sup> There are instances in these texts where the emphasis is on the mutual dependence of brahma and kṣatra (as, for instance, in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 2. 33). The aspect of polarity and complementarity in the relationship of Mitra and Varuṇa is reflected in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 1. 7. 10. 1, which speaks of the relationship between the two as that of day to night, of light to darkness. Then again, it is the distinction between brahma and kṣatra that is emphasized, almost to the point of opposition in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3. 2. 4. 18, where it is said that that which pertains to Mitra does not pertain to Varuṇa, and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 13. 1. 5. 2. 3, which states that the kṣatra takes no delight in the brahma, nor does the brahmavarcasa (vigour or splendour of brahma) delight in the kṣatra. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa 12. 2. 9, describes brahma as the womb from which kṣatra springs. And several passages in Vedic literature, such as Taittirīya Saṁhitā 1. 6. 16 and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 5. 4. 4. 9-13 assert the superiority of brahma to kṣatra, and the superiority of Brāhmaṇa to king.<sup>77</sup> The Vedic texts, thus, emphasize the complex, many-faceted nature of the relationship between brahma and kṣatra.

Louis Dumont speaks of the "necessary solidarity, distinction, and hierarchy" of the two spheres of brahma and kṣatra.<sup>78</sup> He asserts that the relationship between priest and

<sup>75</sup> Cited by Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, 2, pt. 1: 103.

<sup>76</sup> See, for instance, Louis Dumont, "The Conception of Kingship in Ancient India," Georges Dumézil, Mitra-Varuṇa: An Essay on Two Indo-European Representations of Sovereignty, trans. Derek Colman (New York: Zoen Books, 1988); Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government.

<sup>77</sup> The references cited here are drawn from Coomaraswamy, *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Dumont, "The Conception of Kingship in Ancient India," p. 50.



king was one of "mutual but asymmetrical dependence;" the Brāhmaṇa, while spiritually superior, was materially dependent on the king; the king, while materially superior, was spiritually inferior to the Brāhmaṇa.<sup>79</sup> Dumont also argues for the emergence in India of a relatively "secularized" kingship. He speaks of "the separation within the religious universe of a sphere or realm which is opposed to the religious, and roughly corresponds to what we call political."<sup>80</sup> -- This is the realm of force as distinct from that of values or norms, that of artha as distinct from dharma.

Some of Dumont's postulates have been questioned by J. C. Heesterman, who points out that the translation of the term Brāhmaṇa as 'priest' may be misleading.<sup>81</sup> Heesterman highlights the complicated nature of the Brāhmaṇa's priesthood and the contradiction involved in the relationship between king and Brāhmaṇa. This contradiction, with which the Vedic ritual texts and the Dharmaśāstras often struggle but do not resolve, arose from the fact that the Brāhmaṇa priest's dependence on his patron, his acceptance of food and gifts from the latter, impaired his status and purity.<sup>82</sup> Heesterman argues that the social preeminence of the Brāhmaṇa was, in fact, not founded on his priesthood, but on his representing the values of renunciation.<sup>83</sup>

Apart from the discussions of the relationship between king and Brāhmaṇa as reflected in the normative literature, modern studies on the Brāhmaṇas have also taken the form of ethnographic accounts, studies of brahmanical institutions, and more descriptive studies based on an analysis of the empirical evidence provided by ancient literature and/or epigraphic sources. Among the ethnographic studies which include a discussion of the Brāhmaṇas are those by H. H. Risley, Nripendra Kumar Dutt, Edgar Thurston, W. Crooke, and Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya.<sup>84</sup> While such studies throw light on the more recent

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<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 51-52

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, p. 55

<sup>81</sup> J. C. Heesterman, "Priesthood and the Brāhmaṇa," in T. N. Madan et. al., "On the Nature of Caste in India: A Review Symposium on Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus*," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, N.S., no 5 (December 1971) p. 43. It may be added that Dumont is not alone in translating 'Brāhmaṇa' as 'priest'.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>83</sup> Heesterman, "Brahmin, Ritual and Renouncer," pp. 26-44.

<sup>84</sup> H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 2 vols. (1st ed., Calcutta Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891; reprint ed., Calcutta Firma Mukhopadhyay, 1981), Nripendra Kumar Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, Ltd., 1931; Calcutta Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965), Edgar Thurston, assisted by K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 7 vols. (Madras Government Press, 1909), W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the (sic) North Western India*, 4 vols. (originally published under the title of *The Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, reprint ed., Delhi Cosmo Publications, 1974), Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects: An exposition of the origin of the*

history of the social organization and customs of the Brāhmaṇas, they are not always of direct relevance to an understanding of the history of the Brāhmaṇas in ancient and early medieval India. Studies of brahmanical institutions such as gotra, caraṇa, and śākhā are of greater relevance in understanding the basis of brahmanical social organization in the earlier periods. Among them are the writings of Ghurye, Karandikar, Brough, Kosambi, and Kane.<sup>85</sup> Apart from being few in number, these studies do not, however, provide an exhaustive account, and many aspects of the history of institutions such as gotra, pravara, caraṇa, and śākhā remain to be investigated

Studies of the history of the Brāhmaṇas drawing on evidence from literature and inscriptions are rather few. Among them is Govind Prasad Upadhyay's study of the history of the Brāhmaṇa class between 200 B.C.E and 500 C.E., which attempts to place the details within the broader dynamics of social, political, and religious history.<sup>86</sup> Citrarekha Gupta's study of the Brāhmaṇas highlights the diversity within the Brāhmaṇa class as it emerges from epigraphic sources of north India.<sup>87</sup> Puspa Niyogi's book based on epigraphic evidence on the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal gives a more meticulous presentation of details from a specific region.<sup>88</sup> Swati Datta's study of the migrant Brāhmaṇas of northern India gives a careful presentation of the details of the social organization and economic life of these Brāhmaṇas as revealed in inscriptions, as well as attempting to delineate the reasons for brahmanical migration.<sup>89</sup> Apart from these works which deal specifically with the Brāhmaṇas, a body of useful data concerning the emergence of Brāhmaṇas as a landed

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Hindu caste system and the bearing of the sects towards each other and towards other religious systems (1st ed., Calcutta, 1896, reprint ed., Calcutta: Editions Indian, 1968).

<sup>85</sup> G. S. Ghurye, Two Brahmanical Institutions Gotra and Charana (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972), S. V. Karandikar, Hindu Exogamy (Bombay: Taraporewala Sons & Co., 1929); John Brough, 'The Early History of the Gotras', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1946: 32-45; D. D. Kosambi, 'On the Origins of the Brahmin Gotras,' Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S. 26 (1951): 21-80; Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra 2, pt. 1: 479-97..

<sup>86</sup> Govind Prasad Upadhyay, Brāhmaṇas in Ancient India: A study in the role of the Brāhmaṇa class from C. 200 B.C. to C. A.D. 500 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1979).

<sup>87</sup> Citrarekha Gupta, The Brahmanas of India. A Study Based on Inscriptions (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1983).

<sup>88</sup> Puspa Niyogi, Brahmanic Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal (Calcutta: S. K. Mitra, on behalf of 'Indian Studies: Past and Present,' 1967).

<sup>89</sup> Swati Datta (née Sen Gupta), Migrant Brāhmaṇas in Northern India: Their Settlement and General Impact, c. A.D. 475-1030 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989).

class has been collected by historians writing on the socio-economic history of early medieval India<sup>90</sup>

Despite the discussion of the Brāhmaṇas in a variety of secondary works such as those mentioned above, there is much that is not known about this élite group. There is a need for detailed studies of the history of the Brāhmaṇas of various regions. Epigraphic evidence has much to offer in this respect. Brāhmaṇas formed the major beneficiaries of royal patronage throughout the ancient and early medieval periods, and a large volume of inscriptions recording this patronage provide valuable information on the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal grants. The study at hand examines the details regarding these Brāhmaṇas -- who they were, where they came from, the branches of learning and activities they specialized in. The attempt is also to analyze the bases of Brāhmaṇa identity and to catalogue the bases of differentiation within the Brāhmaṇa community. This would provide an important complement to what the normative texts have to say about Brāhmaṇas.

#### Contribution of this study

The inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa offer important sources for the re-examination of issues such as the relations between king and Brāhmaṇa, king and deity, and secular and sacred authority -- relations that have traditionally been studied on the basis of Sanskrit texts such as the Dharmaśāstras, which are subject to the limitation inherent in normative literature, that is, they lay down precepts that are related to, and often form a basis of practice, but are not necessarily a direct reflection of the latter. This study re-examines these relations, especially that between politics and religion, in the light of the epigraphic evidence provided by royal grants. The analysis of the contents of a large number of inscriptions covering a chronological span of eight and a half centuries is intended to reveal patterns that would remain hidden in a study with a more restricted scope. The results of this study have an importance in the larger Indian context for an understanding of the nature of political systems and processes of historical change in ancient and early medieval India.

#### Note on translation, transliteration, and citation

This study is based on a detailed examination of the text of inscriptions, taking cognizance of variant readings and interpretations. Some of the inscriptions used for this study have been translated into English by various scholars. While I am indebted to the

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<sup>90</sup> The literature on the subject is vast. One of the important works that may be mentioned in this context is Ram Sharan Sharma's Indian Feudalism: c. 300-1200, mention may also be made to Sharma's Social Changes in Early Medieval India (circa A D 500-1200)

translations that have been made, the analysis of the inscriptions is based on my own translations, except where indicated otherwise. In general, where translations are given, the English is followed by the Sanskrit in parenthesis. However, in the case of technical terms and titles, where the English translation is often either inadequate, clumsy or misleading, the Sanskrit original has been cited, with the translation or explanation of the term appearing either in parenthesis or in a foot-note where the term first occurs. Due to the large number of Sanskrit terms that appear in the text of this thesis, these have not been underlined or italicized.

The orthography of ancient inscriptions displays a great deal of variation, some of which reflects regional peculiarities. For instance, in the case of the Orissan inscriptions, there is usually a reduplication of the consonant after an 'r,' as well as the frequent use of 'b' for 'v.' Orthographic and grammatical errors also occur frequently. For these reasons, and in the interests of maintaining a certain uniformity in the orthography of citations, the spelling of well-known Sanskrit words, including the names of rulers, has usually been standardized in the course of citation. All other proper names, including the names of the beneficiaries of the royal grants and place-names, have been given as they occur in the text of the inscriptions. In the case of actual quotations -- usually the longer ones -- from the text of the inscriptions, the sections have been cited in the style of transliteration adopted in this study. Following the convention used by most works on Indian epigraphy, proper names have been capitalized in the course of citing Sanskrit passages, even when occurring in the midst of compounds. Titles of secondary works, whether articles or books, appear in their original form, with or without diacritical marks, as the case may be. Diacritical marks have not been used for modern place names, including rivers. The titles of inscriptions are usually derived from the name of the king during whose reign they were inscribed and either from the place where they were found, or, if the find-spot is unknown, from the name of the village they record the grant of. Diacritical marks for the place-names are used while citing the inscription only in the latter case. It may also be mentioned that the names of various authors of secondary works in certain cases display a surprising degree of orthographical variation, this is the reason why the name of a particular author may be spelt differently in various citations in foot-notes or in the bibliography.

The system of transliteration follows in most respects the conventions laid down in Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. 3 and followed in standard works on Indian epigraphy. A single hyphen indicates samāsa (a compound), a double hyphen indicates sandhi (euphonic combination); where both samāsa and sandhi occur, the single hyphen is

used.<sup>91</sup> Ordinary brackets are used to indicate corrections and doubtful points in the text of inscriptions; square brackets for damaged or partially illegible letters, or those though illegible, can be supplied with certainty. Square brackets containing letters or punctuation marks followed by an asterisk indicate letters or punctuation marks omitted in the original text.<sup>92</sup>

The style of citation follows in general the guidelines laid down in Kate L. Turabian's A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations.

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<sup>91</sup> For instance, 'a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśyaḥ;' 'yath=āsmābhīr=ayam;' 'Kaling-ādhipati, 'tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudyātah.'

<sup>92</sup> Fleet, CII 3, Introduction, pp. 193-94.

## Chapter I

### Ancient and Early Medieval Kingdoms of Orissa: the fourth to the mid-twelfth century C.E.

The fourth century C.E. marked the commencement of a sustained process of political development in Orissa. This is reflected in the availability of a large volume of royal inscriptions recording grants of land to Brāhmaṇas and religious institutions of various denominations. These royal charters form an important source for the reconstruction of political history, and the phenomenon they record appears to have played an important integrative role in the formation and stabilization of kingdoms.

This chapter presents a synoptic account of the dynasties of Orissa from the fourth century C.E. to the middle of the twelfth century C.E.. For the purpose of analysis, the data has been divided according to three rough chronological phases: Period I -- the fourth to the seventh century; Period II -- the seventh to the tenth century; and Period III -- the tenth to the mid-twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> A brief history of the kings and dynasties of ancient and early medieval Orissa is presented in chronological sequence with particular reference to their antecedents, the territory under their rule, their political centres, and the titles of political import assumed by them. Lists of dynastic succession, where these have been reconstructed by various scholars, have not been given, as they do not form the focus of this study.<sup>2</sup> While a detailed administrative history lies beyond the scope of this particular study, the official designations and titles, fiscal terms, and levels of administrative divisions that appear in the copper plate grants are enumerated in Appendices II, III, and IV, as these provide some data on the degree of complexity of the administrative organization of these kingdoms. A series of maps included in this chapter indicate the places where the inscriptions of some of the dynasties of ancient and early medieval Orissa have been found and the political centres whence they were issued, where identifiable.

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<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in the Introduction, there is a certain amount of fluidity in this chronological scheme.

<sup>2</sup> On the problems involved in the reconstruction of a continuous dynastic history and the contrived nature of some of the ventures into this field, see David P. Henige, "Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a Vacuum," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 38 (1975). 525-49

## Period I: The fourth to the seventh century

### Gupta hegemony over Orissa

In the fourth century C. E., ancient Orissa was divided into several small principalities, some of which were under Gupta domination. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta<sup>3</sup> includes the following among the kings who suffered reverses at the hands of this Gupta monarch: Mahendra of Kosala (i. e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, which comprised the modern Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur tracts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa), Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra (which may be identified either with the Jharkhand area of Ganjam and Vishakhapatnam districts or with the Jeypore forest area of Orissa), Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura (i.e. modern Pithapuram in Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh), Svāmīdatta of Kottura (identified with modern Kothoor in Ganjam district), Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (identified with modern Erandapali near Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh) and Kubera of Devarāṣṭra (identified with the Yellamanchili tract in Vishakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh).<sup>4</sup> These kings, along with some others, are said to have been captured and then released; presumably they were permitted to continue to rule over their principalities with the proviso that they accept Gupta suzerainty. The persistence of some form of Gupta influence in this area after Samudragupta's campaign is indicated by the use of the Gupta era in some inscriptions till the mid-seventh century.<sup>5</sup>

### South Orissa

#### Mahārāja Śatrudamana

Between the fourth and the sixth century, one of the early centres of kingdom formation in ancient Orissa was located in the Vamsadhara and Nagavali river valleys, and comprised the southern parts of Ganjam district of Orissa, Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Vishakhapatnam and East Godavari districts of the latter state. One of the early kings of this area was mahārāja<sup>6</sup> Śatrudamana, whose Pedda-Dugam plates, dated

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<sup>3</sup> Fleet, CII 3: 7, ll. 19-20

<sup>4</sup> On the identification of these places, see Dilip Kumar Ganguly, Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa upto the rise of the Imperial Gangas (Calcutta Punthi Pustak, 1975), pp. 156-57

<sup>5</sup> Some scholars argue that the use of the Gupta era does not indicate Gupta rule in Orissa. See, for example, Nabin Kumar Sahu, Utkal University History of Orissa, 1 (Bhubaneswar Utkal University, 1964), 433-44.

<sup>6</sup> Literally 'great king' Fleet (CII, 3: 10, n. 3) points out that while mahārāja was a title indicating paramount sovereignty in the coins of the Indo-Greek kings and the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kanishka, Huviska, and Vāsudeva, from the Gupta period onwards it no

in the ninth regnal year, were issued from Simhapura (identified with modern Singapuram near Srikakulam<sup>7</sup>) These plates have been assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the fifth century. The description of Śatrudamana in this inscription as favoured by the feet of his overlord (bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigrhīta)<sup>8</sup> suggests that he owed nominal allegiance to an unnamed overlord, perhaps to a Gupta king.

#### Viśākhavarman, the Pitr̥bhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas

There is controversy concerning the relationship between certain kings who were ruling in the south Ganjam-Srikakulam area in about the same period as Śatrudamana (or a little later), specifically concerning whether they constituted one or more dynastic groups. D. C. Sircar treats Viśākhavarman, the Pitr̥bhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas as members of separate dynastic groups, the latter three perhaps being matrimonially related.<sup>9</sup> Another view is that Pitr̥bhakta<sup>10</sup> cannot be taken to be a dynastic designation and that we have here two, not three dynasties, namely the Māṭharas and the Vāsiṣṭhas, Viśākhavarman and the so-called Pitr̥bhaktas being included in the Māṭhara group.<sup>11</sup> A third view is that all these kings belonged to one dynasty<sup>12</sup> Another possibility is that they constituted different branches of the same family. There is little incontrovertible evidence concerning the origins of these kings.<sup>13</sup> Most of their inscriptions are dated in regnal years, and the assigning of

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longer had such connotations Fleet (*ibid*, p. 17, n. 3) has made a convincing argument for leaving such technical titles and terms untranslated

<sup>7</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Pedda-Dugam Plates of Śatrudamana, Year 9," *EI* 31, pt 2 (April 1955) 90

<sup>8</sup> In this particular context, the term 'bhaṭṭāraka' refers to an overlord The epithet is also frequently applied in inscriptions to deities

<sup>9</sup> D. C. Sircar in R. C. Majumdar, gen. ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 11 vols (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951-77), vol. 3: *The Classical Age*, pp. 212-14

For a similar view see Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, pp. 220-28

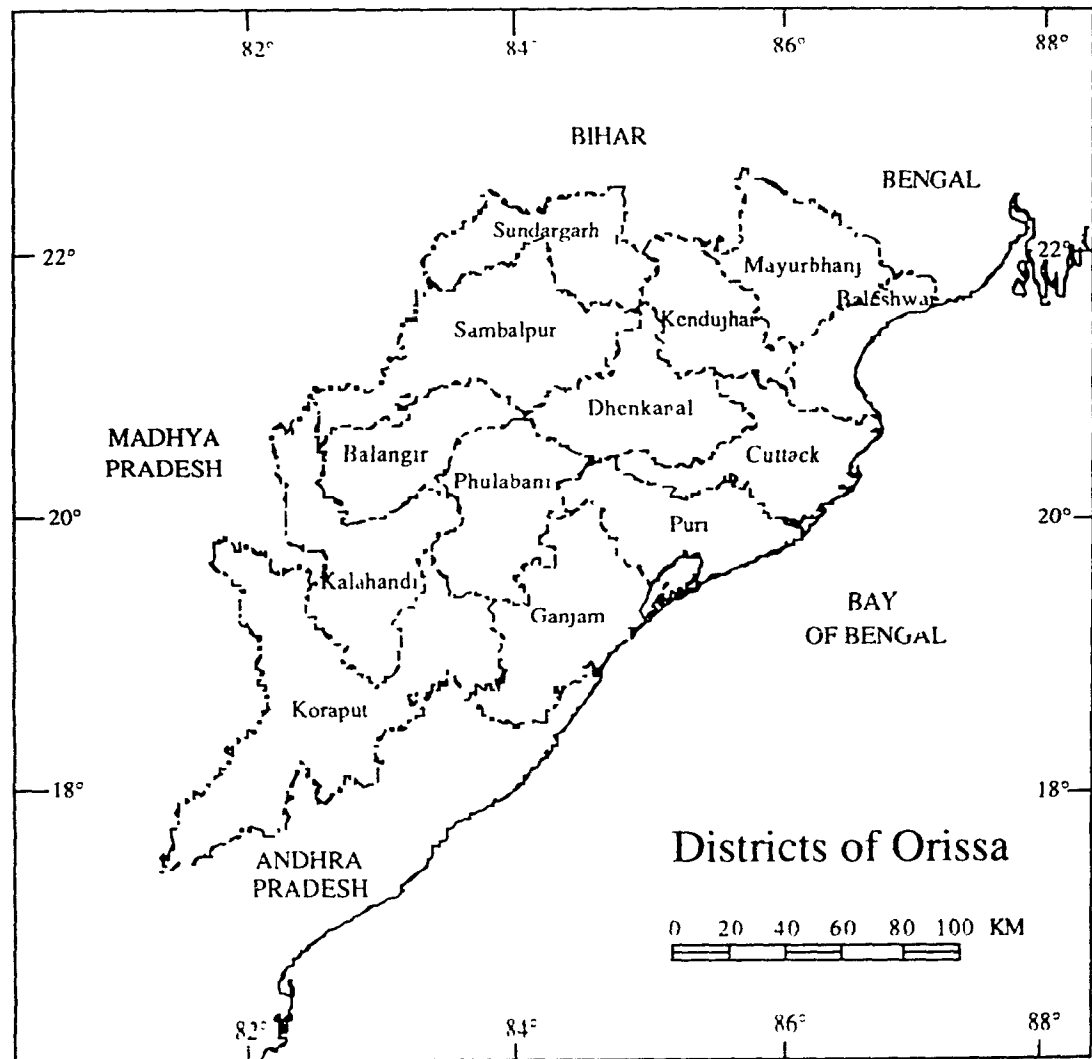
<sup>10</sup> The designation 'Pitr̥bhakta' ('devoted to the father') is derived from the fact that this epithet appears as a legend on the seals of the copper-plate grants of this particular group of kings.

<sup>11</sup> Sahu, *Utkal University History of Orissa*, 1: 468-70, Dharmanarayan Das, *The Early History of Orissa* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1977), pp. 100-105, Panigrahi, *History of Orissa (Hindu Period)*, p. 46.

<sup>12</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 68-69 Another proponent of the same view is Manmath Nath Das ("Ancient and Medieval Empires and Kingdoms," in *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa*, ed. M. N. Das, Vidyapuri, Cuttack: Pitambar Misra, 1977, pp. 93-94)

<sup>13</sup> B. V. Krishna Rao ("The Māṭhara or Pitr̥bhakta Kings of Kalinga; Circa 350 -- circa 430 A.D.," *JAHRS* 11, 1937-38, 138) suggests that the use of the matronymic 'Vāsiṣṭhīputra' by Śaktivarman in the Ragolu plates indicates that he was a descendent of the imperial Āndhras and the Ikṣvākus who also used matronyms, but at the same time admits that this need not





specific dates on the basis of the evidence as it currently stands, although it has been attempted, appears to be too ambitious. Palaeography and historical considerations place them within the general time-bracket of the fourth and fifth centuries C.E.<sup>14</sup>

Several among this group of kings claimed sovereignty over Kalinga, which, in this period, denoted parts of Ganjam, Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam, and E. Godavari districts.<sup>15</sup> The inscriptions of Viśākhavarman, the Piṭṭbhaktas, Mātharas and Vāsiṣṭhas reveal the existence of a multiplicity of political centres in Kalinga during the fourth and fifth centuries. The Koroshanda plates of mahārāja Viśākhavarman were issued from Śrīpura (identified by Rāmdas with Siripuram in Vishakhapatnam district and by Rajaguru with Batiya-Siripura, within a mile from the findspot Koroshanda in Ganjam district<sup>16</sup>).

The inscriptions of the Piṭṭbhaktas have been found in Ganjam and Srikakulam districts. They were issued variously from Sunagara, Varddhamānapura (identified with Vadama in the Palkonda taluk<sup>17</sup>), Simhapura (identified with Singupuram in Srikakulam district<sup>18</sup>), and Sārapallī (identified with Saripalle in Vishakhapatnam district<sup>19</sup>). The title mahārāja in the Baranga, Tekkali, and Dhavalapeta plates of Umavarman is supplemented with Kalinga-ādhipati (lord of Kalinga) in the Bṛhatproṣṭhā and Temburu plates (dated respectively in Umavarman's thirtieth and fortieth regnal years)<sup>20</sup>. The use of this title is

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necessarily have been so. S. C. Behera ("Origin of the Māthara Dynasty of Kalinga," OHRJ 7, no. 2, 1964: 57-58) cites a legend that occurs in the Chinese version of the Dharma-piṭaka-mūlāna-sūtra, described by Sylvain Lévi in the Journal Asiatique, July-December, 1896: 444-84, and suggests that the Māthara kings of Orissa may have been descendents of a minister of Kaniska named Māthara. D. C. Sircar (in R. C. Majumdar, gen. ed., The Classical Age, p. 212) has suggested that the name of the Piṭṭbhakta king Nandaprabhāñjanavarman may suggest that he was related to the Nanda family. All these suggestions remain highly speculative. It may be noted that Māthara is the name of a gotra (GPM, pp. 154, 163), and the Māthara kings may have been so-called because of their gotra affiliation. This may suggest that they were Brāhmaṇas, although the use of gotras by non-Brāhmaṇas is not unknown (see chapter III on this).

<sup>14</sup> There is a reference in the Kudopali plates of the Somavarmanī king Mahābhavagupta II to a later Māthara king named Puñja who was a feudatory of the Somavarmanī (F. Kielhorn, "Kudopali Plates of the Time of Maha-Bhavagupta II," EI 4, 1896-97: 258, ll. 7-9); his relationship with the early Mātharas is not clear.

<sup>15</sup> Ganguly, Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa, p. 9.

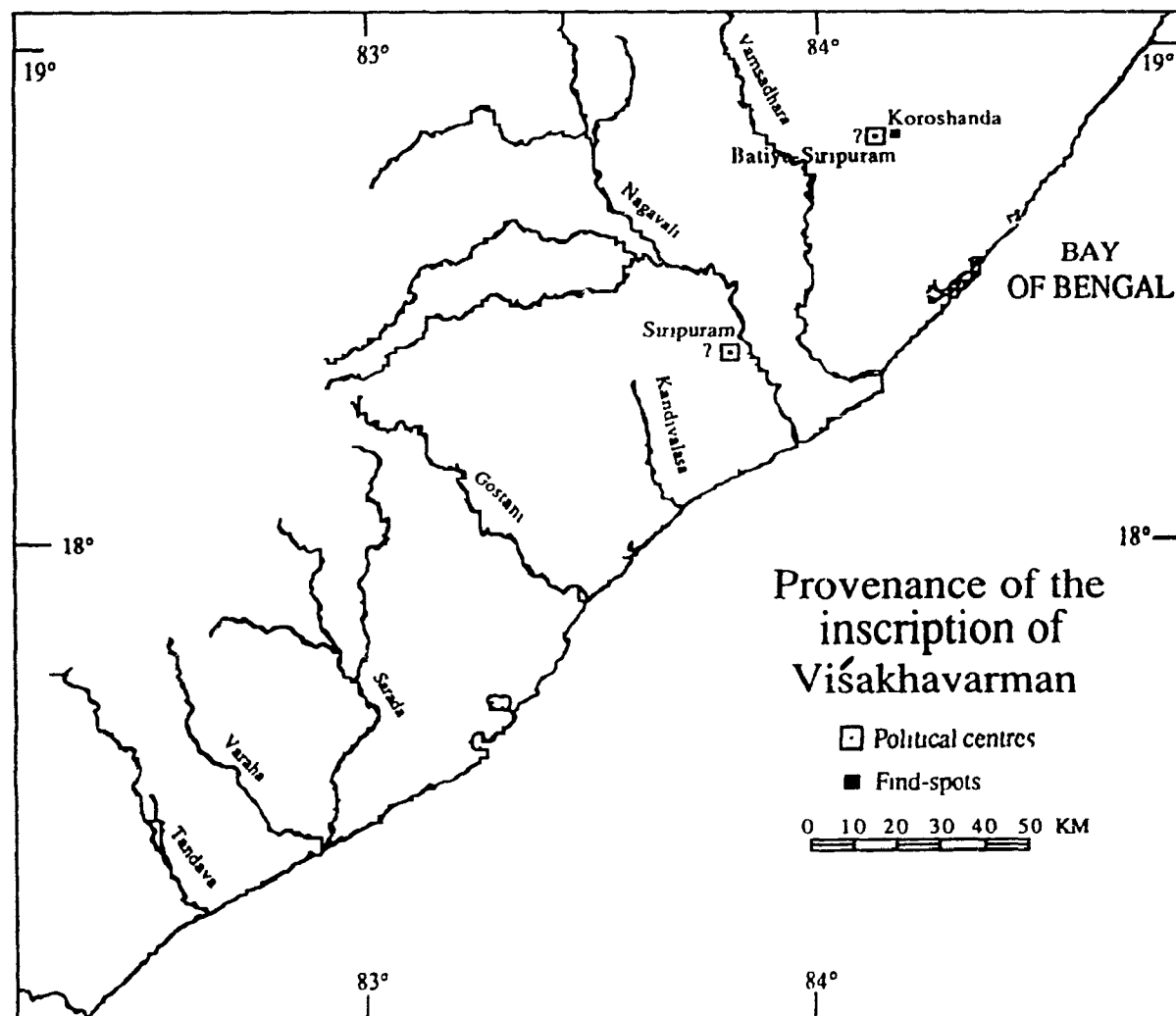
<sup>16</sup> G. Ramdas, "Koroshanda Copper-Plates of Viśakhavarman," EI 21 (1931-32): 24; Rajaguru, IO, 1, pt. 2: 3.

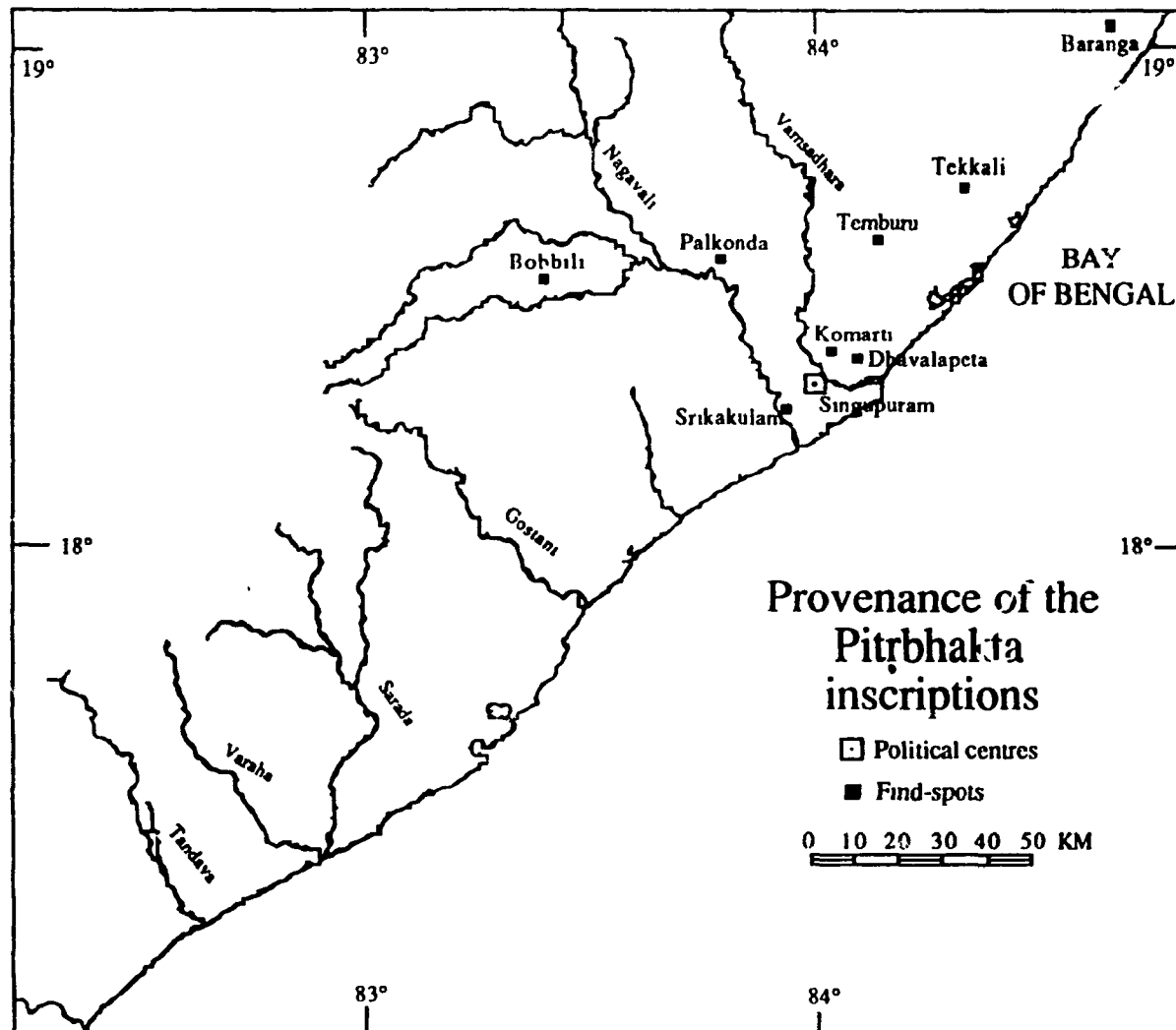
<sup>17</sup> C. R. Krishnamachari, ARSIE 1934-35, pt. 2, para 2.

<sup>18</sup> E. Hultzsch, "Bṛhatproṣṭhā Grant of Umavarman," EI 12 (1913-14): 4.

<sup>19</sup> V. Venkataramayya, "Tekkali Plates of Maharaja Umavarman; Year 9," EI 28 (1949-50): 301.

<sup>20</sup> The geographical connotations of Kalinga were different in different periods. The Kalingas were an ancient tribe of Orissa, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas. Under the Mauryas and Cedis, Kalinga appears to have included the modern Puri and





continued in the Bobbili and Komarti plates of Caṇḍavarman, and in the amplified form of sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of all Kaliṅga) in the Chicacole and Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman.

The provenance of the inscriptions of the Māṭhara kings is south Ganjam and Srikakulam districts. The places whence the inscriptions of these kings were issued are Piṣṭapura (identified with Pithapuram in Godavari district<sup>21</sup>), Simhapura (identified with Singupuram<sup>22</sup>), and Vijayapura. All the Māṭhara kings -- Śaktivarman, Prabhañjanavarman, and Anantaśaktivarman -- claimed the titles of mahārāja and Kaliṅg-ādhipati (sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati in the case of Prabhañjanavarman). The Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman are noteworthy for the use of the matronymic Vāsiṣṭhīputra as an epithet of this king.<sup>23</sup> The Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman describe him as the son of Śaktivarman, who, it is claimed, ruled over the area between the Krishna and the Mahanadi rivers.

The two inscriptions of Anantavarman, found in Srikakulam and Viśakhapatnam districts, refer him to the Vāsiṣṭha family (kula), endow him with the title of Kaliṅg-ādhipati, and describe him as the son of mahārāja Guṇavarman and the grandson of mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman. The Siripuram plates were issued from Devapura (which may be identified either with Devada in Srungavarapukota taluk of Viśakhapatnam district or with Devadi in Srikakulam taluk in Srikakulam district<sup>24</sup>) and the Srungavarapukota

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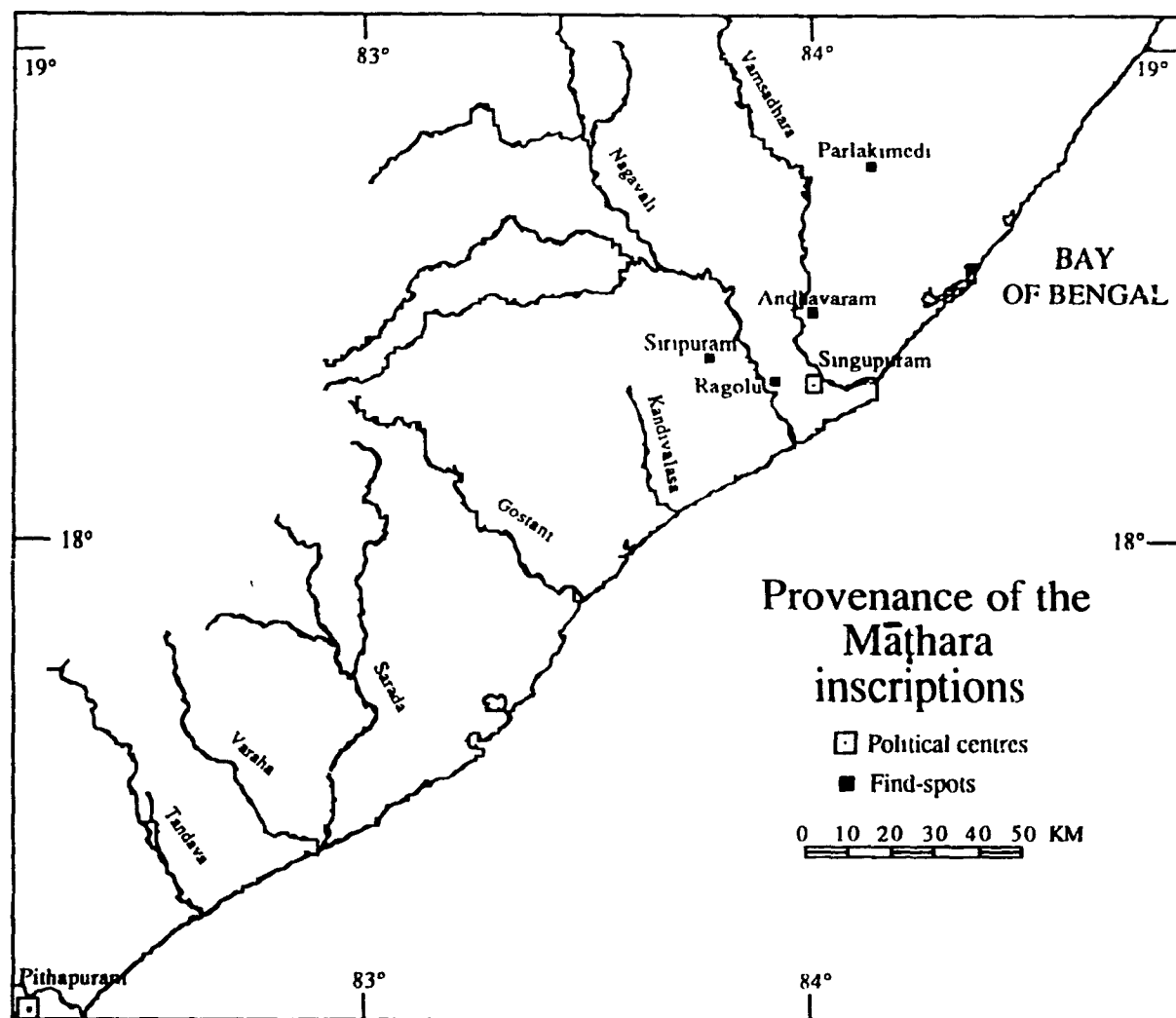
Ganjam areas. In the early historical period, the northern boundary of the Kalinga country were placed by some sources at the Vaitarani river, while the the Godavari or Krishna rivers seems to have been considered as constituting its southern boundary. The term was used in a more restricted sense in the inscriptions of the period being considered here, including within its purview the Ganjam and Srikakulam area. After the rise to power of the Gangas of Kaliṅganagara towards the end of the fifth century, the term Kalinga came to be used exclusively for the kingdom of these Ganga kings (D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval Orissa*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971, pp. 167-69).

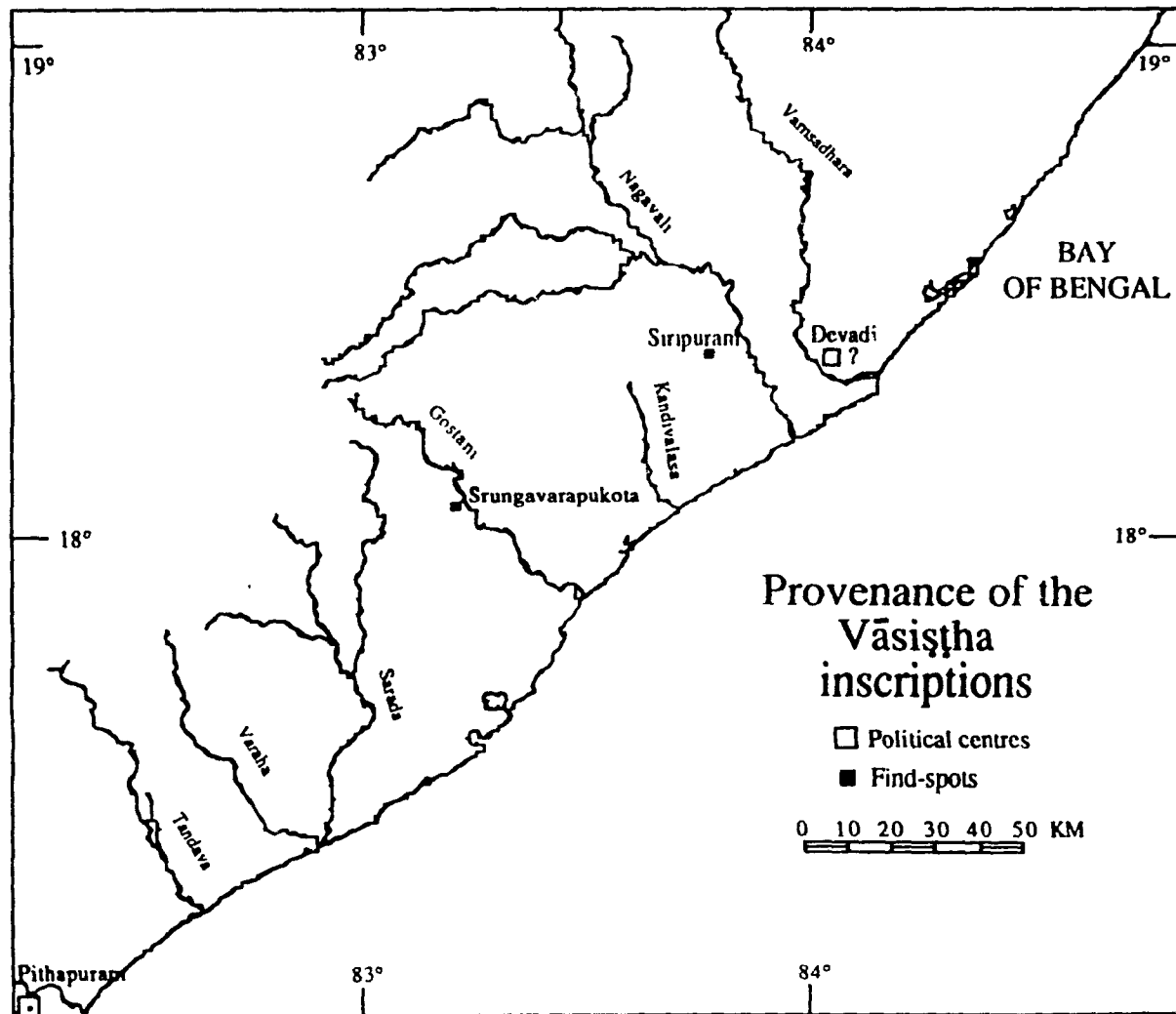
<sup>21</sup> E. Hultzsch, "Ragolu Plates of Śaktivarman," *EI* 12 (1913-14), 2.

<sup>22</sup> Sircar, "Pedda-Dugam Plates of Satrudamana, Year 9," p. 90.

<sup>23</sup> According to Brough (*GPM*, p. xv), the matrilineal descent of a gotra name seems incredible. He cites the case of Mahāprajāpati Gotamī, the step-mother and mother's sister of the Buddha (who was himself a Gautama), and suggests that in view of the fact that marriage within the gotra is prohibited, the best explanation seems to be that Mahāprajāpati took the name 'Gautamī' as a kind of surname on her marriage into the clan. However, the names of some Sātavāhana kings (Gautamīputra Sātakarni and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumavi) do seem to indicate the matrilineal descent of gotra names.

<sup>24</sup> G. V. Srinivasa Rao, "Siripuram Plates of Anantavarman, Lord of Kalinga," *EI* 24 (1937) 50.





plates from Piṣṭapura (identified with modern Pithapuram in East Godavari district<sup>25</sup>). The Srungavarapukota plates describe Anantavarman's father as Devarāṣṭr-ādhipati (lord of Devarāṣṭra). Devarāṣṭra is referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and has been identified as including the modern Yellamanchili tract of Vishakhapatnam district.<sup>26</sup>

The early Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara: Indravarman I - Indravarman IV (inscriptions no. 1-13)<sup>27</sup>

The end of the fifth century C. E. saw the rise to power of the eastern Gaṅgas in south Kalinga. Later references in Kornī and Vizagapatnam grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga indicate that the Gaṅgas were migrants from the Karnataka area.<sup>28</sup> Almost all of the earlier grants (nos. 1-40) of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara are dated in an era specifically referred to in some of them as the Gaṅga or Gāṅgeya era, while the later ones (from the Mandasa plates of Anantavarman -- no. 45 -- onwards) are generally dated in the Śaka era of 78 C.E..<sup>29</sup>

There is a great deal of controversy surrounding the initial date of the Gaṅga era and hence the beginning of Gaṅga rule.<sup>30</sup> The dates that have been suggested for the commencement of the Gaṅga era range from the fourth to the ninth century C.E.. Among the suggested dates placing the beginning of the Gaṅga era towards the end of the fifth

<sup>25</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Srungavarapukota Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalinga," *EI* 23 (1935) 57-58.

<sup>26</sup> G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, trans. V. S. Swaminadha Dikshitar (Pondichery, 1920), p. 60.

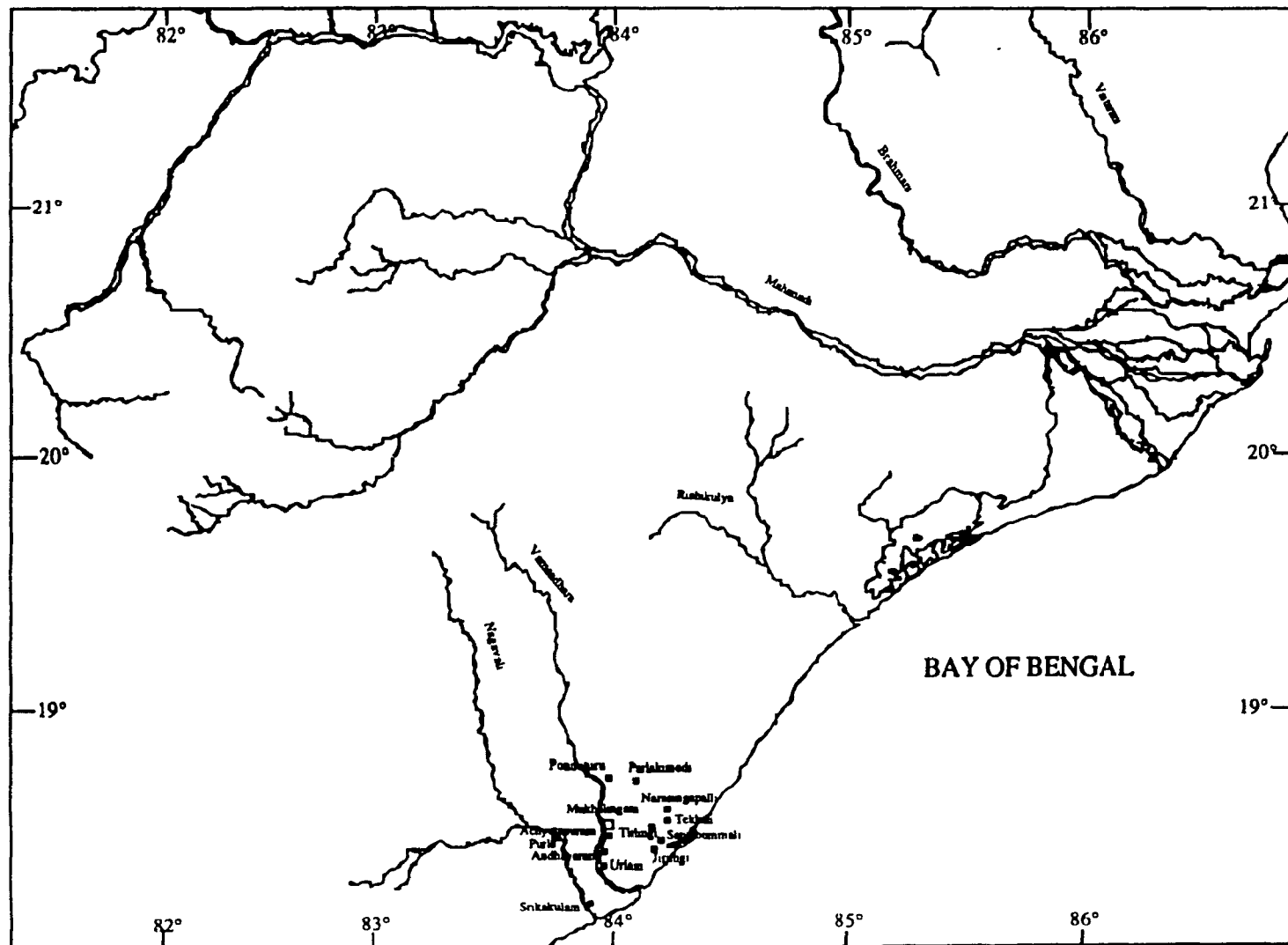
<sup>27</sup> In order to facilitate the identification of which particular king and inscription is being referred to, the serial numbers of the inscriptions as they appear in the list of inscriptions in Appendix I are being cited.

<sup>28</sup> R. Subba Rao ("The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga," *JAHRS* 5, pt. 4, 1931: 264-65) disputes the connection of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara and the western Gaṅgas of Karnataka. According to him, the original home of the Kalinganagara Gaṅgas lay in the north, in the Ganges delta, Bengal, and Bihar. According to Rajaguru (*IQ*, 2: 345), the original homeland of the Gaṅgas may have been located in Gumsur taluk in Ganjam district and the adjoining Phulabani district.

<sup>29</sup> The exception is the Andhavaram grant of Indravarman (no. 9), which is dated 'in the augmenting years of the Tumburu vamśa.' How exactly the reference to a lineage known as Tumburu fits with the history of the Gaṅgas is not clear. Ganguly (*Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, p. 237) cites a reference to the Tumburus in *Harivaṁśa* 5. 22, which places them in the Vindhya forest.

<sup>30</sup> For a comprehensive account of the various views on the Gaṅga era, see S. N. Rajaguru, *IQ*, 2: Appendix I.





Provenance of the Ganga inscriptions (1-13)

□ Political centres

■ Find-spots

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

century C.E. are 493 C.E.,<sup>31</sup> 496 C.E.,<sup>32</sup> 498 C.E.,<sup>33</sup> and 496-98 C.E..<sup>34</sup> R. C. Majumdar places the beginning of the Gaṅga era between 530-560 C.E.<sup>35</sup> According to S. N. Rajaguru, the Gaṅga era began in 626-27 C.E.<sup>36</sup> The divergent hypotheses that have been put forward depend to a large extent on calculations based on the details of the dates and astronomical conjunctions recorded in some of the Gaṅga inscriptions, as also on where, in view of what is known of the dynastic history of Orissa, the beginning of Gaṅga rule best fits. Two inscriptions of particular importance for the calculation of the initial date of the Gaṅga era are the Simhipura plates (no. 43) and Mandasa plates (no. 45) of the Kadamba ruler Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi. The former is dated in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era and belongs to the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, while the latter appears to be dated in Śaka 917<sup>37</sup> in the reign of Anantavarman. The evidence of these two inscriptions seems to place the beginning of the Gaṅga era towards the end of the fifth century C.E..

As the rule of the Gaṅga kings extended from about the end of the fifth century down to the fifteenth century, their inscriptions have been divided for the purposes of this study into three groups:

1. the Jirjingi plates (no. 1) of Indravarman I dated in the year 39 ( of the Gaṅga era) to the Tekkali plates (no. 13) of Indravarman (III or IV) dated in the year 154 (of the Gaṅga era)

2. the Chicacole plates (no. 14) of Devendravarman dated in year 183 (of the Gaṅga era) to the undated Chicacole plates (no. 40) of Anantavarman

3. the undated Andhavaram plates (no. 41) of Vajrahasta II to the Bhubaneswar inscription (no. 77) of Pramāḍi's son, Coḍagaṅga, dated in Śaka 1067

These three groups of inscriptions correspond roughly to the following time-brackets: (1) the sixth to the mid-seventh century; (2) the late seventh to the late ninth or

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<sup>31</sup> R. Subba Rao, "The Ganga Era," *JAHRS* 5, pt. 3 (January 1931): 200-04.

<sup>32</sup> Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, "The Initial Date of the Gāṅgeya Era," *IA* 61(1932): 237-38.

<sup>33</sup> V. V. Mirashi, "Epoch of the Ganga Era," *EI* 26 (1941-42): 326-36.

<sup>34</sup> D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 291.

<sup>35</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Madagrama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhūmakheḍi," *EI* 31 (1955-56): 47.

<sup>36</sup> S. N. Rajaguru, *History of the Gaṅgas*, 2 pts. (Bhubaneswar: Superintendent, State Museum, Orissa, 1968-72), pt 1 (1968): 23

<sup>37</sup> It should be noted, however, that there is some disagreement among scholars concerning the reading of this date.

tenth century; (3) the late tenth to the mid-twelfth century. The third group of kings are often referred to as the imperial Gaṅgas.<sup>38</sup>

Indravarman (I) appears to have been the first king of the eastern Gaṅga line and the founder of the Gaṅga era. The copper plate grants of the early Gaṅga kings (of inscriptions no. 1-13) have been found mainly in south Ganjam district of Orissa and Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh. Two of the thirteen grants (nos 1, 12) of the kings of this group were issued from Dantapura,<sup>39</sup> one (no. 2) from Saumyavana, and the rest from Kalinganagara (identified with modern Mukhalingam<sup>40</sup>). These early Gaṅga kings assumed the title of mahārāja and most of them claim to have acquired the overlordship of all of Kalinga by the quivering edge of their own sword; Indravarman I (in

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<sup>38</sup> The status of the kings of inscriptions no. 41-45 -- Vajrahasta (II), Devendravarman, and Madhu-Kāvārnadeva -- vis-à-vis the Ganga chronology is not certain. D. C. Sircar ("Note on Madagrama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhimakhedi," *EI* 31, 1955-56: 54-55) has questioned whether Devendravarman (of inscriptions no 43 and 54) belongs to the Kalinganagara branch of the Gaṅga kings. As for Vajrahasta II and Madhu-Kāvārnadeva (of inscription nos 42 and 44), it has been suggested by Sircar (in R. C. Majumdar, gen. ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol 4: *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 2d ed., 1964, pp. 143-44) that they may be the ancestors of Vajrahasta III of the imperial Gaṅga line. This hypothesis remains to be conclusively proved. However this issue may eventually be settled does not materially affect the conclusions of this study, as the inscriptions of these kings (nos 41-45), fit into the same bracket of the chronological framework adopted in this study as do the imperial Ganga grants. It should also be noted that Devendravarman of inscriptions no. 59 and 60 is another problem, as it is not clear how or where he fits into the Gaṅga genealogy.

<sup>39</sup> The identification of Dantapura is controversial. It has been variously identified with Rajahmundry on the Godavari river, a place near Srikakulam, Dantan on the Kasai river, Dantapura fort on the southern bank of the Vamsadhara river (three miles from the Chicacole Road Station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway), the site of Dantavakra fort near Siddhantam, a place on the old route from Malud near Chilka lake, and Jagannāth Puri. Sylvain Lévi, who proposed a location near Srikakulam, identified Dantapura with the 'Paloura' of Ptolemy's *Geography* ("Paloura-Dantapura [A translation of a Note by M. Sylvain Lévi]," *IA* 55, 1926: 94-98). Dantapura is referred to frequently in Buddhist texts, and according to Buddhist tradition, was the site where the left canine tooth of the Buddha, later taken to Ceylon, was enshrined in a stūpa. For a discussion of some of the theories on the identification of Dantapura, see R. K. Ghoshal, "Jirjiri Plates of Ganga Indravarman the year 39," *EI* 26 (1939-40): 285-86, Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, pp. 25-27, Sahu, *Utkal University History of Orissa*, 1: 87.

<sup>40</sup> The identification of Kalinganagara with modern Mukhalingam, about twenty miles from Parlakimedi, on the left bank of the Vamsadhara river, was suggested by G. V. Ramamurti ("Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta, Saka-Samvat 979," *EI* 4, 1896-97: 187-88). Ramamurti refuted the identification of Kalinganagara with Kalingapatnam, which was proposed by J. F. Fleet ("Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions," *IA* 16, 1887: 132). He suggested that the ancient capital of Kalinga is represented by the site covered by Mukhalingam and the adjacent village of Nagarakatakam, an area where numerous ancient remains have been found.

no. 1) and Sāmantavarman (in no. 2) bear the epithet Trikaṇḍa-ādhipati (lord of Trikaṇḍa).<sup>41</sup>

### Prthivī-mahārāja

In the late sixth century, the area around Piṣṭapura in Kaṇḍa seems to have come under the rule of a king named Prthivī-mahārāja, whose inscriptions credit him with the subduing the whole circle of sāmantas (subordinate rulers) with his ever-increasing prowess.<sup>42</sup> The find-spot of one of his sets of land grant charters is unknown, while the second one comes from Parlakimedi. The Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Prthivī-mahārāja were issued from Piṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram<sup>43</sup>), while his Parlakimedi plates, issued from Virāṇjanagara (identified with Jajpur in Cuttack district<sup>44</sup>) indicate a northward expansion of his dominions. The king is described in these inscriptions as the son of Vikramendra and the grandson of mahārāja Raṇadurjaya, and is said to belong to the Śrīrama-kāśyapa or Rama-kāśyapa gotra.<sup>45</sup> It has been suggested that the predecessors of Prthivī-mahārāja may have been subordinates of the Viṣṇukunḍins.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The meaning of the geographical term Trikaṇḍa is controversial. One of the various theories put forward in this context is that it comprised Kaṇḍa, Kongoda, and Utkala. Another suggestion is that Trikaṇḍa comprised the area from the Ganga to the Godavari rivers. According to Sircar (in R C Majumdar, gen ed., The Classical Age, p. 215), references in Cālukyan inscriptions suggest that Trikaṇḍa denoted the forested area between the kingdom of the later eastern Cālukyas of Vengi and that of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara, and was probably located south of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, not far from Mahendragiri. For a summary of the various identifications of Trikaṇḍa, see Ganguly, Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa, pp. 14-17.

<sup>42</sup> The changing connotations of the term sāmanta have been discussed by Lallanji Gopal ("Sāmanta -- Its Varying Significance in Ancient India," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1963: 21-37). Gopal points that in derivation, sāmanta is an adjective meaning 'neighbouring,' or 'bordering.' In the Smṛti texts, the term sāmanta is used to refer to neighbouring villagers. Towards the end of the fifth century C.E., while continuing to be used in this sense, the term sāmanta also came to be used in inscriptions to denote a subordinate ruler.

<sup>43</sup> R. S. Panchamukhi, "Tandivada Grant of Prithivi Maharaja: 46th Year," EI 23 (1935): 97

<sup>44</sup> Rajaguru, IO, I, pt. 2. 65

<sup>45</sup> While Kāśyapa is a gotra, neither Śrīrama-kāśyapa nor Rama-kāśyapa appear in gotra lists. (On gotra as a brahmanical institution, see chap. III)

<sup>46</sup> Panchamukhi, "Tandivada Grant of Prithivi-maharaja: 46th Year," p. 95; N. Venkataramanayya, "Tāṇḍivāḍa Plates of Prthivī Mahārāja," The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras 9 (1935): 191. Durjaya/Raṇadurjaya is a name that is encountered in several inscriptions belonging to the period between the eleventh and the thirteenth century. Panchamukhi ("Tandivada Grant of Prithivi-maharaja: 46th Year," pp. 96-97) suggests that it is likely that Raṇadurjaya belonged to the Coḷa family.

### Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates

An inscription found near Khandipada Nuapalli village in Khallikota taluk in Ganjam district records an endowment made by śrī Charamparāja.<sup>47</sup> The plates, assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century C.E., were issued from Koṅgoda.<sup>48</sup>

### North and central Orissa

#### Mahārāja Śatrubhaṇja

A thirteen-line inscription inscribed below an image of Śiva found in Asanapat village in Kendujhar district has been tentatively assigned to the third or fourth century.<sup>49</sup> The inscription is one of mahārāja Śatrubhaṇja, the ruler of a kingdom called Vindhyaṭavi. He is described in the praśasti as one born in the Nāga family, as the son of maharaja Mānabhaṇja and mahādevī Damyanti, and as having the Sapisa (?) gotra. These details make it difficult to associate Śatrubhaṇja of the Asanapat inscription with any of the later groups of Bhaṇja kings.

#### Mahārāja Diśābhaṇja

Another inscription from Kendujhar district that may possibly belong to about the fourth century is the Sitabhinji inscription of mahārāja Diśābhaṇja. The inscription is painted below a tempera painting depicting a royal procession, in a rock shelter locally known as Rāvaṇa-chāyā. The text is rather brief; only the name of the king can be made out, a few letters below being undecipherable. The date of this inscription is, however, controversial. T. N. Ramachandran assigns it and the king it refers to to the fourth century, whereas according to D. C. Sircar, its palaeography is not earlier than the eighth or ninth century.<sup>50</sup> Sircar suggests that Diśābhaṇja of the Sitabhinji inscription may have been a king of the early Bhaṇja family of Khiṇjali maṇḍala, perhaps a son of Ranabhaṇja and an

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<sup>47</sup> The honorific 'śrī' is frequently prefixed to the names of persons, deities, and places. Depending on the context, it may be translated as illustrious, glorious, venerable, sacred, famous, etc. (see Fleet, *CII*, 3: 10, n 4).

<sup>48</sup> Koṅgoda as a geographic term or an administrative unit ('Koṅgoda maṇḍala') appears to have comprised modern Ganjam and Puri districts and the southern parts of Cuttack district (Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, p 46). Koṅgoda also appears as the capital of the Śailodbhava kingdom, and it is in this sense of a specific place name that it appears to have been used in the Khandipada Nuapalli plates.

<sup>49</sup> Anurudha Das, "Asanapat," *OHRJ* 13, no 2 (July, 1965) 1-8.

<sup>50</sup> T. N. Ramachandran, "Find of Tempera Painting in Sitābhīṇji, District Keonjhar, Orissa," *Artibus Asiae* 14, 1/2 (1951) 8, D. C. Sircar, "Three Early Medieval Inscriptions," *EI* 35, pt. 1 (January 1963): 47-49.

elder brother of Netṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I (who was probably the last Bhañja king ruling from Dhṛtipura).<sup>51</sup>

### Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra

An inscription found in Jayarampur village in Baleshwar district and assigned to the fifth or sixth century on palaeographic grounds refers itself to the reign of a ruler named Gopacandra. Dated in the first regnal year of Gopacandra, it records an endowment of a village, probably in Daṇḍabhukti,<sup>52</sup> made by śrī mahāsāmanta mahārāja Acyuta, a feudatory of mahārājādhirāja<sup>53</sup> śrī Gopacandra. The latter is eulogized in the praśasti and is described as the son of Dhanacandra and Śrīgiridevī.

### The Vigrahas

Epigraphic evidence from north and central Orissa indicates the persistence of some form of Gupta suzerainty in the area after the decline of the Gupta empire in northern India around the middle of the sixth century. The donor of the Sumandala plates was mahārāja Dharmarāja, a descendent of mahārāja Ubhaya, and born of Va(Ba)ppadevī. Dharmarāja is described as meditating on the feet of, i.e. as a feudatory of, Pṛthivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka, the ruler of Kalinga-rāṣṭra, and his inscription is dated in the year 250 when the Gupta rājya (empire) was still existing (i. e. in 569-70 C.E.).<sup>54</sup> Another king who seems to have belonged to the same family as Pṛthivivigraha was Lokavigraha, whose Kanas plate, dated

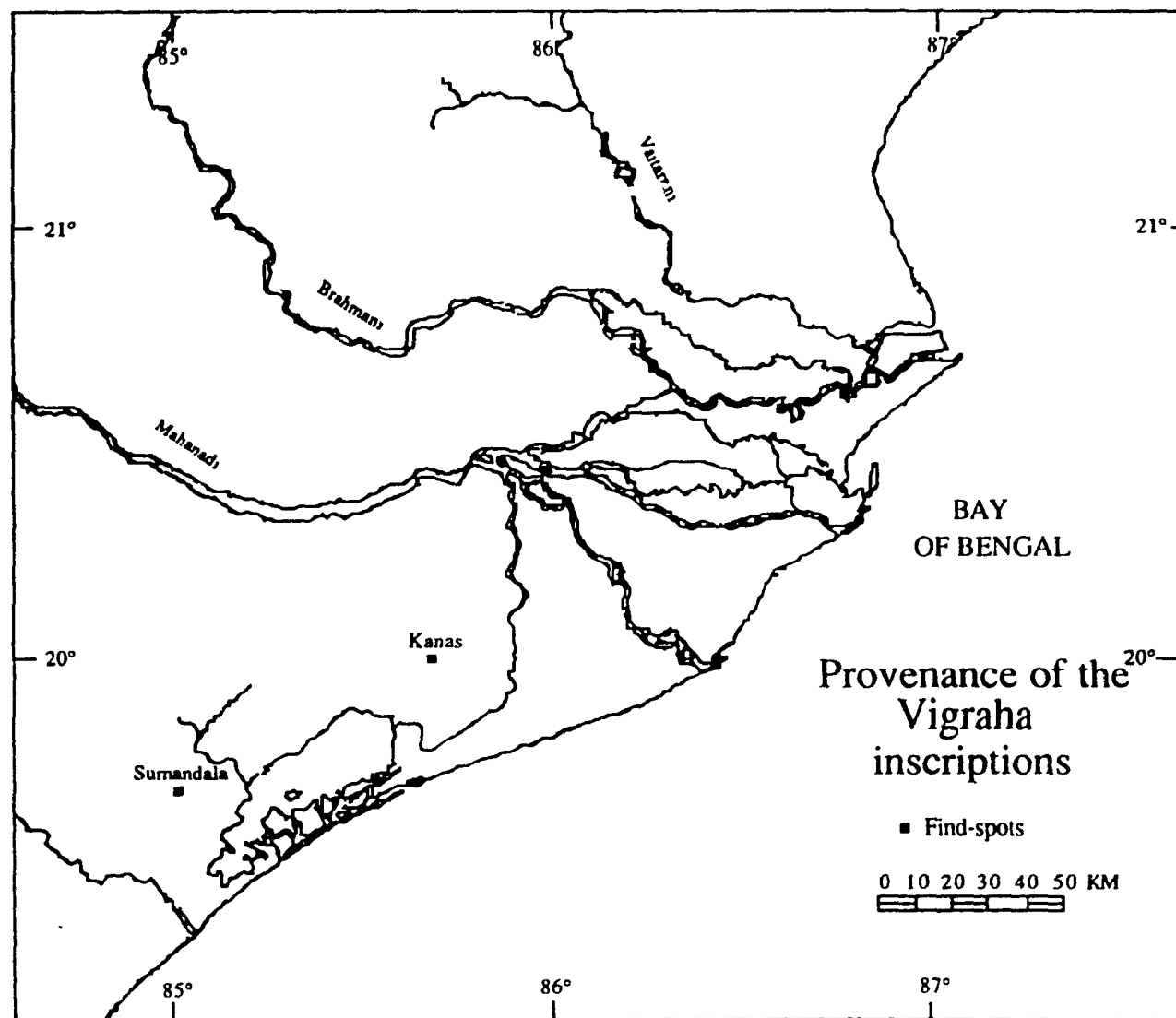
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<sup>51</sup> Sircar, "Three Early Medieval Inscriptions," p. 50. See also D. C. Sircar, "The Bhañjas of Kṣiṇjali-Manḍala," *IHQ* 28, no. 3 (September 1952): 228.

<sup>52</sup> Daṇḍabhukti appears to have comprised the southern part of Medinipur district of Bengal and Baleshwar district of Orissa (R. C. Majumdar, "Two Copper-Plates of Śaśāṅka from Midnapore," *JRASBL* 11, 1945, p. 3).

<sup>53</sup> Literally, 'supreme king of great kings,' and a title of political paramountcy, from the Gupta period onwards, the title mahārājādhirāja was often accompanied by two other titles - parameśvara (supreme lord) and parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one supremely entitled to reverence). See Fleet, *CII*, 3: 10, n. 3, 17, n. 3.

<sup>54</sup> The initial current year of the Gupta era was 319-20 C.E. (Fleet, *CII*, 3: 127). The era probably marked Candragupta I's accession to the throne (Hemachandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India -- from the accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta dynasty*, 5th ed., rev. and enl. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1950), p. 530). The hypothesis of Gupta suzerainty over Orissa is contested by some scholars such as A. K. Rath ("A Note on the Vigraha Dynasty," *OHRJ* 11, no. 1, 1962: 55-56). According to Rath, the Vigrahas could not have been feudatories of the Guptas because the Gupta empire had ceased to exist by this time, further, the Gupta era, like the Śaka era, was in use long after the rule of the dynasty it was associated with had ended. Rath suggests that the use of the Gupta era indicates the cultural rather than political domination of the Guptas over parts of Orissa in this period.



in the Gupta year 280 (i.e. 599-60 C.E.), describes him as ruling in Tosali comprising the eighteen forest states.<sup>55</sup> Sumandala, the findspot of Prthivivigraha's grant, is located in Ganjam district, while Lokavigraha's plate was secured from a maṭha at Kanas village, situated about ten miles away from the Delang station of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in Puri district. The Sumandala plates were issued from Padmakholi (identified with Padmakhol near Narayankhol in the ex-Khallikot State<sup>56</sup>), which seems to have been the name of the kingdom as well as the capital of Dharmarāja. The Kanas plate was issued from Utida or Muṭida viṣaya in Dakṣiṇa Tosali.

### The Mudgalas/Mānas

Vigraha rule in Tosali appears to have been followed by that of a king named mahārāja Śambhuyaśas who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgala family (kula), and, according to the testimony of the Patiakella plate of Śambhuyaśas, to the Māna lineage (varṇśa).<sup>57</sup> Śambhuyaśas is known from his inscriptions discovered at Erbang village in Puri district and at Badkhuri near Soro in Baleshwar district, as well as from an inscription of his subordinate, mahārāja Śivarāja, found in the old Patiakella zamindari in Cuttack district. The Erbang plate (dated in the year 235) was issued from Hāndaka, the Soro plate (dated in the year 260) from Tamparavaḍama, and the Patiakella plate (dated in the year 283) from Vorttanoka.<sup>58</sup>

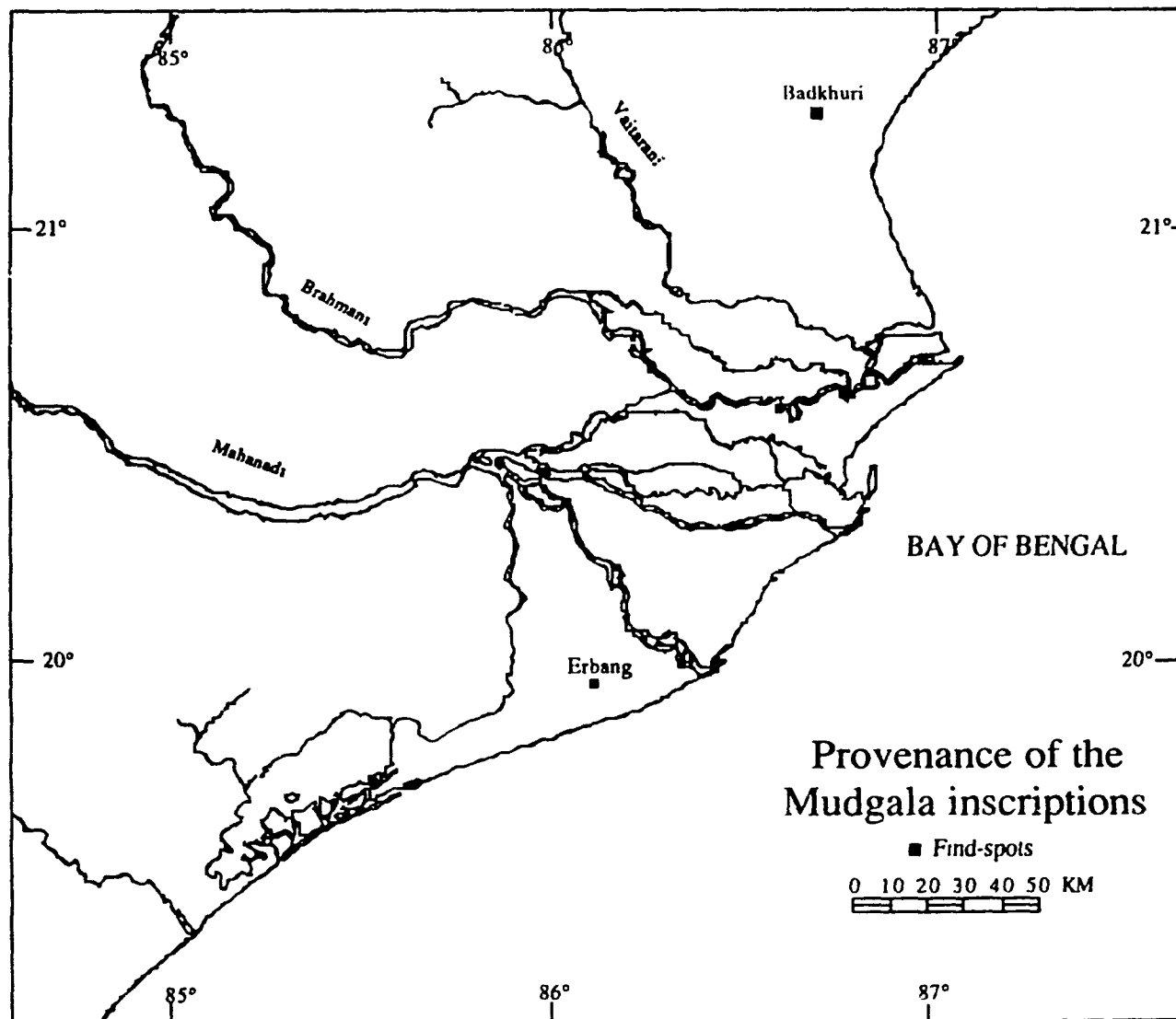
<sup>55</sup> While in the Separate Rock Edicts of Aśoka, Tosali (identified with Dhauli in Puri district) appears as the name of a city in Kalinga which formed one of the headquarters of the Aśokan administration, in the inscriptions of the later period it had wider geographical connotations. According to D. C. Sircar ("Two Plates From Kanas," *EI* 28, 1950: 330), soon after the establishing of the kingdom of the Gangas of Kaliṅganagara (towards the end of the fifth century) the term Tosali came to be used for the area that had hitherto formed north Kalinga. Tosali included Utkala as well and hence often extended northeast into the western portion of Midnapore (Medinipur) district of Bengal and south-west into the eastern fringes of Ganjam district. Utara-Tosali corresponded roughly to Utkala and comprised modern Balasore (Baleshwar) district along with parts of Cuttack and Midnapore (Medinipur) districts. Dakṣiṇa-Tosali, corresponding roughly to the ancient geographical division of north Kalinga, included within its purview modern Puri district along with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts (*ibid.*).

<sup>56</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Sumandala Plates of the Time of Prthivivigraha-bhattacharya," *EI* 28, pt. 2 (April 1949): 84.

<sup>57</sup> According to Irawati Karve (*Kinship Organisation in India*, Poona: Deccan College, 1953, pp. 48, 50), varṇśa is the enumeration of the patrilineal descent of a line, where the collateral branches are ignored, kula in its narrower sense refers to the whole of the patrilocal family residing in one place. The two terms are, however, sometimes used interchangeably (*ibid.*, p. 50).

<sup>58</sup> N. G. Majumdar ("Four Copper Plates from Soro," *EI* 23, 1938: 199) refers the date in the Soro plates to the Kalacuri era of 248 C.E. S. N. Rajaguru ("Erbang Plate of Sambhuyasa,"





### Feudatories of Śaśāṅka, Śubhakīrti and the Dattas

In the course of the first quarter of the seventh century, Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Tosālī came under the sway of Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa (in Bengal). Daṇḍabhukti (which seems to have comprised the southern part of modern Midinipur district and Baleshwar district<sup>59</sup>) was at this time being ruled by a feudatory of Śaśāṅka, śrīmān mahāpratihāra<sup>60</sup> Śubhakīrti, whose Midnapur plates are dated in the eighth regnal year of his overlord. Subsequently, Uttara-Tosalī seems to have come under the control of a king named Somadatta. One of the copper plate grants of Somadatta (dated in the nineteenth regnal year of Śaśāṅka) was obtained from Medinipur district in Bengal (the exact find-spot is unknown) and the other two (both dated in Somadatta's fifteenth regnal year) were found at Badkhuri near Soro in Baleshwar district. A king who appears to have belonged to the same family as Somadatta was Bhānudatta or Bhānu, one of his copper plate grants comes from Badkhuri in Baleshwar district, a second was obtained from a maṭha at Kanas in Puri district, while the third was found in a village near the town of Baleshwar in Baleshwar district. All three sets are dated in the fifth regnal year. The two sets of Soro plates of Somadatta were issued from Anratakṣaka and Śāñcāṭaka, while the plates of Bhānudatta were issued variously from Virāṇjā (i.e. Jajpur), Andhasubhikṣa, and Sagāḍha or Sārephā (the latter is identified with Soro<sup>61</sup>).

The Midnapore plate of Somadatta refers to him as śrī sāmanta mahārāja Somadatta and describes him as the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti along with Utkala.<sup>62</sup> It contains a eulogy of Somadatta's overlord, Śaśāṅka. Both sets of the Soro plates of Somadatta endow him with the titles of mahābalādhikṛta, antaraṅga and mahāsandhivigrahika,<sup>63</sup> and describe him as

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OHRJ 12, no 3, 1964 118-19) thinks the reference is to the Māna samvat, which, according to him, commenced in about 240 C.E. R. D. Banerji ("Pauakella Grant of Maharaja Sivaraja [Gupta] Samvat 283," EI 9, 1907-8: 287) and Sircar ("Two Plates from Kanas," p. 330) refer the date of the Pauakella plates to the Gupta era

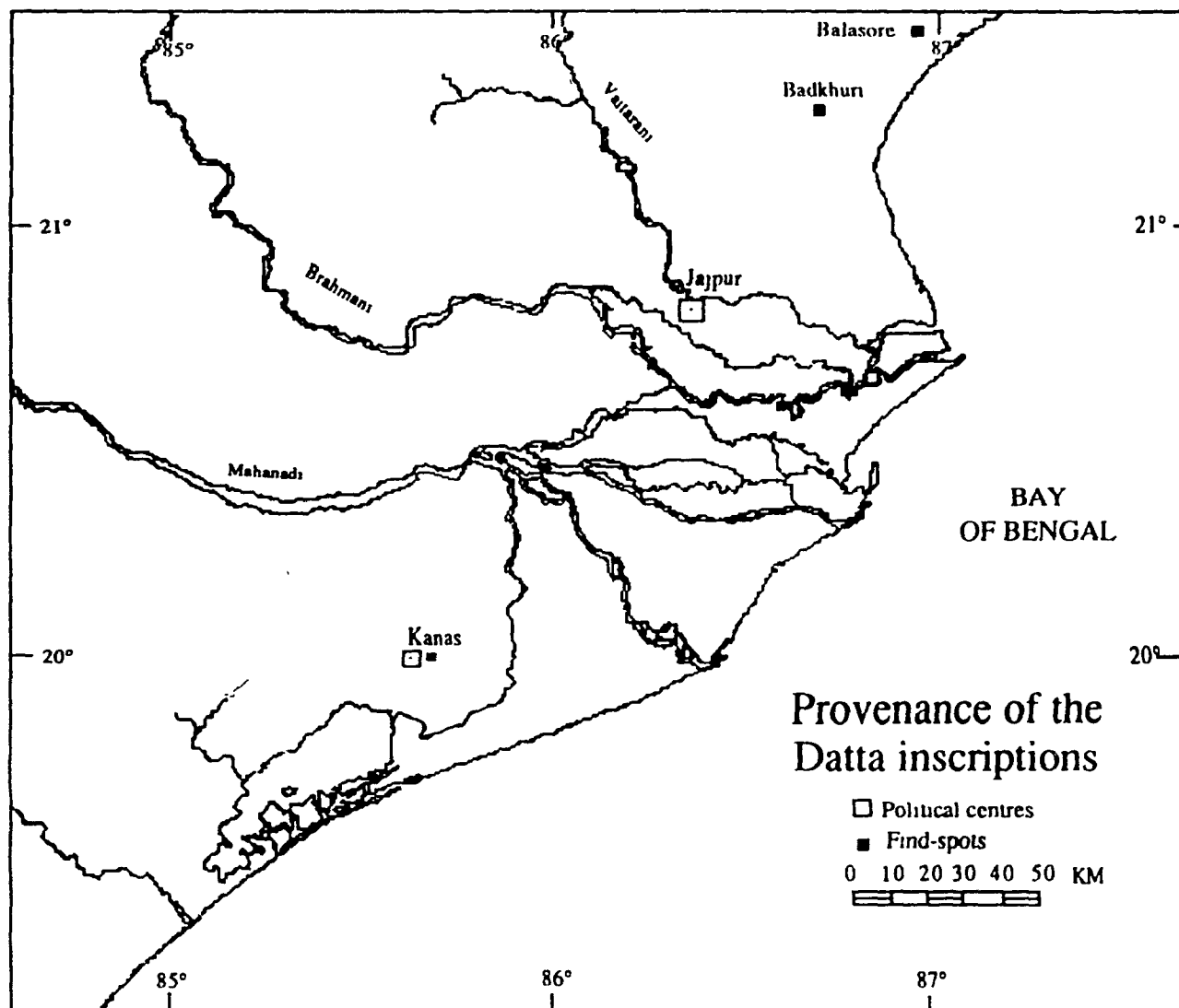
<sup>59</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Two Copper-Plates of Śaśāṅka From Midnapore," p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> The term 'mahāpratihāra' is usually taken to denote the office of the high chamberlain or the head of the door-keepers of the palace, the king's chamber, or the capital city (D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966, p. 184). Here it appears as a feudatory title

<sup>61</sup> N. G. Majumdar, "Four Copper Plates From Soro," p. 201.

<sup>62</sup> According to Ganguly (*Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, p. 54), Utkala was one of the terms denoting the coastal region of Orissa. In the early seventh century, Utkala and Oḍra were identical, and referred at least to parts of Midnapore (Medinipur) and Balasore (Baleshwar) districts (ibid., pp. 54-55)

<sup>63</sup> Mahābalādhikṛta seems to have the title of an important military commander; antaraṅga has been variously explained as a privy councillor, a physician, or a private secretary; the



meditating on the feet of an unnamed overlord, described simply as the parama-daivat-ādhidaivata (a great devotee of the gods and of the supreme god)<sup>64</sup> and parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one supremely entitled to reverence). This may indicate that the allegiance that Somadatta owed to Śaśāṅka was by this time only nominal. The Soro plate of Bhānudatta gives Bhānudatta the titles of mahāpratihāra and mahārāja, while the Kanas and Baleshwar plates give him the additional title of mahāsāmanta. The plates of Bhānudatta allude to his allegiance to an unnamed overlord, again suggesting that his position was that of a more or less independent ruler owing nominal allegiance to the authority of his overlord.

## West Orissa

### The Nalas

In about the second half of the fifth century, the Bastar-Koraput area was under the rule of the Nalas. Four Nala inscriptions have been found, two in Koraput district, one in Raipur district (Madhya Pradesh), and one in Amravati district (in Maharashtra). These kings are described in their inscriptions as belonging to the family of king Nala (Nala-nṛpati-kul-ānvaya) and as having a banner bearing the emblem of three pennons or the hand with three fingers stretching out (tri-patāka-dhvaja).<sup>65</sup> In addition to the inscriptions, a series of gold coins found in Edenga village in Bastar district bear the names of three Nala kings: Varāharāja, Bhavadatta, and Arthapati.<sup>66</sup> S. N. Rajaguru's suggested identification of Vṛṣadhvaja, whose name appears on a seal discovered at Bhita village near Allahabad with a member of the Nala family is far from conclusive.<sup>67</sup>

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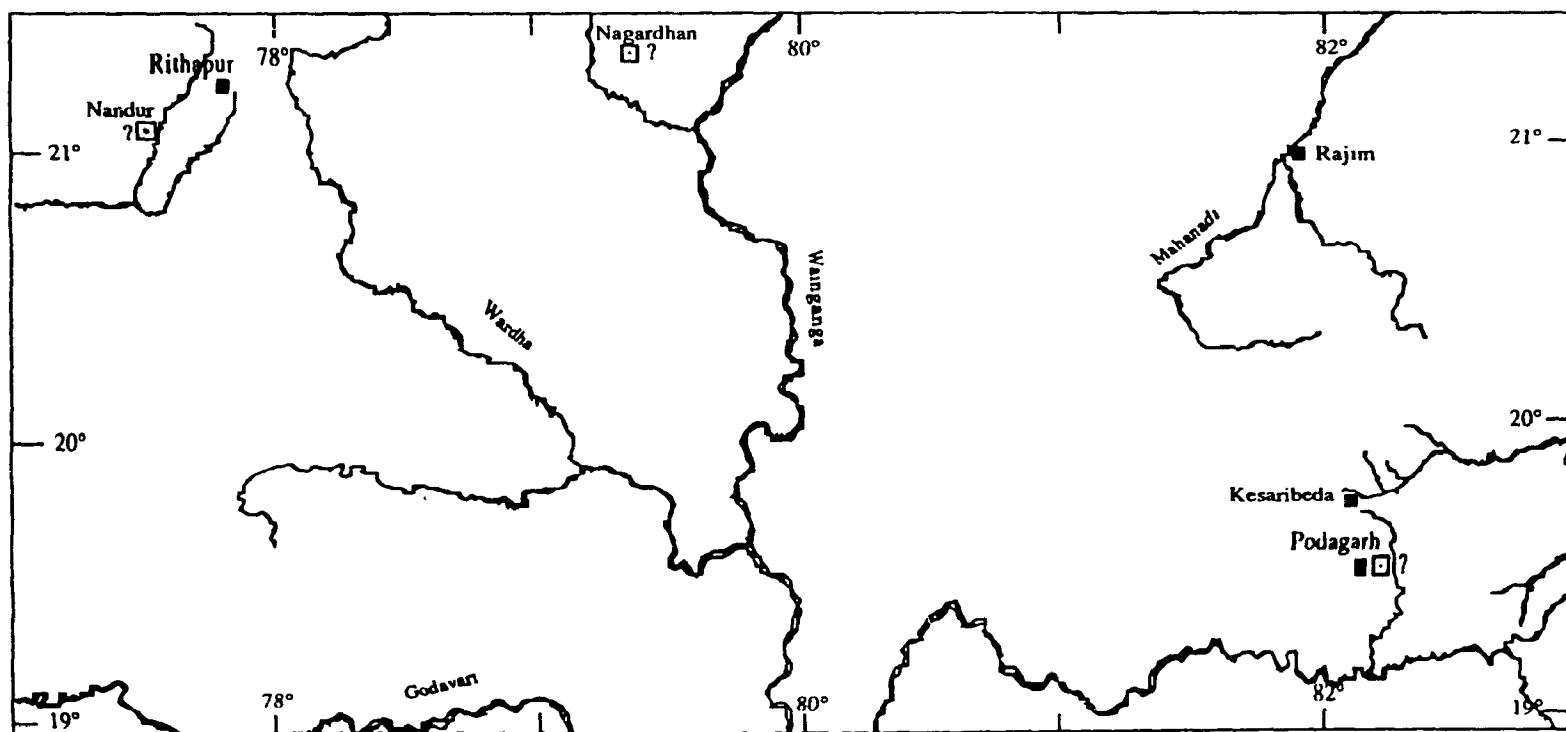
mahāsandhivigrahika was a minister of peace and war (Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, pp 174, 23, 188). The use of these designations by a feudatory ruler is noteworthy

<sup>64</sup> The second Soro plate has parama-daivata (a great devotee of the gods)

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance, D. C. Sircar, "Kesaribeda Plates of Nala Arthapati-Bhattaraka," EI 28, pt 1 (January 1949) 16, ll. 1-2. The Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman and Arthapati (Y. R. Gupte, "Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarman," EI 19, 1927-28 102, ll. 1-2) contain similar epithets, the minor variation is "Nala-nṛpati-varṇa-prasūta" (born in the lineage of the king Nala).

<sup>66</sup> V. V. Mirashi, "Gold coins of Three Kings of the Nala Dynasty," JNSI no. 1 (1939) 29-35.

<sup>67</sup> Rajaguru, IO, 1, pt 2 109-10. A cautious endorsement of Rajaguru's hypothesis comes from N. K. Sahu, "The Nalas," OHRJ 11, no. 2 (1962): 97-98. A refutation is to be found in P. L. Misra's "A Note on the Article of Dr N. K. Sahu -- The Nalas," Jour. of the Bih. Res. Soc. 51, pts 1-4 (January-December 1965) 103-06. According to D. C. Sircar, the name of the king of the Bhita seal is Vindhyavedhana, and his relationship with the Nalas cannot be ascertained on the basis of available evidence (Sircar, "Kesaribeda Plates of Nala Arthapati-Bhattaraka," p 13, n 3)



Provenance of the Nala inscriptions

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

- Political centres
- Find-spots

The Kesari-beda plates of śrī mahārāja Arthapati, dated in the seventh regnal year, were issued from Puṣkarī (which was probably located in the Podagarh region of Koraput district). The Rithapur grant, which appears to record a grant made by śrī mahārāja Bhavattavarman, perhaps the father or grandfather of Arthapati, was issued by the latter probably in his eleventh regnal year, from Nandivardhana. Nandivardhana may be identified either with Nagardhana in Nagpur district or with Nandur in Amravati district,<sup>68</sup> and the issue of a Nala grant from this place indicates the temporarily successful inroads made by these kings into Vākāṭaka territory.<sup>69</sup> The Podagarh stone inscription records the erection of a temple and an endowment in its favour in the twelfth regnal year by śrī Skandavarman, son of nṛpati (king) Bhavadatta, and credits Skandavarman with having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands and having repopled the deserted town of Puṣkarī.<sup>70</sup> The Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga, assigned by V. V. Mirashi to about 700 C.E.,<sup>71</sup> mentions three generations of Nala kings: Pṛthivīrāja, his son Virūparāja, and Vilāsatuṅga (probably the son of Virūparāja). It indicates the survival of Nala rule subsequent to the reverses suffered at the hands of the Vākāṭakas and Cālukyas.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Gupte, "Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarman," p. 102

<sup>69</sup> According to V. V. Mirashi ("Rajim Stone Inscription of the Nala King Vilasatunga," *EI* 26, 1941-42: 51-52), Bhavadatta, Arthapati, and Skandavarman were contemporaries of the Vākāṭaka kings Narendrasena and Pṛthiviṣena, and the Nala inroads into and expulsion from the Vidarbha may have occurred during the reign of Pṛthiviṣena, whose Balaghat plates credit him with having raised the sunken fortunes of his family

<sup>70</sup> This could refer to reverses suffered by the Nalas at the hands of the Vākāṭakas or the Cālukyas. The Ajanta Cave inscription of Varāhadeva, a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena, claims that the latter extended his supremacy over Kuntala, Avantī, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, and Āndhra (Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi ed., *CII*, 5: "Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas," Ootacamund, 1963, p. 108, v. 18). The Cālukya king Kirtivarman (567-97 C.E.) is described as the night of doom to the Nalas, Mauryas, and Kadambas in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II (F. Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II, Saka-Samvat 556," *EI* 6, 1900-1: 4-5, v. 9).

<sup>71</sup> Mirashi, "Rajim Stone Inscription of the Nala King Vilasatunga," p. 51

<sup>72</sup> A set of copper plates found at Pandiapatthar village near Aska in Ganjam district, assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century C.E., speaks of one mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara śrī Bhimasenadeva of the Nala varṇa, a ruler of Khidḍiraśṛīga maṇḍala (D. C. Sircar, "Pandiapatthar Plates of Bhimasena, Year 89," *EI* 24, pt 5, January 1962: 233-38). Khidḍiraśṛīga maṇḍala has been identified by Sircar with the former Khidishingy zamindari which had its headquarters at Dharakota and lay to the south of Bodaguda and to the west of Ghumsur. The grant was issued from Bhimapura. The nature of the connection, if any, of Bhimasena with the earlier Nalas is not clear.

### Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra

An inscription of mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra, found in Terasinga village on the southern bank of the Tel river in Kalahandi district, has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the first half of the sixth century. The plates were issued from Tarabhramaka, identified with Tala-Bhamara village, about two miles south of Belkhandi-Rajapadar, on the banks of a tributary of the Tel known as the Utei.<sup>73</sup> An endorsement that appears on the outer side of the first plate indicates that the grant was issued from Parvatadvāraka by Kasthubhsayya (perhaps a mistake for Kausthubeśvaryā), mother of a king whose name has been tentatively read as Sobhoṇnarāja or Śobhinārāja.<sup>74</sup> The circumstances that explain this are not clear. D. C. Sircar suggests that perhaps the king mentioned in the endorsement was a minor son of Tuṣṭikāra, that the queen who made the endorsement was his mother, and that Parvatadvāraka was a secondary capital of their kingdom.<sup>75</sup> Tuṣṭikāra appears to have been a minor king, ruling over a small area around Tarabhramaka and Parvatadvāraka.

### The Śarabhapurīyas

The Śarabhapurīya kings established their rule in Dakṣiṇa Kosala (modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur districts of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh) in the fifth century C.E. The inscriptions of these kings have been found in the Raipur and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh. The places whence the grants were issued were Śarabhapura, Tilakeśvara, and Śrīpura. Śarabhapura has been identified variously with Srapa or Sarabharh (in Sambalpur district), Sambalpur (in Sambalpur district), Sarangarh (in Raigarh district, M. P.), Sripur (in Raipur district, M. P.), Sarava (near Seorinarayan, Bilaspur district, M. P.), Sarhar (near Nandaur, Ahmadnagar district, Maharashtra), and Srabhavaram (about twenty miles from Rajahmundry, E. Godavari district, A. P.).<sup>76</sup> Śrīpura can be identified with modern Sirpur in Raipur district.

The founder of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty (and, in all likelihood, of the capital as well) was a king named Śarabha, who has been identified with the Śarabharāja mentioned in the Eran inscription of Goparāja, dated in dated in the Gupta year 191 (i.e. 510 C.E.), corresponding to the reign of the Gupta king Bhānugupta.<sup>77</sup> Seven kings of this dynasty

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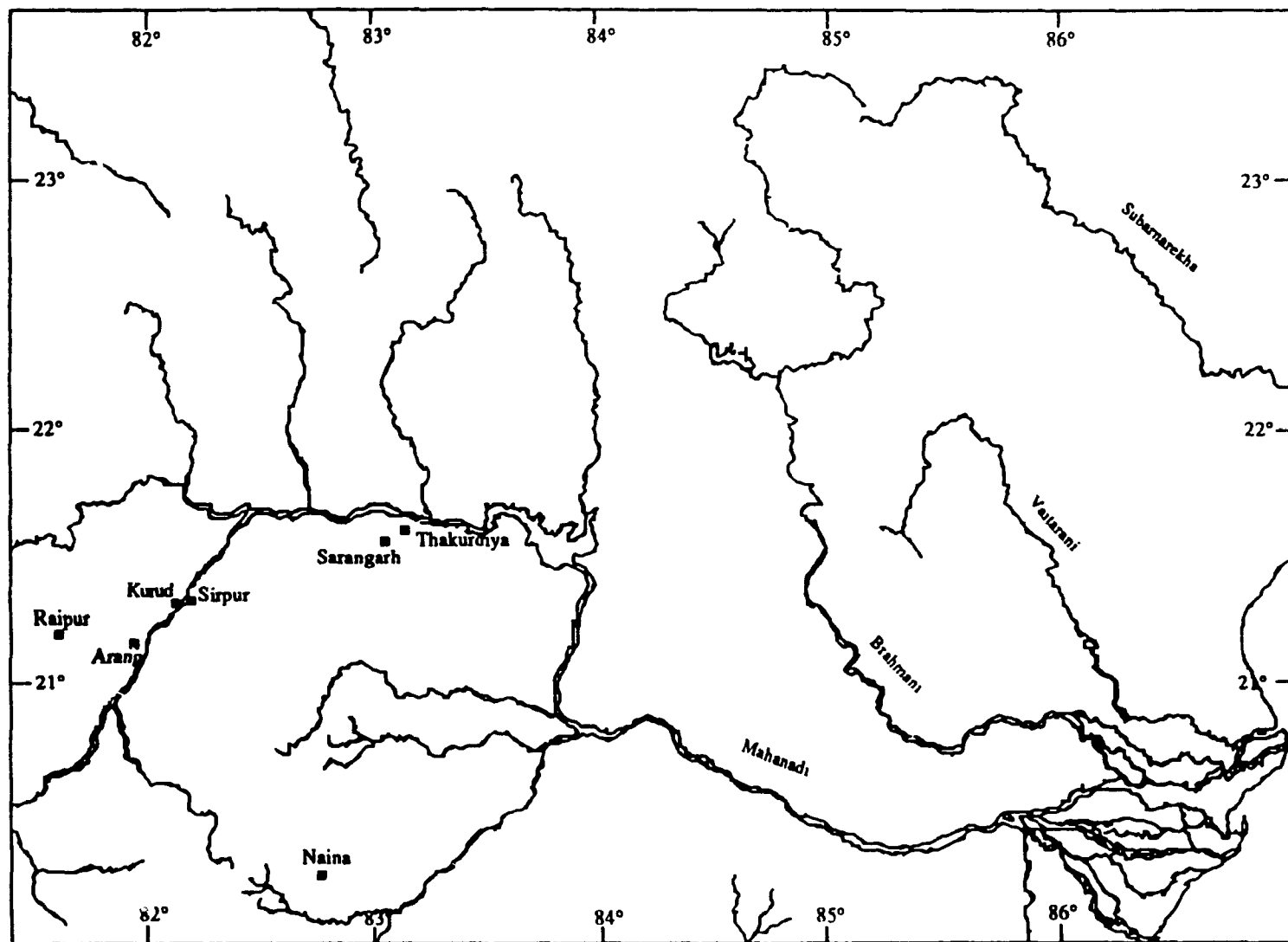
<sup>73</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Terasingha Plates of Tushukara," *EI* 30, pt 7 (July 1954): 276.

<sup>74</sup> The names of the king as well as the mother are difficult to make out because of the careless engraving of the letters.

<sup>75</sup> Sircar, "Terasingha Plates of Tushukara," p. 275.

<sup>76</sup> D. C. Sircar and L. P. Pandeya, "Pipardulā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra of Śarabhapura," *IHQ* 19 (1943): 144 and n. 13.

<sup>77</sup> V. V. Mirashi, "Thakurdiya Plates of Maha-Pravararāja," *EI* 22 (1933-34): 17.



Provenance of the Śarabhapuriya inscriptions

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM



are known from the inscriptions. One of them -- Prasanna -- is also known from coins found at places such as Salhepali in Raigarh district, and at Nandaur.<sup>78</sup>

Narendra bears the title of mahārāja; the other kings Śarabhapurīya kings do not even have this modest title. The praśasti of the other Śarabhapurīya kings describe them as having their feet bathed by the waters flowing from the lustre of the crest-jewels in the crowns of the sāmantas subjugated by their prowess.

### The Pāṇḍuvamśīs

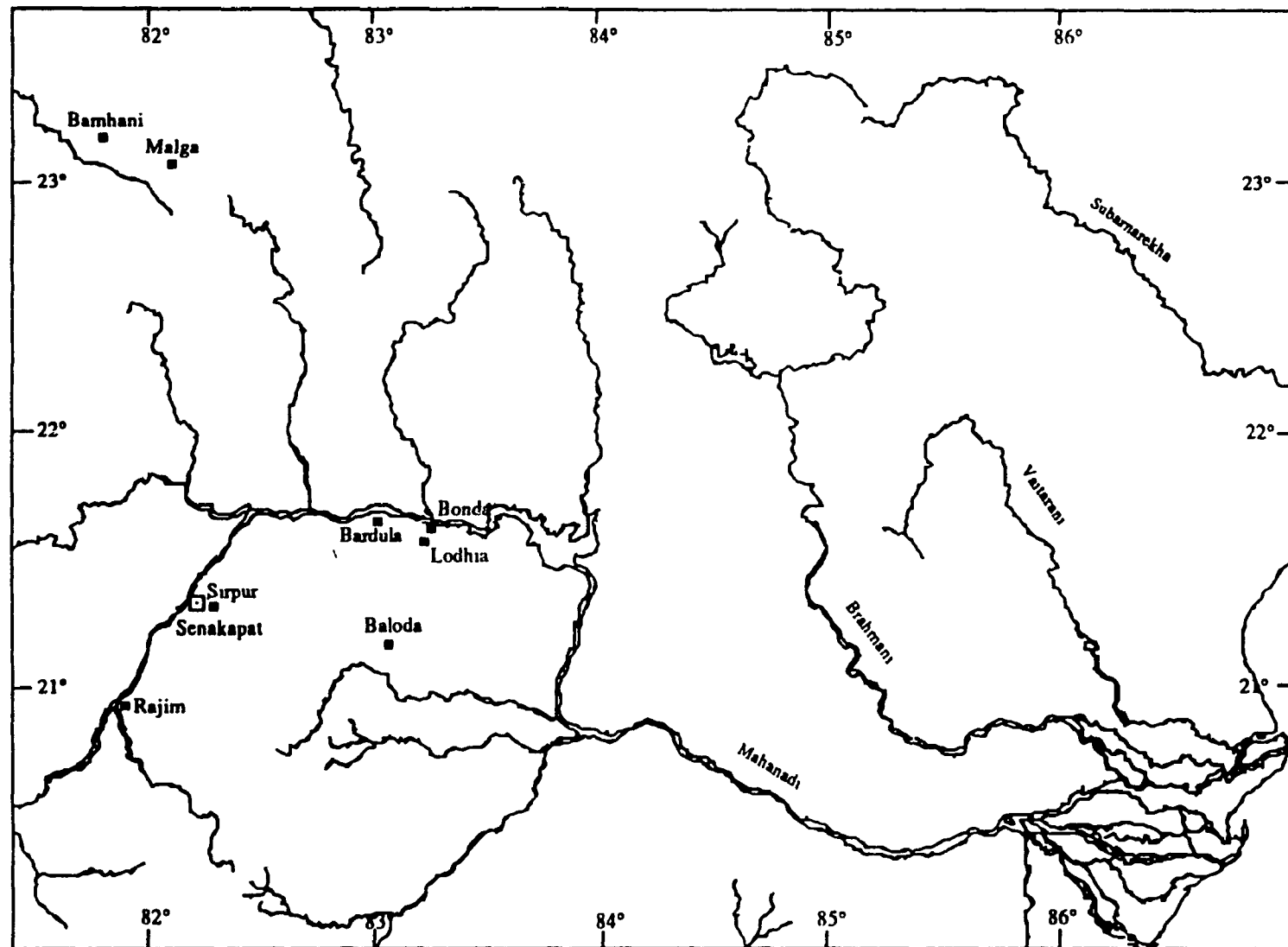
Śarabhapurīya rule in South Kosala was supplanted, probably some time during the sixth century C.E., by that of the Pāṇḍuvamśīs.<sup>79</sup> The inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvamśī kings have been found in the Rewa, Raigarh, Raipur, and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh and the Sambalpur district of Orissa. The Malga plates of Indrarāja<sup>80</sup> were issued

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<sup>78</sup> See, for instance, L. P. Pandeya, "A silver coin of king Prasannamātra, the grandfather of king Mahā Sudevarāja of Śarabhapura," *IHQ* 9 (1933): 595-96; "Ancient Sarabhapura," *IHQ* 15 (1939): 476. It may be noted that these coins bear Vaiṣṇava emblems -- a discus, conch, and a possible representation of Lakṣmī or the garuḍa.

<sup>79</sup> The chronology of the Pāṇḍuvamśīs is controversial and hinges to a large extent on the identification of the Tivara or Tivara who is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja V. V. Mirashi ("A Note on the Date of the Somavamśi Kings of Southern Kosala," *EI* 26, 1941-42: 227-30) places the beginning of Tivara's rule in about 560 C.E. and assigns these kings of South Kosala to the sixth and seventh century C.E.. According to D. C. Sircar ("Bonda Plates of Mahasiva Tivara, Year 5," *EI* 34, pt. 3, July 1961: 112-13) there were two Pāṇḍuvamśī kings named Tivara, one (the contemporary of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I, whom the latter claims to have defeated) ruling in the second half of the sixth century and the other (the contemporary of the Śailodbhava Dharmarāja) ruling in the second half of the seventh century. A. Ghosh ("Date of the Pandava Kings of Southern Kosala," *EI* 25, 1939-40: 266-70) places Tivara in the last quarter of the seventh century and identifies him with the Tivara of the Śailodbhava inscriptions. Satyanarayan Rajaguru ("The Date of Tivara-deva of Mahākośala," *OHRJ* 3, no. 2, September 1954: 109-14) also supports the contemporaneity of Tivara and Dharmarāja and places the former between 620 and 650 C.E. N. K. Sahu ("History of Kosala and the Soma Vamśis of Utkala," *OHRJ* 3, no. 3, December 1954: 130-31) places Tivara in the middle of the seventh century C.E. For a summary of the arguments why Tivara should be placed in the sixth and not the seventh century, see Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, pp. 184-85.

<sup>80</sup> It is not certain whether Indrarāja of the Malga plates belonged to the Pāṇḍuvamśī family. While his genealogy does not link him with the Pāṇḍuvamśīs, there is a general similarity in some of the sections of his inscription and that of the Pāṇḍuvamśīs. Moreover, the father of the engraver of the Malga plates, as in the Bamhani plates of the Pāṇḍuvamśī king Bharatabala, was suvamakāra (goldsmith) Īśvara. While D. C. Sircar and S. Sankaranarayanan ("Malga Plates of Samanta Indraraja," *EI* 33, pt. 4, January 1960: 210-11) find no indication of the dynasty to which Indrarāja belonged, S. N. Rajaguru (*IO*, 4: 314) suggests that because of the provenance and palaeography of the Malga plates, the name of the writer's father, and Indrarāja being a familiar name among the Pāṇḍuvamśīs, it



Provenance of the Pāṇḍuvamśī inscriptions

□ Political centres

■ Find-spots

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

from Maṇḍaka, while the political centre whence the copper charters of Tivara and the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja were issued was Śrīpura (the rest of the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśī charters do not specify the place whence the charter was issued). While the identification of Maṇḍaka is uncertain,<sup>81</sup> Śrīpura can be identified with modern Sirpur in Raipur district.<sup>82</sup>

Indrarāja, the name of whose father may have been Kṣitipati or Śailendra, appears to have been a semi-independent king, judging from his title of sāmanta and the absence of any specific reference to his overlord. The kings beginning with Bharatabala have a rather long praśasti. The highest title assumed by these kings was mahārāja -- in the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala, verse 11 of which also refers to him as a paramount ruler (sarva-bhauma) whose feet were touched by the sāmantas performing obeisance to him. Bharatabala's plates speak of one of the royal donor's ancestors -- Jayabala -- as a ruler (kṣitipati) of Mekalā.<sup>83</sup> The grants of Mahāśiva Tivara (although he does have the subordinate epithet samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda, i.e. one who has obtained the five sounds<sup>84</sup>) refer to his having acquired the overlordship over all of Kosala (i.e. south Kosala). The plates of Bharatabala speak of him as belonging to the lineage (anvaya) of the Pāṇḍavas (although there is a reference in one of verse 11 to the Saumya or Soma vaṁśa) and those of Tivara to the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa, while the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja refer to the family as the Śaśi-vaṁśa, the Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna as the Śītāṅśu-vaṁśa, the Sirpur stone inscription of Vās. 1 as the Candr-ānvaya, and the Bardula, Bonda, Lodhīa, and Mallar plates of Mahāśivagupta as the Soma-vaṁśa. The Senakapat inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna refers to a subordinate of this king named Durgarakṣita, who appears to have obtained the governorship of the Vindhyan

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is quite probable that Indrarāja of the Malga plates and Bharatabala of the Bamhani plates belonged to the same ruling house.

<sup>81</sup> According to Sircar and Sankaranarayanan ("Malga Plates of Samanta Indraraja," p. 211), it is difficult to say whether Malga, the name of the findspot of the plates can be seen as a modification of Maṇḍaka.

<sup>82</sup> See, for instance, Sircar, "Bonda Plates of Mahasiva Tivara, Year 5," p. 114.

<sup>83</sup> The country of Mekalā probably lay in the environs of the Amarkantak hills (see B. Ch Chhabra, "Bamhani Plates of Pandava King Bharatabala. Year 2," *EI* 27, 1947-48: 135).

<sup>84</sup> This epithet apparently referred to the person in question having obtained the privilege of enjoying the sound of five instruments. The five instruments were perhaps the trumpet, tambour, conch-shell, kettle-drum, and gong. According to Fleet (*CII*, 3: 296, n. 9), the interpretation of the epithet samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda as referring to the privilege of enjoying the sound of these five instruments is preferable to his own earlier one which saw herein a reference to the right of assuming five titles beginning with the prefix 'mahā' (great), e. g. mahārāja, mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, mahāsāmanta, etc. The possession of the pañca-mahāśabda is usually associated with feudatory status. However, some dynasties of South India, the eastern Cālukyas of Vengi, for instance, used it as a title of paramouncy (D. C. Sircar, "Two Grants from Galavalli," *EI* 31, 1955-56: 192).

area as far as the banks of the river Varadā (identified with the Wardha, a tributary of the Godavari<sup>85</sup>).

## Period II: The seventh to the tenth century

South and central Orissa

### The Śailodbhavas

In the course of the late sixth century, the Śailodbhavas established their rule over Koṅgoda, which, judging from the find-spots of the Śailodbhava inscriptions, corresponded to modern Ganjam and Puri districts.<sup>86</sup> The Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja seem to refer to him as sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of all Kaliṅga), which may indicate some military successes south of the Puri-Ganjam area. That these successes were shortlived is suggested by the fact that this title does not appear in any of the other inscriptions of this king, nor in those of his successors. The Śailodbhava grants were issued from a variety of centres: Koṅgoda (apparently the name of both the kingdom as well as a capital of the Śailodbhavas) on the banks of the Śālimā river (generally identified with the Salia river<sup>87</sup>), Śrīdhara-pura, Kaṭaka,<sup>88</sup> Mātṛcandrapāṭaka, Alatālaṅghapura koṭa (apparently a fortress), Kontalayi (tentatively identified with Kantalabai on the Chilka lake, near the Bhushundapur railway station<sup>89</sup>), Āsiliḍa/Siliḍa, and Saumyapura.<sup>90</sup>

The earliest epigraphic record of the Śailodbhava dynasty is the Ganjam grant of mahārāja mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja alias Sanyabhīta (who had the additional name of Śrīnivāsa in some of his other inscriptions), dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e. 619-20 C.E., and referring to two of Mādhavarāja's predecessors. The Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja indicate that in the year 619-20 C.E., he was a subordinate of mahārājādhirāja śrī Śaśāṅka, the ruler of Bengal, but his subsequent plates contain no mention of his overlord. Mādhavarāja may have assumed an independent status on the occasion of Śaśāṅka's defeat

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<sup>85</sup> M. G. Dikshit and D. C. Sircar, "Senakapat Inscription of the Time of Sivagupta Balarjuna," *EI* 31, pt. 1 (January 1955) 34.

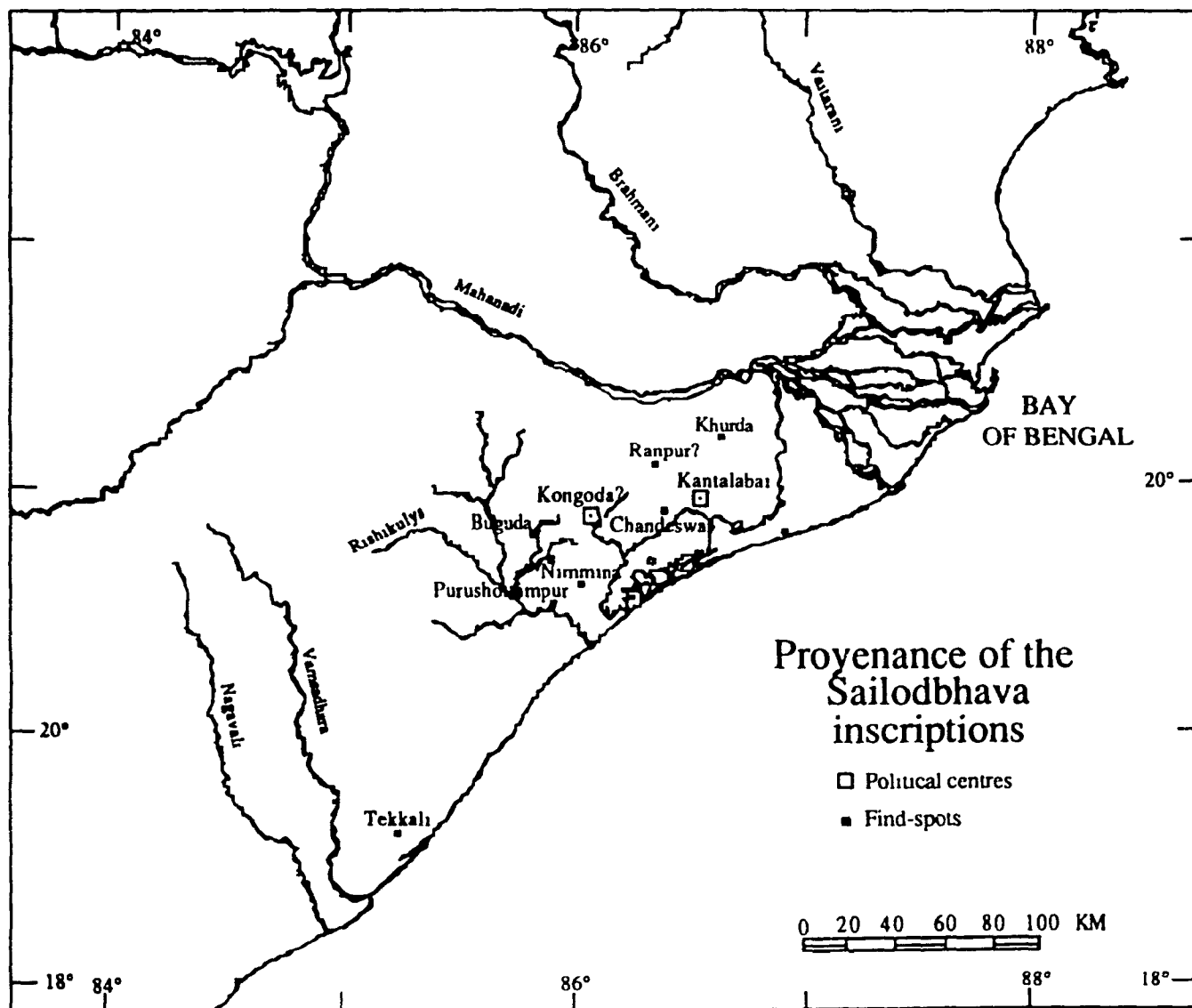
<sup>86</sup> The only Śailodbhava inscription found outside the Puri-Ganjam area is a set of plates of Mādhavarāja, which were found inside the spire of a temple at Tekkali, Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh.

<sup>87</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Two Sailodbhava Grants From Banpur," *EI* 29 (1951-52): 35. According to Rajaguru (*IO*, 1, pt. 2 160), however, the river Śālimā may also be identified with the Rishikulya, as several places mentioned in the Śailodbhava inscriptions are to be found on the banks of the Rishikulya.

<sup>88</sup> This could be a specific place-name, but more likely simply means the royal camp or city.

<sup>89</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Two Grants of Sailodbhavas," *EI* 30, pt. 7 (July 1954): 270.

<sup>90</sup> A Bhañja-Śailodbhava palimpsest found at Dharakota was issued from Vañjulvaka (Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2 248-53).



at the hands of Harṣa of the Puṣyabhūti dynasty. He may have had to briefly acknowledge the suzerainty of Harṣa, from the time of the latter's invasion of Orissa in around 641-42 C.E. until Harṣa's death in 647 C.E.<sup>91</sup> The reign of the sixth Śailodbhava ruler, Dharmarāja alias Mānabhīta, was apparently marked by the occurrence of a succession dispute. The Puri plates of Dharmarāja indicate this king's claims to the throne were challenged by his brother Mādhava. The inscription refers to the banishing of Mādhava, and a military encounter at a place called Phāsikā.<sup>92</sup> Mādhava is said to have allied himself with a king named Trīvara or Tīvara, only to be defeated a second time by Dharmarāja, and was forced to retire to the foot of the Vindhya mountains. Controversy surrounds the identification of the Trīvara or Tīvara who rendered aid to Mādhava. He is identified by some scholars with Mahāśiva Tīvara, the Pāṇḍuvarṣi king of south Kosala, but may have been one of his successors.<sup>93</sup>

The Śailodbhava copper plate grants give a systematic genealogy of these kings, and also contain an account of the origin of the dynasty which refers to the miraculous birth of its mythical progenitor. The account (in verse) of the origin of the Śailodbhava dynasty is given in the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman and appears in subsequent Śailodbhava inscriptions. According to the standard version of this account, there was a man named Pulindasena, famed among the people of Kalinga, who, not coveting sovereignty himself, prayed to Svayambhū for a man worthy to rule the earth. The answer to these prayers was Śailodbhava, so called because he was seen emerging from a rock breaking asunder. Raṇabhīta, apparently the first historical king of the family, is described as one born in the family (kulaja) of Śailodbhava.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> On the chronology of Harṣa's eastern campaigns, see R. C. Majumdar gen. ed., The Classical Age, pp. 106, 110.

<sup>92</sup> According to S. N. Rajaguru, Phāsik may be identified with Phasi, a large village in Athagada in Ganjam district, about eighteen miles from Khallikota railway station. He locates the scene of the battle between Dharmarāja and Mādhava in a field lying at the foot of a hill called Krishnagiri, which lies about four miles east of Phasi village (S. N. Rajaguru, "The Puri Copper-plate-grant of Dharmaraja (Samvat 512 or 590 A. D.)," JBORS 16, pt. 2 (1930) 185-86).

<sup>93</sup> According to Sircar, ("Two Sailodbhava Grants From Banpur," p. 39), the major objection against the identification of Tīvara of the inscriptions of Dharmarāja with Mahāśiva Tīvara is that the latter's rule must be placed in the sixth century, while that of Dharmarāja not before the last quarter of the seventh century.

<sup>94</sup> This account is discussed in greater detail in chap. II. The Pulindas were an ancient Indian tribe (Bimala Churn Law, Tribes in Ancient India, 2d ed., Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1973, pp. 174-75). They are mentioned in texts in association with other non-Aryan tribes such as the Śabaras, Andhras, Ābhīras, and Pulkusas (Atareya Brāhmana 7. 18, Mahābhārata 12. 207. 42, Matsya Purāna 114, 46-48; Vāyu Purāna 45, 126 etc.; cited in Law, *ibid.*, p. 174). The Pulindas are placed by most texts in South India,

While the frequent reference in the Śailodbhava inscriptions from the time of the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman Sainyabhīta<sup>95</sup> onwards to the performance by the donor king or one of his predecessors of the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices (the Vajapeya finds additional mention in some of the inscriptions) may be taken to indicate a claim to independent status,<sup>96</sup> the only Śailodbhava king to actually assume imperial titles was Dharmarāja, whose epithets in the Nivina plates include parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one supremely entitled to reverence), mahārājādhirāja (supreme king of mahārājas), and parameśvara (supreme lord).<sup>97</sup>

### Nettabhañja

In the eighth century, about the time of the decline of the Śailodbhava dynasty, parts of Dhenkanal, as well as some areas of Ganjam, Puri, and Cuttack districts were under the rule of a king named Nettabhañja. Nettabhañja is known from two sets of copper plates, the original findspots of which are unknown, one reportedly having been acquired from the ruling chief of Baudh, the other from an inhabitant of Banatumbu village near Russellkonda (Bhanjanagara) in Ganjam district. The Baud plates, dated in the regnal year 18, were issued from Angulapattana which has been identified with modern Angul in Dhenkanal district.<sup>98</sup> The Russellkonda plates, dated in the regnal year 26, were issued

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although a northern branch of the tribe is also known. According to Law (ibid., p. 175), the political centre of the southern Pulindas was Pulindanagara, situated in the Vidiśa or Bhilsa region, and perhaps identifiable with Rupnath (the place where one of the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka was found). The reference to Pulindasena in the Śailodbhava geneological account may suggest a connection with the Pulinda tribe. S. C. De (Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Orissa, p. XIV) suggests that the Śailodbhavas can be identified with the Śailajās mentioned in the Bṛhat Samhitā along with the Pulindas and other peoples. He suggests that the Śailajās and Pulindas probably inhabited the coastal area between the Mahanadi and the Godavari, and that they were allies. He adds that the Śailodbhava account indicates that the Śailajās were originally under the Pulindas, and that they subsequently became independent with the help of Pulindasena, a Pulinda leader.

<sup>95</sup> Mādhavarāja of the Ganjam and Khurda plates is evidently the same person as Mādhavarman of the Buguda, Purushottampur, Puri, and Orissa Museum plates. The problem created by the apparently later script of the Buguda plates (which were assigned by some scholars to as late as the tenth century) was resolved with the discovery of the Orissa Museum plates, the script of which is similar to the Ganjam and Khurda plates, and the introductory portion of which is akin to that of the Buguda and other later Śailodbhava inscriptions.

<sup>96</sup> For more on this issue, see chap. II. For a discussion of whether a subordinate king could perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice and a conclusion to the contrary, see D. C. Sircar, Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971), pp. 167-74.

<sup>97</sup> These three titles of paramountcy are hereafter left untranslated.

<sup>98</sup> Binayak Misra, "Copper Plate Grant of Nettabhañja," JBORS 17 (1930-31): 105.

from Vārāḍḍā, identified by D. C. Sircar with Barada or Baruda, seven miles from Russellkonda and two miles from Kuladagarh, and by S. N. Rajaguru with Madhava-Barida, about four miles from Banatumva, on the banks of the Loharakandi river.<sup>99</sup> According to the Russellkonda plates, Neṭṭabhañja belonged to the Drumarāja kula.

### The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

During the period which saw the waning of the power of the Śailodbhavas, the north Ganjam area of Orissa came under the rule of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka, probably a collateral branch of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara.<sup>100</sup> Most of the Śvetaka Gaṅga grants are dated in either regnal years or in an unspecified era, which may have been the Gaṅga or the Bhauma-Kara era.<sup>101</sup> The political centre whence the copper plate grants of these kings were issued was a place called Śvetaka,<sup>102</sup> not yet satisfactorily identified

While the Dhanantara and Kama-Nalinakshapur plates of inscriptions of Sāmantavarman -- the first known Śvetaka Ganga king -- do not endow him with any royal titles, some of the subsequent inscriptions (the Pherava plates of Sāmantavarman and the various grants of Jayavarman) introduce modest titles such as rāṇaka and mahārāja. The more grandiose titles of mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara and parama-bhaṭṭāraka appear in the grants of later kings such as Bhūpendravarman, Anantavarman, Prithivivarman, Indravarman (in a few, not all of his grants), and Dānārṇava (accompanied in this last case with the subordinate title rāṇaka). One of the sets of the Ganjam plates of Jayavarman suggests that this king owed allegiance to Unmattakeśarī at Virajā, who may be identified as a Bhauma-Kara king.<sup>103</sup> The Śvetaka Gangas claim to have acquired the overlordship

<sup>99</sup> D C Sircar, "Russellkonda Plates of Neṭṭabhañja, Regnal Year 26," *EI* 28, pt 6 (April 1950) 261, S N Rajaguru, "The Bānatumva Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja Deva of Drumarāja-kula," *OHRJ* 1, no 4 (January 1953) 267.

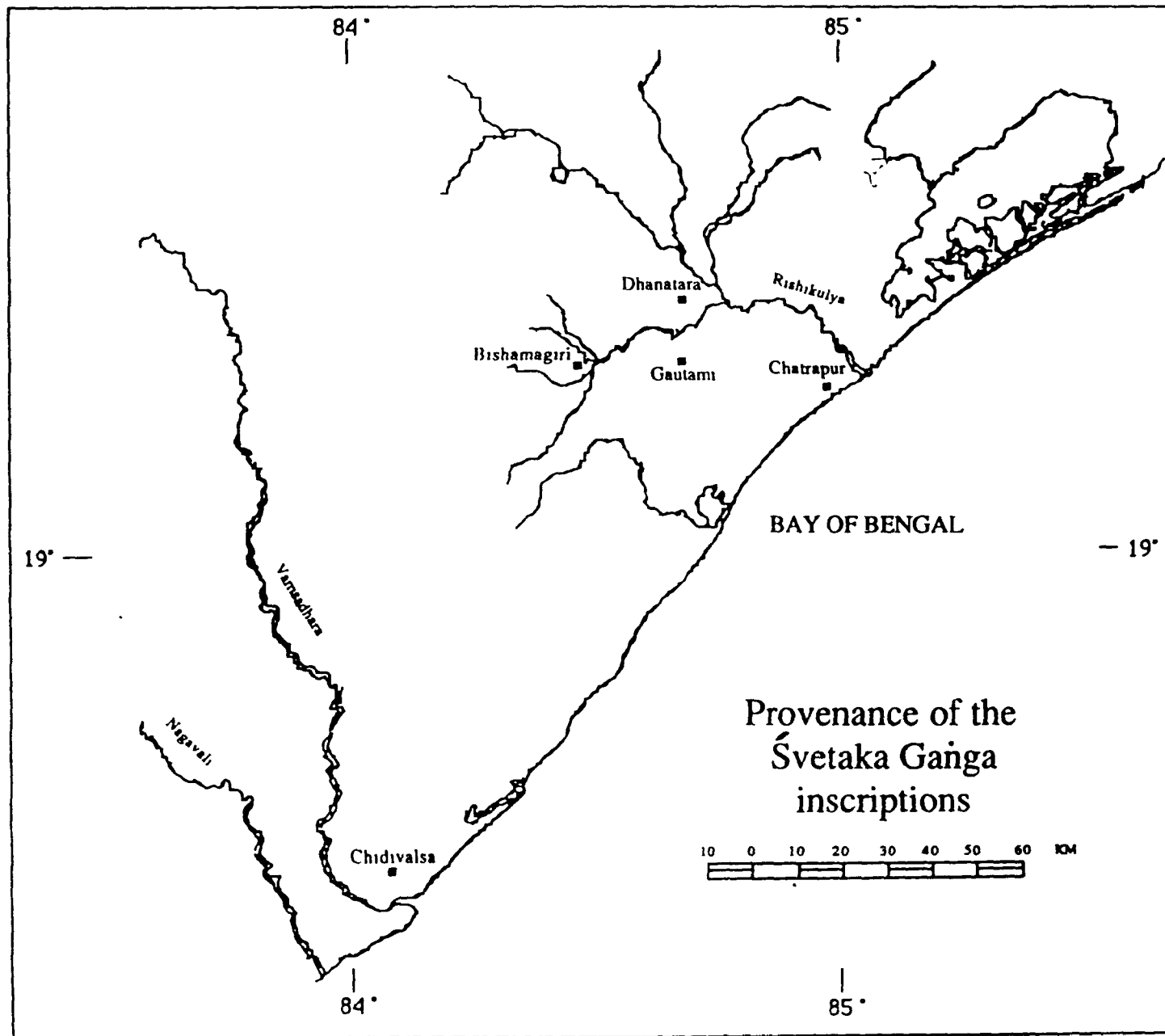
<sup>100</sup> A connection between the Gangas of Śvetaka and those of Kalinganagara is suggested, apart from the common name 'Ganga,' by the reference in the inscriptions of both groups of kings to their worship of the deity Gokarnasvāmī on mount Mahendra and the indications that both groups may have been migrants from the Karnataka area. The Śvetaka branch of the Gaṅga family apparently established itself to the north of the dominions of the Gangas of Kalinganagara.

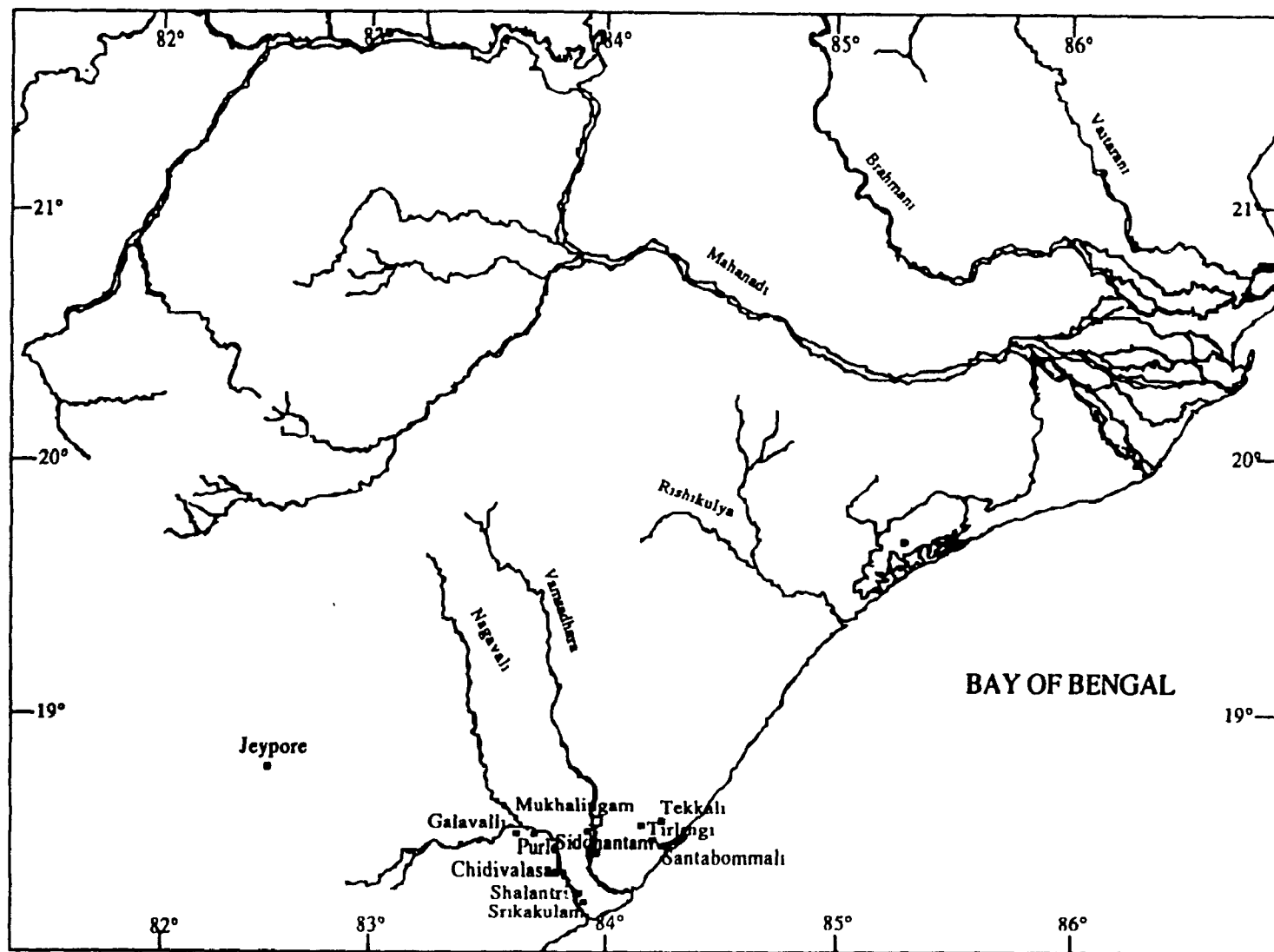
<sup>101</sup> On the Bhauma era, see pp 23-24.

<sup>102</sup> This name has been read as Ścetaka in two of the inscriptions.

<sup>103</sup> According to Binayak Misra ("Ganjam Grant of Jayavarmadeva of Unmattakeśarī's Time," *IHQ* 12, 1936 490), this is corroborated by a Bhauma-Kara inscription wherein the Bhauma king Unmattasimha is said to have subjugated the Kalingas. It may be pointed out that the inscription in question is the Talcher plate (year 149) of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara, which, according to Misra's own reading (Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, Calcutta Vishwamitra Press, 1934, pp. 41, 43), attributes the subjugation of the Kalingas not to Unmattasimha but to his son Śubhākara.







Provenance of the Gaṅga inscriptions (14-40)

□ Political centres

■ Find-spots

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

of all of Kalinga through their own strength and prowess and as having all the samantas (in some cases, the circle of sāmantas) devoted to them due to the preeminence of their three-fold power (śakti).<sup>104</sup> The grants of Prthivivarman and Indravarman speak of these kings as hailing from Kolāulapura-paṭṭana or Kokalāvalapura-paṭṭana. The Indian Museum and Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman refer to this king as Nandagiri-nātha (lord of Nandagiri). Kolāulapura has been identified with Kolar in Karnataka, while Nandagiri is identified with Nandidrug, a hill to the west of the same district.<sup>105</sup> These references suggest that the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka were migrants from the Karnataka area.

#### The Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara (inscriptions no. 14-40)

All the inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings of inscriptions no. 14-40 were issued from Kalinganagara. The era that these grants are dated in is referred to specifically as the Gāṅgeya era from the time of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22). While the first few Gaṅga kings of Kalinganagara assumed no title higher than maharaja, the epithet mahārājādhirāja is first applied to Rājendravarman, father of Devendravarman in the latter's Shalantri plates as well as one of his Chicacole plates (nos. 24, 25), and is applied to Devendravarman himself in his Chicacole plates (no. 26). Subsequently, titles such as paramēśvara, mahārājādhirāja, and parama-bhaṭṭāraka, were frequently used by some of the successors of Devendravarman. Most of the inscriptions of these kings refer to their having obtained overlordship over all of Kalinga by the quivering edge of their own sword.

Certain inscriptions record grants by subordinates or feudatories of the Gaṅgas. The donor of the Parlakimedi plates (no. 34) of the time of Vajrahasta was nañc i-ṣay-adhipati (lord of five ṣayas) Dāraparāja, described as belonging to the Gaṅga kula (family), and the son of Cola-Kāmadirāja; that of the Nirakapur plates (no. 36) was Udayakhedi son of Ugrakhedi, of the Kadamba family.<sup>106</sup>

#### North Orissa

##### The Bhauma-Karas

In the middle of the eighth or the ninth century, a large part of north and central Orissa came under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. The dating of the inscriptions of these

<sup>104</sup> The three śaktis are prabhu-śakti, mantra-śakti, and utsāha-śakti -- the power of majesty, good counsel, and energy.

<sup>105</sup> These identifications were suggested by Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1909), p. 32.

<sup>106</sup> These Kadambas seem to have been a branch of the western Kadambas of Kanarese country (D. C. Sircar, in R. C. Majumdar, gen. ed., The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 145).

kings is controversial. The synchronism of the Bhauma king Śubhākara I with the Chinese emperor Te-tsong has been questioned by some scholars.<sup>107</sup> According to Binayak Misra, the era used in the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions is the Harṣa era of 606 C. E..<sup>108</sup> R. D. Banerji refers the dates of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions to the Gaṅga era, the beginning of which he places in 778 C.E.<sup>109</sup> S. N. Rajaguru and D. C. Sircar agree that the Bhauma-Karas established their own era, but disagree over when this era commenced. Rajaguru<sup>110</sup> and K. C. Panigrahi,<sup>111</sup> place the beginning of the Bhauma era in 736 C.E., while Sircar

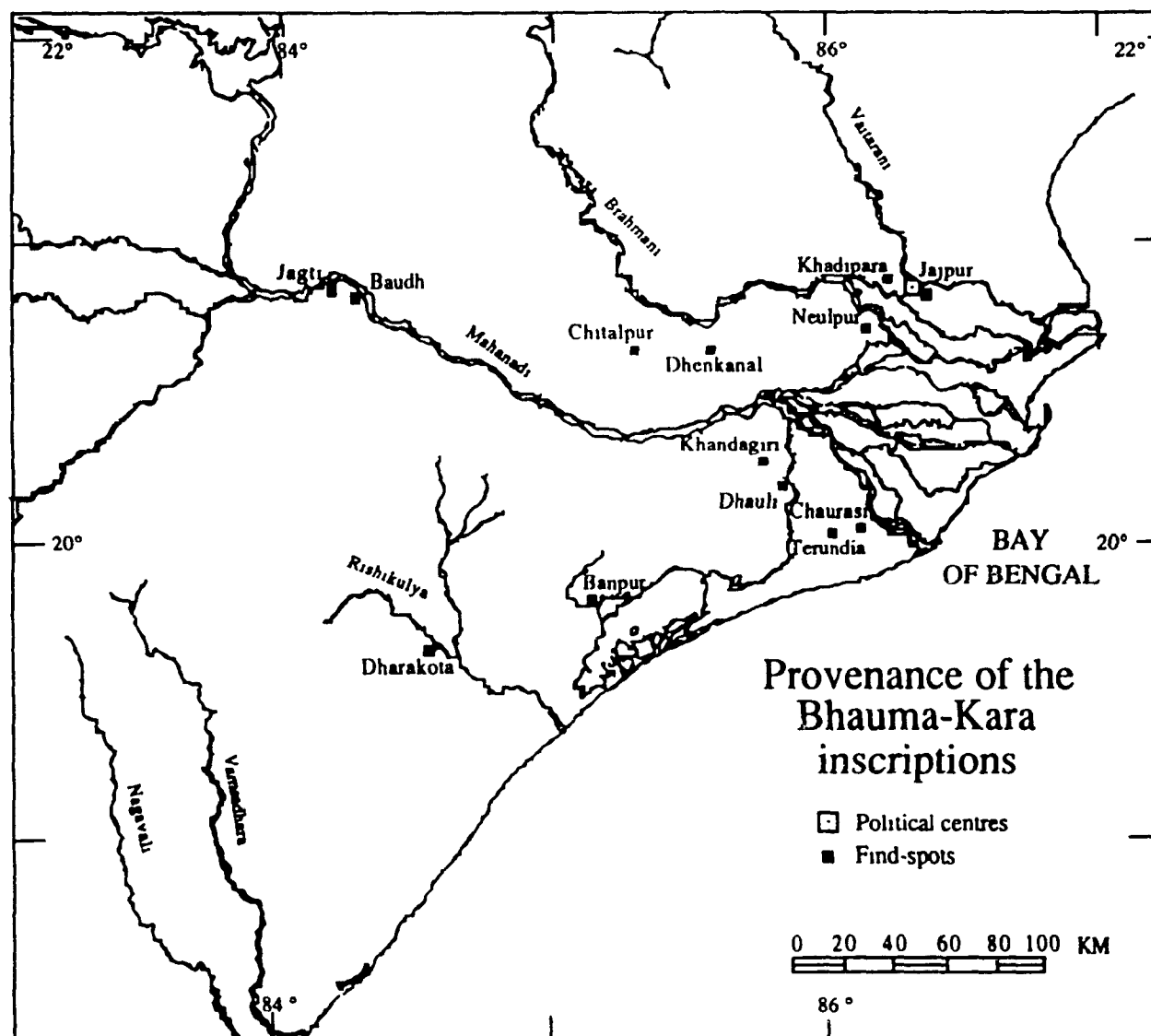
<sup>107</sup> Sylvain Lévi ("King Subhākara of Orissa," *EI* 10, 1919-20: 263-64) proposed the identification of the Bhauma king Śubhākara with the king of Wu-ch'a from whom the Chinese emperor Te-tsong is supposed to have received an autographed manuscript of the Gaṇḍavyūha in 795 C.E. According to scholars such as D.C. Sircar ("The Era of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa," *IHQ* 29, no 2, June 1953: 151), this identification is not free from problems. The translation of the Chinese name for the Indian ruler is 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion,' and does not correspond to the meaning of the name Śubhākara ('storehouse of that which is auspicious'). According to K. C. Panigrahi (*The Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamśis of Orissa*, Bhopal, 1961, p. 25) the king who gave the Chinese emperor the manuscript of the Gaṇḍavyūha was Śivakara Unmatasimha.

<sup>108</sup> Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 78.

<sup>109</sup> R. D. Banerji, "The Kara of Orissa," *The Modern Review* 44, no 6 (December 1928) 636-40.

<sup>110</sup> Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "The Bhauma-Samvat," *OHRJ* 12, no 1 (1964) 100-08. Rajaguru bases his argument on the astronomical data supplied by the Daspalla and Ganjam plates of Śatrubhaṇḍa and the Orissa Museum plates of Neṭṭabhaṇḍa, dated respectively in the (Bhauma) years 198, 198, and 213. He asserts that the three possible dates when the astronomical conjunction (visuva samkrānti, ravi-dina, pañcam, tithi, Mrgāśiro nakṣatra) mentioned in the Daspalla plates occurred were 812, 934, and 1029, which give the three corresponding dates of 614, 736, and 831 C.E. as the possible initial years of the Bhauma-Kara era. Of these, he suggests, 736 C.E. is the most appropriate.

<sup>111</sup> Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamśis of Orissa*, pp. 6-8. Panigrahi's argument for 736 C.E. is based on his interpretation of the Baud plates of Prthivimahādevī, which, according to him, suggest the contemporaneity of the Somavamśi king Janamejaya I with the Kalacuri king Śankaragana (878-910 C.E.), further, on his interpretation of the Brahmeśvara inscription of the time of Somavamśi Udyotakeśari, which, he asserts, alludes to Janamejaya's killing of the reigning Bhauma-Kara king and his placing his daughter Prthivimahādevī on the throne. Panigrahi also concurs with Rajaguru's calculations based on astronomical details.



places it in 831 C.E. <sup>112</sup> Binayak Misra traces the origin of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to the Bhūyān tribe, <sup>113</sup> while Umakanta Subuddhi prefers to connect the ancestry of this family with the Utkala branch of the Bhauma family of Kāmarūpa <sup>114</sup>

The inscriptions (including a few stone inscriptions) of the Bhauma-Karas have been found in Baleshwar, Dhenkanal, Phulabani, Cuttack, Puri, and Ganjam districts. All the Bhauma-Kara copper plates were issued from Guhadevapātaka or Guheśvarapātaka, which probably lay in the vicinity of modern Jajpur on the Vaitarani river <sup>115</sup> While Śubhākara I had no title higher than mahārāja, his successors bore the imperial titles of parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, and parameśvara, modified to parama-bhaṭṭārikā, mahārājādhirāja, and parameśvarī in the case of the Bhauma-Kara queens. <sup>116</sup> The Bhauma-Kara inscriptions provide detailed genealogical information concerning the rulers of this dynasty. That the Bhauma-Karas had matrimonial alliances with the Bhañjas and the Somavamśis is indicated by the Baud plates of the (Bhauma) year 158 of the Bhauma queen Prthvimahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī, which refer to her as the daughter of the Svabhāvatunga of the Śītāṃśu varṃśa (lunar lineage) and lord of Kosala. A matrimonial alliance with the Bhañjas is indicated by the Taltali plates of the Bhauma queen Dharmamahādevī, which refer to Valkulamahādevī, the predecessor of Dharmamahādevī, as belonging to the Bhañja family. The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī I refers to the marriage of Bhauma-Kara king Lalitāhara with the daughter of Rājamalladeva.

<sup>112</sup> Sircar, "The Era of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa," pp. 148-55. Sircar identifies the Svabhāvatunga stated to be the father of Prthvimahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī II in the Bhauma queen's Baud plates with Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Svabhāvatunga, whose rule he places between 970 and 1000 C.E. Working backwards from this synchronism, Sircar assigns the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era to roughly the first half of the ninth century C.E. He then points out that, according to Svamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, 3 60, the date on which the astronomical conjunction mentioned in the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja (dated in Samvat 198) occurred corresponds to March 23rd, 1029 C.E., which would give a date of 831 C.E. for the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era

<sup>113</sup> Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 80-81

<sup>114</sup> Umakanta Subuddhi, *The Bhauma Karas of Orissa* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1978), pp. 32-36. Also see Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamśis of Orissa*, pp. 20-25

<sup>115</sup> According to Binayak Misra (*Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 89), Guheśvarapātaka can be identified with Godhaneshvarapatana, half a mile from Sadashivapura, which is part of Jajpur town

<sup>116</sup> The rule of several queens of this dynasty was apparently occasioned by the absence of male heirs, although the accession of Prthvimahādevī seems to have had something to do with the intervention of her Somavamśi father

Panigrahi identifies this Rājamalla with the western Gaṅga king Rājamalla I (817-853 C.E.).<sup>117</sup>

A few inscriptions indicate the existence of Bhauma-Kara feudatories whose names appear as the vijñāpti, i.e. the person at whose request the grant was made. These include Pulindarāja, referred to in the Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva, and rāṇaka Vinītatunga, referred to in the two Talcher plates of Śivakaradeva. The vijñāpti of one of the Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī was one Śaśilekhā, described as the wife of mahāmaṇḍalādhipati<sup>118</sup> Maṅgaleśvara (apparently a Bhauma-Kara feudatory) and as born in the Virāṭa family and married into the Vrāgaḍi family. The Santiragrama plate of Daṇḍimahādevī state that the grant was made at the request of rāṇaka Apsarodeva, lord of Yamagartā maṇḍala.<sup>119</sup> Bhauma-Kara rule was brought to an end during the tenth century by the Somavamśis.

### Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century

#### North and central Orissa

Between roughly the tenth and twelfth century C.E., epigraphic evidence indicates the rule in parts of north and central Orissa of a series of kings whose names end in the suffix 'Bhañja.' The relationship between the various groups of Bhañja kings is not clear; they may represent collateral ruling houses or a series of different lineages with a common clan affiliation. A link of this sort may be made between the Bhañjas of Dhṛupura and the Ādi-Bhañjas, on the grounds that their inscriptions allude to the miraculous birth of the progenitor of the family from the egg of a pea-hen, even though the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions give a more elaborate version of the episode.

#### The Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala

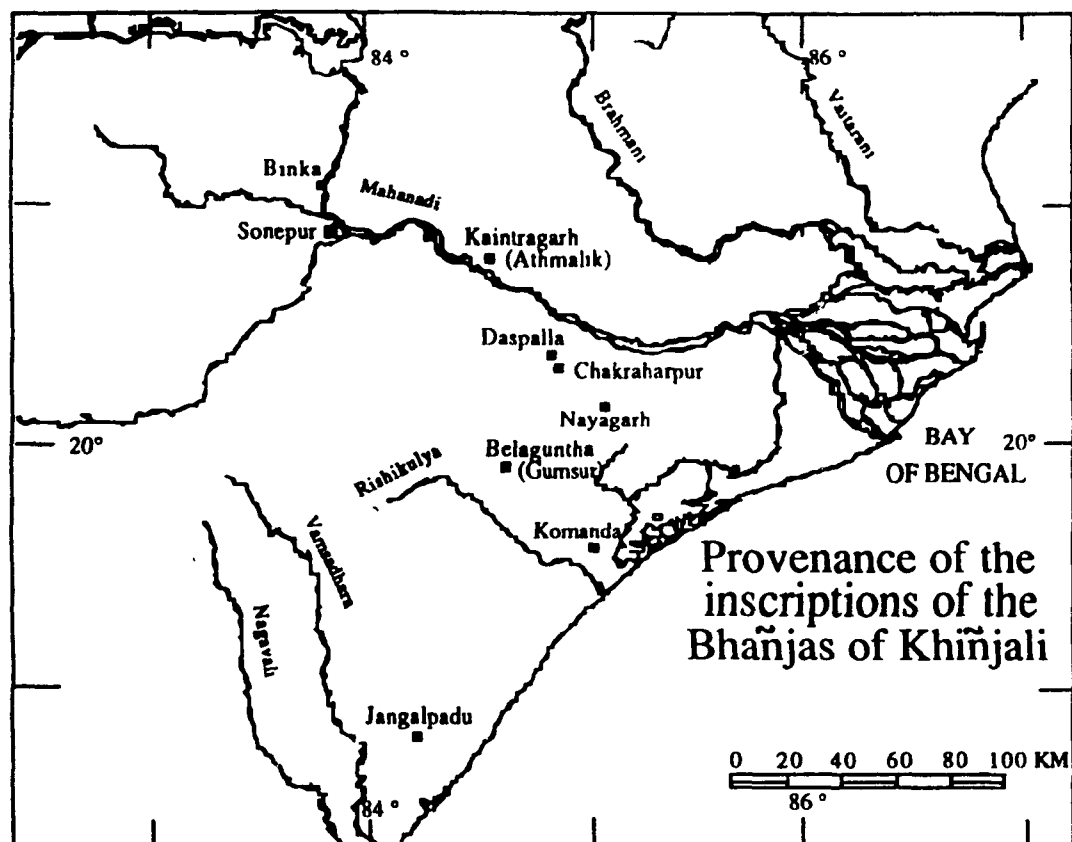
The Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala (referred to in some of the inscriptions as Ubhaya-Khiṇjali or the two Khiṇjalis) are known from a series of copper plate grants, the early ones issued from Dhṛupura and the later ones from Vañjulvaka. Consequently, the Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja whose grants were issued from Dhṛupura are often referred to as the early Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala, while their successors who ruled from Vañjulvaka are described as the later Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala.

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<sup>117</sup> Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamśis of Orissa*, pp. 27-29.

<sup>118</sup> Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati was the title of the ruler or governor of the territorial unit known as the maṇḍala (see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 179-80).

<sup>119</sup> The specific term 'vijñāpti' does not occur in this case.





The find-spots of the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala lie in Balangir, Dhenkanal, Phulabani, and Puri districts. This gives a rough idea of the area ruled by these kings, the precise geographical connotations of the term Khiñjali-maṇḍala being difficult to ascertain.<sup>120</sup>

Śatrubhañja, the son of śrī Śilābhañja alias śrī Āṅgaddi, is not endowed with any royal titles in his inscriptions. His son Raṇabhañja bears the epithets rāṇaka, samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda (one who has obtained the five sounds), mahāsāmanta-vandita (worshipped by the mahāsāmantas), and Ubhaya-Khiñjaly-ādhipati (lord of the two Khiñjalis) till late in his reign, when in the Baud plates dated in his 54th and 58th regnal years, he is given the title of mahārāja. Both Śatrubhañja and his son Raṇabhañja are described in their inscriptions as belonging to the egg-born lineage or the lineage whose progenitor was born of an egg (aṇḍaja-vamśa-prabhava). The matrimonial relations between the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali and the Kadambas of Karnataka are indicated by the Patna plates of the time of Raṇabhañja, which record an endowment made by śrī Vijya (Vidyā), daughter of rāṇaka Niyārnama and probably a wife of Raṇabhañja. Niyārnama has been identified with the Kadamba ruler Niyārṇava.<sup>121</sup>

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala seem to have been displaced from their original territory by the Somavaṁśīs during the reign of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalaśa. Judging from the provenance of their inscriptions, they moved into the Puri-Ganjam area, issuing their copper plate charters from Vañjulvaka. Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalaśa and Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, the first two Bhañja kings to issue their grants from Vañjulvaka, are not endowed with any royal titles, and their successors claimed no title higher than rāṇaka and mahārāja. D. C. Sircar suggests that the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>120</sup> R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, 1: 166) identifies the two Khiñjalis with the territory on both side of the Mahanadi river. According to Rai Bahadur Hiralal ("Four Bhañja Copper-Plate Grants," *EI* 18 (1925-26): 288-89, "Bhanja kings and their country," *JBORS* 16, pt 1, 1930 113-16), Khiñjali corresponds to modern Keonjhar (Kendujhar). Binayak Misra ("Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja," *JBORS* 17, pt 1, 1930-31 105) identifies north Khiñjali with Hujali in Angul, and south Khiñjali with Khijaripara in Baudh. According to D. C. Sircar ("The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-Mandala," *IHQ* 28, no 3, September 1952 225-26), it is possible that Khiñjali was originally the name of a tract comprising parts of Baudh, Sonapur, and Keonjhar regions, over which these Bhañjas initially ruled, and that the same term continued to denote their territory when they moved into the Ganjam area.

<sup>121</sup> This identification is important as it places Raṇabhañja as a contemporary of the Kadamba king Niyārṇava, and gives an idea of the period of the rule of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala. According to Sircar ("The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-Mandala," p 227), the early Bhañjas may be assigned roughly to the period 920-1025 CE.

<sup>122</sup> D. C. Sircar "Some Minor Dynasties of Orissa," *OHRJ* 2, no 2 (1953) 15-16.

### The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries

One of three inscriptions incised on the sides of a stone slab found in Pedagadi village in Mayurbhanj district records a grant by a king whose name ends in 'Bhañja.' The name of the king is read as To[dha]bhañja in D. C. Sircar's version of the text (although Sircar states that the reading of the first part of the king's name is not certain),<sup>123</sup> and Sa(Śa)trubhañja by S. N. Rajaguru.<sup>124</sup> The inscription has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth-eleventh century. The two other inscriptions inscribed on the same slab as the Bhañja record refer to two kings who seem to have been roughly contemporaneous with each other and the Bhañja ruler. They are Dhruvarājadeva and Kumāravarmarāja (according to Rajaguru, the name of the latter is Kumāra Dharmarāja alias Durgarāja<sup>125</sup>). D. C. Sircar suggests that Dhruvarāja and Kumāravarmarāja may have ruled over the Mayurbhanj area, possibly from Khiching, prior to the rise of the family represented by the Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription, and that the rule of this Bhañja family may in turn have been displaced by the Ādi-Bhañjas.<sup>126</sup>

### The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-kotta

Ruling roughly contemporaneously with the Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala was another group of Bhañja kings who established their rule around the Mayurbhanj-Kendujhar area.<sup>127</sup> Most of the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions have been discovered in

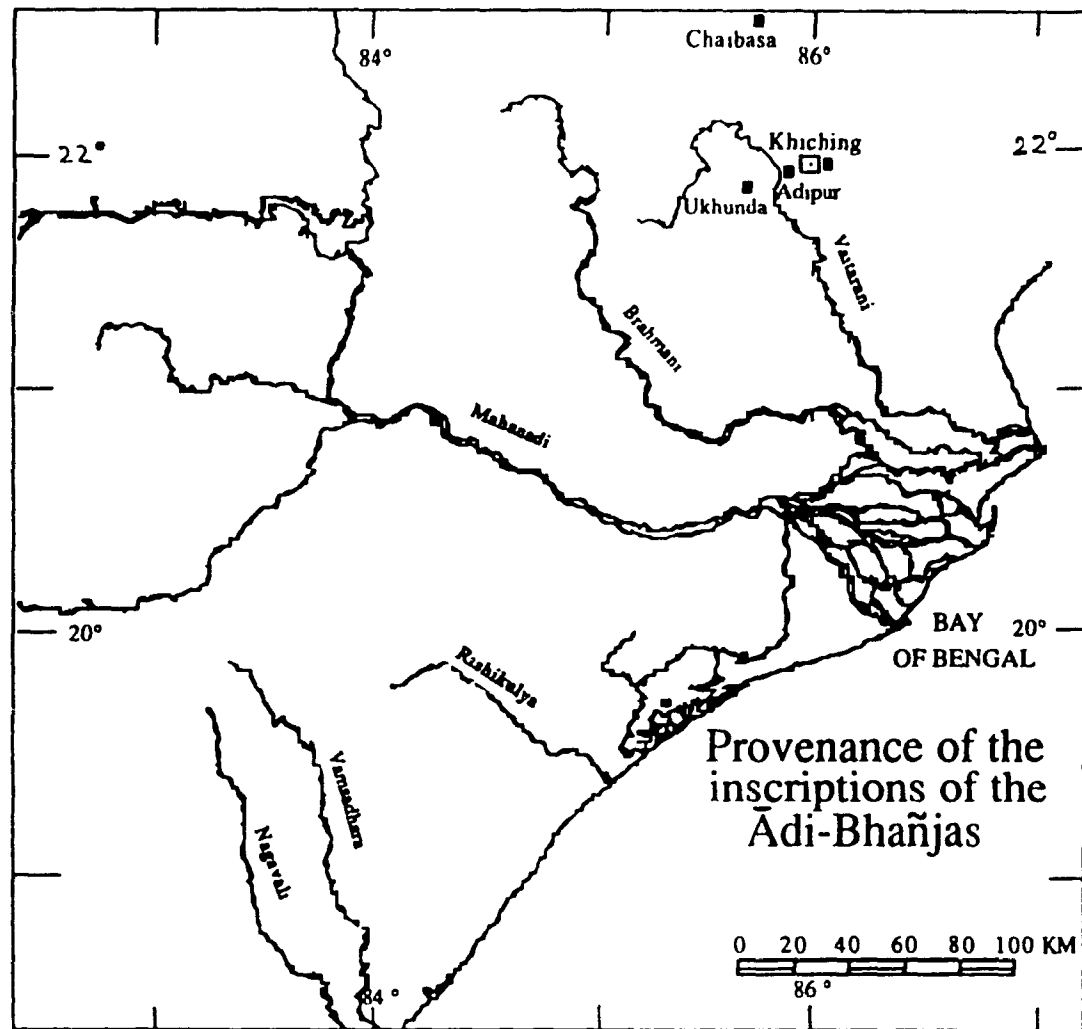
<sup>123</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Three Inscriptions in Baripada Museum," *EI* 33, pt. 2 (April 1959), 83-84.

<sup>124</sup> Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "Three Stone Inscriptions of the Baripada Museum With Plates," *OHRJ* 1, no 2 (1952), 179.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid*, pp 178-79

<sup>126</sup> Sircar, "Three Inscriptions in Baripada Museum," pp. 84-85.

<sup>127</sup> The dates 288 and 293 of the Bamanghati and one of the Adipur grants of Raṇabhañja have been variously referred to the Ganga (R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I: 181, C. C. Das Gupta, "Some Notes on the Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga Kōṭṭa, Earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-Maṇḍala, Bhañjas of Baud and Later Bhañjas of Khiñjali," *ABORI* 12, 1930-31, 245), Harsa (B. Misra, "Maurya Candragupta and Mayurbhanj Rulers," p. 427; R. C. Majumdar, "Three Copper-plate grants from Mayurbhanj," *EI* 25, 1939-40, 153), and Bhauma-Kara (D. C. Sircar, "Bhanja Grant from Khiching," *EI* 30, 1954, 221) eras. If the last hypothesis is accepted, and if the Bhauma era is taken to have commenced, as suggested by Sircar in 831 C.E., the years 288 and 293 of the Bamanghati and Adipur plates of Raṇabhañja would correspond to 1119 and 1124 C. E. respectively. These dates, Sircar argues, are in fact difficult to accept, because it is unlikely that the Ādi-Bhañjas could have continued their independent rule in the Mayurbhanj area much after the eclipse of the Bhauma-Karas by the Somavamśis in the early eleventh century and the conquest of north Orissa by Anantavarman Coḍaganga in the early twelfth century. Sircar also points out that the numbers in the grants of Raṇabhañja are written in symbols (rather than in figures of the decimal system), and that



Mayurbhanj district (two of the copper-plates were found in Singhbhum). Where the place of issue is specified, it is Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭa,<sup>128</sup> identified with modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj district.<sup>129</sup> Most of the Ādi-Bhañja kings do not claim any royal titles.<sup>130</sup> There are, however, certain exceptions: Raṇabhañja's postscripts to the two Ādipur plates of Narendrabhañja describe the former king as mahārāja Raṇabhañja, father of Durjayabhañja, in the Adipur plate of the latter,<sup>131</sup> is given the title mahārājādhirāja. Śatrubhañja's Kesari plate describes him as mahāmaṇḍalādhipati,<sup>132</sup> mahārājādhirāja, and parameśvara as well as aṣṭāśīti-sahasr-ādhipati ('lord of 80,000,' evidently referring to that number of villages).

According to the account contained in most of the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions (the exceptions being the Kesari plate of Śatrubhañja and the Ādipur plate of Durjayabhañja), Gaṇadanda Vīrabhadra, the progenitor of the Ādi-Bhañja lineage (vaṁśa), emerged from a peahen's egg at the great penance-grove (mahā-tapovana) of Koṭyāsrama/Koṭṭāsrama /Kautsāsrama<sup>133</sup> and was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha. Koṭṭabhañja, in all likelihood the

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this was a convention which appears to have become obsolete in Orissan inscriptions before the middle of the eleventh century Sircar therefore suggests that the dates of the inscriptions may have been misread and may actually stand for 188 and 193 respectively, which, referred to the Bhauma-Kara era of 831 C. E., correspond to 1019 and 1024 C. E. respectively (Sircar, "Bhañja Grant From Khiching," p. 221). If, on the other hand, we take the usual date of the Bhauma era to be 736 C.E. (as suggested by Rajaguru and Panigrahi), the original readings of the dates of the Bamanghati and Adipur plates of Raṇabhañja would translate as 1024 and 1032 C.E. respectively.

<sup>128</sup> Several Ādi-Bhañja copper plate grants describe the king as 'Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭa-vāsi' (a resident of Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭa).

<sup>129</sup> R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, 1: 180.

<sup>130</sup> The general absence of royal titles led R. D. Banerji (*ibid.*, p. 181) to suggest that the status of the Ādi-Bhañjas was one of subordination to some other ruling house. This is refuted by R. C. Majumdar ("Three Copper-plate grants from Mayurbhanj," p. 152-153). Majumdar cites the three cases in which royal titles do appear in Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions, and argues that apart from this, the fact that the Ādi-Bhañjas issued their own royal charters independently with their own seals makes a strong argument for the de facto independence of these kings, the question of royal or imperial titles being of secondary importance.

<sup>131</sup> Krishna Chandra Panigrahi ("Adipur copper-Plate of Durjayabhanja," *EI* 25, 1939-40, 173) suggests that the Adipur grant of Durjayabhañja is a forgery, drawn up in around the fifteenth century. He bases this conclusion on the incongruity of the text and style of the Adipur plate with that of other Bhañja grants, as well as the reference in the inscription to Raṇabhañja, the father of Durjayabhañja belonging to the Mivara (i.e. Mivāra/Mewar) lineage (vaṁśa). The Bhañja claim of Rajput origin was fabricated in the seventeenth or eighteenth century (see R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, 1: 161-63).

<sup>132</sup> Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati was the title of the ruler or governor of the territorial unit known as the maṇḍala (see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 179-80).

<sup>133</sup> Hiralal ("Four Bhañja Copper-plate Grants," p. 300) identifies Koṭṭāsrama-tapovana with Kuting, thirty miles from Baripada. P. Acharya (quoted by R. C. Majumdar in "Three Copper-plate Grants from Mayurbhanj," p. 154, n. 5) rejects this identification on the

first historical king of the Ādi-Bhañja family, is said to have been born in Vīrabhadra's lineage (varṇśa). The Kesari plates of Śatrubhañja expand on this story and refer to the 88,000 sons of Vīrabhadra. On account of the prayer of these sons, Vīrabhadra is said to have been protected by Rāmadeva and made lord of 88,000 villages.<sup>134</sup> The Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja skips the miraculous account of Vīrabhadra altogether, but does allude to an aspect of the story in its description of Durjayabhañja's father Raṇabhañja alias Vibhramatuṅga as one who was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha (Vasiṣṭha-muni-pālita).

#### Nettabhañja of the Jurādā plates

A set of copper plates found at the site of the Svapneśvara temple in the hamlet of Deula-Pedi in Ganjam district record a grant made by mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Neṭṭabhañja, grandson of mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Neṭṭabhañja and son of Raṇabhañja. The plates were issued from Kumārapura, which has been identified with Kumarpura village in the Berhampur subdivision of Ganjam district.<sup>135</sup>

#### The Bhañjas of Baudh

Two sets of copper plates of another group of Bhañja kings come from Phulabani district, known previously as Baudh-Phulbani district (one set of plates was found in Baudhgarh, while the other was in the possession of a Khond cultivator of Baudh). They may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the eleventh century.<sup>136</sup> One of them is

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grounds that there are no remains of antiquities at Kuting. According to Sircar ("Bhañja Grant From Khiching," p. 224), Kottāśrama may represent Khijinga-kōṭṭa or a locality in its suburbs.

<sup>134</sup> Binayak Misra (Maurya Candragupta and Mayurbhanj Rulers," p. 423) interprets the passage in question to mean that Vīrabhadra was followed by 88,000 sages and served Rāmadeva, and that he became lord of 88,000 villages.

<sup>135</sup> C. R. Krishnamachari, "The Jurada Grant of Neṭṭabhañjadeva," *EI* 24, pt. 1 (January 1937): 18.

<sup>136</sup> According to R. D. Banerji ("The Baud Plates of Kanakabhañja," *JBORS* 14, pt. 1, 1928: 119) the Baud plates of Kanakabhañja are a forgery. Most other scholars believe the plates to be genuine. There is, however, considerable disagreement about the chronological position of the two Bhañja kings of Baudh and their inscriptions. B. C. Mazumdar ("The Baud Charter of Kanaka-bhañja Deva [Circa 1475 A.D.]," *JBORS* 2, pt. 3, 1916: 366-67) places the grant of Kanakabhañja in 1475 C. E. According to R. D. Banerji ("The Bhañja Dynasty of Orissa," *JBORS* 3, 1917: 323), Kanakabhañja may be placed in the beginning of the twelfth century. Charu Chandra Dasgupta ("The Baud Charter of Kanakabhañja," *IHQ* 9, 1933: 759) assigns the plates of Kanakabhañja to the second half of the eleventh century. According to K. C. Panigrahi ("Baudh Plates of Salonabhañja," *EI* 26, 1941-42: 276), the plates of Salonabhañja belong to the fourteenth century. D. C. Sircar ("Some Minor Dynasties of Orissa," *OHRJ* 2, no. 2, 1953: 20) suggests that Kanakabhañja probably ruled around the close of the eleventh century.

a grant of mahāmaṇḍaleśvara śrī Saloṇa, son of Durjayabhāṇja who ruled from Suvarṇṇapura (modern Sonepur<sup>137</sup>), and grandson of Śilābhāṇja, the ruler of Gandharavādī. The second inscription from Baudh is that of śrīmān Kanakabhāṇja, great-grand-son of Saloṇabhāṇja, grandson of Durjayabhāṇja, and son of Raṇabhāṇja. Both the sets of Baud plates trace the ancestry of these Bhāṇja kings to the sage Kaśyapa.

#### The Bhāṇjas of Kolāda?

Two sets of Bhāṇja copper plates belonging to about the eleventh-twelfth century come from Anturigam village in Chatrapur division of Ganjam district. One is that of śrī Yaśabhāṇja, described as samasta-Khiṇjali-deś-ādhipati (lord of all Khiṇjali country) and Jagadekamalla-vijayī (victorious over Jagadekamalla)<sup>138</sup>. The other is that of rājā Jayabhāṇjadeva, who has the additional title of mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. The genealogy of the two rulers -- both are described as the grandsons of Virabhāṇja and the sons of Rāyabhāṇja, the grant of Yaśabhāṇja taking the genealogy back further by two generations -- suggests that the donors of the Anturigam plates were brothers. The plates of Jayabhāṇja were issued from Kolāda-kataka, which has been identified with Kullada, about four miles from Russellkonda<sup>139</sup>.

#### Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate

An inscription found somewhere in the old Bonai state (in modern Sundargarh district) belongs to the time of a ruler named Udayavarāha. Udayavarāha bears the epithets mahārāja, rānaka, and samadhigata p... mahāśabda. The grant traces the ancestry of Udayavarāha from rājā Uditavarāha (who also bears the title of rānaka), described as born of the Mayūra vamsa,<sup>140</sup> as hailing from Citrakūṭa abode of the sage Vasistha (Vasiṣṭha-

<sup>137</sup> Panigrahi, "Baudh Plates of Salonabhāṇja," p. 277.

<sup>138</sup> Jagadekamalla is identified by H. Krishna Sastri (Ed., *EI* 18: 290, n. 1) with one of the Cālukya kings of Kalyāṇi, perhaps Jagadekamalla II or one of his feudatories. Sircar ("Some Minor Dynasties of Orissa," pp. 19-20) suggests that Jagadekamalla of the Anturigam plates could have been Jayasimha Jagadekamalla I (1015-42 C. E.). S. N. Rajaguru ("More Light on the family of the Donce in Kapoteswar plates of Aniyankabhima (III)," *QHRJ* 13, no. 2, July 1965: 44-45) identifies him with Jagadekamalla alias Vira Pāṇḍyadeva, a feudatory of the western Cālukya king Jagadekamalla II, and suggests that he was defeated by Yaśabhāṇja acting as feudatory of Gajapati Aniyankabhimadeva III.

<sup>139</sup> Tarini Charan Rath, "Anturigam Plates of Jaya-Bhāṇja-Deva," *EI* 19 (1927-28): 42.

<sup>140</sup> H. P. Sastri ("Two copper-plates from the State of Bonai," *JBORS* 6, 1920: 242) identifies the Mayūra family of Udayavarāha with a branch of the Bhāṇjas ruling over Talāmaṇḍala. Binayak Misra agrees with this conclusion, and asserts that the name of the state of Mayurbhāṇja itself proves that it owed its origin to the Bhāṇja branch of the Mayūra family.

vāsaka-śrī-Citrakūṭa-vinirgata). and as a resident of Talāṁ maṇḍala (Talau-mandale vāstavya). Tejavarāha was born in Uditavarāha's lineage (anvaya), and the former was succeeded by his son Udayavarāha

#### Narendradhavalā of the Madras Museum Plates

A set of copper plates, the original find-spot of which is unknown, records in detail a series of land transactions involving the village Tadesva(śva)ra. The village is described as situated in Kṛṇḍarasimha (i.e. Kṛṇḍiraśṅga) forming part of Gonunda or Momunda maṇḍala in the kingdom of Narendradhavalā. The inscription is of considerable interest as it is a kraya-śāsana (i.e. a sale deed). Narendradhavalā seems to have been roughly contemporaneous with the earlier Bhaṇjas of Kṛṇḍali-maṇḍala, and the Madras Museum plates may tentatively be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century.<sup>141</sup>

#### The Śulkīs

In the course of the ninth or tenth century, the Śulkī dynasty established its rule over the area of modern Dhenkanal district. The copper plate grants of the Śulkī kings were issued from Kodāloka, which has been tentatively identified with modern Koalu, about six or seven miles from Talcher, on the left bank of the Brahmani river in Dhenkanal district.<sup>142</sup> Only two of the Śulkī grants are dated, the date of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha has been variously read as Samvat 3, 83, 200, and 103, while the Hindol plate of Kulastambha is dated in the fourth regnal year. The epithet 'samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda' or one of its variants (in the case of Kulastambha accompanied with the title mahārāja) with which most of the Śulkī charters endow these kings, indicate their subordinate position vis-à-vis another unnamed ruling house.<sup>143</sup> It may be noted, however,

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Misra goes on to suggest that the Bhaṇja family probably sprang from the Maurya family. A third hypothesis that he offers is that Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate may have been a Śavara king (Binayak Misra, "Copper plate Grant of Nettiabhaṇja," pp. 105-13). All these suggestions are highly speculative.

<sup>141</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Madras Museum Plates of the Time of Narendradhavalā," *EJ* 28 (1949-50) 45. It may also be pointed out that the Madras Museum plates refer to one Śilābhaṇja, who may be identified with the founder of the Bhaṇja dynasty of Kṛṇḍali-maṇḍala. The engraver of the plates -- Padmanābha, son of the merchant (vanik) Pāṇḍi, and an inhabitant of Gadhatapāṇi -- may, further, be identified with the merchant-goldsmith (vanik-suvarṇakāra) Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍi, who engraved the Sonpur plates of raṇaḥa Ranabhaṇja.

<sup>142</sup> D. C. Sircar and P. Acharya, "Hindol Plate of Kulastambha," *EJ* 28 (1949) 112.

<sup>143</sup> D. C. Sircar ("Dominions of the Śulkīs of Orissa," *The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, 18, pt. 1, September 1948: 45) suggests that the Śulkīs may have been semi-

that two of the Śulkī grants -- the Talcher plate of Raṇastambha alias Kulastambha, and one of the Dhenkanal plates of Jayastambha -- endow the royal donor with a melange of imperial and subordinate titles mahārājādhirāja and parama-bhaṭṭāraka in addition to samadhiḡata-pañca-mahāśabda in the first case, and mahārājādhirāja and samadhiḡata-pañca-mahāśabda in the latter. In another grant of Jayastambha, the title mahārājādhirāja appears without the subordinate titles. Several Śulkī charters speak of the kings of this family as lord of all the Gondramas, the exact implication of which is not certain.<sup>144</sup> In his Bhimanagari and Puri plates, Kulastambha is described as lord of all the Gondramas with Śaṅkhajoṭi forming the borderland of his kingdom. Śaṅkhajoṭi has been identified with the Sankha river in the Sundargarh region.<sup>145</sup>

### The Tuṅgas

Another set of rulers whose inscriptions have been found in the Dhenkanal area and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth-eleventh century, are the Tuṅgas.<sup>146</sup>

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independent rulers owing allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. He bases this hypothesis on the date of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha (read by him as 103), which, according to him, has to be referred to the Bhauma-Kara era.

<sup>144</sup> Haraprasad Sastri ("Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," *JBORS* 2, pt 4, 1916 401, 409) saw herein a reference to the Gond tribe. This has been refuted by Narayan Tripathi ("Two Śulki Plates," *JBORS* 16, pts 3 & 4, 1930 455), who argues that Gondrama was a geographical term applied to a portion of the hilly tracts extending from Bonai Bamra to Jaypur. According to Sircar and Acharya ("Hindol plate of Kulastambha," p 110, n 2) Gondrama may be taken to mean roughly the same as the Oriya 'Gadajāta,' denoting the area covered by the old feudatory states. H. Kulke ('Early State Formation and Royal Legitimation in Late Ancient Orissa,' p 111) has revived the suggestion that Gondrama referred to the country of the Gond tribe, which may be identified with the Pallahara area. Kulke also suggests (*ibid.*, p 111) that the Śulkis probably belonged to the Śaulikika tribe, mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as living between the Kalingas and Cedis of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. Kulke does not, unfortunately cite the passage where this reference occurs. According to D. C. Sircar's compilation of the Pauranic list of peoples (*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p 35, n 4), the Śūlikas or Śūlikas, who are mentioned in the Purāṇas, can be identified with the Sogdians living to the north of the Oxus river; they not seem to have been related to the Śulkis of Orissa. The *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa* refers to the Śaulikas, who are mentioned along with the Paurikas (the people of Puri in the Konkan region) and the Maulikas (people of Mūlaka, the area around Pailhan on the Godavari in Aurangabad district Maharashtra) (Sircar, *ibid.*, p 39, n 8). Whether or not the Śulkis of Orissa were related to them is a matter of conjecture.

<sup>145</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Puri Plate of Kulastambha," *El* 29, pt 6 (1952) 167.

<sup>146</sup> It may be noted that the meanings of the word 'Tunga' include prominent, erect, lofty, high, an elevation, height, and mountain (*Mon. Will.*, pp 449-50). This may perhaps be related to the hilly terrain in which the kings bearing this name established their domain.



The Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatūṅga is dated in year 161 of an unnamed era <sup>147</sup> One of the Talcher plates of Gayāḍatunga was issued from Jayapura-kōṭṭa, the other Talcher plate and the Asiatic society plate of Gayāḍatunga and the Bonai plate of Vinītatunga from a hill called Mahāparvata (or a city situated on this hill), and the Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatūṅga from Rī(r)ṣivāsaka (identified with Mahāvināyaka on the borders of Cuttack and Dhenkanal districts<sup>148</sup>), where there is a hill called Mahāparvata Yamagarta-mandala, over which the Tūṅga seem to have ruled, has been identified with Jamgadia in Angul or Jommurdi in the old Pal-Lahara State <sup>149</sup>

The Tunga rulers did not claim titles higher than mahārāja, mahāsāmant-ādhipati, and rājaka, and also bore the subordinate epithet samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda or samadhigat-āśesa-mahāśabda Vinītatunga is described in his grants as the lord of all or the eighteen Gondramas. The genealogical portion of the Tunga grants trace the lineage from rājā (king) Jagattuṅga of the Śāndilya gotra, who belonged to a family originally residing at Rohitagiri (generally identified with Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar<sup>150</sup>)

#### Jayasimhadeva

An inscription from Dhenkanal district, dated in Samvat 99 or 93, speaks of a ruler named Jayasimhadeva. Jayasimhadeva bears the titles of prāpta-pañca-mahāśabda (one who has obtained the five sounds) and sakala-Gondram-ādhipati (lord of all Gondrama). According to Hara Prasad Shastri's interpretation, the grant was issued from the family residence at Mandākinī (Mandākinī-kula-vāsakāt),<sup>151</sup> but Binayak Misra suggests that the

<sup>147</sup> D. C. Sircar ("Grants of Gayadatunga," EI 34, pt. 2, April 1961-92) suggests that this date refers to the Bhauma era and that the Tungas, like the Śulkis, were semi-independent feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. The name of a feudatory called Vinītatunga occurs in the two Talcher plates of Śivakara III.

<sup>148</sup> A. K. Rath, "The Khargaprasāda Copper Plate of Vinītatunga," OHRJ 11, no. 4 (1963) 245.

<sup>149</sup> Binayak Misra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa (New Delhi: Ramanand Vidya Bhawan, 1933), p. 40. It may be mentioned that A. K. Rath ("The Khargaprasāda Copper Plate of Vinītatunga," pp. 243-44) is of the opinion that the Tungas were originally ruling over the area of Samasta-Gondrama, and that Vinītatunga, after defeating an enemy king of Yamagarta-mandala, annexed the territory of the latter to his kingdom. Rath bases his hypothesis on his interpretation of ll. 6-9 of the Khargaprasad inscription.

<sup>150</sup> See, for instance, R. D. Banerji, "Talcher Plate of Gayadatungadeva," JPASB, NS 12 (1916) 291. N. K. Sahu ("Talcher Copper Plate Grant of Śrī Gayāḍa Tunga," OHRJ 7, no. 1, April 1958: 67), however, prefers to identify Rohitagiri with Ratagarh in the Cuttack district of Orissa.

<sup>151</sup> Hara Prasad Shastri, "Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," pp. 418-19.

passage in question indicates that Jayasimha obtained the five great sounds from a person residing on the banks of the Mandākinī (Mandākinī-kula-vāsakat prāpta-pañca-mahāśabda). Misra is, thus, of the opinion that it was the overlord of Jayasimhadeva who resided on the banks of the Mandākinī river. He suggests that Jayasimha was probably a feudatory of a ruler residing at Jajpur, probably a Bhauma king, and that this hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that there is a stream called Mandākinī flowing through Jajpur, and that the grant of Jayasimha, like the inscriptions of the Bhauma rulers, is dated in the regnal year of an unnamed era <sup>152</sup>

### The Nandodbhavas

The Nandodbhavas appear to have ruled over parts of Dhenkanal and the adjoining areas of Cuttack and Puri districts some time during the tenth-eleventh century. The Daspalla plate of Devānandadeva is dated in year 184, and the Jayapur or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva in the year 281 or 193 of an unnamed era. The political centre whence the Nandodbhava copper plate grants were issued was Jayapura (identified with Jaipur village in Dhenkanal district<sup>153</sup>). The titles assumed by Devānanda include mahāsāmant-ādhipati,<sup>154</sup> parama-bhaṭṭāraka-samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda,<sup>155</sup> rāṇaka, mahārāja, and mahāsāmant-ādhipati-vandita-parama-bhaṭṭāraka,<sup>156</sup> those of Dhruvānanda include parama-bhaṭṭāraka, samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda, and mahāsāmant-ādhipati. The genealogy commences with Jayānanda, born in the Nandodbhava family and described as having subdued the whole of Gondrama

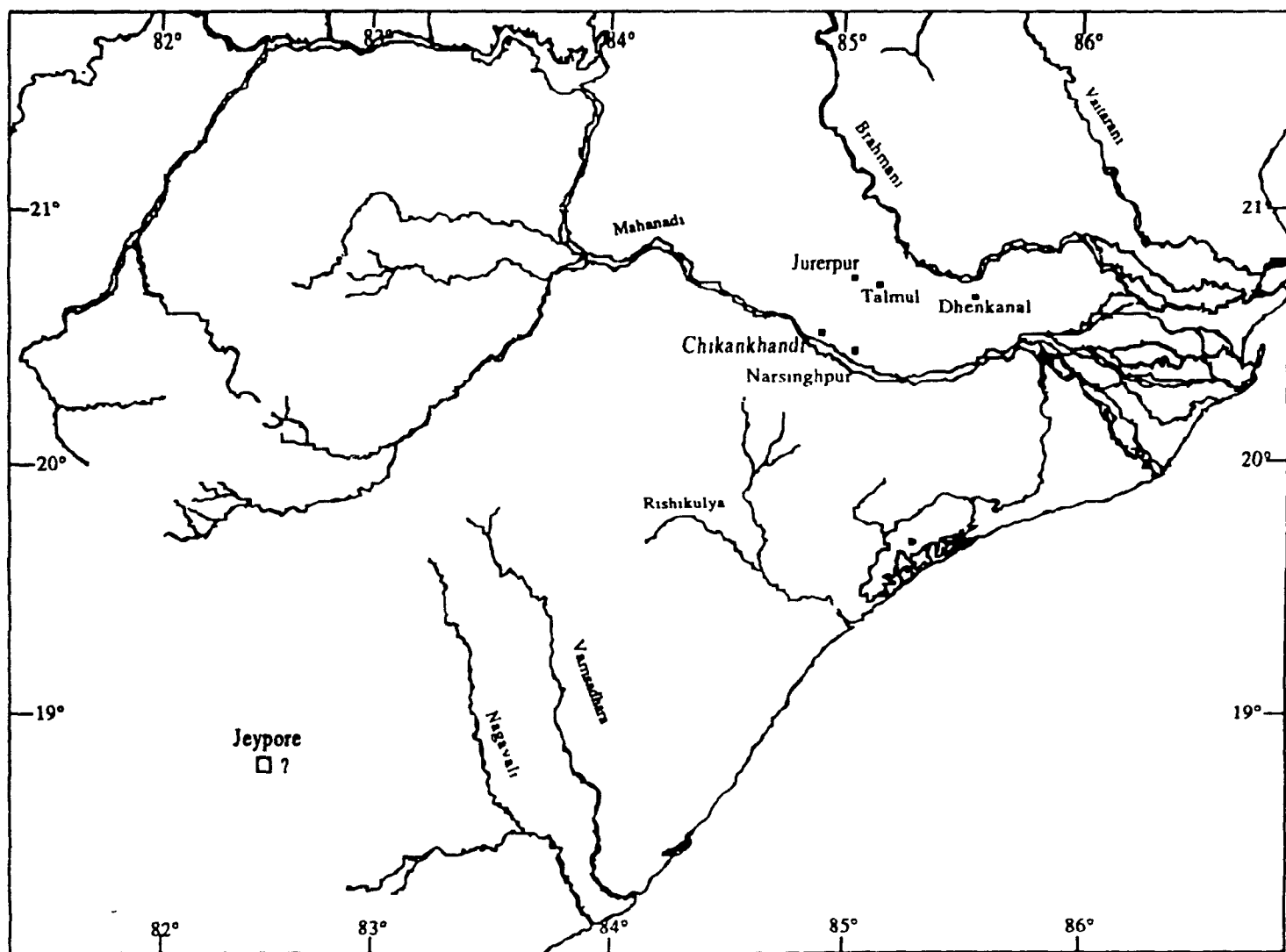
<sup>152</sup> Binayak Misra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, 23-26

<sup>153</sup> K. C. Panigrahi, "Baripada Museum Plate of Devanandadeva," EI 26 (1941-42): 77.

<sup>154</sup> According to D. C. Sircar ("Two Plates of Devanandadeva," EI, 27, 1947-48: 326), mahāsāmant-ādhipati was a title used in the post-Gupta period, indicating a feudatory of the foremost rank under an imperial ruler.

<sup>155</sup> This could mean 'one who has obtained the five sounds from the parama-bhaṭṭāraka, i.e. his overlord'. On the other hand, parama-bhaṭṭāraka and samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda could be two separate epithets of Devānandadeva himself. Sircar (*ibid.*, p. 326) suggests that the ambiguity may have been intentional.

<sup>156</sup> This epithet could have two meanings: a paramount king worshipped by the lords of the mahāsāmantas, i.e. by one or more feudatory, or a lord of the mahāsāmantas who worshipped his overlord.



Provenance of the Nandodbhava inscriptions

□ Political centres

• Find-spots

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

### Vira-Pracandadeva

Another ruler who had established himself in the Dhenkanal area in the tenth or eleventh century was Vira-Pracandadeva of the Kulika lineage (varṇśa).<sup>157</sup> His copper plate grant was found in Chittalapur village in the Hindol subdivision of Dhenkanal district.<sup>158</sup>

### The Somavamśis

In the tenth century C.E., the Somavamśis of South Kosala (the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur area) expanded their dominions and came to carve out an empire that included large parts of northern and central Orissa. The inscriptions of these kings have been found in the Balangir, Sambalpur, Baleshwar, Cuttack, and Puri districts. The copper plate grants of the Somavamśis were issued variously from the following political centres: Suvarṇapura (identified with Sonepur<sup>159</sup>), Mūrasīma or Murasīma (identified with Mursing in the Jarasingha zamindari of the old Patna State, now in Balangir district<sup>160</sup>), Ārama, Vinītapura (identified with Binka in the old Sonepur State<sup>161</sup>), Yayātinagara (identified with Jajpur<sup>162</sup>), Kisarakellā (identified with Kesarkela village, about six miles east of Balangir<sup>163</sup>), and Vā(?)mandapāṭī.

<sup>157</sup> It may be noted that the Kulikas are mentioned in several copper plate grants of the Pālas of Bengal (eighth to twelfth century). They are mentioned along with the Gaudas, Mālavas, Khasas, Hūnas, Karnaṭas, and Latas. In the opinion of several scholars (see, for instance, D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 133), some or all of these terms refer to military contingents recruited from amongst these people into the Pāla army. The geographical location of these Kulikas is not certain. According to D. C. Sircar (*Indian Epigraphy*, p. 367), they seem to be the same as the Kulyas who are mentioned in the Purāṇas, and may be identified with the people of Kulait in the upper Ravi valley.

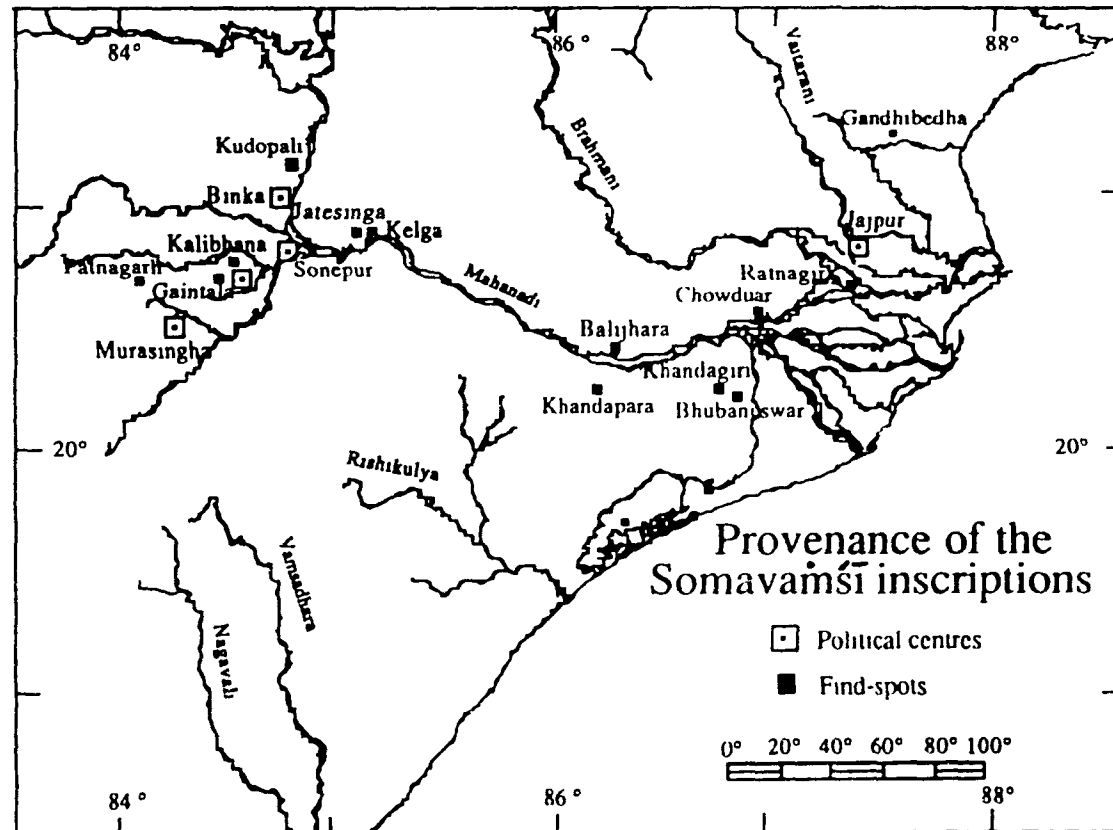
<sup>158</sup> Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "Hindol Plate of Prachandadeva of Kulika-Vamśa," *OHRJ* 12, no. 1 (1964) 48.

<sup>159</sup> D. C. Sircar and P. C. Rath, "Kālibhanā Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Somavamśi King Mahā-Bhāvagupta I Janamejaya," *IHQ* 20 (1944) 246.

<sup>160</sup> *ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>161</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Balangir Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, Regnal Year 8," *JASBL* 19 (1953) 118.

<sup>162</sup> According to Panigrahi (*Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamśis of Orissa*, pp. 13-15), there were two Yayātinagaras, one situated in South Kosala and the other -- Abhinava or the new Yayātinagara -- established after the occupation of Orissa by Yayāu I. The latter Yayātinagara, according to Panigrahi, can be identified with modern Jajpur. A problem that arises with this identification is that in the Cuttack museum plates of Mahābhāvagupta Bhimaratha (no. 18) and the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha (no. 20), Yayātinagara -- apparently the one in Orissa -- is said to be located on the Mahanadi river. Jajpur is situated on the river Vaitarani, not on the Mahanadi. D. C. Sircar ("Note on Ratnagiri Plates of Somavamśi Karas," *EI* 33, pt. 6, 1960 271-72) suggests that this was a confusion arising out of the fact that the original Yayātinagara -- located at Binka in the old Sonepur State -- was situated on the Mahanadi. Sircar credits Yayāu I with establishing the first Yayātinagara and Yayāu II with establishing the second city of that



The Somavamśī inscriptions record grants of land situated in Kosala-deśa (i.e. south Kosala), Odha/Oḍri (i.e. Oḍra) deśa, and Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Tosali, indicating their rule over these areas.<sup>164</sup> All the kings of this dynasty are endowed in their inscriptions with titles of paramountcy such as parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, and parameśvara. They are said to belong to the Soma family (kula), and all except the last few kings of this line claim the epithet of Trikalīṅg-ādhipati (lord of Trikalīṅga).<sup>165</sup> The Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara describe him as having the Ātreya gotra and a three-ṛṣi pravara.<sup>166</sup>

That the Somavamśīs had a matrimonial alliance with the Bhauma-Karas is known from the Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Pṛthvīmahādevī, which describe her as the daughter of Svabhāvatūṅga of Kosala. D. C. Sircar suggests that the Somavamśī king in question was Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I alias Svabhāvatūṅga.<sup>167</sup> According to Panigrahi, on the other hand, the Svabhāvatūṅga of the Baud plates was Janamejaya I.<sup>168</sup> It is possible that Pṛthvīmahādevī attained the Bhauma-Kara throne with the help of her father after the death of her husband Kusumāhāra (Śubhākara IV) and his brother Lalitāhāra (Śivakara III), setting aside the claims of the latter's sons.<sup>169</sup> Panigrahi suggests that Janamejaya killed the reigning Bhauma-Kara king and placed his daughter Pṛthvīmahādevī on the throne.<sup>170</sup>

The Somavamśī inscriptions indicate the various military successes of these kings. The union of South Kosala and Utkala was achieved in the tenth century by either Yayāti I or Yayāti II.<sup>171</sup> The Balangir Museum plates of the eighth year of Yayāti I (no. 13) seem to

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name after the conquest of Utkala. According to S. N. Rajaguru (*IO*, 4: 373), however, Yayātinagara should be identified with a place on the banks of the Mahanadi near Kantilo in Khandapara subdivision, where the remains of many ancient monuments have been discovered.

<sup>163</sup> L. P. Pandeya, "The Mahakosala Historical Society's Plates of Mahabhavaguptarajadeva," *EI* 22 (1933-34): 136.

<sup>164</sup> South Kosala comprised the modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur tracts. Odra, in this period, seems to have referred to the territory lying between south Kosala in the west and the coastal area on the east (Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, p. 57). Uttara or north Tosali included Baleswar and parts of Cuttack and Medinipur districts, while Dakṣiṇa or south Tosali comprised Puri and parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts.

<sup>165</sup> See *supra*, n. 40.

<sup>166</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Two Inscriptions from Kelga," *EI* 28, pt. 2 (July 1950): 325, ll. 29-30. See chap. III on gotra and pravara.

<sup>167</sup> D. C. Sircar, "The Later Somavamśīs," *OHRJ* 1, no. 4 (January 1953): 290-91.

<sup>168</sup> Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamśīs of Orissa*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>169</sup> Sircar, "The Later Somavamśīs," pp. 290-91.

<sup>170</sup> Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamśīs of Orissa*, p. 6.

<sup>171</sup> Panigrahi (*ibid.*, pp. 31-32) gives Yayāti I the credit for effecting the union between south Kosala and Utkala. D. C. Sircar ("The Later Somavamśīs," pp. 293-95) and Rajaguru (*IO*, 4: 381) attribute this achievement to Yayāti II.

refer to this king's victorious military campaign against the Caidyas or Cedis (i.e. Kalacuris) and state that his son devastated the Ḍahālā country ruled by the Cedi king Durgarāja.<sup>172</sup> The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Yayāti II (no. 21) refer to his having established himself as the lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala, his conquest of Kaṇṇāṭa, Lāṭa, the Gurjara and Draviḍa country, his denuding the Kāñcī country of its glory, and his victorious assaults against Gauḍa and Rāḍha. He is further described as having attained the position of Trikalīṅg-ādhipati (lord of Trikalīṅga) by means of his own arms.<sup>173</sup> The Narsinghpur plates of Yayāti II's son Udyotakeśarī refer to the former as having become the king of the countries of Kosala and Utkala.<sup>174</sup> The Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī describes how the troubles that beset the Somavamśī kingdom after the death of Rājamalla came to an end when Yayāti II alias Caṇḍīhara, elevated to the throne by the ministers (amātyas), made secure both the kingdoms (i.e. Utkala and Kosala).<sup>175</sup> Significantly, the Narasinghpur plates refer to the mahāsandhivigrahin (minister of peace and war) Rudradatta as the mahāsandhivigrahin of both Utkala and Kosala.<sup>176</sup> (his predecessors are referred to as the mahāsandhivigrahins of Kosala alone). This inscription also describes Udyotakeśarī as having defeated the kings of Ḍāhala, Oḍra, and Gauda.<sup>177</sup>

The power of the Somavamśī dynasty seems to have declined after the reign of Udyotakeśarī. The Ratnagiri plates of one of his successors, Karna, allude in vague terms to the military achievements of his immediate predecessors. Janamejaya, the grandson of Yayāti, is said to have threatened the Nāga king; his son Purañjaya is said to have inspired fear in the kings of Gauḍa, Ḍāhala, Kaliṅga, and Vaṅga.<sup>178</sup> The title Trikalīṅg-ādhipati was replaced by the modest title Paścima-Laṅk-ādhipati (lord of Paścima-Laṅkā),<sup>179</sup> and the

<sup>172</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Balangir Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, Regnal Year 8," pp. 119-120; 123-124, II 43-50. Panigrahi (Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamśis of Orissa, p. 3) reads the name of the Cedi king as Yuvarāja, and identifies him with the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja I (915-945 C.E.)

<sup>173</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 219-20, II. 13-16

<sup>174</sup> Binayak Misra, "Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV," *JBORS* 17 (1930-31): 16, II 21-25.

<sup>175</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 246, vv 7, 8

<sup>176</sup> *ibid*, p. 19, II 71-73

<sup>177</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 247, v 10

<sup>178</sup> Debala Mitra, "Ratnagiri Plates of Somavamśi Karna," *EI* 33, pt 6 (April 1960): 266, vv 13-15

<sup>179</sup> Paścima-Laṅkā, literally 'the western island,' must have been located somewhere in south Kosala (D. C. Sircar, "Two Inscriptions From Kelga," p. 323).

epithet mahārājādhirāja by kumārādhirāja in the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara.<sup>180</sup> Somavamśī rule in lower Orissa was ultimately displaced in the early twelfth century by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, while it is likely that it was the Kalacuris, the Chindaka-Nāgas of Bastar and their Telugu-Coḍa feudatories who were responsible for the elimination of Somavamśī rule in upper Orissa.<sup>181</sup>

#### South and north Orissa

##### The imperial Gaṅgas (inscriptions no. 41-77)

The process of the consolidation and expansion of the Gaṅga empire which culminated in the conquest of north Orissa and its unification with the southern homeland of the Gaṅgas seems to have been initiated in the early tenth century by the predecessors of Vajrahasta III.<sup>182</sup> These kings are often referred to as the imperial Gaṅgas, in order to distinguish them from their predecessors, although they seem to have belonged to the same family or to a branch of the same family as the earlier Gaṅgas of Kalīṅganagara. From the time of Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates (no. 45), the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅga kings are dated in the Śaka era of 78 C.E. rather than the Gaṅga era. The inscriptions of Vajrahasta III and his successors contain an elaborate praśasti which includes the date (in chronograms)<sup>183</sup> of their consecration (abhiṣeka) and the length of their rule. Thus, Vajrahasta III is known to have ruled between 1038-1070 C.E., his son Rājārāja I Devendrarman between 1070-1078 C.E., and Rājārāja's son Anantavarman Codagaṅga between 1078-1147 C.E.

<sup>180</sup> *ibid.*, p. 325, ll 6-7. Kumāra Someśvara is said to have issued this grant after the end of the rule of Abhimanyu who had been established in the kingdom presented to him by Udyotakeśari. According to Sircar (*ibid.*, pp 323-24) Abhimanyu may have been assigned to rule over the dominions of the Somavamśis that lay in south Kosala by Udyotakeśari Mahābhavagupta IV, the latter continuing to rule over Utkala. He argues that the purpose of this arrangement may have been to safeguard the Somavamśi dominions from the Chindaka-Nāga and Telugu-Coḍa inroads into Kosala and the Ganga inroads into Utkala.

<sup>181</sup> Sircar, "The Later Somavamśis," pp 296-300.

<sup>182</sup> The inscriptions of Vajrahasta III suggest that one of his ancestors -- Vajrahasta, son of Guṇamahānava -- united under his rule five branches of the Ganga family and their dominions. See, for instance, Sten Konow, "Narasapatam Plates of Vajrahasta III, Śaka-Samvat 967," *IEI* 11(1911-12) 149, v 1.

<sup>183</sup> For instance, the Arasavalli grant of Vajrahasta (no 49) was made in the Śaka year 'kara-vasu-nidhi'. The words in this chronogram stand for the numerals 2, 8, and 9 respectively. The reversal of the order of these numerals gives us the date of the grant -- Śaka 982. (On the use of chronograms in ancient inscriptions, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp 228-33).



Copper plate grants of Vajrahasta III and his immediate successors have been found mainly in Ganjam and Srikakulam districts, while those of Anantavarman Coḍaganga have also been found further north in Puri district.<sup>184</sup> Except for the Andhavaram, Ponduru, and Narasapatam plates (nos. 41, 42, 46) which were issued from Dantapura, all the grants of the imperial Gaṅgas (where the place of issue is specified) were issued from Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam). It seems, however, that Anantavarman Coḍaganga shifted his capital to Cauduāra Kaṭaka (modern Chaudwar) or Abhinava Yayātinagara (modern Jajpur) after his conquest of Utkala in about 1112 C.E..<sup>185</sup>

The copper plate inscriptions of the kings of this family contain an elaborate praśasti. The titles with which this endows them include parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, and Trikaṇṭha-ādhipati. The imperial Gaṅgas claim to have belonged to the Ātreya gotra

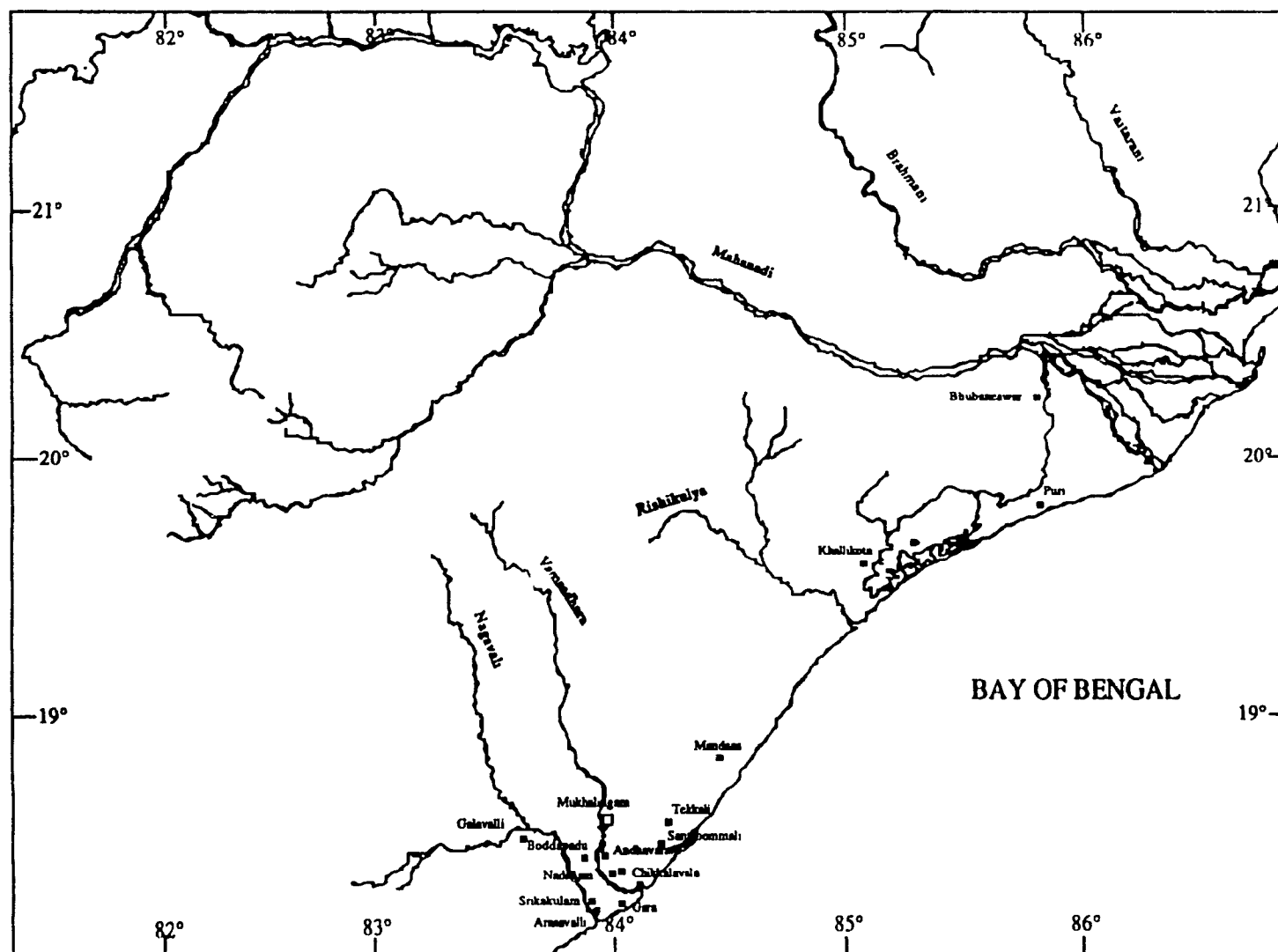
The imperial Ganga inscriptions give two versions of the genealogy of the lineage. The shorter version of the earlier inscriptions was amplified and given a more grandiose form during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍaganga. The praśasti of two of Anantavarman Coḍaganga's grants (one of the Korni sets and one of the Vizagapatam sets, no. 65 and 68) traces the Ganga genealogy to the god Ananta (Viṣṇu). The account goes on to state that Turvaśu (whose descent from the god is demonstrated), son of Yayāti and grandson of Nahuṣa, practised austerities for many years in order to obtain a son. In this manner, he propitiated the river Gangā and obtained a son named Gāngeya, the progenitor of the Gangānvaya (Ganga lineage).<sup>186</sup> Coḍaganga's inscriptions also refer to one of this king's ancestors named Kolāhala, who built the city named Kolāhalapura in Gangāvaḍi visaya. This account suggests the migration of the Gaṅgas from the Karnataka area. According to the account, Kāmārṇava, who belonged to Kolāhala's lineage, left Kolāhalapura, arrived with his brothers at Mahendragiri, and worshipped the deity Gokarṇasvamin thereon. Then, accompanied by his four younger brothers, he defeated Śabarāditya, and conquered the Kaṇṭha.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>184</sup> It may be noted that a large number of inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the imperial Ganga kings, mostly in the Telugu language and/or script and inscribed on temple walls, have been found in various parts of Andhra Pradesh. These inscriptions have not been drawn on for this study.

<sup>185</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 3, pt 2, 299.

<sup>186</sup> See, for example, J. F. Fleet, "Vizagapatam Copper-Plate Grant of Anantavarman-Chodagangadeva Saka-Samvat 1040," *IA* 18 (1889) 166, ll. 1-19.

<sup>187</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 35-49. The name Śabarāditya suggests a connection with the Śavara tribe. Śabarāditya may have been a chief of this tribe.



Provenance of the Ganga inscriptions (41-77)

□ Political centres

■ Find-spots

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

The military expansion of the imperial Gaṅgas may have been assisted by an alliance with the Coḷas. Rājasundarī, the mother of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, and Coḍamahādevī, one of his queens, were Coḷa princesses.<sup>188</sup> According to D. C. Sircar, the imperial Gaṅgas may have been regarded by the Coḷa monarchs as their subordinate allies.<sup>189</sup> This is suggested, he states, by the fact that while Rājarāja Coḷa (985-1016 C.E.) claims to have conquered Veṅḷi (ruled at the time by the eastern Cālukyas) and Kalinga, probably some time before 1003 C.E., the inscriptions of Rājendra I (1012-1044 C.E.) refer to the subjugation of Oḍra and Kosala, which were under Somavarṁśī rule at this time, but not to any conflict with the ruler of Kalinga.<sup>190</sup> Subsequently, Kulottunga Coḷa I twice despatched armies against Kalinga -- the first attack, which probably occurred shortly after 1076 C.E., was repulsed by the Gaṅga king Rājarāja I, the second attack, which occurred early in the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, was successful.<sup>191</sup> Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga succeeded, however, in recovering some of the lost territory and in establishing, for some time, Gaṅga suzerainty upto the Godavari. Some time before 1134 C.E., Kulloṭṭunga Coḷa II and his feudatories ousted the Gaṅgas from the Godavari district.<sup>192</sup>

Anantavarman Codagaṅga made several inroads into Bengal, coming into conflict with the Pālas. In the period when the power of the Pālas was waning, Codaganga defeated the ruling chief of Mandāra, sacked his capital Āramya (identified with modern Arambagh in Hooghly district), and pursued him upto the banks of the Ganga.<sup>193</sup> Further northwards and westwards expansion of the Ganga empire was inhibited by the presence of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II of south Kosala, and Paramāra Laksmadeva of Malava.<sup>194</sup> Kalinga was amalgamated with Utkala by Anantavarman Coḍaganga probably some time around 1112 C.E.<sup>195</sup> A Telugu inscription found at Srikurmam states that this Ganga king succeeded in extending his empire from the Gautamī (Godavari) to the Bhagīrathī

<sup>188</sup> It may be noted that the imperial Gaṅgas also had matrimonial relations with the Haihayas and Cālukyas (Rajaguru, *IO*, 3, pt. 2. 382-83).

<sup>189</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Alagum Inscription of Anantavarman: Regnal Year 62," *EI* 29, pt. 2 (April 1951): 46-47.

<sup>190</sup> *ibid*

<sup>191</sup> D. C. Ganguly in R. C. Majumdar, gen. ed., *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 5: *The Struggle for Empire*, 2d ed., 1966, p. 205

<sup>192</sup> *ibid.*, p. 206

<sup>193</sup> *ibid*

<sup>194</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>195</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 3, pt. 2. 394.

(Godāvarī), after which he pleased the gods, the ṛṣis, the pitṛs (ancestors), and the Brāhmaṇas by distributing charities.<sup>196</sup>

Apart from the grants issued by the imperial Gaṅga kings themselves, there are several inscriptions that record grants made by Gaṅga feudatories, official functionaries, and military chiefs (nāyakas). The donor of the Simhipura plates (no. 43) was rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi of the Kadamba family (kula),<sup>197</sup> residing in Jayantyāpura, whose titles include pañca-viṣaya-maṇḍaleśvara (lord of five viṣayas and of a maṇḍala) and Mahendr-ādhipati (lord of Mahendra). The donor of the Mandasa plates (no. 45) was rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi of the Kadamba family established at Jayantyāpura, and endowed with the titles of pañca-viṣay-ādhipati and mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. The Chicacole plates of the time of Madhukāvārṇava (no. 44) record a grant made by Lakṣmaṇa Rāmadeva of the Kuḍālavaṇa or Kubhālavaśa family (kula), ruler of Cincali Paṭṭyāpura lying to the west of Trikhala in Kalinga-maṇḍala. The Madagrama plates (no. 54) of the time of Devendravarman<sup>198</sup> record a grant of rāṇaka śrī Bhīmakheḍi, son of Dharmakheḍi, evidently a Kadamba feudatory (bearing the epithets of maṇḍalika and samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda). Vanapati, the donor of the Dirghasi inscription (no. 56), appears to have been a commander-in-chief of the forces of the king Rājārāja. The stone inscription of the time of Devendravarman at Gara (no. 59) records the gift of fifty cows by a military chief (nāyaka) named Peddallu Gokana nāyaka to defray the cost of a perpetual lamp for the deity Nārāyanadeva. The Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 72) records the an endowment (after purchase) of land and money in favour of the deity Gartheśvara made by Kāmāṇḍi, described as a diśāpati (perhaps a governor of a territorial unit) hailing from the country of the Coḷas.

### Summary

The political history of Orissa in the ancient and early medieval periods was characterized by swiftly changing political configurations -- the rise to power of new lineages, some very short-lived, leading to the eclipse, displacement, or subjugation of older ones and the re-asserting of their territory. The geographical contours and foci of kingdoms were being constantly redefined in the face of military victories and reversals.

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<sup>196</sup> Rajaguru, *IO* 3, pt. 1: 174-75.

<sup>197</sup> As pointed out earlier, the Kadambas seem to have been a branch of the western Kadambas of the Kanarese country.

<sup>198</sup> There is a controversy over whether this Devendravarman belonged to the Śvetaka or Kalinganagara line of the Gaṅgas. Sircar ("Note on the Madagrama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhimakhedi," pp. 53-56) believes he was a Śvetaka Gaṅga king.

From the fourth century onwards, there is evidence of the emergence and proliferation of kingdoms all over Orissa.<sup>199</sup> The following early centres of political development can be identified:

1. Kalinga, which, from the late fifth century onwards comprised Srikakulam and south Ganjam districts, and included the Vamsadhara and Nagavali river valleys.

2. Uṭṭara Tosālī (which roughly corresponded to Utkala), which comprised Baleshwar and parts of Cuttack and Medinipur districts, and included the northern part of the Mahandi delta as well as the deltaic and lower sections of the Brahmani and Vaitarani valleys.

3. Dakṣiṇa Tosālī (which corresponded roughly to north Kalinga as well as to Koṅgoda, the latter comprising the Puri-Ganjam area), which included Puri and parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts, and, thus, the southern part of the Mahanadi delta and the Rishikulya valley.

4. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, which comprised modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur districts, and included the upper valleys of the Mahanadi and its tributaries.

Certain areas in north and in the highlands of the interior seem to have witnessed sustained political development at a later date, especially after the ninth or tenth century.<sup>200</sup>

1. Kṣiṇjālī-maṇḍala, which appears to have comprised parts of Balangir, Dhenkanal, and Phulabani districts, and included the middle course of the Mahanadi and the Tel valley. The Gondrama country appears to have been located within this area, particularly around Dhenkanal district.

2. Kṣijjīṅga, which comprised the Mayurbhanj and Kendujhar districts, and included the upper Vaitarani valley.

The period from the fourth to the seventh century C.E. may be seen as an incipient phase of sustained monarchical state formation in Orissa. In this period, some of the dynasties of this area owed political allegiance to dynasties outside Orissa. The kings of

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<sup>199</sup> It may be noted that in the preceding period, few such centres of political development can be identified. In the third century B.C.E., Orissa came under Mauryan rule. The Separate Rock Edicts of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugada indicate that the headquarters of Aśokan rule in Kalinga were located at Tosālī (in or around Dhauli in Puri district) and Samāpā (in the vicinity of Jaugada in Ganjam district). The political centres of Mauryan rule in Orissa were, thus, located in the Mahanadi delta area and the lower Rishikulya valley. In about the first century B.C.E., the political centre of the kingdom of Khāravela of the Cedi dynasty was probably located around Bhubaneswar and the Mahanadi delta area.

<sup>200</sup> The few instances of political activity in these areas in an earlier period are provided by the Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhaṇja, the Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhaṇja (both probably belonging to about the fourth century), and the Russellkonda and Baudh grants of Neṭṭabhaṇja (eighth century).

this period generally assumed no title higher than mahārāja (the exception is Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates). Between the seventh and the mid-tenth century, there were still a multiplicity of dynastic groups ruling over the various parts of Orissa. However, while in the first half of the seventh century there is evidence of the subordination of some dynastic groups of Orissa to outside powers, this ceases to be the case in the second half of the seventh century. The articulation of the ideology of kingship as expressed in the royal praśasti becomes more elaborate after this period, with grander titles and epithets, as well as the significant appearance of dynastic origin myths.<sup>201</sup>

During the period under review, certain dynasties were able to carve out relatively large kingdoms. In Period II (seventh to tenth century), this was accomplished by the Śailodbhavas and Bhauma-Karas. In Period III (the tenth to mid-twelfth century), while minor kingdoms persisted on the peripheries, the Somavamśis and the imperial Gaṅgas united through conquest large parts of Orissa, and came to establish kingdoms that incorporated large parts of Orissa. The praśastis and royal epithets of the Somavamśis and imperial Gaṅgas are more elaborate than those of most of their predecessors as well as contemporaries (the exceptions being the Pāṇḍuvamśis and Bhauma-Karas of the earlier periods, whose grants also have long genealogical sections).

While the composer of the praśasti (the eulogistic introduction of the inscriptions) sometimes exaggerated the achievements of his royal patron, the titles bestowed on the latter in the inscriptions provide valuable information on the hierarchies of monarchical states in ancient and medieval Orissa. Some of these titles embodied territorial claims. In Period I (fourth to seventh century), these were Kalīṅg-ādhipati, sakala-Kalīṅg-ādhipati, Devarāṣṭr-ādhipati, and Trikalīṅg-ādhipati; in Period II (seventh to tenth century), sakala-Kalīṅg-ādhipati and śrī-Nandagiri-nātha; in Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), aṣṭāśīti-sahasr-ādhipati, samasta-Khiṇjali-deś-ādhipati, samasta-Gondrama-nātha, sakala-Gondram-ādhipati, aṣṭādaśa-Gondram-ādhipati, and Trikalīṅg-ādhipati. While territorial titles were not always indicative of the precise extent of the domain of a particular ruler, they may be seen as representing the territorial ideal to which kings of a particular period aspired.<sup>202</sup>

In the post-Gupta period, the claim to political paramountcy was reflected particularly in three titles that usually occur together in the inscriptions: mahārājādhirāja (supreme king of mahārājas), parameśvara (supreme lord), and parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one

<sup>201</sup> These origin myths are discussed in chap. II.

<sup>202</sup> This point has been made with reference to the title Kalīṅg-ādhipati by D. C. Sircar in R. C. Majumdar, gen. ed., The Classical Age, p. 214.

supremely entitled to reverence).<sup>203</sup> Among the rulers of Period I, only mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra claimed any of these eminent titles, while they appear in conjunction with each other often among the inscriptions of Period II and III.

Titles borne by rulers of modest or subordinate status in the inscriptions of Period I are mahārāja, sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, and mahāpratihāra; in Period II, mahārāja, rāṇaka, pañca-viṣaya-maṇḍaleśvara, pañca-viṣay-ādhipati, mahā-maṇḍaleśvara, and mahā-maṇḍal-ādhipati; in Period III, mahārāja, rāṇaka, mahā-maṇḍaleśvara, mahā-sāmant-ādhipati, pañca-viṣaya-maṇḍaleśvara, and pañca-viṣay-ādhipati.<sup>204</sup> Kings are sometimes described as commanding the obeisance of the sāmantas or the circle of sāmantas. Lesser kings or feudatories are in some inscriptions described as 'samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabdaḥ' (or one of the variants of this phrase), literally meaning 'one who has obtained the five great sounds,' and apparently referring to the privilege of enjoying the sound of five instruments. Subordinate or feudatory status was often also indicated by the reference to the overlord in the feudatory's praśasti, the feudatory being described as one who meditates on the feet (pād-ānudyāta) of the paramount sovereign. The feudatory's inscriptions were frequently dated in the era established by the overlord's dynasty. Subordinate rulers appear in some inscriptions (of the Bhauma-Karas and the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara) as the vijñāpti (petitioner), at whose request the grant was made by the paramount king.

Titles of paramountcy and subordinate status are indicative of the relationships among the various ruling lineages. They indicate the existence of a series of hierarchies of political ranks. These hierarchies were fluid, as a change in the military fortunes of a particular family could mean an upward or a downward slide in the scale of political ranks. Apart from ties of paramountcy and subordination, lineages came into contact with one another through matrimonial relationships and military confrontation.

As far as the origins of ruling lineages are concerned, the names or genealogical accounts of the Śailodbhavas, Kulikas, Śulkīs and Bhauma-Karas suggest a tribal origin. The use of gotra designations by certain rulers (mahārāja Śatrubhaṅja of the Asanapat inscription, Pṛthivī-mahārāja, the Bhaṅjas of Baudh, Tuṅgas, Somavarṁśīs, and imperial Gaṅgas) is noteworthy. It may indicate one of the following things: that these rulers were

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<sup>203</sup> See Fleet, *CII*, 3: 10, n. 3; p. 17, n. 3.

<sup>204</sup> It may be noted that such titles also appear in the inscriptions as the designations of certain high-ranking officials. Thus, while some of the titles listed above had, at least originally, certain specific administrative connotations, others were more general titles of political status. The detailed analysis of these various titles lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

Brāhmaṇas; that they were non-Brāhmaṇas claiming Brāhmaṇa status; the use of gotra designations by non-Brāhmaṇas.

The inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa provide information on the migration patterns of certain lineages who came to carve out kingdoms in ancient Orissa, and indicate a considerable degree of spatial mobility of ruling lineages. The Pāṇḍuvamśīs came from Mekalā, the area around Amarkantak. The Bhauma-Karas possibly came from Assam. The Śvetaka, Kaliṅganagara, and imperial Gaṅgas were migrants from the Karnataka area, the Somavamśīs from south Kosala (the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region), and the Tuṅgas from Rohitagiri, which has been identified with Rontasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar. The Gaṅga inscriptions, further, seem to indicate the fanning out of collateral lineages, while the various groups of Bhaṇja kings may represent various lineages with a common clan affiliation.

While it is possible to reconstruct the history of the numerous kingdoms of ancient and medieval Orissa, the reconstruction of the process whereby the various dynasties of this period established their power in various parts of Orissa, the mechanisms whereby land was integrated into political territory is more complex. The discussion in the ensuing chapters has bearing on this issue.



## Chapter II

### Religious Elements in the Ideology of Kingship

The inscriptions recording endowments to Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments are neither purely political nor religious documents; they reflect the meeting of the political and religious domains. This chapter examines the religious elements in the ideology of kingship in ancient and early medieval Orissa as expressed in the seals, invocations, and the eulogistic introduction (praśasti) of the royal grants. The particular focus is on the religious elements with which kingship sought to identify.

Some of the symbols on the seals of the royal copper plate grants (for instance, floral patterns) are decorative devices, while certain motifs (such as the cāmara, i.e. the fly-whisk) were apparently symbols of sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> Some of the symbols on the seals, however, have a clear sectarian affiliation. For instance, the garuḍa, conch, discus, and the Gaja-Lakṣmī (the goddess Lakṣmī seated on a lotus, holding a lotus in both hands, flanked by two elephants pouring water over her with their trunks) are Vaiṣṇava emblems, while the bull and the trident are Śaiva symbols. Certain titles assumed by kings are also indicative of sectarian affiliations. While titles such as parama-daivata (a great devotee of the gods or god)<sup>2</sup> and parama-daivat-ādhidaivata (a great devotee of the gods and of the supreme god) do not name the deity or deities to whom they allude, parama-bhāgavata (a great devotee of the Bhagavat, i.e. Viṣṇu) and parama-vaiṣṇava (a great devotee of Viṣṇu) are Vaiṣṇava sectarian titles,<sup>3</sup> while parama-māheśvara (a great devotee of the great lord, i.e. Śiva) is a Śaiva epithet.

The praśasti of the royal grants conveys an idealized image of kingship. The king appears therein as a great warrior and as a protector of his subjects. The eulogy of his prowess, military victories, fame, virtue, physical beauty, and learning runs as a constant refrain through the introductory sections of the inscriptions of various dynasties. As it is not possible to present or discuss the entire contents of the praśastis of over three hundred inscriptions, the focus of this chapter is not on these recurring themes but on certain more selective issues. Apart from the evidence of royal sectarian affiliation, comparisons between

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<sup>1</sup> The five symbols of sovereignty were according to some sources the white umbrella, fly-whisk, shoes, turban, and throne, and according to others the sword, umbrella, crown, shoes, and fly-whisk (Gonda, Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View, p. 37).

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Sircar ("The Royal Epithet 'Paramadaivata,'" in D. C. Sircar, Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient and Medieval India, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974, pp. 265-70) has demonstrated that parama-daivata was neither an imperial title nor did it mean 'a great divinity.'

<sup>3</sup> The term 'Vaiṣṇava' relates here to the worship of the various deities who came to be identified as different forms of the god Viṣṇu by the Gupta period. The term 'Bhāgavata' originally referred to the worshippers of the Viṣṇu hero Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa; the Bhāgavata cult was in course of time absorbed into Vaiṣṇavism.

king and deity have been taken note of. While such comparisons do not necessarily indicate the sectarian affiliations of a particular king, they do reflect the way in which kingship was imaged in royal documents. Further, the introductory sections of the inscriptions have been examined for the roles in which kings appear -- for instance as performers of sacrifices, as givers of gifts, as protectors of the social order. The royal praśasti is seen here as reflecting more than the poetic conventions of the time and more than the personal religious persuasions of particular kings. It is seen as a proclamation of power, and the idiom in which political power expressed itself is examined.

### **Period I: The fourth to the seventh century**

South Orissa

#### Mahārāja Śatrudamana

The Pedda-Dugam plates of mahārāja Śatrudamana refer to this king as one who meditates on the feet of the revered lord Damaneśvara (bhagavato Damaneśvara-svāminah pād-ānudhyātah). Damaneśvara was probably Śiva in the liṅga form, named after the king.<sup>4</sup>

#### Viśākhavarman, the Piṭrbhaktas, Mātharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas

The seals of the inscriptions of Viśākhavarman, the Piṭrbhaktas, Mātharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas do not reveal any clear sectarian affiliations. The legends and motifs on the seals are in many cases indistinct due to damage, and some of the seals are missing. The seal of the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman is missing. Those of the Piṭrbhakta kings bear legends which, where partially or fully decipherable, read either 'Piṭrbhaktah' (devoted to the father) or the name of the king in the genitive case. As far as the Mātharas are concerned, the seal of the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman seems to give the name of the king in the genitive case, while that of the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman bears an indistinct legend and a dot and crescent (probably standing for the sun and the moon). Of the seals attached to the two sets of copper plates of the Vāsiṣṭhas, that of the Sripuram plates of Anantavarman is too worn for any legend or emblem to be deciphered, while that of the Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman bears the figure of a conch with some indistinct emblem inside it.

Parama-daivata appears as a royal epithet in the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman.

The inscriptions of the Piṭrbhakta king Umavarman do not associate this king with any particular deity. The general epithet parama-daivata is, however, applied to this king's father in his Baranga and Dhavalapeta plates. The same epithet also occurs in the Komarti plates of Caṇḍavarman (or Acaṇḍavarman) and the Baranga plates of

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<sup>4</sup> Śiva liṅgas were often named after the person who had them installed

in the latter to his father. The Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman/Acaṇḍavarman and the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman, however, endow these kings with the sectarian epithet parama-bhāgavata. The Vaiṣṇava affiliations of the Piṭṭbhakta kings are, thus, evident in a few cases, but do not consistently appear in all their inscriptions.

The Ningondi plates of the Māṭhara king Prabhañjanavarman refer to this king's grandfather Śaṅkaravarman as one who meditates on the feet of the lord Nārāyaṇa (bhagavat-svāmī-Nārāyaṇa-pād-ānudhyātaḥ).<sup>5</sup> The Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman refer to Anantaśaktivarman as a devout worshipper of the lotus-feet of the lord Nārāyaṇa whose chest is embraced by Kamalanilayā (Lakṣmī) (bhagavataḥ Kamalanilay-ākṛānta-vakṣaso Nārāyaṇa-svāmināḥ pāda-bhaktaḥ).<sup>6</sup> The same inscription also refers to the king as one who inherited body, kingdom, prosperity, and prowess through the favour of the feet of his revered father who was a great devotee of the gods (parama-daivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-śarīra-rājya-vibhava-pratāpaḥ).<sup>7</sup> This epithet is repeated in the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman.<sup>8</sup>

The praśasti of the Vāsiṣṭha king Anantavarman indicates his Śaiva affiliations: one of his epithets is parama-māheśvara. The Vāsiṣṭha praśasti is a little more elaborate than that of Viśākhavarman, the Piṭṭbhaktas, and Māṭharas. While martial qualities and general virtues are aspects emphasized in the eulogy of the king and his predecessors, the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman also eulogize Guṇavarman, the grandfather of Anantavarman, for his magnanimity, describing him as one who took great delight in the ritual giving of several kinds of gifts such as those of land, gold, and thousands of cows (vibhrat-bhū-hiraṇya-go-sahasr-ādy-aneka-dāna-dharm-ābhirataḥ).<sup>9</sup> The Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman praise Anantavarman as one whose greatness has been enhanced by his reverence towards the gods, the twice-born and teachers (deva-dvijāti-guru-jan-ānudhyāna-saṁvardhita-mahimā).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Ningondi Grant of Prabhanjanavarman," *EI* 30, pts. 3&4 (July and October 1953): 117, l. 1.

<sup>6</sup> R. Subrahmanyam, "Andhavaram Plates of Anantasaktivarman," *EI* 28, pt. 4 (October 1949): 178, ll. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 3-4.

<sup>8</sup> M. Venkataramayya, "Madras Museum Plates of Anantasaktivarman; Year 28," *EI* 28, pt. 5 (January 1950): 235, ll. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Srinivasa Rao, "Siripuram Plates of Anantavarman, Lord of Kalinga," p. 50, l. 2. It may be noted that 'go-sahasra' or the gift of a thousand cows is one of the sixteen Mahādānas (great gifts) mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (chaps 247 ff.), Hemādri's *Vratakhanda* (chap. 5), and Ballālasena's *Dānasāgara* (in the Mahādānāvarta section) (see D. C. Sircar, "Hiraṇyagarbha and Aśvamedha," in Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 164).

<sup>10</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Srungavarapukota Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalinga," p. 60, ll. 5-6.

### The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscriptions no. 1-13)

Where the emblem on the seals of the early Gaṅga kings is visible, it is the Śaiva bull motif. Indravarman (I) is described in his praśasti as one whose sins have been removed as a result of his accumulation of religious merit obtained through constant obeisance to the supreme lord who is the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and dissolution of the entire world, i.e. Śiva. From the time of Sāmantavarman onwards, the Gaṅga inscriptions refer to these kings as having removed the stain of the Kali age by their worship of the deity Śiva-Gokaṛṇa established on mount Mahendra. Gokaṛṇasvāmin is described in the Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman as the lord of moving and unmoving creation, one who bears the full digit of the moon (in his locks), the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and dissolution of the world, and the one who has his abode on the fixed summit of the excellent Mahendra mountain.<sup>11</sup> The successors of Sāmantavarman<sup>12</sup> describe themselves as having been freed from the stain of the Kali age by their obeisance to the lotus-feet of the lord Gokaṛṇasvāmin, the sole architect of the creation of the whole world (sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya bhagavato Gokaṛṇasvāmīnaś=carāṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmād=vigata-kali-kalankaḥ). From the the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman onwards, the praśasti of the early Ganga kings in almost all cases refers to these kings as parama-māheśvara (this epithet does not appear in the Chicacole plates of Indravarman -- no. 10 -- and the Purle plates of Indravarman -- no. 12).

### Prthivī-mahārāja

The seals of both the Tandivada and Parlakimedi plates of Prthivī-mahārāja are missing. The king is described as parama-brahmaṇya (greatly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas). There are no references to any sectarian affiliations in either of Prthivī-mahārāja's grants.

### Charamparāja

The seal attached to the Khandipada-Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja bears the Śaiva emblem of a bull. The inscription commences with an invocation to the three-eyed (Trilocana) Śiva, lord of the world (Lokeśvara), whose matted hair is adorned with water-

<sup>11</sup> M. Sonasekhara Sarma, "Ponnuturu Plates of Ganga Samantavarman, Year 64," *EI* 27 (1947-48): 219, ll. 1-4.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, R. C. Majumdar, "Narasingapalli Plates of Hastivarman, The Year 79," *EI* 23 (January 1935): 65, ll. 1-2; E. Hultzsch, "Utlam Plates of Hastivarman, The Year 80," *EI* 17 (1923-24): 332, ll. 1-2; E. Hultzsch, "Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarman," *EI* 3 (1894-95): 128, ll. 1-2.

described as a parama-māheśvara. He is also spoken of as one who meditates on the lotus feet of Hara (i.e. Śiva), the god whose cheeks, inflamed by the fiery gaze of the goddess Girijā (Pārvatī), are washed by the pure waters of the river Gaṅgā; who creates an upheaval on the earth when he is engaged in sport, who is worshipped by the suras, asuras, kinnaras, gandharvas, and mahoragas,<sup>14</sup> and who is capable of removing the sins accumulated over many births.<sup>15</sup>

#### North and central Orissa

##### Mahārāja Śatrubhaṅja

The Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhaṅja is a thirteen-line inscription inscribed below an eight-armed image of Śiva in the tāṇḍava pose. This is perhaps the oldest Natarāja image of this kind found so far in Orissa. It may be noted that this inscription has been assigned by A. Das on palaeographic grounds to the third or fourth century C.E.<sup>16</sup> Śatrubhaṅja is compared in the praśasti with Dhanurdhara (the god of wealth) and the sun. He is said to have obtained great merit by having given away lakhs of cows in several countries that are named (Pāṭaliputra, Puṇḍravardhana, Gayā, Krimīla, Dadāvardhana, Puṇḍravardhana, Vardhamāna, Gorhāṭī, Khadrāṅga, Tāmalipti, and Ubhaya-Tosalī). He is further described as having given away thousands and lakhs of gold coins (hiraṇya) in maṭhas (monasteries) such as the Śaṅkhakāra maṭha of Ahicchatraka, Maṇibhadra maṭha of Lakheśvara, and as having constructed dwellings and viḥāras (monasteries) for brahmacārins, Carakas, Parivrājakas, Nirgranthas, Bhikṣus and Varṇāntakas.<sup>17</sup> Śatrubhaṅja is described as being well-versed in the (Mahā)bhārata, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Vyākaraṇa, Upaśikṣā, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Chandas, Śruti, Ved-opakaraṇa, and Sāṅkhya, and as learned in astrology (sarva-kāl-ābhijñā).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The suras are the gods, the asuras demons. The gandharvas are a type of celestial beings, guardians of soma, regulators of the course of the asterisms (see Mon. Will., p. 346), the kinnaras are a kind of Gandharva, and attendants of Kubera (ibid., p. 283); the mahoragas are great serpents (ibid., p. 802).

<sup>15</sup> Rajaguru, IO, 2 325, ll 5-11. This section of the inscription is damaged, and it is, therefore, not possible to reconstruct its contents in their entirety.

<sup>16</sup> Anirudha Das, "Asanapat," p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> The Carakas were celibates -- but not necessarily ascetics -- who engaged in philosophical discussion and disputation, Parivrājaka was a generic term for wandering mendicants; the Nirgranthas were the followers of Nigantha Nātaputa and practised severe asceticism; the term bhikṣu was a generic term for ascetics, but was specially associated with the members of the Buddhist monastic order (M. G. Bhagat, Ancient Indian Asceticism, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976, pp. 64, 142, 146, 148, 165-66, 216). The meaning of the term Varṇāntaka is not clear.

<sup>18</sup> Das, "Asanapat," pp. 4-5. It may be pointed out that the reading of the text of this inscription is not authoritative. Das admits that there are certain "doubtful and unintelligible portions" in the inscription, and describes the text given in his article as a hurried reading made by Satyanarayan Rajaguru.

### Mahārāja Diśābhañja

The Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhañja is a short one, and only the name of the king has been deciphered.

### Gopacandra

The seal of the Jayarampur plate of the time of mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra appears to bear the emblem of a bull. Gopacandra is referred to in the inscription as a parama-māheśvara. The inscription speaks of Dhanacandra, the father of Gopacandra, as one who removed the evils of the Kali age.<sup>19</sup> Gopacandra himself is described as having arranged the varṇas and āśramas in their proper order.<sup>20</sup>

### The Vighrahas

The seal attached to the Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛthivivighraha is described as bearing the toraṇa (arched gateway) emblem and the legend 'Mahārāja Dharmma' <sup>21</sup> Only a small lump of the seal remains of the seal of the Kanas plate of Lokavighraha. The donor of the Sumandala plates, a feudatory of Pṛthivivighraha named Dharmarāja, is described as a worshipper of the sun god (sahasra-raśmi-pāda-bhaktah) Lokavighraha of the Kanas plate has the title of parama-daivat-ādhidaivata

### The Mudgalas/Mānas

The seals of the Erbang plate of Śambhuyaśas and of the Patiakella plate of Śambhuyaśas' feudatory Śivarāja are too worn for any legend or emblem to be discerned, while that of the Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas is missing. Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas is not endowed with any epithets indicating sectarian affiliation. In both the Erbang and Soro plates, he is referred to as parama-daivata-bappa-pād-ānudhyāta (meditating on the feet of his father, a great devotee of the gods). The Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, however, describes

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unintelligible portions" in the inscription, and describes the text given in his article as a hurried reading made by Satyanarayan Rajaguru

<sup>19</sup> Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "Jayarampur Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Gopachandra," *OHRJ* 11 (1962): 226, ll. 5-6.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 6-7. The varṇas refer to the classical Indian division of society into four classes -- Brāhmaṇas, Kṣātrīyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. The āśramas -- the idealized model of the four stages in the life of a twice-born man -- were brahmacharya (the stage of celibate studentship), gr̥hastha (the householder stage), vānaprastha (the anchorite stage), and saṃnyāsa (the stage of complete renunciation). The reference to the king as maintainer of the order of the varṇas and āśramas signifies his maintenance of the ideal brahmanical social order.

<sup>21</sup> According to S. N. Rajaguru ("The Sumandala Copper-plate Inscription of Dharmmarāja of the Gupta-Samvat 250," *OHRJ* 1, no. 1, April 1952: 66), it bears a ball-like symbol representing the sun placed on a chariot, and the legend is illegible.

Śambhuyaśas as a parama-māheśvara as well as parama-daivat-ādhidaivata. Śivarāja is described as one whom the accumulation of sins of the Kali age could not approach by virtue of his having obtained from the lotus-feet of his overlord the spotless position of the ruler of the earth.<sup>22</sup>

#### Feudatories of Śaśāṅka: Śubhakīrti and the Dattas

The seal of the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti is described as bearing in relief the figure of a vase on a flat pedestal, with a few wavy lines on each side, and the legend 'Tāvīr-ādhikaraṇasya' ('of the Tāvira adhikaraṇa,' i.e. administrative office) on top. The Midnapore plate eulogizes Śubhakīrti as well as his overlord Śaśāṅka. The inscription describes the illustrious mahāpratihāra Śubhakīrti as ruling Daṇḍabhukti like a father, as one whose crest-jewel shines on account of the light emanating from the nails of his overlord's feet, as one who distinguishes just from unjust in accordance with the Dharmaśāstras, and as one who is free from sin.<sup>23</sup>

The seal of the Midnapore plate of Somadatta is similar to that attached to the plate of Śubhakīrti.<sup>24</sup> The seals of the Soro plates of Somadatta, and the Kanas and Balasore plates of Bhānudatta are missing, while that of the Soro plate of Bhānudatta is very worn. The Midnapore plate of sāmanta mahārāja Somadatta eulogizes his overlord Śaśāṅka in similar terms as does the plate of Śubhakīrti. It refers to Somadatta as ruling over Daṇḍabhukti along with Utkala, and as one whose crest-jewel shines on account of the light emanating from the nails of Śaśāṅka's feet. Somadatta is further eulogized as one possessing excessive virtues, dispelling the mass of darkness of the Kali age, and embodying the virtues of truth, prowess, skill in wielding arms, beauty and learning which were possessed separately by the (five) Pāṇḍavas.<sup>25</sup> In one of the Soro plates of Somadatta, this king is referred to as parama-daivat-ādhidaivata-śrī-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta (meditating on the feet of the illustrious great lord who is a great devotee of the gods and of the supreme god), while in the other one he is described as parama-daivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta (meditating on the feet of the illustrious great lord who is a great devotee of the gods). The latter epithet is also applied to Bhānudatta in his Kanas plate. Thus, there is no indication of sectarian affiliation in the inscriptions of Śubhakīrti or the Datta kings.

<sup>22</sup> R. D. Banerji, "Patiakella Grant of Maharaja Sivaraja [Gupta] Samvat 283," p. 287, ll. 4-5.

<sup>23</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Two Copper-Plates of Śaśāṅka from Midnapore," p. 9, ll. 5-7.

<sup>24</sup> Majumdar (ibid., p. 1) suggests that the emblem on it may represent a sacred incense burner amidst flowers and foliage.

<sup>25</sup> ibid., pp. 7-8, ll. 3-7

The Nala copper plate grants do not bear seals. Arthapati is described in the Kesaribeda plates as 'Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātiṣṭṣṭa-rājya-vibhavaḥ'.<sup>26</sup> This epithet may be taken to mean 'one upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Maheśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsenā (Skanda-Kārtikeya).' It may also signify that the king dedicated his kingdom and his wealth to these gods.<sup>27</sup>

While the early Nala kings, thus, were Śaivas, the later kings Skandavarman and Vilāsatunga were Vaiṣṇavas. The Podagadh stone inscription of Skandavarman, which records the erection of a temple (pāda-mūla) of Viṣṇu, accompanied by the distribution of a large amount of fees (dakṣiṇā) to officiating priests, and the gift of a holding (pura) for Puruṣa,<sup>28</sup> begins with a eulogy of Hari (Viṣṇu), describing him as the object to be conquered, the victor, and victory itself.<sup>29</sup> An imprecatory verse in the inscription warns against any transgression of the king's order and states that he who conforms to the good path followed by kings will find refuge with the god Vāsudeva.<sup>30</sup> The Podagadh inscription refers to Skandavarman having repelled his enemies with his valour and credits him with having restored the lost royal prosperity (of the family) and with having repopled the deserted (town of) Puṣkarī.<sup>31</sup> It may be suggested that the shift to a Vaiṣṇava affiliation, the construction of a Viṣṇu shrine in what was the capital city of the Nalas, and the endowment of land for this shrine may have been related to the decisive political events referred to in the Podagadh inscription.<sup>32</sup>

The Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatunga eulogizes and invokes the blessings of Hari (Viṣṇu).<sup>33</sup> The first five verses invoke Viṣṇu, the first is almost entirely lost, the second refers to Viṣṇu's churning of the ocean of milk, the fourth verse is in the form of a dialogue between Hari and his consort (Lakṣmī); the fifth describes the dwarf incarnation

<sup>26</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Kesaribeda Plates of Nala Arthapati-Bhattaraka," p. 16, l. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, p. 13, n. 3. According to G. Ramadas ("Kesaribedā Copper Plate Grant of Mahārāja Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka of the Nala Family," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 34, 1948: 37), the epithet in question indicates one who has created the supreme authority of administration of the kingdom with (such officers as) maheśvara and mahāsenā. He interprets the word 'maheśvara' as referring to one who rules over one hundred lakhs of people, and 'mahāsenā' as the office of the commander-in-chief of the army. This interpretation is not convincing.

<sup>28</sup> From the context of the inscription, it is clear that Puruṣa here refers to Viṣṇu.

<sup>29</sup> C. R. Krishnamachari, "The Nala Inscription at Podagadh; 12th Year," *EI* 21 (1931-32): 155, v.1.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p. 156, v. 9.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, p. 155, ll. 2-4.

<sup>32</sup> For details on the nature of the military conflict alluded to in the Podagadh inscription, see chap. I, p. 80, n. 70.

<sup>33</sup> The inscription is fragmentary; therefore it is difficult to reconstruct the text in its entirety.



of Viṣṇu. Verse 7 describes Nala as one who surpassed Smara, the god of love, in the splendour of his form, and whose lotus-feet were kissed by the bee-like crest-jewels of a crowd of hostile kings who submitted to him. Verses 8 and 9 describe Pṛthivīrāja, described as having been created by the creator seeing the world tainted by the evils of the Kali age. The subsequent verses eulogize Pṛthivīrāja's son Vīrarūpa, and refer to Vilāsatuṅga, probably a son of Vīrarūpa. The Rajim inscription, like the Podagadh inscription, records the erection of a Viṣṇu temple.

#### Tuṣṭikāra

The seal of the Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikāra bears the name of the king. Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra is described in the inscription as a devotee of the feet of the goddess Stambheśvarī (Stambheśvarī-pāda-bhakta). The endorsement added onto the outer side of the first plate refers to a king named Sobhoṇnarāja or Śobhinārāja, who is also described as a devotee of Stambheśvarī.

#### The Śarabhapurīyas

The seals of the Śarabhapurīyas bear the Gaja-Lakṣmī motif. Other motifs that occur include those of the sun, moon, water-lily, conch, discus, and various floral devices. The seals bear two-line legends which eulogize the king. All the kings of this dynasty are endowed with the epithet parama-bhāgavata. Jayarāja, Sudevarāja, and Pravararāja are described as givers of riches, land, and cows (vasu-vasudhā-go-pradaḥ).

#### The Pāṇduvaṁśīs

The seal on the Malga plates of Indrarāja bears only the king's name. No emblem or legend is discernable on the seal of the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala. The copper plates of Mahāśiva Tivara, however, bear unmistakably Vaiṣṇava motifs -- a garuḍa with outspread wings holding (or having in front of it) a serpent with raised hood in either hand, a conch, and discus. His seals also bear a floral device and a two-line legend which reads: "Śrīmat-Tivaradevasya Kosalādhīpater=idam śāsanam dharmma-vṛddhy-artthaṁ sthir=ā-candra-tārakam," "this is the eternal, dharma-augmenting charter of śrīmān Tivaradeva, the lord of Kosala." The seal of the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja is lost. The seals on the copper plates of Mahāśivagupta display Śaiva motifs -- a couchant bull and a trident. A vase of plenty (pūrṇa-kumbha), and a full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves also make their appearance, as does a two-line legend which reads: "Rājñah Śrī-Harṣaguptasya sūnoḥ sad-guṇa-sālinalḥ śāsanam Śivaguptasya sthitimā-bhuvana-sthiteḥ," "this is the eternal charter of Śivagupta, the son of rājā śrī Harṣagupta, possessor of good qualities."

The Pāṇduvaṁśī copper plate grants contain an elaborate praśasti, replete with Epic and Pauranic imagery. This dynasty claimed to belong to the lineage of the Pāṇḍavas, and

from the time of Mahāśivagupta, switched to the dynastic name Somavamśi, 'the lunar lineage' (although references to the family as the Soma, Śaśi, and Śitāmśu vamśa do occur in earlier inscriptions).<sup>34</sup> The earliest Pāṇḍuvamśi kings were Śaivas. Indrarāja (whose association with this dynasty, as pointed out earlier, is not established beyond all doubt) of the Malga plates has the epithet parama-māheśvara. The Bamhani plates of Bharatabala, which specifically refer him to the lineage (anvaya) of the Pāṇḍavas (verse 1), and the lunar lineage (soma vamśa) (verse 11) endow Bharatabala as well as his father Nāgabala with the epithets of parama-māheśvara, parama-brahmaṇya (greatly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas), and parama-guru-de(dai)vat-ādhidaivata-viśeṣa (a great devotee of the teachers, the gods, and the supreme god).<sup>35</sup> Mahārāja Bharata is said to have been born of the queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā as Kumāra was born to Pārvatī (verse 5). Verse 7 refers to his having established his sovereignty, over the whole world, as also his establishing dharma, artha, and kāma.<sup>36</sup> His prowess is equalled with that of Indra, the lord of the gods (verse 8). He is compared with the river Gaṅgā in his virtues (verse 9).<sup>37</sup>

The Pāṇḍuvamśi king Mahāśivagupta Tivara, son of Nannadeva, is described in his inscriptions as a parama-vaiṣṇava. Tivara's praśasti eulogizes his martial achievements, the lightness of the taxes levied by him, and the many excellent qualities of his appearance and his personality; his skill in uprooting serpents (i.e. enemies) is compared with that of garuḍa (the vehicle of the god Viṣṇu).<sup>38</sup> In the Adhabhara plates of his son Mahā-Nannarāja. Tivara is described as having obtained a series of excellent qualities through the favour of the lord Nārāyaṇa, worshipped by him in the course of many births.<sup>39</sup> Mahā-Nannarāja himself is styled as a parama-vaiṣṇava in this inscription.

The royal grants of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna describe him as a parama-māheśvara. He is described as the son of the illustrious Harṣadeva, even as Kārttikeya was the son of

<sup>34</sup> It may be noted that the Pāṇḍavas of the Mahābhārata belonged to the lunar dynasty.

<sup>35</sup> D. C. Sircar suggests that the epithet parama-guru-de(ai)vat-ādhidaivata-viśeṣa should be translated as 'a great teacher [of his subjects] and a distinguished devotee of the gods and of the supreme god' ("The Royal Epithet 'Paramadaivata,' p. 269).

<sup>36</sup> Dharma -- the discharge of duty, artha -- the acquisition of material wealth, and kāma -- the gratification of desire -- are three of the four goals of the human existence or puruṣārthas in the Indian tradition. The fourth is mokṣa or final emancipation.

<sup>37</sup> Lines 20-21 of the Bamhani plates read: "...vedyām=adhvara-saṁsthite vasu-hutaḥ pūjyaḥ satam sarvvadā." According to B. Ch. Chhabra ("Bamhani Plates of Pandava King Bharatabala: Year 2," p. 141, n. 4), 'vasu-huta' may denote one to whom a tribute of gold is paid. He translates this portion of the inscription as follows: "... to whom gifts of gold are presented at the time when he occupies the sacrificial seat for (performing) a sacrifice ..." (ibid., p. 144).

<sup>38</sup> See Fleet, CII 3 294-95, ll. 2-17). Fleet (ibid., p. 298, n. 1) suggests that the reference in l. 7 to the uprooting of serpents (bhujariga) may be an allusion to Tivara's defeating a Nāga tribe.

<sup>39</sup> Bal Chandra Jain, "Adhabhara Plates of Maha-Nannaraja," EI 31, pt. 5 (January 1956): 220, ll. 1-2.

Kṛttivāsa (the one who is clad in animal skins, i.e. Śiva).<sup>40</sup> The Senakapat inscription of Durgarakṣita of the time of Śivagupta (or Mahāśivagupta) Bālārjuna begins with the auspicious invocation (maṅgala) 'namaḥ Śivāya' and invokes Śiva as Bhava in the first verse and his consort Pārvatī in the second. Śivagupta, Durgarakṣita's overlord, is described in verse 3 as a devotee of Śiva; in verse 4 he is referred to as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.<sup>41</sup> Durgarakṣita himself is described as a devotee of Parameśvara or Śambhu (i.e. Śiva) (verse 11), is praised for his munificence (verse 12) and is said to have built a temple of Śambhu (i.e. Śiva) (verse 13). The Sirpur Gandheśvara temple inscription contains an invocation to Hara (Śiva), the god who bore the Gaṅgā on his matted locks.<sup>42</sup> The Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Śivagupta (which records a private, not a royal donation) commences with the maṅgala "namaḥ Śivāya" and invokes Śambhu (i.e. Śiva). The Pāṇḍuvarṁśī king Indrabala, the son of Udayana, is described in this inscription as equal to the destroyer of Vala, i.e. Indra; his son Nannarāja is said to have filled the earth with the temples (ālayas) of lord Śiva.<sup>43</sup>

The Sirpur stone inscription of Vāsaṭā, mother of Bālārjuna, begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu as Puruṣottama and goes on to eulogize Narasimha, the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu (verses 1-2). The praśasti of the Sirpur stone inscription is replete with comparisons of the Somavarṁśī kings with Epic heroes: a brother of Candraguptarāja is said to have followed him in battle just as the one whose weapon is the plough, i.e. Balarāma, followed the killer of Kāṁsa, i.e. Kṛṣṇa (verse 6); Mahāśivagupta, who is described as an incarnation of dharma (dharm-āvatāra), is said to have conquered the earth with the help of his younger brother Raṇakesarin even as Pṛthā's first son (Yudhiṣṭhira) did with his younger brother Bhīma (verse 12). Mahāśivagupta is compared with Kṛṣṇa and Kalkī (the future incarnation of Viṣṇu) (verse 14). Vāsaṭā, is compared with Pārvatī, the mother of the god Kārttikeya (verse 15). She is described as having observed fasts and austerities after the demise of her husband (verse 17), is compared with the Vedas, is described as the shelter of the people belonging to the four varṇas and āśramas, and is also compared with the goddess Śrī (verse 18). This queen (and apparently her husband too, according to verse 20) were worshippers of Hari (Viṣṇu).

<sup>40</sup> V. V. Mirashi and L. P. Pandeya, "Mallar Plates of Maha-Sivagupta," *EI* 23 (1935-36): 120, ll. 3-4.

<sup>41</sup> According to M. G. Dikshit and D. C. Sircar ("Senakapat Inscription of the Time of Sivagupta Balarjuna," p. 32), these two verses very cleverly suggest Viṣṇu's subservience to Śiva.

<sup>42</sup> Sant Lal Katore, "Sirpur Gandheśvara Temple Inscription (of the time of Somavarṁśī Mahāśivagupta)," *IHQ* 33, no. 3 (September 1957): 233, ll. 10-11.

<sup>43</sup> F. Kielhorn, "Sirpur Stone Inscription of Sivagupta," *IA* 18 (1889): 180, ll. 3-5.

## Period II: The seventh to the tenth century

### South and central Orissa

#### The Śailodbhavas

Most of the Śailodbhava grants bear the Śaiva motif of the couchant bull, accompanied in some cases by the crescent moon. The name of the king in the genitive case also appears (where the legend is legible), in some cases with a floral design below it. The invocation in the Śailodbhava copper plate grants from the time of the Buguda plates of Mādhavarājan consistently associates these kings with the worship of Śiva. It invokes the protection of the matted locks of Śambhu (i. e. Śiva) which are embraced by the soft rays of the moon, the lustre of which is daubed by the sheen of the sparkling gems borne on the hoods of writhing serpents; the ashes on which (i. e. on the matted locks) are scattered by the overflowing waters of the Gaṅgā; and which are dishevelled because of Pārvatī's love-play.<sup>44</sup> An allusion to the story of the descent of the Gaṅgā appears in the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja, wherein the river Śālimā, on the banks of which Koṅgoda (one of the political centres of the Śailodbhavas) lay, is compared with the river of the gods (i.e. the Gaṅgā) which was brought down by Bhagīratha.<sup>45</sup>

The praśasti of the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta speaks of this king as devoted to the feet of the blessed lord of the three worlds (i.e. Śiva), who is the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and destruction of the world, whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull as on the pillow of a couch, and whose matted locks are illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon.<sup>46</sup> In the Khurda plates, Mādhavarāja is described as one who seeks sole refuge at the feet of the bhagavān Maheśvara (i.e. the lord Śiva).<sup>47</sup> The successors of Mādhavarāja -- Madhyamarāja and Dharmarāja Mānabhīta -- are endowed in their inscriptions with the epithet parama-māheśvara. The Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja refer to the king being favoured by Śiva, the cause of the world's origin, maintenance, and dissolution.<sup>48</sup>

The Buguda plates of Mādhavarājan Sainyabhīta introduce the following account of the origin of the Śailodbhava dynasty: There was a person named Pulindasena, famed among the people of Kalinga. Although endowed with virtue, strength, and greatness, he did not covet sovereignty, but worshipped the Svayambhū for a man capable of ruling the earth. The Svayambhū gave him this boon, and Pulindasena saw a man emerging from the

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<sup>44</sup> See, for example, R. G. Basak, "The Purī Plates of Madhavavarman-Sainyabhīta," *EI* 23 (1935-36): 127, v.1. I am indebted to Basak's translation of this verse (*ibid.*, p. 130).

<sup>45</sup> E. Hultzsch, "Plates of the Time of Sasankaraja; Gupta-Samvat 300," *EI* 6 (1900-01): 144, ll. 3-8.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, p. 145, ll. 14-17.

<sup>47</sup> Ganga Mohan Laskar, "The Khurda Grant of Mādhava, King of Kalinga," *JASB* 73, pt. 1, no. 3 (1904): 285, l. 5.

<sup>48</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Two Sailodbhava Grants from Banpur," p. 38, v. 17.

splintering of a rock. This was the lord Śailodbhava, who became the founder of a distinguished lineage (vaṁśa), i.e. the Śailodbhava family.<sup>49</sup> The Śailodbhava origin myth is repeated in the subsequent inscriptions of Mādhavavarman and in those of his successors. The Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman add a few verses to the account; the reference to Pulindasena praying to Svayambhū is followed by two verses that attribute the miraculous birth of Śailodbhava to Hara or Śambhu (i.e. Śiva).<sup>50</sup> They also eulogize the Mahendra mountain, referring to it as a kula-giri (tutelary mountain).

Another notable feature of the royal praśasti in the Buguda plates is that Mādhavavarman is said to have caused satisfaction to the gods by his performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, the very mention of which had fallen into abeyance due to the impiety of the kings of the Kali age.<sup>51</sup> The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice was probably related to the throwing off of allegiance to Śaśāṅka and the assumption of an independent status by this king. Reference to Mādhavavarman's performance of the great Aśvamedha and other sacrifices occurs in the subsequent copper plate grants of Mādhavavarman and continues in the praśastis of his successors. The Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja, however, speak also of Madhyamarāja's having taken the purificatory (avabhṛtha) bath on the occasion of the performance of the great Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices (mahā-makha-Vājapey-Aśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-nirvartita-prakhyāta-kīrti-kramah).<sup>52</sup> The reference to the performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices by Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta occurs in the Banpur and Nivina plates of his grandson Dharmarāja.<sup>53</sup> In the Ranapur plates of this king, reference is made to the performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices by Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta, and the donor Dharmarāja is described as the grandson of one who took the purificatory bath after the performance of the great sacrifices (mahāmakha) -- the Vājapeya and Aśvamedha.<sup>54</sup> These two sets of references occur in the Kondedda and Puri plates of Dharmarāja as well.<sup>55</sup> The Caṇḍeśwar plates of the same king, however, while referring to the performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices by Mādhavarāja Śrinivāsa, also credit Dharmarāja with having taken the purificatory bath on the occasion of the performance of the Vājapeya and

<sup>49</sup> F. Kielhorn, "Buguda Plates of Madhavavarman," *EI* 3 (1894-95): 43, vv. 3-5.

<sup>50</sup> N. G. Majumdar, "Cuttack Museum Plates of Madhavavarman," *EI* 24 (1937-38): 152, ll. 11-12.

<sup>51</sup> Kielhorn, "Buguda Plates of Madhavavarman," p. 44, v. 11.

<sup>52</sup> R. D. Banerji, "The Parikud Plates of Madhyamaraja," p. 286, ll. 38-39.

<sup>53</sup> N. P. Chakravarti, "Nivina copper-Plate Grant of Dharmarajadeva," *EI* 21 (1931-32): 39, v. 10; Sircar, "Two Sailodbhava Grants From Banpur," p. 37, v. 12.

<sup>54</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 219, ll. 18-20; p. 220, ll. 40-41.

<sup>55</sup> Y. R. Gupta, "Kondedda Grant of Dharmarāja," *EI* 19 (1927-28): 268, v. 9; p. 269, l. 43; S. N. Rajaguru, "The Puri Copper-plate-grant of Dharmmaraja (Samvat 512 or 590 A.D.)," p. 179, ll. 18-20; p. 18, ll. 41-42.

Aśvamedha.<sup>56</sup> According to D. C. Sircar, since the rest of the Śailodbhava inscriptions unanimously ascribe the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice to Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta alias Śrīnivāsa, the reference in the Caṇḍeśwar inscription should not be taken to indicate that Dharmarāja performed another Aśvamedha. He suggests that both Madhyamarāja and Dharmarāja may have taken part in the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta and taken the purificatory bath on that occasion.<sup>57</sup> Whether the successors of Madhyamarāja participated in the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Mādhavavarman, or whether they performed this and the Vājapeya sacrifice themselves, the consistency with which the Śailodbhava praśasti associates the kings of this dynasty with the great śrauta sacrifices is significant.

Certain other epithets that appear in the Śailodbhava praśasti are noteworthy. One of the epithets of the Mādhavavarman in the Ganjam plates is parama-brahmaṇya.<sup>58</sup> The eulogy of this king in the Buguda plates compares him with Śiva and refers to his having cleansed the impurities of the Kali age.<sup>59</sup> This inscription speaks of the king's father Ayaśobhīta as having purged, by means of his illustrious deeds, the accumulated stain on the mirror of the Kali age.<sup>60</sup> The Cuttack museum plates of Mādhavavarman refer to Śailodbhava ruling over his good and wicked subjects as if dharma itself.<sup>61</sup> The Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja compare the king with Śambhu (i.e. Śiva).<sup>62</sup> His feats of archery are compared with those of the son of Pṛthā, i.e. Arjuna;<sup>63</sup> he is said to have been able to run with two stout persons on his shoulders, like Hanumān.<sup>64</sup> Dharmarāja is said to be learned in all the śāstras (sakala-śāstra-viśeṣa-vedaḥ),<sup>65</sup> and one who was at times listened devoutly to the tales of Śiva's dazzling deeds,<sup>66</sup> and at engaged in discussions of dharma amidst Brāhmaṇas.<sup>67</sup> His fame is described as encompassing the earth as did the feet of Hari (Viṣṇu).<sup>68</sup> His exploits are compared with those of the enemy of Krauñca, i.e. Kārttikeya.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Sircar, "Two Grants of Sailodbhavas," p. 271, ll. 8-11; p. 272, ll. 21-22.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>58</sup> Hultzsch, "Plates of the Time of Sasankaraja; Gupta-Samvat 300," p. 145, l. 17.

<sup>59</sup> Kielhorn, "Buguda Plates of Madhavavarman," p. 43, ll. 4-7.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, p. 44, ll. 20-22. This reference occurs in other Śailodbhava inscriptions as well.

<sup>61</sup> N. G. Majumdar, "Cuttack Museum Plates of Madhavavarman," p. 152, ll. 13-14.

<sup>62</sup> Sircar, "Two Sailodbhava Grants from Banpur," p. 38, v. 16.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 44-45.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, v. 19.

<sup>65</sup> Y. R. Gupta, p. 268, ll. 26-27.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, p. 269, ll. 30-31.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 31-32.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 27-28.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*, l. 32.

### Nettabhañja

The seal on the Baud plates of Nettabhañja bears the figure of a seated lion, while that on the Russellkonda plates is too worn for any emblem to be discerned. Both sets of inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śiva. The Baud plates invoke the protection of the many-coloured matted locks of Sthānu (Śiva) which are adorned with the crescent moon, gems, and serpents.<sup>70</sup> The Russellkonda plates invoke Śaṅkara (Śiva), the god who wears a digit of the crescent moon in his matted locks, who is adorned with a necklace of skulls and a bracelet of writhing serpents.<sup>71</sup> The conventional description of Angulapattana in the Baud plates includes it being inhabited by many learned Brāhmaṇas,<sup>72</sup> while that of Vārāḍḍā in the Russellkonda plates includes it being endowed with gardens attached to temples.<sup>73</sup> In the Baud plates, Nettabhañja is described as a parama-māheśvara,<sup>74</sup> while in the Russellkonda plates, he bears this and the additional epithet of parama-brahmaṇya.<sup>75</sup>

### The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

The motifs that appear on the seals of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka are the couchant bull, crescent, and lotus. All these kings bear the epithet parama-māheśvara. Their Śaiva affiliations are also indicated by the reference in their praśasti to their having acquired a store of merit through the worship of the lotus feet of śrī Gokaṛṇeśvara-svāmin, the lord of moving and unmoving creation, who wears the crest-ornament of the half-moon, who is the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and dissolution of the world, and who resides on the summit of the Mahendra mountain.

### The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscriptions no. 14-40)

The seals of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga kings of inscriptions no. 14-40 bear the motifs of the couchant bull and crescent, as also in some cases a floral device. Some of the seals bear additional motifs -- for instance, the seal of the Santha Bomvalli plates of Nandavarman (no. 20) includes the emblems of the bull, conch shell, and chowries. The seal of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26) bears the motif of a seated bull with a garland round its neck, a crescent, an elephant goad (aṅkuśa), and a fish. Those of the Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman (no. 27) and the Tekkali plates of Devendravarman (no. 28) bear the motifs of a seated bull, a crescent and star/sun, and a full-blown lotus. The motifs that appear on the seal of the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman

<sup>70</sup> Binayak Misra, "Copper Plate Grant of Nettabhañja," pp. 113-14, l. 1-6

<sup>71</sup> Sircar, "Russellkonda Plates of Nettabhanja; Regnal Year 26," p. 262, v. 1.

<sup>72</sup> Binayak Misra, "Copper Plate Grant of Nettabhañja," p. 114, ll. 8-9.

<sup>73</sup> Sircar, "Russellkonda Plates of Nettabhanja; Regnal Year 26," p. 262, ll. 4-5.

<sup>74</sup> Binayak Misra, "Copper Plate Grant of Nettabhañja," p. 114, l. 15.

<sup>75</sup> Sircar, "Russellkonda Plates of Nettabhanja; Regnal Year 26," p. 262, ll. 16-17.

(no. 32) are the couchant bull, the moon, an elephant goad, and a floral device. The seal of the Galavalli plates of Manujendra (no. 37) bears the emblems of the bull, crescent, sun, elephant-goad, and fly-whisk (*cāmara*). Most of the seals of this group of Gaṅga kings and their feudatories do not bear any legend. The exceptions are the Parlakimedī plates of Dāraparāja of the time of Vajrahasta (no. 34) (the donor of which was a subordinate, apparently also belonging to the Gaṅga family), the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38), and the Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman (no. 39), which give the name of the royal donor in the nominative case.

Most of the inscriptions of this group of Gaṅga kings describe them as parama-māheśvara. These kings are also described in their praśasti as having been freed from the stain of the Kali age through their obeisance at the lotus feet of the lord Gokarṇasvāmin, the deity who has the moon as his crest jewel, who is the sole architect of the creation of all the world, who is the lord of moving and unmoving creation, and who is established on the firm and pure summit of the Mahendra mountain. Kaliṅganagara, the Gaṅga capital, is compared in the introductory section of the inscriptions with Amarapura, the abode of the gods.

#### North Orissa

##### The Bhauma-Karas

The seals of the Bhauma-Kara copper-plate inscriptions variously bear the motifs of the couchant bull, crescent moon and sun, conch, elephant-goad, and floral designs. The name of the donor king or queen in the genitive or the nominative case appears often on the Bhauma-Kara seals, .

The early Bhauma-Karas were Buddhists. Mahārāja Śubhākara of the Neulpur plate is endowed with the epithet parama-saugata (a great devotee of the Sugata, i.e. the Buddha). He is further described as the son of the parama-tathāgata (a great devotee of the Tathāgata, i.e. the Buddha) śrī Śivakara-deva, and as the grandson of the param-opāsaka (a great upāsaka, i.e. lay Buddhist) śrī Kṣemaṅkara-deva, who, among other things, is said to have established the varṇas and āśramas in their proper duties.<sup>76</sup> The Hamseśvara temple inscription seems to suggest that Mādhavadevī, probably a wife of Śubhākara, was inclined towards Śaivism. The Chaurasi plate of Śivakara does not endow this king with any sectarian titles. The Terundia plate of Śubhākara II describes him as a parama-saugata, and refers to him as one who established in strict accordance with the śāstras the pristine order of the varṇas and āśramas as it prevailed in the Kṛta yuga.<sup>77</sup> Śubhākara II's father, Śivakara, is described as śrī-saugata-āśrayaḥ (one who took refuge in the Sugata, i.e. the

<sup>76</sup> R. D. Banerji, "Neulpur Grant of Subhakara: the 8th Year," *EI* (1919-20): 3, ll. 2-3.

<sup>77</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Terundia Plate of Subhakara II," *EI* 28, pt. 5 (January 1950): 215, ll. 8-9.



Buddha), while his grandfather Śubhākara is described as a param-opāsaka. The praśasti compares these kings with Puru, Dilipa, Yudhiṣṭhira, and Bhīma.<sup>78</sup> The Hindol plate of Śubhākara describes this king's grandfather, also named Śubhākara, as a parama-vaiṣṇava. It compares his father Śāntikara with the god of wealth in his munificence.<sup>79</sup> The same inscription praises Śubhākara as delighting everyone with his gifts of wealth, as having acquired the profound knowledge of the essence of all the Āgamāntas, and as one who was free from the evils of the Kali age.<sup>80</sup> The Dharakota plate of Śubhākara contains the same references.

The subsequent Bhauma-Kara kings were affiliated to brahmanical religion, some describing themselves as devout worshippers of Viṣṇu, others of Śiva. Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate (no. 11) is described as a parama-vaiṣṇavī, and is compared in her praśasti with the goddesses Kātyāyanī and Śrī.<sup>81</sup> This inscription refers to the erstwhile Bhauma kings as having exhausted their entire treasury in the furtherance of dharma and as having adorned the face of the earth with various monasteries (maṭhas), pleasure gardens (vihāras), and palaces (prāsāda).<sup>82</sup> The Talcher plate of Śubhākara (IV) of the year 141 (no. 12) refers to this king as a parama-māheśvara, and as one whose faculty for understanding the Śāstras was manifest in his childhood speech.<sup>83</sup> The same inscription describes the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī as one whose head was sanctified by the dust of the lotus-feet of Hari (Viṣṇu), and as one who, on death, attained the feet of Hari which she had worshipped with unparalleled devotion during her lifetime.<sup>84</sup> The Bhauma king Kusumāhāra is described in the Talcher plate as an incarnation (avatāra) of Bharata, Bhagadatta, and Bhagīratha.<sup>85</sup> The Śivakara of the two Talcher plates (nos. 13, 14) of the year 149 was a parama-māheśvara.<sup>86</sup> Gayāḍa's greatness is compared with that of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu).<sup>87</sup> Tribhuvanamahādevī of the two Baud plates (no. 15 & 16) was a parama-vaiṣṇavī.<sup>88</sup> Daṇḍimaṇādevī of the two Ganjam plates, the Santiragrama plate, and

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 8, 10, 11.

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*, l. 9.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, p. 77, ll. 11-13.

<sup>81</sup> Hara Prasad Sastri, "Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," p. 423, ll. 22, 19, 20.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, p. 422, ll. 7-8.

<sup>83</sup> Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 35, l. 28; p. 36, ll. 29-30.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, p. 35, ll. 10, 13-14.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 22-23.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*, p. 44, l. 19. The introductory portion of the second Talcher plate is said to be the same as that of the first one (*ibid.*, p. 51).

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*, p. 43, l. 13.

<sup>88</sup> S. C. De, "Two Plates of Tribhuvanamahadevi From Baud," *EI* 29, pt. 7 (July 1952): 217, l. 22. The introductory portion of the second set is said to be more or less the same as that of the first set (*ibid.*, p. 219).

the Kumurang plate (no. 17, 18, 19, 20) was a parama-māheśvarī.<sup>89</sup> She is described as the support of virtue afflicted by the vice of the Kali age.<sup>90</sup> Dharmamahādevī of the Taltali plate (no. 26) was a parama-māheśvarī; she is also described as the support of virtue afflicted by the vice of the Kali age, and is compared with the goddess Lakṣmī.<sup>91</sup> The praśasti of many of the Bhauma-Kara kings and queens allude to their non-oppressive taxation.<sup>92</sup> These rulers are also frequently compared with the kalpa tree in their munificence.<sup>93</sup>

### Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century

#### North and central Orissa

##### The early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

The seals attached to the copper plate grants of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala invariably bear the motif of the couchant bull and the name of the king in the genitive case. Other symbols that appear are the crescent moon, the crescent moon and sun/star, and the lotus.

The Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja begin with an invocation to Viṣṇu, the god whose chest is embraced by his consort Lakṣmī,<sup>94</sup> followed by a verse that invokes Śiva in his fearsome aspect as Bhairava, the terrible destroyer who killed the demon Andhaka.<sup>95</sup> The grant itself is said to have been made in the name of the lord Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāarakam=uddiśya).<sup>96</sup> The subsequent grants of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala invoke Śiva as Bhairava (in the same manner as in the Kumurukela plates). The Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja, however, state that the gift recorded therein was made in the name of the lord Nārāyaṇa (śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāarakam=uddiśya).<sup>97</sup>

The early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala claimed to belong to the egg-born lineage (aṇḍaja-vamśa-prabhavaḥ). As far as the royal epithets are concerned, Śatrubhañja of the

<sup>89</sup> F. Kielhorn, "Two Grants of Dandimahadevi," *EI* 6 (1900-01): 138, ll. 22-23; p. 141, l. 20. D. C. Sircar, "Santiragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi," *EI* 29, pts. 3-4 (July 1950-October 1951): 88, l. 25. H. Panday, "A Copper-plate Grant of Dandi-Mahadevi," *JBORS* 5, pt. 4 (1919): 575, l. 25.

<sup>90</sup> Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 63, l. 24.

<sup>91</sup> Ghanashyam Das and Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, "Taltali Plate of Dharmamahādevī," *IHQ* 21 (1945): 119, ll. 26-27.

<sup>92</sup> See, for instance, *ibid.*, l. 24.

<sup>93</sup> The kalpa tree refers to one of the five trees in Indra's heaven, supposed to be capable of fulfilling all desires (*Mon. Will.*, p. 262).

<sup>94</sup> B. C. Mazumdar, "Kumurukela Charter of Ranaka Satru Bhanja Deva, (Circa 1325 A.D.)," *JBORS* 2, pt. 4 (1916): 432, ll. 1-2.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 2-4.

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*, p. 434, ll. 10-11. The phrase 'Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭāarakam=uddiśya' could also mean 'for the sake of the lord Viṣṇu' or 'having made the lord Viṣṇu witness.'

<sup>97</sup> B. C. Mazumdar, "Singharā Plates of Raṇaka Raṇabhanjā Deva (sic)," *JBORS* 6, pt. 4 (1920): 484, ll. 10-11.

Kumurukela and Sonpur plates is described in these inscriptions as a parama-vaiṣṇava. These two sets of plates refer to the many Bhañja kings whose power issued from their holding the favour of Lakṣmī.<sup>98</sup> The copper plates of Raṇabhañja, the son and successor of Śatrubhañja, describe Raṇabhañja as a parama-māheśvara.<sup>99</sup> Further, the grants issued by this ruler so long as he bore the title of rāṇaka and the epithet samadhigata-pāñca-mahāśabda describe him as having obtained the favour of the goddess Stambheśvarī (Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasāda).<sup>100</sup> The reference to Stambheśvarī is conspicuous by its absence in the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja,<sup>101</sup> dated in his fifty-fourth and fifty-eighth year, wherein Raṇabhañja is given the title mahārāja.

Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja are described in their inscriptions as delighting their people by their munificence.<sup>102</sup> Śatrubhañja is compared with Brhaspati in the Sonpur plates,<sup>103</sup> while Raṇabhañja's inscriptions compare him with Svayambhū.<sup>104</sup>

#### The later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Some of the seals attached to the copper plate grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala are too worn for any motif or legend to be discerned. However, where the impressions are still clear, the motif is that of a lion, accompanied by the name of the king in the genitive case. The grants of this group of kings begin with an invocation to Hara (Śiva), eulogizing his brilliant third eye which destroyed the god of love, and to the waters of the Surasaritā (Gaṅgā), which descended from the locks of Śiva.<sup>105</sup>

The grants of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa describe him as a parama-māheśvara. Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa was also a parama-māheśvara. Vidyādharaḥbhañja Amoghakalaśa is not endowed in his inscriptions with any sectarian titles. Neṭṭabhañja Pṛthivikalaśa, the son and successor of Vidyādharaḥbhañja, is described as a parama-vaiṣṇava, as are Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa and Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa. Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja bears the epithet parama-māheśvara.

<sup>98</sup> Mazumdar, "Kumurukela Charter of Ranaka Satru Bhanja Deva (sic), (Circa 1325 A.D.)," p. 432, l. 5. Mazumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Records of Sonpur," p. 99, ll. 3-4.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, Mazumdar, "Singharā Plates of Raṇaka Raṇabhanjā Deva," p. 484 (second plate, front side), l. 3.

<sup>100</sup> See, for instance, *ibid.*, second plate, first side, l. 5.

<sup>101</sup> R. D. Banerji, "Two Grants of Raṇabhanjadeva," *EI* 12 (1913-14): 322-25; Adris Banerji, "Baudh Plates of Raṇabhanjādeva Year 58," *IHQ* 10, no. 3 (September 1954): 473-77.

<sup>102</sup> See, for instance, Mazumdar, "Kumurukela Charter of Ranaka Satru Bhanja Deva (Circa 1325 A.D.)," p. 433, 2d plate, 1st side, l. 3; and R. D. Banerji, "Patna Museum Plates of Raṇabhanja -- the Year 22," *EI* 20 (1929-30): 102, l. 17.

<sup>103</sup> Mazumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Records of Sonpur," p. 100, ll. 8-9.

<sup>104</sup> R. D. Banerji, "Patna Museum Plates of Raṇabhanja -- the Year 22," p. 101, l. 11.

<sup>105</sup> See, for instance, Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, "Komanda Copper-Plates of Neṭṭabhanja," *EI* 24, pt. 4 (October 1937): 338, vv 1-2.

All the inscriptions of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala describe these kings as having removed the impurities or stain of the Kali age (nirdhūta-kali-kaluṣaḥ, nirdhūta-kali-kaluṣa-kalamaṣaḥ).

#### The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries

The stone inscriptions of these kings bear no praśasti.

#### The Ādi-Bhañjas

The seals attached to the copper plates of the Ādi-Bhañjas usually bear the name of the king in the genitive case and the motifs of the couchant bull (described as a humped bull in the two Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja). Other motifs that make their appearance are the lotus, crescent moon, conch, and trident. The copper medalion attached to the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja has been described as bearing in bas-relief a svastika, a bull, and a goddess.

The invocation in all the copper plate grants of the Ādi-Bhañjas (except the Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja, which does not contain any invocation) is to Bhava (Śiva), consort of Bhavānī, the omniscient lord of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of rebirth, who knows the various techniques of meditation. One of the Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja prefixes this invocation with the maṅgala "Om namo Avighneśvarāya"<sup>106</sup> The Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhañjadeva describes the grant as having been made in the name of the lord Śaṅkara (Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya).<sup>107</sup> The Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja makes a similar statement (bhagavad-bhaṭṭārika-Śaṅkaram samuddiśya).<sup>108</sup> The Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja states that the grant it records was made in the name of the lord Mahādeva, i. e. Śiva (bhagavantaṁ Mahādeva-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya).<sup>109</sup>

One of the Adipur copper plates of Narendrabhañja describes this king as one whose sins have been removed through his worship of the feet of Hara (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-kṣapita-pāpaḥ).<sup>110</sup> The other Adipur plate refers to him as a bee at the lotus feet of Śiva (Śiva-caraṇa-saroja-ṣaṭpadaḥ).<sup>111</sup> Narendrabhañja's praśasti compares him with Smara (the god of love) in appearance and with Yudhiṣṭhira in his protection of the

<sup>106</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Grants From Mayurbhanj," p. 159, l. 2 This seems to be an epithet of Śiva

<sup>107</sup> Sircar, "Bhanja Grant From Khiching," p. 225, l. 20

<sup>108</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Grants From Mayurbhanj," p. 163, ll. 14-15 Majumdar (ibid. p. 162) suggests that the reference in these lines could be to the Śaṅkarācārya, but admits that it could refer to the god Śiva. The former suggestion is rather unlikely.

<sup>109</sup> Haraprasad Shastri, "Khandadeuli Inscription of Ranabhanja Deva," *JBORS* 4, pt 2 (1918): 176, ll. 20-21

<sup>110</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Grants From Mayurbhanj," p. 156, ll. 13-14

<sup>111</sup> ibid., p. 160, l. 13

earth.<sup>112</sup> The Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhañja, the Bamanghati plate of Rājabhañja, the Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhañjadeva, and the Ukhunda plate of Pṛthvībhañja describe these kings as ones whose sins were destroyed by their worship of the feet of Hara, i.e. Śiva (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-kṣayita-pāpaḥ),<sup>113</sup> and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja contains the same epithet with a minor variation (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-kṣapita-pāpaḥ).<sup>114</sup> The comparisons with Smara and Yudhiṣṭhira occur in the Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhañja, the Bamanghati plate of Rājabhañja, the Khiching grant of Mahanmadāhavabhañja, and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja.<sup>115</sup> The Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja contains no sectarian epithet, but does refer to Śatrubhañja's father Raṇabhañja as intent on the worship of the feet of Hara (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-tatparaḥ).<sup>116</sup> Śatrubhañja is compared with Yudhiṣṭhira in his being intent on the protection of his people.<sup>117</sup>

The Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja introduce the account of the miraculous birth of Gaṇadaṇḍa Virabhadra, the progenitor of the Ādi-Bhañja family, who is said to have burst out of the egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage of Koṭyāśrama, where he was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha.<sup>118</sup> This account makes its appearance in all the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions except for the Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja (which may be spurious). The Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja contains a variation on the account of the origin of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty. It refers to the 88,000 sons of Virabhadra, and states that on account of the prayer of these sons, Virabhadra was protected by Rāmadeva and made lord of 88,000 villages.<sup>119</sup> The Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja, the authenticity of which is suspect, does

<sup>112</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 155, ll. 10, 13.

<sup>113</sup> Pratapchandra Ghosha, "Notes on, and Translation of, two Copper-Plate Inscriptions from Bāmanghāu," *JASB* 40, no. 2 (1871): 166, 168; Sircar, "Bhaja Grant From Khiching," p. 225, ll. 11-13, p. 160, ll. 9-12.

<sup>114</sup> Haraprasad Shastri, "Khandadeuli Inscription of Raṇabhañja Deva," p. 176, ll. 14-15.

<sup>115</sup> Ghosha, "Notes on, and Translation of, two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Bāmanghāu," pp. 165-66; *ibid.*, p. 168; Sircar, "Bhaja Grant From Khiching," p. 225, ll. 10-13; Haraprasad Shastri, "Khandadeuli Inscription of Raṇabhañja Deva," p. 176, ll. 11-14.

<sup>116</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Grants From Mayurbhanj," p. 163, l. 9.

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 10-11.

<sup>118</sup> *ibid.*, p. 155, ll. 3-6.

<sup>119</sup> *ibid.*, p. 162, ll. 2-6. The interpretation of this passage is problematic because of the unclear grammatical structure. According to Binayak Misra's interpretation of this passage ("Maurya Candragupta and Mayurbhanj Rulers," p. 429, ll. 2-5, 431), Virabhadra was followed by 88,000 sages, at whose request he consented to being served by Rāmadeva; subsequently he became lord of 88,000 villages. R. C. Majumdar ("Three Copper-Plate Grants From Mayurbhanj," pp. 161-62) thinks that the passage in question refers to Virabhadra's sons, on account of whose prayers Virabhadra was protected by Rāmadeva and made lord of 88,000 villages. N. P. Chakravarti (Editor, *EI* 25, 1939-40: 161, n. 9) thinks that the reference is to only one son of Virabhadra, and that it was this son who was protected by Rāmadeva and favoured by the gift of 88,000 villages. The Rāmadeva in question may be the epic hero Rāma.

not contain either of these versions of the Ādi-Bhañja origin-account. Instead, it refers to the donor's father, Raṇabhañja, as reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha (Vasiṣṭha-muni-pālita), receiver of a boon from Hermva (?) (Hermva-vara-labdha) and the ornament of the Mivara, (i.e. Mewar ?) family (Mivara-kula-tilaka).<sup>120</sup>

#### Nettabhañja of the Jurādā grant

The seal of the Jurādā plates of Nettabhañja bears the figure of a jar of nectar (amṛta-kalaśa). The inscription invokes the protection of the lord Nārāyaṇa, the god who is the beloved of Śrī, destroyer of the Daityas, and bestower of the reward of deliverance (mokṣa) on his devotees. It refers to the deity's splendid discus (cakra), mace (gadā), sword (asi), conch (śaṅkha), and bow (dhanus), and to his vehicle, the garuḍa.<sup>121</sup> The god Nārāyaṇa is, further, described as the kula-devatā -- tutelary deity -- of the kings born in the illustrious lineage of the Bhañjas.<sup>122</sup> Nettabhañja is described in his praśasti as a parama-vaiṣṇava.

#### The Bhañjas of Baudh

The seal of the Baud plates of Saloṇabhañja bears the figure of a vase in relief; that of the plates of Kanakabhañja is simply shaped in the form of a lotus. The inscription of Saloṇabhañja commences with an invocation to the god Nārāyaṇa ("Om namo Nārāyaṇāya"), while that of Kanakabhañja does not contain any invocation. Saloṇabhañja is described in his copper plate grant as a parama-vaiṣṇava and is eulogized for giving away land, cows, gold, and grain, and for having had constructed various lakes and embankments.<sup>123</sup> Kanakabhañja does not bear any sectarian epithet. He is compared in his Baud plates with Viṣṇu, Rudra, Śunāsīra (Indra), Soma, Marut, Dhanada, Madana, the earth, the sun, and Dhīṣaṇa (Bṛhaspati), and is said to embody the qualities of all the gods.<sup>124</sup> Kanakabhañja is, further, described as the great-grandson of Saloṇabhañja, who is praised for his good works including making provisions for food and water for travellers, laying pleasure gardens, and digging water channels. He is said to have performed severe austerities, after which he retired to Vārāṇasī, entrusting the affairs of state to his competent ministers.<sup>125</sup> The inscription eulogizes the kings of the Bhañja family for their munificence

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<sup>120</sup> Panigrahi, "Adipur Copper-Plate of Durjayabhanja," p. 173, ll. 1-3.

<sup>121</sup> C. R. Krishnamacharlu, "The Jurada Grant of Nettabhanja," p. 18, ll. 1-3.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.*, l. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, "Baudh Plates of Salonabhanja," *EI* 26 (1941-42): 278, ll. 7-8.

<sup>124</sup> Charu Chandra Das Gupta, "The Baud Charter of Kanakabhañja," *IHQ* 9 (1933). 763-64, ll. 17-20.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*, p. 763, ll. 8-11.

in making grants of land.<sup>126</sup> The Baud plates of Salonabhañja and Kanakabhañja trace the ancestry of the Bhañja lineage to the sage (muni) Kaśyapa.<sup>127</sup>

#### The Bhañjas of Kolāda

The Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañja do not bear a seal. The Antirigam plates of Jayabhañja bear a lump of copper with the name of the king on it. Neither set of plates contains an invocation to a deity. Yaśabhañja is not endowed with any sectarian titles in his inscription. He is described as a worshipper of Rākeśa (Śiva) and the multitude of the twice-born, and as incessantly engaged in the preservation of dharma.<sup>128</sup> The grant of Jayabhañja describes him both as a devotee of Śaṅkara (śrī-Śaṅkara-bhaktimān) as well as a worshipper of Śrī and Viṣṇu (śrī-vaiṣṇavaḥ).<sup>129</sup> Jayabhañja's father Rāyabhañja is described as engrossed in the worship of the twice-born and gods (dvija-deva-pūjana-rataḥ), and is compared with Śakra in bravery.<sup>130</sup> Jayabhañja is compared in this inscription with Madana (in beauty), Karṇa (in munificence), Suyodhana (in pride), and Śakra (in bravery).<sup>131</sup>

#### Udayavarāha

The seal of the Bonai plate of Udayavarāha bears the motifs of a peacock, dagger, and double lotus, over which appears the name of the king. This king, who claims to belong to the Mayūra varṇśa (the peacock lineage), is described as a parama-saugata.<sup>132</sup>

#### Narendradhavalā

The Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavalā do not record a royal grant, and do not contain a praśasti.

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<sup>126</sup> *ibid.*, p. 762-3, ll. 3-6. The interpretation of ll. 4-5 of the inscription is problematic. Das Gupta, ("The Baud Charter of Kanakabhañja," p. 767) sees therein a reference to the Bhañja kings granting decrees (śāsanas) consisting of pañcasthāna, pañcottara (?) and five hundred elephants for piety and fame, to the man who asked for them. S. N. Rajaguru and Snigdha Tripathy ("Baud Plates of Kanakabhanjadeva," *OHRJ* 16, no. 3, 1967: 16) see in these lines a reference to the Bhañja kings granting fifty-five śāsanas and being recognized by the Gajapatis on whom were bestowed the title 'Gauḍeśvara' by the bhañtas. They suggest that the epithets Gajendra and Gauḍeśvara that occur in these lines may allude to the Gaṅga kings, but they do admit (*ibid.*) that the meaning of this section of the inscription is far from clear.

<sup>127</sup> Das Gupta, "The Baud Charter of Kanakabhañja," p. 762, l. 1; Panigrahi, "Baudh Plates of Salonabhanja," p. 277, ll. 1-2

<sup>128</sup> Hiralal, "Four Bhanja Copper-plate Grants," p. 298, ll. 13, 14.

<sup>129</sup> Rath, "Antirigam Plates of Jaya-Bhanja-Deva," pp. 43-44, ll. 7-8.

<sup>130</sup> Das Gupta, "The Baud Charter of Kanakabhañja," p. 43, ll. 3-5.

<sup>131</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 5-7.

<sup>132</sup> Haraprasad Shastri, "Two Copper-plates from the State of Bonai," p. 243, ll. 2-3; 6.

## The Śulkīs

The seals of the Śulkī copper plate inscriptions bear a variety of motifs along with the name of the king in the nominative or the genitive case. The crescent moon and conch make their appearance, as do certain animals -- the deer (in some cases bearing some foliage in its mouth), stag, bull, and boar. The Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha and one of the Dhenkanal plates of Jayastambha do not contain any invocation. Most of the other Śulkī grants (nos. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10) begin with an invocation to Śiva as lord of the mountains (Girīśa), the god whose lotus-feet are pressed by the crowns of gods, demons, sages, and vidyādharaś,<sup>133</sup> and whose tawny, matted locks are illuminated by the rays of his crest-jewel, the moon.<sup>134</sup> Two of the grants, the Talcher plate of Kulastambha and one of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (nos. 3, 6), commence with a salutation to the dust of the lotus-feet of the omniscient, all-performing, all-pervading Hara (i.e. Śiva), where the particles or atoms are the coils of snakes.<sup>135</sup>

The Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha states that the village in question was bestowed having made the tutelary deity, the goddess Stambheśvarī, witness (asya kula-devatā-bhagavati-Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikāṃ sākṣiṇī kṛtvā).<sup>136</sup> The Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha also refers to the grant having been made with the kula-devatā Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikā as witness (asmad-kula-devatā-Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikā-pramāṇīkṛtya).<sup>137</sup> The Hindol plate of the same king contains a similar statement, with some addition to the epithets of Stambheśvarī; it describes the gift as having been witnessed by the kula-devatā Stambheśvarī, who is worshipped by the gods, demons, learned men, and ascetics (dānam=idam=asmad-ādi-kula-devatām=bhagavatīm sur-āsura-vidvān-muni-manujavandita-śrīmat-Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikāṃpramāṇīkṛtyapratipāditam=asmai).<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> The vidyādharaś are attendants of Śiva (*Mon. Will.*, p. 964).

<sup>134</sup> See, for instance, Hara Prasad Shastri, "Grant of Raṇastambhadeva," *JBORS* 4, pt. 2 (1918): 169, ll. 1-2.

<sup>135</sup> R. D. Banerji, "Talcher Grant of Kulastambha," *EI* 12 (1913-14), p. 157, ll. 1-2, A. Banerji-Sastri, "Dhenkānāl Grants of Raṇastambha and Jayastambha," *JASB*, N.S. 27 (1931) 322, ll. 1-2. The translation given above is based on R. D. Banerji's translation of the phrase "bhūjaga-bhoga-paramāṇavaḥ" ("Talcher Grant of Kulastambha," p. 158). Banerji (*ibid.*) quotes Krishna Sastri's suggested emendation of the reading to "bhuvan=ābhoga-[paramāṇa\*]-paramāṇavaḥ;" he thinks it would give the more appropriate meaning: "where the atoms are the size of the world."

<sup>136</sup> Hara Prasad Shastri, "Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," p. 398, ll. 19-20. A. Banerji-Sastri ("Dhenkānāl Grants of Raṇastambha and Jayastambha," pp. 319-320, ll. 19-20) reads "asya kula-devatā bhagavati-Stambheśvarī saśarī[ri]kāṃ kṛtvā." According to his interpretation of the passage (*ibid.*, p. 321), the king's family goddess is here said to be the adorable Stambheśvarī, who was installed by the king, having seen her.

<sup>137</sup> Hara Prasad Shastri, "Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," p. 403, ll. 33-34.

<sup>138</sup> Sircar and Acharya, "Hindol Plate of Kulastambha," p. 113, ll. 23-24.



All except one (the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha -- no. 6) of the Śulkī grants endow the donor kings with the epithet parama-māheśvara. The various eulogistic epithets of Raṇastambha in his Dhenkanal plate include one that refers to his devotion to the gods, the twice-born, and teachers (deva-dvijāti-guru-bhakti-guṇ-opapaṇṇa).<sup>139</sup> In some of the inscriptions of his successors (one of the Dhenkanal plates of Jayabhañja, and the Hindol and Puri plates of Kulastambha; nos. 4, 8, 10) Raṇastambha is said to have built temples for Sadāśiva.<sup>140</sup> In addition to the references to the Śaivite affiliations of the Śulkī kings, most of them refer to the Śulkī or Śaulkī family (the terms vaṇśa and kula are used interchangeably) as being favoured by the goddess Stambheśvarī (Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasāda).<sup>141</sup> The 'stambha' endings of the names of the Śulkī kings also points to their association with Stambheśvarī.

### The Tuṅgas

The seals of most of the Tuṅga copper plate grants bear the name of the king in the nominative or the genitive case. The sun, moon, a bull facing a tree, and couchant deer facing a tree are the motifs that variously appear on the seals. The only Tuṅga inscription to contain an invocation is one of the Talcher plates of Gayādatuṅga (no. 1), which commences with an invocation to Somārdhadhārin (the deity wearing the half-moon, i.e. Śiva), the god who is omniscient, the manifestation of knowledge, who possesses divine vision, and is the means for the attainment of excellence.<sup>142</sup> All the Tuṅga inscriptions endow these kings with the epithet parama-māheśvara.

Mahāparvata, the place of issue of three of the Tuṅga grants (nos. 2, 3, 4), is described in the inscriptions as being purified by the sound of the Rg, Sāma, and Yajur Vedas and by the smoke of sacrificial fires, and as a place where the abodes of the ṛṣis were made joyous by the accumulation of smoke arising from the oblations being incessantly made by the twice-born.<sup>143</sup>

### Jayasimhadeva

The Dhenkanal plate of Jayasimhadeva bears no seal, and the king has no sectarian epithets.

<sup>139</sup> Hara Prasad Shastri, "Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," p.397, l. 4.

<sup>140</sup> *ibid.*, p. 406, l. 3; Sircar and Acharya, "Hindol Plate of Kulastambha," p. 112, ll. 3-4; Sircar, "Puri Plate of Kulastambha," p. 167, ll. 7-8.

<sup>141</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 167, ll. 3-4.

<sup>142</sup> Sircar, "Grants of Gayadatunga," p. 95, ll. 1-3.

<sup>143</sup> See, for instance, *ibid.*, p. 98, ll. 3-5.

### The Nandodbhavas

The seals of the Nandodbhava copper plate grants contain the motif of the couchant bull (described in one case as a couchant humped bull), as well as certain other motifs including the crescent and star/sun, conch, lotus, and a club-shaped object. The name of the king appears on the seals in the nominative or in the genitive case. No invocation appears in the Nandodbhava grants.

Jayapura, the capital of the Nandodbhavas, is described in the introductory portion of some of the inscriptions as free from the vices of the Kali age.<sup>144</sup> Other inscriptions give a conventional description which includes a reference to the city resounding with the sound of Brāhmaṇas reciting the Vedas.<sup>145</sup>

The Baripada museum, Jurerpur, Tamra, and Daspalla plates of Devānandadeva bestow on this king the epithet of parama-māheśvara.<sup>146</sup> The Nandodbhava grants contain comparisons of these kings and their ancestors variously with Dilipa, the mountain Meru, Dakṣa, Dhanada, Pṛthu, etc., and refer to their placing the four varṇas in their proper position.<sup>147</sup> The Daspalla and Tamra plates of Devānanda describe Parānanda, one of the ancestors of the donor, as a remover of the stain of the Kali age (vigata-kali-kalaṅkaḥ).<sup>148</sup> Dhruvānanda of the Jayapura or Talmul plate was a Buddhist, as evident from his title of parama-saugata.<sup>149</sup>

### Vīra-Pracandadeva

The seal of the Hindol plate of Vīra-Pracandadeva bears no motif or legend. There is no invocation. The king bears the epithet parama-māheśvara.

### The Somavamśīs

The seals attached to the copper plate grants of the Somavamśīs usually depict the Gaja-Lakṣmī motif. The name of the king in the nominative case can be discerned on only a few seals. An exception to the usual format of the Somavamśī seals is that of the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavagupta which bears the motif of a standing humped bull with two horns, facing the proper right, a crescent moon, and the

<sup>144</sup> See, for example, Panigrahi, "Baripada Museum Plate of Devanandadeva," p. 78, l. 1.

<sup>145</sup> See, for example, Sircar, "Two Plates of Devanandadeva," p. 333, ll. 2-3.

<sup>146</sup> It may be mentioned here that the text of the Narsinghpur plate of Devānandadeva seems defective, only stray bits of the Nandodbhava genealogy and praśasti being present.

<sup>147</sup> See, for instance, Panigrahi, "Baripada Museum Plate of Devandadeva," p. 78, ll. 5, 6; p. 79, l. 20; D. C. Sircar, "Two Grants from Daspalla," *EI* 24, pt. 6 (April 1952): 186, ll. 12; p. 188, ll. 19-20.

<sup>148</sup> Sircar, "Two Grants From Daspalla," p. 187, l. 6; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "Tamra Plate of Devandadeva," *OHRJ* 5, nos. 1 & 2 (1967): 118, ll. 5-6.

<sup>149</sup> Narayana Tripathi, "The Jayapura Copper-plate grant of Dhruvananda Deva," *JBORS* 16, pts. 3 & 4 (1930): 466, l. 24.

name of the king in the genitive case. The seal of the Kudopali plates of Rāṇaka Puñja, apparently a feudatory of the Somavarṁśī king Mahābhavagupta, bears the emblem of a seated swan (haṁsa) facing proper right, surmounted by a crescent, with the title and name of Puñja (spelt [Pu]rṁ[jaj]) below.

The Somavarṁśī inscriptions do not usually begin with an invocation to a deity. The exceptions are the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 19), which begin with the auspicious invocation "Om namaḥ Śivāya."<sup>150</sup> The Sonapur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 30) state that the grant was made after invoking, or in the name of, the lord Maheśvara (bhagavantarṁ Maheśvara-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya).<sup>151</sup> The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī (no. 27) invokes the full moon, which was born with Śrī from the midst of the ocean of milk when it was churned along with the Mandara mountain by Brahmā, Upendra, Maheśvara, Indra, and Bali, with the king of serpents as the churning rope.<sup>152</sup> The eulogy of the moon appears in certain other Somavarṁśī inscriptions as well. There, it is invoked as the nectar-rayed one who illuminates the earth, who is accomplished in exciting the laughter of the white water-lilies, who has his abode in the matted locks of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva), who is the home of streams of nectar, who is the foremost among the stars, who is the jewel on the arrow of the god of love, and who is the son of the ocean of milk.<sup>153</sup>

The conventional eulogistic description of the Somavarṁśī political centres that appears in some of the inscriptions includes its eclipsing the grandeur of the city of the gods (sura-pura; i.e. Amarāvati) by the splendour of its array of magnificent palaces (prāsāda), lofty buildings (āṭṭālika), temples (devakula), gardens (udyāna), wells (kūpa), and tanks (taḍāga).<sup>154</sup> The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) describe the place whence the plates were issued as Suvarṇapura, where is established the goddess śrī Pañcāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā, who grants the boons desired by all.<sup>155</sup>

Most of the Somavarṁśī copper plate grants give the sectarian affiliation of the reigning king and his father. It is in all cases Śaiva, as evident from the epithet parama-

<sup>150</sup> Pandeya, "The Mahakosala Historical Society's Plates of Mahābhavaguptarajadeva," p. 136, l. 1.

<sup>151</sup> B. C. Mazumdar, "Sonpur Plates of Kumara Somesvaradeva," *EI* 12 (1913-14): 241, ll. 12-13.

<sup>152</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 245, ll. 1-2.

<sup>153</sup> Binayak Misra, "Narasinghpur Charter of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV," p. 15, v. 1; Narayana Tripathi, "An incomplete Charter of a Somavamsi King, found at Ratnagiri," *JBORS* 16, pt. 2 (1930): 209, v. 1; D. C. Sircar, "Note on Ratnagiri Plates of Somavamsi Kama," p. 269, v. 1.

<sup>154</sup> See, for instance, B. Ch. Chhabra, "Sonpur Plates of Maha-Bhavagupta (II)-Janamejaya; the Year 17," *EI* 23 (1935-36): 251, ll. 4-6.

<sup>155</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 219, ll. 10-11.

māheśvara.<sup>156</sup> The names of most of these kings include the word Bhava or Śiva, and are also indicative of their Śaiva leanings. (Puñja, the subordinate of the Somavamśis, was also a parama-māheśvara, although he is also described as one who is favoured by the goddess Kālēśvarī.)

The Somavamśi praśasti is in several cases short. A few of the inscriptions, however, expand on the eulogy of the reigning king. Thus, in the Orissa State Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 12), the joy created among people at Janamejaya's accession to the throne of Kosala (i.e. south Kosala) is compared with that aroused by Yudhiṣṭhira's accession to the throne. There is a reference to Janamejaya's intelligence being adorned and purified by his understanding of the essence of the Āgamas.<sup>157</sup> The king's qualities are compared with that of Somarāja, the moon, and a comparison is also made with the king's Epic namesake.<sup>158</sup> The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) compare this king with legendary kings such as Nala, Nahuṣa, Māndhātṛ, Dilipa, Bharata, and Bhagīratha.<sup>159</sup> He is also described as one who is free from the stain of the Kali age, and as a builder of many temples (devakul-āyatanas), pleasure gardens (or monasteries) and parks (vihāras, ārāmas, udyānas), and temple halls (maṇḍapas).<sup>160</sup> In the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī, Bhīmaratha is said to be the tree of plenty (kalpa-vṛkṣa) of the Kali age; his son Dharmaratha is said to be the second Paraśurāma; Udyotakeśarī is said to be a conqueror of the earth like Māndhātā, Pṛthu, and Bharata.<sup>161</sup> Udyotakeśarī's mother Kolāvatī is compared with the goddesses Durgā and Lakṣmī.<sup>162</sup> In the Narasinghpur plates (no. 12), Yayāti, the father of Udyotakeśarī, is referred to as the representative of Madhusūdana (i.e. Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa).<sup>163</sup>

The Somavamśi kings claimed to belong to the lunar dynasty.<sup>164</sup> This is evident from the epithet 'Soma-kula-tilaka' that they are endowed with in their inscriptions. Further,

<sup>156</sup> Nevertheless, the seals of the Somavamśi inscriptions bear the Gaja-Lakṣmī motif

<sup>157</sup> The term Āgama can refer to a variety of traditional doctrines or teachings (see Mon. Will., p. 129). It is not clear which one is meant here.

<sup>158</sup> Rajaguru, IO, 4: 160, vv. 3-4.

<sup>159</sup> *ibid.*, p. 219, ll. 12-13.

<sup>160</sup> *ibid.*, p. 219, ll. 1, 4-5. The maṇḍapa is a hall, usually one in front of the shrine of a temple (Vidya Dehejia, Early Stone Temples of Orissa, New Delhi: Vikas, 1979, p. 207). According to V. S. Pathak (Smṛta Religious Tradition, Meerut: Kusumanjali Prakashan, 1987, p. 50), certain lexicons give the meaning of maṇḍapa as 'a shelter for persons in general.'

<sup>161</sup> Rajaguru, IO, 4: 245-47, ll. 4, 5, 9-10.

<sup>162</sup> *ibid.*, p. 247, l. 12.

<sup>163</sup> Misra, "Narasinghpur Charter of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV," p. 16, ll. 22-23.

<sup>164</sup> Pauranic tradition traces all royal lineages to Manu Vaivasvata. Manu had nine sons and a daughter Ilā (or a son Ilā who was transformed into a woman Ilā). The descendents of Manu's son Ikṣvāku constituted the solar dynasty, while the descendents of Ilā's son Purūravas constituted the lunar dynasty. (See F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, London, 1922; reprint ed., 1972, chaps. 7-9).

in the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśari, the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, and the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa, the eulogy of the moon god with which the inscriptions commence is followed by an assertion that it was in his lineage (asy=ānvaye/vamśe) that the Somavamśi kings were born.<sup>165</sup>

The imperial Gaṅgas and their feudatories (inscriptions no. 41-77)

The seals of the imperial Gaṅgas include a large variety of motifs, including variously the couchant bull, crescent moon, elephant-goad, conch, trident, dagger, battle-axe, mace, rope, drum, ploughshare, fly-whisk, sword, tortoise, lotus, flag-staff, lampstead, darts/lances, umbrella, archway in the shape of a crocodile (makara-toraṇa), bugle, pitcher, and a liṅgam in a snake's head. The seal of the Andhavaram plates of Vajrahasta (no. 41) has been described as bearing the motifs of the couchant bull, crescent, conch, lotus, elephant-goad, a small circular disc divided into eight sectors, and a vase of plenty (pūrṇa-ghaṭa). That of the Ponduru plates of Vajrahasta (no. 42) bears the emblems of the bull, crescent, elephant-goad, and fly-whisk. The seal of the Chicacole plates of the time of Madhu-Kāvārṇava (no. 44) bears a seated bull on a platform and an elephant-goad.<sup>166</sup> The seal of the Mandasa plates of the Kadamba rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi of the time of Anantavarman (no. 45) bears the motifs of a fish and an elephant-goad; the fish seems to have been an emblem of the Kadambas. There are no legends on the seals of the inscriptions of this group of kings.

Vajrahasta and Rājarāja are described in their inscriptions as parama-māheśvaras. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga is endowed with the same epithet until the Korni plates of Śaka 1034 (no. 65), where he has the epithets of parama-māheśvara, parama-vaiṣṇava, as well as parama-brahmaṇya. In the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 (no. 68), he is a parama-vaiṣṇava and parama-brahmaṇya. In the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1057 (no. 69), he is a parama-māheśvara.

The copper plate grants of the imperial Gaṅgas contain an elaborate praśasti. The inscriptions of Vajrahasta (III) refer to the Gaṅga kings as ones by whom the stain of the impurities of the Kali age was washed away with the pure water of their taintless thoughts and deeds.<sup>167</sup> It also speaks of the grandeur of their sovereignty (sāmrajya) being resplendent with the unique conch-shell (śaṁkha), the drum (bheri), the five great sounds

<sup>165</sup> *ibid.*, p. 15, ll. 4-6; Rajaguru, "Brahmeśvara Temple Stone Inscription of the Time of Udyotakeśari," p. 245, ll. 2-3; Sircar, "Note on Ratnagiri Plates of Somavamśi Karṇa," p. 269, ll. 3-4.

<sup>166</sup> The donor of this inscription was śrī Lakṣmaṇa Rāmadeva, a subordinate of the Gaṅga king.

<sup>167</sup> See, for instance, Sten Konow, "Narasapatam Plates of Vajrahasta III.; Saka-Samvat 967," p. 149, ll. 4-5.

(pañca-mahāśabda),<sup>168</sup> the white parasol (dhavala-chattra), the golden fly-whisk (hema-cāmara), and the excellent bull-crest (vara-viṣabha-lāñchana)<sup>169</sup> which they had obtained through the favour of the deity Gokarṇasvāmin established on the summit of the lofty Mahendra mountain, the lord all things moving and unmoving, the sole architect of the creation of all the worlds who has the moon as his crest jewel.<sup>170</sup>

The genealogical account of the imperial Gaṅgas begins with Guṇamahārṇava, who is described as having conquered the circle of the earth with his prowess as did the god Viṣṇu (with his strides).<sup>171</sup> It refers to Vajrahasta (II)'s incomparable liberality and his giving a thousand elephants to mendicants.<sup>172</sup> His son Kāmārṇava (II) is compared with the son of the king of gods (surarāja-sūnuḥ).<sup>173</sup> Kāmārṇava's younger brother Guṇḍama is compared with the Mind-born (Citta-janman), i.e. Kāma.<sup>174</sup> Vinayamahādevī, the mother of Vajrahasta (III) is described as having sprung from the Vaidumba family as did the goddess Śrī from the milk ocean.<sup>175</sup> Vajrahasta (III) is said to protect the earth with righteousness, and reference is made to his ensuring the attainment of the three goals of life (tri-varga).<sup>176</sup> The goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī are said to shine in accord, one sitting on the bosom and the other in the mouth of this virtuous man.<sup>177</sup>

Rājarāja is described in the Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati as one whose splendour resembled that of the one whose weapon is the discus (cakrāyudh-ābhaḥ), i.e. Viṣṇu; who, like the latter, had Ramā (Lakṣmī) on his bosom; and who was in speech like Brhaspati, the lord of speech.<sup>178</sup> The grants of Rājarāja himself reproduce the Gaṅgā praśasti as it appears in the grants of his father Vajrahasta (III), with a few additions. Thus, Rājarāja is described as being the son of Vajrahasta by Anaṅga-mahādevī even as Kārttikeya was the son of Hara by Gaurī.<sup>179</sup> Verse 15 seems to compare Rājarāja with

<sup>168</sup> The possession of the 'pañca-mahāśabda' is usually associated with feudatories, but was used as indicative of imperial status by some medieval dynasties of South India, for instance by the eastern Cālukyas of Veṅṅi (Sircar, "Two Grants from Galavallī," p. 192). It is in the latter sense that it seems to have been used here.

<sup>169</sup> It has been pointed out by Krishnamacharlu (*ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 61) that almost all the emblems mentioned here are to be found on the seals of the Palanigara and Viṣagapatam plates.

<sup>170</sup> Konow, "Narasapatam Plates of Vajrahasta III.; Saka-Samvat 967," p. 149. ll. 5-11.

<sup>171</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 14-15.

<sup>172</sup> *ibid.*, p. 150, ll. 23-25.

<sup>173</sup> *ibid.*, l. 28.

<sup>174</sup> *ibid.*, l. 31.

<sup>175</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 36-37.

<sup>176</sup> *ibid.*, ll. 41-42.

<sup>177</sup> *ibid.*, p. 151, ll. 47-49.

<sup>178</sup> G. V. Ramamurti, "Dirghasi Inscription of Vanapati; Saka-Samvat 997," *EI* 4 (1896-97): 315, ll. 2-3.

<sup>179</sup> Sircar, "Two Grants From Galavallī," p. 196, ll. 38-39.

Viṣṇu, the god who drinks the nectar from the beautiful lips of his consort Lakṣmī, who is the giver of peace to the esteemed, joy to the virtuous, and fear to the wicked.<sup>180</sup>

Among the grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, son and successor of Rājārāja, the Vizagapatam copper-plates dated in Śaka 1003 (no. 61), the Korni plates of Śaka 1003 (no. 62), the Murupaka plates (no. 63) of Śaka 1005, the Sellada plates (no. 64) of Śaka 1006, and the Vizagapatam plates (no. 69) of Śaka 1057, have an introductory section and genealogical account similar to that of the grants of Vajrahasta and Rājārāja. The Korni plates (no. 65) of Śaka 1034 and the Vizagapatam plates (no. 68) of the Śaka year 1040, however, give an amplified version of the Gaṅga genealogy.<sup>181</sup> This begins with the god Ananta (Viṣṇu): From the water-lily that grew from Ananta's navel sprang forth the god Brahmā. Then came the following in direct descent: Atri (the lord of the sages), Śaśāṅka (the Moon), Budha, Purūravas, Āyus, Nahuṣa, and Yayāti. Yayāti's son was king Turvaśu, whose his maternal grandfather was the preceptor of the gods, Śukra.<sup>182</sup> Turvaśu propitiated the river Gaṅgā, and obtained a son, Gāṅgeya, whose lineage came to be known as the Gaṅg-ānvaya.

The genealogical account goes on to enumerate the various Gaṅga kings, giving a much longer list of rulers than do the grants of Vajrahasta (III), Rājārāja, and the earlier grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. After mentioning several Gaṅga kings, the praśasti of the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, the Korni plates of Śaka 1003 and 1034, and the Palarṅgara plates speak of Kolāhala, builder of the city of Kolāhalapura in the great Gaṅgāvāḍi viṣaya, who made a temple of the god Hari. His son was Vairocana (II). After eighty kings had enjoyed the city of Kolāhalapura, in this lineage was born Vīrasimha. He had five sons: Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasimha, and Vajrahasta. Kāmārṇava gave over his territory to his paternal uncle, set out to conquer the earth with his brothers, and reached the Mahendra mountain. Having worshipped the god Gokarṇasvāmin on the Mahendra mountain, he obtained the excellent crest of a bull through the god's favour. Then he descended from the summit of the mountain, decorated with all the insignia of universal sovereignty, and accompanied, like Yudhiṣṭhira, by his four younger brothers, he conquered king Śabarāditya,<sup>183</sup> who had grown tired of war, and took possession of the Kaliṅga country. Kāmārṇava's capital was the city of Jantāvura, which surpassed the city of

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<sup>180</sup> *ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>181</sup> I am indebted to Fleet's abstract of the contents of the praśasti of the Vizagapatam plates of the Śaka year 1040 ("Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions," *IA* 18, 1889: 170-71).

<sup>182</sup> Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 170, n. 44) points out that it is Brhaspati who is the preceptor of the gods, while the Gaṅga genealogy gives this honour to Śukra, the preceptor of the demons. It may be noted that the genealogy from Purūravas down to Turvaśu agrees with the Pauranic lists of the Turvaśu line of the solar dynasty (see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 144-45).

<sup>183</sup> Fleet (*ibid.*, 167, l. 48) read this name as Balāditya. This reading was subsequently revised by other scholars (see, for instance, *ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 61).

the king of the gods, i.e. Indra. Kāmārṇava assigned some of his territory to his brothers and ruled for thirty-six years.

The Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, the Palarṅgara plates, and the two sets of Korni plates go on to describe the kings of the Gaṅga lineage as having obtained the fulfilment of all their desires by propitiating the divine Gokarṇasvāmin established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahendra. Gokarṇasvāmin is described as the sole architect of the creation of the worlds and the lord of moving and immoving creation. Kāmārṇava is said to have been succeeded to the throne by his younger brother Dānārṇava, who in turn was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava (II). This Kāmārṇava is said to have built at his city named Nagara a temple for the god Īśa (Śiva) in the liṅga form, to which he gave the name Madhukeśa because it was made from a mṛdhūka tree.<sup>184</sup> Vajrahasta (IV), one of the kings of the genealogy contained in these plates, is said to have given away a thousand elephants.

The praśasti described above, which introduces a mythical prelude to the Gaṅga genealogy, may not be as accurate as the more sober version contained in some of the earlier Gaṅga grants. The important features to be noted for the purposes of this discussion, however, are the tracing of the genealogy to Viṣṇu, the prominence given in the account of the expansion of the Gaṅga empire to the deity Gokarṇasvāmin on Mahendra mountain, and the references to the building of Śaiva temples by some of the Gaṅga kings.

### Summary

The recurrent themes in the praśastis of the kings of ancient and early medieval Orissa are the bravery and the military exploits of kings, their physical beauty, and the various admirable qualities with which their personalities were endowed. Comparisons with the heroes of the Mahābhārata, Yudhiṣṭhira in particular, are frequent, as are comparisons with legendary kings such as Puru, Dilipa, Pṛthu, Nala, Nahuṣa, Māndhātā, Bharata, and Bhagīratha.

Among the frequently occurring themes in the praśastis of the kings of ancient and early medieval Orissa is that of the Kali age, the king being eulogized for instance as the remover of the stain of the Kali age (or some similar statement), and thus as one countering the forces of degeneration. The earliest references in the inscriptions of Orissa to the Kali age belong to the fifth or sixth century C.E. (the Jayarampur plates of Gopacandra and the early inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara); thereafter, the references to the Kali age continue throughout the period under review.

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<sup>184</sup> It may be noted that the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhalingam was the main temple of the Gaṅgas until about 1135 C. E. (H. von Steitencron, "The Advent of Viṣṇuism in Orissa: An Outline of its History according to Archaeological Sources from the Gupta period up to 1135 A.D.," in The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, eds Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, p. 23.



The king is eulogized in a few inscriptions as the protector of his people and as the maintainer of dharma. References to the king as the maintainer of the order of the varṇas and āśramas occur in the Jayarampur plates of Gopacandra, grants of the Bhauma-Kara kings Śubhākara I and Śubhākara II, and the inscriptions of the Nandodbhavas. It may be noted that the Bhauma kings credited with this achievement were Buddhists.

Kingship is associated with the performance of sacrifice in the inscriptions of the Śailodbhavas. The praśasti of these kings consistently gives prominence to the performance of the Aśvamedha and Vājapeya sacrifices by members of this dynasty. The allusion to the performance of these sacrifices having fallen into abeyance is noteworthy. Apart from the Śailodbhavas, no other kings of ancient or early medieval Orissa claimed to have performed the great śrauta sacrifices. Apart from the case of the Śailodbhavas, sacrifice, and particularly the śrauta sacrifice, does not appear to have been a significant component of the ideology of kingship in ancient and early medieval Orissa.

Several inscriptions eulogize the king for his munificence, often through the analogy of the kalpa-vṛkṣa -- the tree of plenty. The inscriptions of some kings specify the items gifted by kings; these included land, gold, grain, cows, and elephants. The land grant charters invariably contain a series of benedictory and imprecatory verses eulogizing the act of giving land to Brāhmaṇas, citing the authority and recommendations of sources such as the *Mahābhārata*, the Dharmaśāstras, the *Manu Smṛti*, and the ancient seers (ṛṣis). It may be noted in this context that certain inscriptions (those of Prthivī-mahārāja and the Bamhani plates of Pāṇḍuvarṇa Bharatabala among the inscriptions of Period I, the Ganjam plates of Śailodbhava Mādhavarman and the Russellkonda plates of Neṭṭabhañja among those of Period II, and the Korni plates of Śaka 1934 and Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga among those of Period III) give the king the epithet of parama-brahmaṇya (greatly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas). Apart from the references in the royal praśastis, the evidence of several hundred records of royal grants indicates that throughout the period under review, ritual giving (dāna), particularly the giving of land (bhūmi-dāna) to Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments, was the pious activity par excellence for kings.

A small number of inscriptions refer to the temple-building activity of kings. The few references that do occur are in the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the inscriptions of the Śulkīs, the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Somavarṇa Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, and the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 and Korni plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. In all these instances, the reference is to the building of Śaiva temples. A few inscriptions eulogize kings for building monasteries -- maṭhas and vihāras (the Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja and the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī), while one refers to the king's construction of lakes and embankments (Baud plates of Saloṇabhañja).

The imaging of kings with reference to or comparison with one or more deities occurs frequently in the *praśastis* of the inscriptions of the ancient and early medieval kings of Orissa. While the comparisons are often with deities drawn from a wide mythico-religious field, cutting across sectarian boundaries, there are several instances where the king is compared (although not always exclusively so), with the deity (Viṣṇu or Śiva) himself, or with members of the family of the deity with whose worship he is specifically associated with elsewhere in the *praśasti*. Examples of this are to be found in the Barmhani plates of Bharatabala, the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaiṇśī kings Tivara and Mahāśivagupta, two Śailodbhava inscriptions (the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman and Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja), and the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅgas.

The majority of the Orissan kings during the period from the fourth to the mid-twelfth century claimed an association with Vaiṣṇavism or Śaivism. The exceptions include the early Bhauma-Karas, Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate, and the Nandodbhava king Dhruvānanda, who bear Buddhist epithets, and Dharmarāja of the Sumandala plates, who is described as a worshipper of the sun god.

Among the significant references to autochthonous deities are those to the goddess Stambheśvarī, who finds mention in the Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikāra, some of the grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala, and those of the Śulkīs. The Śulkī inscriptions refer to Stambheśvarī as their tutelary deity (*kula-devatā*). The name of Stambheśvarī or Khambeśvarī, (literally 'goddess of the post') derived from the fact that she was originally represented by a post or pillar. The cult of this goddess is an instance of the Hinduization of an autochthonous deity, and her worship is still prevalent in western Orissa, although she is no longer always represented by a post.<sup>185</sup> It may be noted that the early Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala and the Śulkīs are also described in their inscriptions as worshippers of Śiva.<sup>186</sup> The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Somavaṁśī Mahāśivagupta refer to a goddess named Pañcāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā being established in Suvarṇapura.

In the early part of the period under review -- during the fourth to the seventh century -- a few of the kings bear no sectarian titles at all. In other inscriptions of this period, the epithets *parama-daivata* (a great devotee of the god or gods) is frequently applied to the ruling king or his father (e.g. in the inscriptions of Viśākhavarman, some of the Piṭṭbhakta and Māṭhara kings, the Vighrahas, and the Mudgalas). In one of the Soro

<sup>185</sup> A. Eschmann, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa. The Śākta and Śaiva Typology," in *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, eds. Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, p. 86.

<sup>186</sup> It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the reference to the goddess Stambheśvarī is absent in the Baudh plates of the fifty-fourth and fifty-eighth year which elevate Raṇabhañja from the status of *rāṇaka* to that of *mahārāja*. The epigraphic references to Stambheśvarī come mostly from the interior highland area of Orissa (the Kalahandi, Baudh, Sonpur, Kendujhar, and Dhenkanal areas)

plates of Somadatta, as also in the Kanas plate of Bhānudatta, the epithet parama-daivata is applied to the overlord of these kings. Another epithet that appears often in the inscriptions of Period I is parama-daivat-ādhidaivata (a great devotee of the gods and the supreme god); like parama-daivata, it is variously applied to the ruling king, his father, or his overlord. This epithet occurs in the inscriptions of the Vighrahas, Mudgalas, and in one of the Soro plates of Somadatta.

The earliest assumption of specifically Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva sectarian epithets by the kings of Orissa dates to about the fifth century C.E., and this became the general practice soon thereafter. It may be noted that while parama-māheśvara appears in the inscriptions as the usual Śaiva epithet for kings, the Vaiṣṇava epithet parama-bhāgavata was replaced early in the period under review by parama-vaiṣṇava. There is one instance of the use of the epithet śrī-vaiṣṇava (the Antirigam plates of Jayabhāṇja, one of the Bhāṇjas of Kolāḍa).

A few of the royal inscriptions are inclusive rather than exclusive in their sectarian associations. Thus, the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhāṇja (one of the early Bhāṇjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala) begin with an invocation to both Viṣṇu and Bhairava, describe the king as a parama-vaiṣṇava, and refer to the grant as having been made in the name of the lord Viṣṇu. The Singharā plates of Raṇabhāṇja (another early Bhāṇja king of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala) begin with an invocation to Bhairava, describe the king as a parama-māheśvara, and state that the grant was made in the name of the lord Nārāyaṇa. The Antirigam plates of Jayabhāṇja (one of the Bhāṇjas of Kolāḍa) describe this king as a devotee of Śaṅkara as well as of Śrī and Viṣṇu.

Among the more prominent dynasties of ancient and early medieval Orissa, those that display a consistency in sectarian affiliation are the Śailodbhavas, Ādi-Bhāṇjas, Śulkīs, Tuṅgas, Somavaṁśīs, the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka and Kaliṅganagara, and the imperial Gaṅgas upto Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. It may be noted that all these kings claimed Śaiva affiliations. Also noteworthy are the references in the inscriptions of the Śulkīs (who bear the epithet parama-māheśvara) to Stambheśvari being their kula-devatā, and the reference in the Jurādā grant of Neṭṭabhāṇja to Nārāyaṇa being the kula-devatā of this particular branch of the Bhāṇja family. In the same context, i.e., the association of a dynasty with a particular deity, may be mentioned Śiva-Gokaṛṇa who seems to have been the equivalent of a kula-devatā (though not specifically referred to as such) for the various branches of the Gaṅga family. The veneration of the Mahendra mountain (a peak of the Eastern Ghats, situated in the far south of Ganjam district) by the Kaliṅganagara and Śvetaka Gaṅgas as well as the Śailodbhavas is noteworthy.<sup>187</sup> It may be noted that the Mahendra mountain is one of the

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<sup>187</sup> Gokaṛṇasvāmīn is described from the time of the earliest Gaṅga inscriptions as having his abode on the Mahendra mountain. According to Thomas E. Donaldson (*Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, 1, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, p. 67) there are today three temples near the

group of mountains known in certain ancient texts as the kul-ācalas, so-called because they were associated with a particular tribe, people, or country; Mahendra was the mountain of the Kaliṅgas.<sup>188</sup>

It has been suggested by Hermann Kulke that when the Gaṅgas conquered the area south of the Mahendra mountain, they adopted as their tutelary deity one of the deities of the Śavara tribe under the name of Gokaṇṣavāmin. Kulke cites as support for this argument the reference in some of the inscriptions of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga to his ancestor Kāmārṇava ascending the Mahendra mountain on his arrival in Kaliṅga, worshipping Gokaṇṣavāmin, being bestowed with the symbols of kingship, descending from the mountain, killing the chief of the Śabara tribe (Śabarāditya) and conquering Kaliṅga.<sup>189</sup> According to Kulke, this is an important instance of royal patronage of an autochthonous deity. However, it may be noted that there is a town named Gokaṇṣa (literally, 'cow's ear') in the North Kanara district of Karnataka. This place has been from ancient times an important Śaiva place of pilgrimage, famed for the Mahābaleśvara temple, which, according to tradition, enshrines the phallic emblem secured by Rāvaṇa as a result of severe penance.<sup>190</sup> The Gaṅgas may have brought the worship of Śiva-Gokaṇṣvara from Karnataka, which seems to have been their homeland.

In several cases, there is no consistency in the sectarian epithets assumed by the various rulers of a particular dynasty, and the epithets parama-māheśvara and parama-vaiṣṇava seem to alternate without any apparent pattern or rationale except perhaps the changing personal predilections of the kings who bore them. In some instances, however, changes in the sectarian affiliation of the kings of a particular dynasty may be associated with certain political events. Reference may be made in this connection to the political background of the shift of the Nala rulers from Vaiṣṇava to Śaiva affiliations, which coincided with and may have been a consequence of certain political events, namely the resurrection of Nala power after a series of military reverses, perhaps at the hands of the Vākātakas or the Cālukyas. Another example is the shift of the sectarian affiliation of the imperial Gaṅgas during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. It may be noted here that

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summit of this mountain, but all relatively late in date, none can be dated to the sixth or seventh century.

<sup>188</sup> The other kul-ācalas are Malaya, Sahya, Śukumat, Rkṣa, Vindhya, and Pāripātra (B. C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, reprint ed., Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1976, p. 23). Law points out that a reference to these kul-ācalas occurs in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (57. 10), and that Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa (4. 43; 6. 54) describes the king of Kaliṅga as 'lord of Mahendra.'

<sup>189</sup> H. Kulke, "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms," p. 130.

<sup>190</sup> See, for instance, Śiva Purāṇa, Koṭirudrasamhitā 8. 1-28 (J. L. Shastri ed., The Śiva Purāṇa, vol. 3, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, pp. 1285-86)

imperial Gaṅga inscriptions from the time of Rājarāja III give to Coḍagaṅga the credit for the construction of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri.<sup>191</sup> As far as the reasons of this shift in sectarian affiliation are concerned, some have suggested that Coḍagaṅga was converted to Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Rāmānuja (1056-1137).<sup>192</sup> According to Fleet, however, nāyaka Mādhava, the donee of the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, as well as his grandfather Vāsudeva were, judging from their names, plainly Vaiṣṇavas and hence the title parama-vaiṣṇava in this grant is not surprising, being given to the king in this particular inscription as a compliment to the donee.<sup>193</sup> H. v. Stietencron agrees with this interpretation, and also points out that in inscriptions recording donations to Śaiva temples, such as in the Bhīmeśvara temple at Draksarama and the Nilakaṇṭheśvara temple at Bobbili, Coḍagaṅga continued to be described as a parama-māheśvara. He also states that several temple inscriptions of Anantavarman's brothers or his queens, ranging in dates from 1121-1132 C.E., refer to him as a parama-māheśvara. Thus, according to Stietencron, the epigraphic evidence does not point to the conversion of Coḍagaṅga to Vaiṣṇavism; it simply indicates that while making gifts to temples or private individuals, the king refrained from hurting the sentiments of the beneficiaries.<sup>194</sup>

While it may be accepted that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga did not cease to patronize Śaiva religious establishments, apart from the epithet parama-vaiṣṇava that appears in the Korni plates of Śaka 1034 and Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, note may be taken of the change in the praśasti, tracing the Gaṅga genealogy to Viṣṇu, and the building of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri for which the records of Coḍagaṅga's successors give him credit. It may also be noted that the imperial Gaṅga kings who succeeded Coḍagaṅga were also Vaiṣṇavas. There is, thus, sufficient evidence to argue for a shift (though not an absolute reversal) in royal policy towards the latter part of Coḍagaṅga's reign. This shift in royal policy towards an association with Vaiṣṇavism can be related to the northward expansion of the Gaṅga empire and the introduction of a new sectarian symbol and identity for the kingdom, epitomized in the great temple of Puruṣottama.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>191</sup> These inscriptions ascribe the construction of the temple to Gaṅgeśvara, i.e. Coḍagaṅga. According to H. von Stietencron ("The Date of the Jagannanatha Temple: Literary Sources Reconsidered," in Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa, ed. M. N. Das, Cuttack: Ptambar Misra, 1977, p. 527), while 1136 C.E. may tentatively be accepted as the year when the construction of the Jagannātha temple was begun, the later date of 1147 C.E. cannot be ruled out. He places the completion of the temple some time before 1197-98 C.E..

<sup>192</sup> Rajaguru, IO, 3, pt. 2: LII.

<sup>193</sup> J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions," IA 18 (1889): 171, n. 50.

<sup>194</sup> H. v. Stietencron, "The Advent of Viṣṇuism in Orissa: An outline of its history according to archaeological and epigraphical sources from the Gupta period up to 1135 A. D.," pp. 22-23.

<sup>195</sup> According to Hermann Kulke, the Jagannātha temple was Coḍagaṅga's attempt to outshine the Brhadeśvara-Śiva temple at Tanjore and thereby challenge his arch rival Kulottuṅga Coḷa; the two temples were of the same height (216 feet) ("Early Patronage of

While two of the dynasties of Period I (fourth to seventh century) -- the Nalas and the Pāṇḍuvarṇśis -- claimed an origin that links them to lineages of the Epic-Pauranic tradition, the elaboration of mythical origin accounts as an aspect of royal legitimation is a more marked feature of the early medieval period, to which correspond the second and third phases (seventh to tenth and tenth to mid-twelfth century) of the chronological scheme adopted here.

The origin myth of the Śailodbhavas contains elements of divine intervention. The account commences with Pulindasena, whose name reflects a tribal origin. It may be noted that Pulindasena is described as renouncing the opportunity of kingship, for which, according to the account, he was so pre-eminently qualified. The origin of the dynasty is subsequently traced to no ordinary mortal but to one who miraculously emerged from a rock, as a result of Pulindasena's prayers to the god Svayambhū. The elaboration of the account in the Cuttack Museum plates suggests that the Svayambhū in question was Śiva, the deity whom the Śailodbhavas worshipped. The motif of emerging or being born from a rock has been interpreted in different ways. Y. R. Gupte suggests that it indicates that the Śailodbhava dynasty flourished originally in rocky regions.<sup>196</sup> According to J. G. de Casparis, the most striking feature of the Śailodbhava account is the strength of the local attachment of this dynasty, symbolized in the form of Pulindasena and even more so in the rocks out of which Śailodbhava was created.<sup>197</sup>

The theme of miraculous birth -- in this case from the egg of a pea-hen -- is alluded to in the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Kṣiṇjālī-maṇḍala and elaborated in those of the Ādi-Bhañjas. It has been suggested that the pea-fowl had totemistic significance for this family.<sup>198</sup> The event of the miraculous birth of the progenitor of the Ādi-Bhañja lineage

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the Jagannātha Cult," in *The Cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, eds. Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, pp. 149-50).

<sup>196</sup> Gupte, "Kondedda Grant of Dharmaraja," p. 266.

<sup>197</sup> J. G. de Casparis, "Inscriptions and South Asian Dynastic Traditions," in *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, ed. R. J. Moore (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1979), pp. 112-113.

<sup>198</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Bhañja Grant from Khiching," *EI* 30 (1954): 224. It may be also be noted that traces of this origin myth appear to have survived in the name of the modern district of Mayurbhanj, although the Bhañja rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century preferred the claim of Rajput ancestry to a connection with a pea-hen's egg. R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa* 1: 161) suggests that the Rajput origin claimed by the Bhañjas after the Mughal conquest of Orissa owed its inspiration to the perception that the Rajputs were the principal Hindu nobles in the Mughal empire. On the blatantly fabricated nature of the claim, see Banerji, *ibid.* pp. 161-63. This is an interesting illustration of the changing basis of legitimization in royal genealogical accounts. R. C. Majumdar ("Three Copper-Plates From Mayurbhanj," p. 154), on the other hand, cites evidence of the continuity of the old legend of the birth of the progenitor of the Bhañja family from the egg of a pea-hen and his being reared by Vasiṣṭha in certain documents examined by him at Baripada: namely a copy of a Sanad granted in the early eighteenth century by Mahārāja Viravikramāditya Bhañja, and a

was situated in a brahmanically respectable locale, a hermitage where Gaṇadaṇḍa was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha. The version of the Ādi-Bhaṇja origin myth contained in the Keśari plate of Śatrubhaṇja, although difficult to interpret precisely, adds to the details of the above episode by introducing the 88,000 sons of Vīrabhadra, and the latter being made adhipati of 88,000 villages by Rāmadeva. It is likely that the Rāmadeva of this account is Rāmacandra of the great epic; his introduction into the Ādi-Bhaṇja origin myth indicates the further brahmanization of the story.<sup>199</sup>

It may be noted that the origin myths of the dynasties of Period II and III in two cases (the Śailodbhavas and Ādi-Bhaṇjas) reflect a melange of brahmanical and non-brahmanical elements, while the origins claimed by the two great dynasties of Period III (the Somavarṁśīs and imperial Gaṅgas) draw on the Epic-Pauranic tradition. The Korni plates and Vizagapatnam plates of Śaka 1040 of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga display an increase in the number of figures, mortal as well as divine, that are included in the royal genealogy. The genealogy includes the Moon god but ultimately traces the ancestry of the imperial Gaṅgas to the deity Viṣṇu. Here, Pauranic cosmology and royal genealogy merge and the origins of the dynasty are traced to a timeless past. The relationship between dynasty and deity reaches a climactic point, with the origin of the former being traced to the latter.

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letter of 1660, sent by the ruler of Talcher to Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Bhaṇja, the ruler of Mayurbhanj. He adds that this legend is also referred to by Upendra Bhaṇja, the seventeenth century poet of Orissa. Binayak Misra ("Maurya Candragupta and Bhanja Kings," p. 421) points out that the modern Bhaṇja family of Mayurbhanj claims to belong to the Vasiṣṭha gotra. While this suggestion of the continuity of the old tradition is of interest, Misra's suggestion that the reference in the Ādi-Bhaṇja inscriptions to Vīrabhadra being reared by Vasiṣṭha is an allusion to the gotra of the Bhaṇjas and reflects a claim to belong to the solar dynasty (as according to the Purāṇas, Vasiṣṭha was the priest of the Ikṣvākus who belonged to the solar dynasty) is not convincing.

<sup>199</sup> According to Binayak Misra ("Maurya Candragupta and Mayurbhanj Rulers," p. 423), the tradition recorded in the Keśari plate is preserved in a modified form in the sanads of the Bhaṇja family of Mayurbhanj in the pre-British period. These endow the Bhaṇja kings with the epithets 'aṭhāśa-sahasra-Khichingeśvara' (lord of the 28,000 Khichingas) and 'Rāmacandra-ṭika-sāraṇa' (vested with the royal insignia by Rāmacandra). Misra takes this to indicate that the modern Bhaṇja ruling family are the lineal descendents of those mentioned in the epigraphic records. However, his suggestion that Vīrabhadra be identified with Candragupta Maurya and Rāmadeva with Kauṇḍilya is rather far-fetched.

### Chapter III

#### Brāhmaṇa Beneficiaries of Royal Endowments

The importance of Brāhmaṇas in relation to kingship in ancient and early medieval Orissa was a consequence of a variety of roles that this élite group played in these periods. As panegyrists and genealogists, Brāhmaṇas were experts in the formulation of claims to royal legitimacy. As ritual advisors to kings, they were closely associated with the court circle. As occupants of various official posts, they played a part in the administration of the kingdom. And as the prime recipients of royal endowments of tax-free land, they gradually emerged as an important landed class and as influential mediators in the realms of religiosity and social values at the village level. This chapter examines the epigraphic data relating to the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments, the focus being on how the inscriptions define brahmanical identity -- gotra, caraṇa, śākhā, native place, and so forth. The common suffixes associated with Brāhmaṇa names have been noted. Evidence of the sectarian affiliations of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries and their relationship with temple establishments has also been sought. The attempt is to move beyond a view of Brāhmaṇas as constituting a homogeneous, monolithic group and to try to calibrate the bases of differentiation within the Brāhmaṇa community.

The origins of the institution of gotra -- the patrilineal exogamous clan system of the Brāhmaṇas -- have been traced to the 'hymn-families' of the Rg Veda.<sup>1</sup> Although the word gotra occurs in the Rg Veda,<sup>2</sup> it is only in the period of the Brāhmaṇa texts that it comes to be used frequently in the sense of brahmanical clan organization.<sup>3</sup> According to the traditional view expressed in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (Pravarādhyāya, 54), the gotras are eight in number, and comprise the descendents of the seven ṛṣis -- Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha -- and Agastya. These gotras are divided into gaṇas, each of which have their own pravara.<sup>4</sup>

The pravara of a Brāhmaṇa consists of a series of names (one, two, three, or five) of supposed ancestral ṛṣis. The pravara of the various members of a particular gaṇa have in common the name of the eponymous gotra ṛṣi. The recitation of the pravara forms a part of the śrauta ritual in the Yajur Veda texts, and the Śrauta Sūtras contain appendices

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<sup>1</sup> Brough, GPM, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Rg Veda 1. 51. 3; 2. 17. 1; 3. 39. 4; 3. 43. 7; 9. 86. 23; 10. 48. 2; 10. 120. 8. According to Kane (History of Dharmaśāstra, 2, pt. 1: 479), in all these particular instances, the term gotra means a cow-pen or a herd of cattle.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> What would technically be considered gaṇas are, as a matter of fact, in the inscriptions as well as in general usage, spoken of as gotras.



classifying the pravara according to their gotra. Brough suggests that while the beginnings of the pravara system probably go back to the latest portions of the Rg Veda, the system was more fully elaborated probably around the time of the early Brāhmaṇa texts.<sup>5</sup> He argues that the pravara restriction regarding marriage may have been introduced as, in course of time, the meaning of the term gotra acquired a certain elasticity and it came to be applied to subdivisions of the exogamous clans and even to individual families within these. It was probably as a result of this that the rule that a man could not marry within his gotra or his pravara (two pravaras being considered the same for exogamic purposes even if they had one name in common) was formulated. An exception was made in the case of the Bhṛgu and Aṅgirasas, for whom a majority of the pravara names had to coincide for the marriage prohibition to apply. The pravara, thus, came to form a more precise basis for defining the exogamic group.<sup>6</sup>

Literary evidence also indicates the occasional use of the gotra designation for non-Brāhmaṇas. The celebrated examples of this are the case of the Buddha (a Gautama), and Mahāvīra (a Kāśyapa). The explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the prescription to be found in the Sūtra literature that a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya may take the gotra and pravara of their purohita; or it may reflect an imitation of the brahmanical institution by members of other varṇas.<sup>7</sup>

The term śākhā refers to the particular recension of a Veda and caraṇa to the Vedic school with which a particular Brāhmaṇa was associated. The terms śākhā and caraṇa were often used interchangeably. Among the recensions and schools of the four Vedas were the following: Bahvṛca, Āśvalāyana (Rg Veda); Chandoga, Kauthuma (Sāma Veda); Vājasaneyā (Śukla Yajur Veda), Mādhyandina (a branch of the Vājasaneyā school), Kāṇva (a branch of the Vājasaneyā school), Taittirīya (Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda), Maitrāyaṇīya (Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda), Paippalāda (Atharva Veda).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 10, 23-24.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> As the orthography of the inscriptions is characterized by a considerable degree of variation, the spelling of the gotras, pravaras, śākhās, caraṇas, etc., has been standardized for the purpose of the following discussion, except where a direct quote from the text of a particular epigraph is indicated. The names of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries and place names, however, are given as they appear in the text of the inscriptions. Due to the large number of details contained in this chapter, detailed reference citations have, in many instances, been dispensed with.

## Period I: The fourth to the seventh century

### South Orissa

#### The inscription of Śatrudamana

The Peddadugam plates of Śatrudamana record an endowment of land to two Brāhmaṇas, Śarvvaśarmman and Va(Ba)ppaśarmman, sons of Yajñaśarmman (hence, brothers). Two shares (vṛttis) of the land were assigned to Śarvaśarmman and one share to Va(Ba)ppaśarmman. The donees are described as residents of Paṭṭuva grāma and as Taittirīya brahmacārins belonging to the Kauṇḍinya gotra.<sup>9</sup>

#### The Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman

The Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman record a grant to five Brāhmaṇas who are named and described as belonging to the Ātreya gotra. The name of one of the donees, Viṣṇuśarmman, is preceded by the term 'Śavarabhendaka.' While this term may suggest an association with the Śavara tribe, the precise meaning is not clear; it may simply refer to the name of the village where the Brāhmaṇa resided. The five Brāhmaṇas all have names ending in the suffix śarmman.

#### The Piṭṛbhakta inscriptions

The beneficiaries of the grants made by the Piṭṛbhakta kings were in most cases single Brāhmaṇas, and in two cases (nos. 6 and 9) several Brāhmaṇas. The inscriptions recording grants to single Brāhmaṇas specify the name and gotra of the donee. In most cases (the exceptions being the Baranga and Tekkali plates of Umavarman -- inscriptions no. 1 and 2), the Vedic school with which the beneficiaries were affiliated is indicated.

Two of the nine Piṭṛbhakta inscriptions -- the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman (no. 6) and the Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman (no. 9) -- record grants to an unspecified number of unnamed Brāhmaṇas, described in the first instance as brahmacārins of various gotras residing at T[i]ritthāṇa-vāṭak-āgrahāra, and in the second as Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas of Varaṅga agrahāra.<sup>10</sup> The Bobbili plates record the grant of Tiritthāṇa village, evidently the same as the village wherein the donees are said to have

<sup>9</sup> In the narrower sense of the term, 'brahmacārin' refers to one who is at the brahmacarya stage of life, a stage characterized by studentship of the Veda and chastity. Brahmacarya is the first of the four āśramas -- the classical Indian enumeration of the stages of life -- the other three being gṛhastha (the householder stage), vānaprastha (the stage of the anchorite), and saṁnyāsa (the stage of total renunciation). However, as pointed out in *Mon Will*, p. 738, the term brahmacārin is also applied to older unmarried Brāhmaṇas, especially if versed in the Veda. The inscriptions often appear to use the term in this general sense.

<sup>10</sup> Agrahāra is a term designating a village granted to one or more Brāhmaṇa or to a temple; such a village was usually, but not always, tax-free.

resided; the Brāhmaṇas had already established their residence in the village gifted to them by the king. The reference in the Baranga plates to the beneficiaries of the endowment as belonging to an agrahāra seems to indicate an expansion of the landed estate of these Brāhmaṇas,

The schools represented by the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the Piṭṛbhakta grants are as follows: Chandoga (one grant), Bahvṛca (one grant), Taittirīya (one grant), and Vājasaneyā (one grant). The donee of the Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman is said to belong to the Devamrāta (i.e. Devarāta) gotra and caraṇa. While Devarāta is the name of a gotra, no Vedic school is known by that name; it may reflect an error made by the scribe. The term caraṇa is used in the Chicacole and Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. The term śākhā does not occur in any of the inscriptions. The donees of two grants (nos. 6, 9) are described as belonging to various gotras or gotras and caraṇas.

Haridatta, the name of the donee of the Bṛhatproṣṭhā grant of Umavarman, occurs as the name of the father of the writer of this as well as the Temburu grant of Umavarman; the name of the writer seems to be Mātrivara, and he is endowed with the title of deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta.<sup>11</sup> If the two Haridattas were the same person, this is an instance of a grant made to a Brāhmaṇa several members of whose family occupied an important official post in the administration.<sup>12</sup> Hani(ri)ścandrasvāmin, the donee of the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman is described in the inscription as a Brāhmaṇa belonging to Akṣata agrahāra (Akṣat-āgrahārīya Brāhmaṇa); this may suggest that Hariścandra was already in possession of an agrahāra and that the endowment made to him by Nandaprabhañjanavarman resulted in an expansion of his landed estate.

The Piṭṛbhakta inscriptions do not give the ancestry of the donees. The names of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in these inscriptions end in the suffixes śarmman, svāmin, and datta.

### The Māthara inscriptions

The four Māthara inscriptions all record grants to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The beneficiaries are generally identified by their name, gotra, and Vedic school. The pravara is indicated in one inscription.

<sup>11</sup> The deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta seems to have been an officer of the records and accounts office pertaining to a territorial unit (Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p. 86).

<sup>12</sup> The writer of the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman was the deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta Rudradatta, son of Mātrivara. Mātrivara of the Bobbili plates was evidently the son of the Haridatta of the two inscriptions mentioned above. The evidence from the three inscriptions suggests a hereditary element in the occupancy of the post of deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta.

The donees of the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman were Kumāraśarmman and his eight sons. Kumāraśarmman belonged to the Sāvārṇi gotra. The term 'pañc-ārṣeya' is also applied to him, indicating that he had a five-ṛṣi pravara, although the term pravara does not occur in the inscription.<sup>13</sup> He is further described as a Vājasaneyī Brāhmaṇa. The beneficiaries of the Ningondi plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman are described simply as Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas (neither the gotras nor caraṇas being specified); no names are given. The Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman similarly record a grant to Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas, the only additional information provided being that they had been previously gifted the land by Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka (evidently the father or grandfather of Anantaśaktivarman). The donees of the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman were two Brāhmaṇa brothers, Nāgaśarmman and Durggaśarmman, belonging to the Kātyāyana gotra and described as brahmacārins of the Taittirīya school.

The Vedic schools specified in connection with the donees of this group of inscriptions are, thus, Vājasaneyya (one grant -- probably nine donees) and Taittirīya (one grant -- two donees). The donees of two grants are described as belonging to various gotras and caraṇas.

The suffix in which the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the Māṭhara inscriptions end is śarmman.

#### The Vāsiṣṭha inscriptions

Of the two Vāsiṣṭha inscriptions, the donees of the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman were eight Brāhmaṇa share-holders (?) ('aṣṭāśśaka' = aṣṭāṃśaka?) of the Atri gotra and caraṇa. While Atri is the name of a gotra, there is no caraṇa by this name, and it seems to have been mistakenly referred to as such in this inscription. They are further described as engaged in performing and helping others to perform sacrifices (yajana, yājana), in study and in teaching (adhyayana, adhyāpana), and in offering and receiving gifts (dāna, pratigraha).<sup>14</sup> The beneficiary of the Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman was Mātṛśarmman, who had the Kauśika gotra, and was a brahmacārīn of the Taittirīya school. Mātṛśarmman is further described as an Acaṇṭapura-bhogika. While Acaṇṭapura is evidently a place-name, the meaning of the term bhogika is not certain.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Sāvārṇis do have a five-ṛṣi pravara of Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya (GPM, p. 81).

<sup>14</sup> These are the six activities deemed appropriate for a Brāhmaṇa in the Dharmaśāstras.

<sup>15</sup> Sircar's Indian Epigraphic Glossary (p. 55) includes the following among the various possible meanings of the term bhogika: the owner of a bhoga or jāgīr, a Jāgirdar or Ināmdar; the head of a district; the collector of the State's share of the produce of lands taken in kind; a village proprietor; a groom or horse-keeper. The term bhogika is taken to have

The inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscriptions no. 1-13)

Of the thirteen Gaṅga copper plate grants being considered in this section, ten record grants to Brāhmaṇas.<sup>16</sup> The name of the Brāhmaṇa, his gotra, and the Vedic school to which he was affiliated is in all cases specified. The terms śākhā and caraṇa occur once. Six of the ten inscriptions specify the place where the Brāhmaṇa donee/s resided.

Of the ten sets of copper plates recording royal endowments of land to Brāhmaṇas, five (nos. 4, 5, 8, 12, 13) record endowments to single Brāhmaṇas. Jayaśarmman, the donee of the Urlam plates of Hastivarman, is described in the inscription as belonging to the Vatsa gotra, affiliated to the Vājasaneyā school, and a resident of Urāmalla (identified with the find-spot, Urlam<sup>17</sup>). Ddhru(Dhru)vaśarmman, the donee of the Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 8), is described as belonging to the Gārgya gotra, affiliated to the Chandoga school, and belonging to or residing in Kaliṅganagara (Kaliṅganagara-sāmānya).<sup>18</sup> The beneficiary of the Purle plates of Indravarman was one Bhavadattaśarmman of the Kauśika gotra, affiliated to the Bahvṛca school, and a resident of Tiriliṅga.<sup>19</sup> Bhavadattaśarmman is also described as one who has mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-pāraḡaḥ). Skandavarman, the donee of the Tekkali plates of Indravarman, is described in the inscription as belonging to the Śāṇḍilya gotra, affiliated to the Vājasaneyā school, and as a resident of a place called Garakhonna. He, like Bhavadattaśarmman of the Purle plates, is further described as one who has mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga.

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the same connotation as bhogin. It may be noted that the term bhogika occurs in the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman as the title of the executor Bodudeva or Boḍhudeva. Bhogika/bhogin or its variants such as brhadbhogin, mahābhogin, mahattabhogin are frequently associated in the inscriptions of ancient and medieval Orissa with a variety of functions related to the process of the bestowal of royal grants; they appear most frequently as the epithets of the writers of the grants, and sometimes of the engravers and dūtakas. These references suggest an association with the royal court.

<sup>16</sup> Of the rest, two record grants to deities and the donee of one inscription -- the Tirilingi copper plate (no. 7) -- is not known, as only one plate of the grant was found. It may be noted that the grant recorded in the Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman (no. 2) was made at the request (pratibodhitaiḥ) of the king's uncle, Ādityarāja, while that recorded in the Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 8) was made at the request of a person named Koṇḍavallaka.

<sup>17</sup> Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, p. 96.

<sup>18</sup> Kaliṅganagara was the capital of these Gaṅga kings; it is generally identified with modern Mukhalingam.

<sup>19</sup> According to G. Ramadas ("Purle Plates of Indravarman: The [Gaṅga] Year 149," *EI* 14, 1917-18: 361), Tiriliṅga is the same as Triliṅga. It may perhaps be identified with Tirilingi, a village near Tekkali in Ganjam district, where the stray plate of an early Gaṅga copper plate grant was found.

Five (nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 11) of the Gaṅga inscriptions being considered here record grants made to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The land gifted by the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman was divided into two equal shares to be enjoyed by two Brāhmaṇas, father and son -- Agnisvāmin, son of Rudrasvāmin, of the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra and the Taittirīya school, and Agnisvāmin's son Rudrasvāmin. The Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman record a land grant made to four Brāhmaṇas -- Yajñaśarmman, Gauriśarmman, Agniśarmman, and Umaśarmman. They are said to belong to the Vatsa gotra and the Vājasaneyā school. The donees of the Andhavaram plates of Indravarman were several unnamed brahmacārins of various unspecified gotras, affiliated to the Bahvṛca śākhā, and residents of Andoraka agrahāra (identified with the find-spot of the plates -- Andhavaram in Srikakulam district<sup>20</sup>). Toṭavāṭaka -- the village gifted by this inscription -- has been identified with Totada or Todavada village, situated approximately eight miles from Andhavaram.<sup>21</sup> The Andhavaram plates of Indravarman, thus, illustrate the expansion of the landed estate of the Andoraka Brāhmaṇas in the vicinity of the village wherein they resided.<sup>22</sup> The donees of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman (no. 10) were several Brāhmaṇas of various unspecified gotras and caraṇas, headed by Kumāraśarmman and Devaśarmman of the Vājasaneyā school. The names of eleven other Brāhmaṇa donees are given. Another set of Chicacole plates of Indravarman (no. 11), records an endowment of land made to two Brāhmaṇas, Skandaśarmman and Lalitaśarmman. The donees are stated to be residents of both Avareṅga and Kaliṅganagara, to belong to the Kautsa gotra and the Chandoga school. The fact that the donees of two of the grants were residents of Kaliṅganagara, the capital of this line of Gaṅga kings, may be noted.

The representation of the Vedic schools among the donees of this group of Gaṅga inscriptions is as follows: Taittirīya (one grant -- two donees), Vājasaneyā (four grants -- including one grant with two donees, and another with four), Chandoga (three grants -- including one with two donees), and Bahvṛca (two grants -- including one with several

<sup>20</sup> R. Subrahmanyam, "Andhavaram Plates of Indravarman," *EI* 30, pt. 1 (January 1953): 41.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Subrahmanyam (*ibid.*) notes that there is a reference to Andhavaram (mentioned as Āndoreppa) in an inscription of the Māṭhara king Anantaśaktivarman. It may be added that the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman state that Āndoreppa grāma was granted to Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras and caraṇas to whom the land had been previously gifted by Āryyaka Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka (perhaps the king's grandfather). There is not enough evidence to indicate whether or not the Brāhmaṇas of the Gaṅga grant were the beneficiaries or the descendents of the beneficiaries of the Māṭhara grant (although there seems to be an element of incongruity in that the donees of the Māṭhara grant are said to belong to various gotras and caraṇas, while those of the Gaṅga grant are said to belong to the Bahvṛca school).

donees). Of these inscriptions, one records a grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas headed by two Vājasaneyā Brāhmaṇas.

The suffixes of the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees are śarmman and svāmin.

#### The inscriptions of Pṛthivī-mahārāja

Both the grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja record endowments of land to single Brāhmaṇas. These two inscriptions provide more than the usual terse information concerning the beneficiaries. The donee of the Tandivada plates was brahmacārin Bhavaśarmman of the Kāmakāyana gotra and the Chandoga school. He is described as a resident of Koṇḍamañci village (identified by Venkataramanayya with Kondamanchili on the western bank of the Godavari<sup>23</sup>). Bhavaśarmman is said to have studied the three thousand learnings<sup>24</sup> and to have written twenty commentaries (vyākhyānas). He is eulogized in the inscription as one whose intellect has been cleansed by his knowledge of the Veda, Vedāṅga, Nyāya, the Upaniṣads, and Yoga, one whose body has been purified by the water of the purificatory ablutions performed in connection with various sacrifices (adhvara), and one whose days and nights are spent in the worship of the gods, ancestors, and men. Bhavaśarmman's father and grandfather are also named and eulogized in the Tandivada plates. The former, Pri(Pṛ)thiviśarmman, is described as one whose whose prosperity was revealed among the officiating priests (ṛtvij) and their assistants (śadasya) by the riches given away by him in frequently performed sacrifices (ijyā), and as one habituated to the study, teaching, and explanation of the three thousand learnings. Bhavaśarmman's grandfather, Viṣṇuśarmman, is described in the Tandivada plates as one well-versed in the the śruti and smṛti,<sup>25</sup> and one whose self (ātman) was cleansed by the correct performance of the Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices.<sup>26</sup> -- The donee of the Tandivada plates evidently came from a family of distinguished learned Brāhmaṇas.

The donee of the Parlakimedi plates of Pṛthivī-mahārāja was one Padmaśarmman, son of Dāmodaraśarmman, and grandson of Māṭṛśarmman. He is described as belonging to

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<sup>23</sup> Venkataramanayya, "Tāṇḍivāḍa Plates of Pṛthivī Mahārāja," p. 193.

<sup>24</sup> It is not clear what these learnings were.

<sup>25</sup> Śruti, literally, 'that which has been heard' (by the ṛṣis), refers to the Vedas. Smṛti, literally, 'that which is remembered,' includes the Vedāṅgas, Dharmaśāstra texts, the Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Nīti-śāstra.

<sup>26</sup> The Agniṣṭoma is a one-day soma sacrifice forming an integral part of the Jyotiṣṭoma; it is supposed to be performed annually in spring and on the new moon and full moon day. It is so-called because Agni is praised therein; the last chant in this sacrifice is addressed to Agni (Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, 2, pt. 1: 1133-34). Kane (ibid., p. 1134) quotes the Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtra of Jaimini (6. 2. 31) which declares the performance of the Jyotiṣṭoma obligatory on all members of the first three varṇas.

the Bhṛgu gotra and as a Taittirīya brahmacārin. The inscription further refers to him as one who has mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-pāraḡaḥ), who is engaged in performing the six tasks (appropriate to a Brāhmaṇa), and is accomplished in self-control (yama-niyama-parāyana). Reference is also made to his knowledge of the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyana, and the Dharmaśāstras. -- The donee of the Parlakimedi plates was evidently a learned Brāhmaṇa.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of the grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja are, thus, Chandoga (one grant) and Taittirīya (one grant). It may be noted that the repertoire of learning associated with the donees of both the grants included, but was not restricted to, the Vedas.

The suffix of the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees as well as their forebearers is śarmman.

#### The inscription of Charamparāja

The donees of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja were seven Brāhmaṇas. The inscription gives the names of these Brāhmaṇas. Svāmicandra, the first to be mentioned, is described as belonging to the Gautama gotra and the Bahvṛca school.<sup>27</sup> The name of one of the donees, Durgasvāmin, is preceded by the epithet dīkṣita.<sup>28</sup> The names of the donees variously end in the suffixes candra, svāmin, candrasvāmin, and dattasvāmin.

#### North and central Orissa

##### The Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhaṇja

This inscription records the erection of a temple.

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<sup>27</sup> According to Rajaguru, IO, 2: 328, these details apply to all seven donees.

<sup>28</sup> The 'dīkṣā' is the consecration of the yajamāna (the patron of the sacrifice, for whom it is performed) at the beginning of the Soma sacrifice (Louis Renou, Vocabulaire du Rituel Védique, Paris: Librairie C Klincksieck, 1954, p. 76) The word 'dīkṣita' means one who has been consecrated or initiated, and may indicate a priest engaged in a dīkṣā, i.e. consecration for a religious ceremony (Monier-Williams, p. 481). Monier-Williams (*ibid.*, p. 481) also suggests that 'dīkṣita' is sometimes affixed to the name of a teacher, and when attached to the name of a Brāhmaṇa indicates that the latter is a pupil of the former. He adds that sometimes the teacher's name is omitted and 'dīkṣita' alone is used. The first series of meanings noted here connect the epithet dīkṣita with the context of sacrifice, and the latter with the teacher-pupil tradition. According to Kane (History of Dharmaśāstra, 2, pt. 2 1136), in the context of the Agniṣtoma sacrifice, the individual intending to sacrifice becomes a dīkṣita after the performance of the dīkṣaṇīya iṣṭi.



### The Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhañja

This is a one-line inscription.

### The Jayarampur plate of Gopacandra

This inscription records an endowment to a Buddhist establishment.

### The inscriptions of the Vigrahas and their feudatories

The donees of the Sumandala plates of Dharmarāja, a feudatory of Pṛthivivigraha, are described as Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras and caraṇas, of good conduct and learning, of whom the foremost is upādhyāya<sup>29</sup> Maṭusvāmi, a Brāhmaṇa belonging to Homavaka agrahāra (Homavaka has been identified by Rajaguru with Humma village on the B. N. Railway, between Rambha and Ganjam stations<sup>30</sup>). The Kanas plate of Lokavigraha records an endowment made for the institution of bali, caru, and sattra<sup>31</sup> at the maṭha of a deity described as the illustrious Maṇināgeśvara bhaṭṭāraka of Caikāmbaka or Ekāmbaka,<sup>32</sup> as well as for the maintenance of Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras who were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school. The Brāhmaṇa donees appear to have been associated with the maṭha.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> i.e. a teacher, a preceptor (*Mon. Will.*, p. 213). According to *Manu* 2. 141, an upādhyāya was a Brāhmaṇa who taught a portion of the Veda or also the Vedāṅga for his livelihood (F. Max Muller, gen. ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 25: *The Laws of Manu*, trans. G. Buhler, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967, p. 56). *Manu* 2. 145 (*ibid.*, pp. 56-57) describes the ācārya as ten times more venerable than the upādhyāya.

<sup>30</sup> Satyanarayana Rajaguru, "The Sumandala Copper-Plate Inscription of Dharmarāja of the Gupta-Samvat, 250," p. 66

<sup>31</sup> Bali is the ritual offering of grain, rice, etc. to the gods and all creatures. Caru is the oblation of rice, barley and pulses boiled with butter and milk offered to the ancestors. Sattra, in the present context, is the giving of alms and refuge or hospitality to guests. (Fleet, *CII* 3: 116, n. 3, *Mon. Will.*, pp. 723, 390, 1138, Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 45, 67, 306). These are three of the rites collectively known as the pañca-mahāyajñas (the five great sacrifices) -- brahmajayña, which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda; pitryajña or caru, which consists in offerings to the ancestors; daivajayña or agnihotra, which consists in making offerings to the fire; bali or bhūtajayña which consists in the making of oblations to all beings; and manuṣyajayña (also known as atithi) which consists in honouring guests (Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* 2, pt. 2: 698-99).

<sup>32</sup> It is possible that the reference is to Ekāmra, the ancient name of Bhubaneswar (Sircar, "Two Plates From Kanas," p. 330). According to Rajaguru ("The Olasingh Copper Plate of Bharavardhana," p. 40) the grant in question was made in favour of the deities Ambikā (Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (Maheśvara or Śiva).

<sup>33</sup> A significant feature of the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha is that the actual donors seem to have been certain royal officials (vinnyuktakāḥ) of Uṇḍa or Muṇḍa viṣaya, in which territorial division the gift village Ūrdhavaśṛṅga was situated. The officials concerned included the vaiśvāsika, viṣayapati, and amśabṛhadbhogika, who apparently obtained permission from Lokavigraha in order to make the endowment. The names of these officials, along with that of the karaṇika (record-keeper), occur towards the end of the inscription as

The only Vedic school mentioned in the grants of these kings is Maitrāyaṇīya (one grant -- several donees).

#### The inscriptions of the Mudgalas/Mānas and their feudatories

The two copper plate grants of Śambhuyaśas record grants to single Brāhmaṇas. The donee of the Erbang plate was bhaṭṭa Śarvvakuṇḍadatta of the Vatsa gotra and Bahvṛca caraṇa, while that of the Soro plate was Bharaṇasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gotra and Kāṇva school. The Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, a feudatory of Śambhuyaśas, records a grant to Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras and caraṇas; the names of forty Brāhmaṇas are given.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of this group of inscriptions are Bahvṛca (1 grant) and Kāṇva (1 grant). One inscription records a grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas.

The suffixes of the names of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the inscriptions of these kings are datta, svāmin, and deva.

#### The Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti

The donee of the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti is described as the intelligent Dāmyasvāmin who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Mādhyamīna school.<sup>34</sup>

#### The inscriptions of the Dattas

Six of the Datta inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas, while one was in favour of a maṭha establishment and the Brāhmaṇas associated with it.<sup>35</sup> The Brāhmaṇas are identified by their name, gotra, and in most cases, by the Vedic school with which they

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having possibly endorsed (anuśrita) the grant; as this portion of the inscription is damaged, it is not possible to reconstruct it completely. The vaiśvāsika is explained in Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary (p. 360) as a privy councillor or private secretary, the viśayapati (ibid., p. 378) as the head or governor of the territorial unit known as the viśaya, and the amśabṛhadbhogin (ibid., p. 18) as probably the share holder of a big jāgīr (i.e. revenue assignment).

<sup>34</sup> It may be noted that the seal of the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti bears the seal of the Tāvira adhikaraṇa, i.e. the administrative office of Tāvira, which seems to have played an important part in the grant. The plate seems to suggest that the land that was gifted was purchased by Śubhakīrti from the Tāvira adhikaraṇa. The announcement of the grant in this inscription also seems to have been communicated to the officers by the Tāvira adhikaraṇa, which is described as being composed of or including Brāhmaṇas among its members.

<sup>35</sup> The Midnapore plate of Somadatta bears the seal of the Tāvira adhikaraṇa, i.e. the administrative office of Tāvira, which seems to have played an important role in the grant. It is not clear from the text of the inscription whether the announcement concerning the grant was made by Prakīrṇadāsa, an amātya (minister) of the king, or by the Tāvira adhikaraṇa.

were affiliated. Of the grants to Brāhmaṇas, one was to an individual Brāhmaṇa and the rest to more than one Brāhmaṇa.

The donee of the Midnapore plate of Somadatta was Bhaṭṭeśvara of the Kāśyapa gotra. Bhaṭṭeśvara is further referred to as the meritorious adhvaryu.<sup>36</sup> One of the Soro plates of Somadatta (no. 8) records an endowment to Dhruvamisrasvāmin, Aruṅgasvāmin, and others (the names are not given) of the Vatsa gotra and Vājasaneyā school. Dhruvamisrasvāmin and Aruṅgasvāmin were the donees of the Soro plate of the same ruler (no. 9), as well as two of the four donees of another Soro plate (no. 10) and the Balasore plate of śrī Bhānu (no. 12). The Soro plate (no. 9) of Somadatta and the Balasore plate of śrī Bhānu (no. 10) record endowments in favour of Priyamitrasvāmin and Vaṭamitrasvāmin, in addition to the two Brāhmaṇas mentioned above; the donees are described as belonging to the Vatsa gotra and the Vājasaneyā caraṇa. Priyamitrasvāmin is given the title of mahāmahattara.<sup>37</sup> These grants indicating several royal endowments to the same Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries reveal the expansion of the landed estates of these particular Brāhmaṇas.

The Kanas plate of Bhānudatta records an endowment to the deity Maṇināga bhaṭṭāraka of Caikāmvakā or Ekāmvakā,<sup>38</sup> as well as for the Brāhmaṇas of the maṭha who were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school. This is the same maṭha establishment that benefited from the Kanas grant of Lokavigraha.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of the Datta grants are Vājasaneyā (four grants -- including two grants with two donees each and two others with four donees each) and Maitrāyaṇīya (1 grant -- several donees).

<sup>36</sup> The adhvaryu is an officiant in charge of the sacrificial proceedings and of the recitation of the Yajus (Renou, *Vocabulaire du Rituel Védique*, pp. 9-10). According to Monier-Williams, the term adhvaryu may be used to designate any priest who officiates at an adhvara (a sacrifice, especially the Soma sacrifice) (*Mon Will.*, p. 24). It may also refer to a specific type of officiating priest as distinguished from the hotṛ, udgātṛ, and brahman. The adhvaryu priests had to measure the ground, build the altar, prepare the sacrificial vessels, fetch the wood and water, ignite the sacrificial fire, bring the sacrificial animal to the fire, and immolate it. They were to repeat the hymns of the Yajur Veda while performing these tasks; hence the Yajur Veda is also called the Adhvaryu (*ibid.*).

<sup>37</sup> According to Sircar's *Indian Epigraphic Glossary* (p. 191) the term 'mahattara,' literally 'an elder (of a town or village),' has been translated in the following ways: a chamberlain, a village headman or head of a family or community, a member of the village council. The mahāmahattara (*ibid.*, p. 179) was probably the chairman of the council of mahattaras; the term mahāmahattara seems to have had the same connotations as the designations mahāmahattaka and mahāmahattama.

<sup>38</sup> According to Rajaguru ("*The Olasingh Copper Plate of Bhanuvardhana*," p. 40) the grant in question was made in favour of the deities Ambikā (Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (Maheśvara or Śiva).

The names of all but one of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the grants of the Datta kings end in the suffix svāmin (the exception being the donee of the Midnapore plate of Somadatta, whose name is Bhaṭṭeśvara).

West Orissa

#### The Nala inscriptions

Of the four Nala inscriptions, two record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas and two (these are stone inscriptions) the erection of temples. The donees of the Kesarihedā plates of Arthapati were three Brāhmaṇas -- Durgga(rggā)ryya, Ravirāryya, and Ravidattāryya, of the Kautsa gotra. According to D. C. Sircar, the phrase "Arthapati-bhaṭṭarakasy=ānugrah-ārtham" in line 5 of the inscription possibly suggests that the king made the gift after receiving some sort of help from the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>39</sup> The Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman and Arthapati speak of a royal endowment of land to Mātrādhāryya and his eight sons -- Daivāryya, Devadattāryya, Kumāradattāryya, Vi(Vi)radattāryya, Vasudattāryya, Go(Gau)ridattāryya, Dhruvadattāryya, and Durggathā(dattā)ryya. The Brāhmaṇas belonged to the Parāśara gotra. The original gift was made by Bhavattavarman while staying at Prayāga (modern Allahabad), for blessing the matrimonial relationship of the king and his queen. The context of the gift suggests that the Brāhmaṇas may have been connected with the royal marriage.

There are no references to Vedic schools in the Nala grants.

The names of all the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Nala inscriptions end in the suffix āryya.

#### The Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikāra

The donee of the Terasingha grant was Āryya Droṇaśarmman of the Kāśyapa gotra. The endorsement at the end of the inscription refers to him as the Brāhmaṇa Droṇasvāmin.

#### The Śarabhapurīya inscriptions

Seven of the ten Śarabhapurīya inscriptions record grants to single Brāhmaṇas and three to more than one Brāhmaṇa.<sup>40</sup> The name of the donee, his gotra, and Vedic school are generally specified.

<sup>39</sup> Sircar, "Kesarihedā Plates of Nala Arthapati-Bhattarakā," p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Some of the details of the real donors of these grants are noteworthy. The donor of the Pipardula plates of Narendra was one Rāhudeva, apparently a bhogapati of the Nandapura bhoga; the king confirmed the grant by making it exempt from the entry of the cāṭas and bhaṭas (irregular and regular troops). The details of the Kurud plates of Narendra suggest that the original grant may have been made by a Gupta king while bathing in the Gāṅgā

The donee of the Sirpur plates of Sudeva was a Brāhmaṇa named Kansippasvāmin of the Parāśara gotra and Taittirīya school, described as a karaṇika, i.e. a scribe.

The three Śarabhapurīya inscriptions recording grants to more than one Brāhmaṇa are the Arang, Sarangarh, and Raipur plates of Sudeva. The Arang plates of Sudeva record a grant to nine Brāhmaṇas. The distribution of the shares was as follows: one and a half shares for Yajñasvāmin of the Kātyāyana gotra and the Mādhyam̐dina branch of the Vājasaneyā school; one share for Kumāravatsa of the Bhāradvāja gotra; one share for Yajñasvāmin of the Ātreya gotra, and the Kāṇva branch of the Vājasaneyā school; a half share for Viśā[kha]svāmin of the Kātyāyana gotra; a half share for Golasvāmin of the Kauśika gotra and Mādhyam̐dina school; a half share for Dāmodarasvāmin (perhaps belonging to the same gotra and school as Golasvāmin); a half share for Dāmasvāmin (perhaps also belonging to the same gotra and school as Golasvāmin); a half share for Pañcālīsvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gotra; and a half share for dikṣita Āyanika of the Bhāradvājagotra.

The Sarangarh plates of Sudeva also record a grant to nine Brāhmaṇas. The donees were: Bhāskarāsvāmin, learned in the three thousand learnings; Prabhākarāsvāmin; Barbbarīsvāmin; Boṭasvāmin; Dattasvāmin; Viṣṇusvāmin; Phalgusvāmin; Svāmīkīrtīsvāmin (perhaps to be read as Kīrtīsvāmin), and Śaṅkarāsvāmin. All the donees apparently belonged to the Kauśika gotra. Hiralal suggests that the Viṣṇusvāmin of this inscription was the same as the Viṣṇusvāmin of the Vājasaneyā school and the Kauśika gotra who was the donee of the Khariar plates of Sudeva.<sup>41</sup>

The third set of Śarabhapurīya copper-plates recording a royal endowment to more than one Brāhmaṇa is the Raipur grant of Sudeva. The donees in this case were two Brāhmaṇas -- Nāgavatsasvāmin and Bandhuvatsasvāmin of the Vatsa gotra and the Aupamanyava school. It may be noted that they are described as sons-in-law of Sāvīt[r]svāmin of the Kauṇḍīya gotra and the Vājasaneyā school.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of the Śarabhapurīya grants are described in the inscriptions as follows: Vājasaneyā (five grants), Vājasaneyā-Mādhyam̐dina (one grant), Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva (one grant), Mādhyam̐dina (1 grant), Taittirīya (1 grant), and Aupamanyava (one grant).

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river. The village granted by the Sirpur plates of Sudeva was previously granted by a person named Nanna; the grant was apparently renewed by king Sudeva at the request of the queen and the royal family. The donor of the Arang plates of Sudeva was the prathāra Bhogilla. The grant recorded in the Sarangarh plates of Sudeva was apparently made by the queen and the royal family; the grant was assented to (anumodita) by king Sudeva.

<sup>41</sup> Hira Lal, "Sarangarh Copper Plates of Maha-Sudeva," *El* 9 (1907-08). 282.

The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇas is not specified in the Śarabhapuriya inscriptions. Almost all the Brāhmaṇas mentioned have names with the suffix svāmin. The prefixes that occur are bhaṭṭaka and dīkṣita.

#### The Pāṇḍuvarṇśī inscriptions

Of the ten inscriptions recording grants made by the Pāṇḍuvarṇśī kings, seven record endowments to Brāhmaṇas and one was for the establishment of a charitable feeding house for Brāhmaṇas and others.<sup>42</sup>

Four of the inscriptions record grants to single Brāhmaṇas. The name of the Brahmana recipient is specified, as is his gotra and the Vedic school with which he was associated. Bhavasvāmin, the donee of the Malga plates of Indrarāja, is described as the son of Nāgasvāmin, and as belonging to the Śaṇḍilya gotra and the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyāṃdina school. Lohitasarasva(svā)min, the donee of the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala, belonged to the Vatsa gotra and the Mādhyāṃdina school. The Bonda plates of Mahāśivagupta refer to the donee Bhaṭṭa-Tṛ(Tri)vikramasvāmin as belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Chandoga school. The donee of the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja is described as a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa upādhyāya, of the Kauṇḍinya gotra and the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyāṃdina school. It should be noted that Nārāyaṇa is also referred to as a bhāgavata, indicating his Vaiṣṇava sectarian affiliations in addition to the usual Vedic ones.

Three of the royal Pāṇḍuvarṇśī grants record endowments in favour of more than one Brāhmaṇa. The Bonda plates of Tivara record a grant to twenty-five Brāhmaṇas, twenty of whom belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīya school and five to the Chandoga school. The Brāhmaṇas are also described as priests (adhvaryu) of the Caraka branch of the Yajur Veda and Sāma Veda.<sup>43</sup> Some of the donees bear the title of upādhyāya, and the names of a few are preceded by the epithet bhaṭṭa. One of the donees, Vikram-opādhyāya, seems to have

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<sup>42</sup> Of the rest of the royal grants, one records an endowment made in favour of a temple establishment, and one a grant to a Buddhist monastery. Of the remaining inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvarṇśī period, some record endowments made by private individuals, one is that of a subordinate of a Pāṇḍuvarṇśī king, and one records a grant made by a Pāṇḍuvarṇśī king's mother. The details of two of the grants made in favour of Brāhmaṇas may be noted. The gift recorded by the Baloda plates of Tivara (no. 5) was apparently made at the request of the king's son-in-law Nannarāja, while the Sirpur stone inscription (no. 13) records a grant in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment as well as certain Brāhmaṇas by Vāsaṭā, mother of king Bālārjuna.

<sup>43</sup> The Carakas are actually associated only with the Black Yajur Veda (Mon. Will., p. 380). Citarekha Gupta (The Brahmanas of India: A Study Based on Inscriptions, pp. 5-6) points out that the Caraka śākhā of the Yajur Veda is mentioned in a seal found at Rajghat and in the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman. The study of this recension seems to have declined in popularity and eventually become extinct.

come from Avanti (the area around Ujjain<sup>44</sup>) and another, Phalivāmi, from Lāṭa (the Nausari-Broach area of Gujarat<sup>45</sup>). The donees of the Rajim plates of Tivara were two Brāhmaṇas -- bhaṭṭa Bhavadatta and bhaṭṭa Haradatta, sons of Gauridatta, belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyamīna school. The Bardula plates of Mahāśivagupta record a grant of thirteen shares of land divided among thirteen Brāhmaṇas. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are given, and they are said to be students of the Chandoga school. The inscription also seems to indicate that these Brāhmaṇas had settled in a region called Chātranāṭa. Some of the donees have the title of upādhyāya.

Mention may also be made here of the Sirpur stone inscription, which records an endowment of land made by Vāsaṭā, the mother of the Pāṇḍuvarṇśī king Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. The endowment was divided into several shares, three of which were allotted for the support of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment. The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts, twelve of which were allotted to twelve Brāhmaṇas, four affiliated to each of the three Vedas (the Bahvr̥ca branch of the R̥g Veda, the Sāma Veda, and the Yajur Veda).<sup>46</sup> The inscription goes on to state that the sons and successors of these Brāhmaṇas should be such that they should be agnihottrins,<sup>47</sup> learned in the six Aṅgas (of the Veda); they should not be addicted to vices such as gambling and frequenting prostitutes; they should have clean mouths, and they should not be servants (a-sevaka). If any of the Brāhmaṇas did not fulfill these conditions, the inscription states that his share should be forfeited, as also that of one who died sonless, and their portions should be assigned to dvijas (those who are twice-born; in this case the reference seems to be to Brāhmaṇas in particular) fulfilling the above-mentioned requirements. According to the inscription, the new appointees should be related to the Brāhmaṇa donees, learned, and elderly, and should be appointed by the consent of the donees alone and not by the order of the king. The last three shares of the land endowed by the queen-mother were assigned to the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin, the puṇyāha-vācaka (a priest who officiates at auspicious ceremonies and proclaims with certain mantras a happy day to the ceremony and its performer<sup>48</sup>) and the two bhāgavatas -- Vāmana and Śrīdhara.

<sup>44</sup> Sircar, "Bonda Plates of Mahasiva Tivara, Year 5," p. 114.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> The Atharva Veda was not represented.

<sup>47</sup> i.e. those who perform the Agnihotra, a sacrifice enjoined on householders belonging to the twice-born classes, supposed to be performed twice daily (Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, 2, pt. 2: 998). Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa 2. 2. 3 derives the name of this rite from the fact that homa is offered to Agni therein (quoted in Kane, *ibid.*, p. 998, n. 2257). The Agnihotra formed one of the pañca-mahāyajñas or five great sacrifices.

<sup>48</sup> Rai Bahadur Hiralal ("The Sirpur Stone Inscription of the Time of Mahasivagupta," El 11, 1911-12: 197) translates the term puṇyāha-vācaka as one who "at sacrifices declares holidays." The translation cited in above is that of H. K. Sastri (in *ibid.*, n. 1).

Verses 41-42 of the Sirpur inscription seem to record a gift by the king Śivagupta to Guṇārya bhaṭṭa and refer to part of the gift being reserved for a virtuous Brāhmaṇa learned in the śāstras, the commentaries, and the Vedas.

The Vedic schools represented in the Pāṇḍuvamśī grants are as follows: Bahvṛca (one grant -- four donees), Sāma Veda (one grant -- four donees), Chandoga (three grants - one of which had five and the other either one or thirteen donees), Yajur Veda (one grant -- four donees), Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṃdina (three grants -- one with two donees), Mādhyaṃdina (one grant), Maitrāyaṇīya (one grant -- twenty donees). One of the inscriptions records a grant in favour of twelve Brāhmaṇas, four affiliated to each of the three Vedas -- Rg, Yajur, and Sāma.

The Brāhmaṇa name-suffixes that occur in the Pāṇḍuvamśī inscriptions include svāmin and datta. Many of the names do not have the conventional suffixes (there are no suffixes at all in many names).

## **Period II: The seventh to the tenth century**

South and central Orissa

### **The Śailodbhava inscriptions**

Twelve of the sixteen Śailodbhava land grant charters record endowments made to Brāhmaṇas.<sup>49</sup> Ten of these grants were made in favour of single Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa donees are identified by their name, gotra, in most cases by Vedic school (except in nos. 1, 5, and 9), and in eight of the inscriptions, by their pravara (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, and 14). The pravaras are given with 'vat' suffixes in the Kondeda plates of Dharmarāja (no. 13).<sup>50</sup>

Two of the Śailodbhava charters record grants to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavarman (no. 6) record an endowment of land in favour of twenty-four Brāhmaṇas, whose names are given.<sup>51</sup> The Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja (no. 8) record a grant made to twelve Brāhmaṇas said to belong to various (unspecified) gotras, pravaras, and caraṇas; the inscription gives the names of the donees.

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<sup>49</sup> Of the remaining four, one records what seems to be an endowment to a Jain ascetic and Jain establishment, and three are incomplete charters.

<sup>50</sup> In the sacrificial context, the pravara names are recited in the course of the ṛṣi by the Adhvaryu with 'vat' suffixes (For details on this, see Brough, GPM, pp. 8-10).

<sup>51</sup> According to D. C. Sircar (Indian Epigraphy, pp. 117-18), a passage in the Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavarman (no. 6) may indicate that the real donor of this grant was a Śailodbhava feudatory named Varamora or Varanara, who obtained permission from his overlord in order to make the grant.



Reference to the anupravara occurs in a few inscriptions (nos. 4?, 5?, and 10). There is some disagreement about how the relevant portion of the Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta (no. 4) is to be read and interpreted. According to Sircar, the donee had the Maudgalya gotra, Āṅgīrasa pravara, and Bhārmīyāśva anupravara.<sup>52</sup> According to S. N. Rajaguru's reading of the passage, however, the donee belonged to the Mudgala gotra, the [Śankarā ?]bhadrā anupravara, and the Chandoga caraṇa.<sup>53</sup> The reading of the relevant section of the Puri plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta (no. 5) is likewise not free from doubt, as some of the letters are illegible. R. G. Basak suggests that bhaṭṭa Vittadeva, the donee of this grant, had the Kauśika gotra, Utathya and other pravaras, and belonged to the Kauthuma śākhā and Chandoga caraṇa.<sup>54</sup> N. P. Chakravarti, however, disagrees with Basak's reading. He asserts that the reading of the second letter of the name of the donee's gotra is uncertain, and also points out that the Kauśika gotra cannot have the Utathya pravara. He suggests that the correct reading of the name of the pravara is "Aü(Au)tathya." He also reads "Al...-ānupravarāya" in line 31 in place of Basak's "nānā-pravarāya."<sup>55</sup> Savarideva, the beneficiary of the Nivina plates of Dharmarāja (no. 19), is described in the inscription as having a five-ṛṣi pravara as well as anupravara.

The term caraṇa occurs in inscriptions no. 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, and 14, while the term śākhā occurs in inscriptions no. 10 and 14. The Nivina plates of Dharmarāja (no. 10) refer to caraṇa as well as śākhā: the donee, Savarideva dīkṣita bhaṭṭa of the Vatsa gotra and pañc-ārṣeya (five-ṛṣi) pravara and anupravara, is said to belong to the Kauthuma śākhā and Chandoga caraṇa. The Puri plates of Dharmarāja (no. 14) refer to the donee Golasvāmin of the Jātūkarnya gotra and the Vāsiṣṭha, Ātreya, and Jātūkarnya pravara, as belonging to the Vājasaneyā caraṇa and Kāṇva śākhā.

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Śailodbhava grants are as follows: Chandoga (one grant), Chandoga-Kauthuma (one grant), Vājasaneyā (two grants), Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva (two grants), and Taittirīya (one grant). One inscription records a grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of various gotras, pravaras, and caraṇas.

Only one of the Śailodbhava inscriptions gives the ancestry of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiary. This is the Buguda grant of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta, which describes the donee bhaṭṭa Vāmana as the son of Ādityadeva and the grandson of Vāmaṇa.

<sup>52</sup> Sircar, "Two Grants of Sailodbhavas," p. 268, n. 6. It may be noted that the Mudgalas or Maudgalas have the following three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgīrasa, Bhārmīyāśva, and Maudgalya (GPM, p. 129).

<sup>53</sup> S. N. Rajaguru, "Two Copper-Plate Grants of Mādhavavarman (Śrī Sainyabhīta II)," OHRJ 2, nos. 3 and 4 (September 1953 and January 1954): 21.

<sup>54</sup> Basak, "The Puri Plates of Madhavavarman-Sainyabhita," pp. 129, n. 5; 131.

<sup>55</sup> Ed., EI 23: 131, n. 4, 5.

The suffixes attached to the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees include svāmin and deva. Some of the names do not bear suffixes. The epithet dikṣita is applied to the donee of the Nivina plates of Dharmarāja, while the beneficiary of the Kondedda plates of Dharmarāja is described as an agnihotrin. The names of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Śailodbhava grants are frequently preceded or followed by the epithet bhaṭṭa (nos. 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11).

#### The inscriptions of Netṭabhañja

Both the inscriptions of Netṭabhañja record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas. Mādhavasvāmin, the beneficiary of the Baud plates is described as belonging to the Parāśara gotra and Kāṇva branch of the Vājasaneyā caraṇa.<sup>56</sup> The donees of the Russellkonda plates were fourteen Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and pravara. The names of these Brāhmaṇas (who are referred to in one place as dvij-ottamāḥ, or best among the twice-born) are given and their respective shares specified; the largest share was assigned to Vāsudevasvāmin of the Kauśika gotra and Vājasaneyā caraṇa.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the only school represented by the donees of these inscriptions is Vājasaneyā (one grant) and Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva (one grant). The Brāhmaṇa name suffix that occur in these inscriptions is svāmin.

#### The inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

The beneficiaries of fourteen of the fifteen grants made by the Śvetaka Gaṅga kings were Brāhmaṇas, the remaining endowment being made to a temple establishment as well as Brāhmaṇas. Twelve inscriptions record grants to individual Brāhmaṇas, and two to more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Pherava plates of Sāmantavarman (no. 3), which record an endowment to a Brāhmaṇa Kīrttiśaśarmman and his three sons, and the Gautami plates of Indravarman (no. 13), which record a grant to two Brāhmaṇas, Vināyakaśarmman and Nārā---[rda]śarmman. The Indian Museum plates of Indravarman (no. 11) set aside certain portions of the land for (the shrines of) the deities Mādhava and

<sup>56</sup> The text reads: "...Vvā(Vā)jasaneyā caraṇāya Kāṇva-Pārāśarasa-gotrāya Mādhavasvāmine..." (Binayak Misra, "Copper Plate Grant of Netṭabhañja," p. 115, ll. 24-26). According to Misra (ibid., p. 117), the donee belonged to the Vājasaneyā carana and the Pārāśara school of the Kāṇva branch. Another possibility is that 'Kāṇva-Pārāśarasa-gotrāya' is a mistake for 'Kṛṣṇa-Parāśara-gotrāya.' The Kṛṣṇa Parāśaras are included among the Vasiṣṭhas, and have a three-ṛṣi pravara of Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, and Pārāśarya (GPM, pp. 174-76).

<sup>57</sup> According to Sircar ("Russellkonda Plates of Netṭabhañja; Regnal Year 26," p. 260), all the donees belonged to the Kauśika gotra and the Vājasaneyā carana. It seems, however, that it was Vāsudevasvāmin alone who belonged to this gotra and carana. The Brāhmaṇas are described in l. 27 of the inscription as belonging to various gotras and caraṇas.

Svayambhū, while half a share was apportioned to Brāhmaṇas whose names are given at the end of the inscription.<sup>58</sup> These Brāhmaṇas were perhaps associated with the temple establishment or establishments of these deities.

The name and gotra of the beneficiaries is given in all cases, and the pravaras, anupravaras, and Vedic schools are often specified. The pravaras are mentioned in nine inscriptions. In a few cases (nos. 4, 8, 15) the pravara-ṛṣi names are not given, and the inscription simply refers the Brāhmaṇa to a pañc-ārṣeya pravara. In the other cases, the pravaras are named, often with the formulaic 'vat' endings (nos. 7, 9, 12, 13), and in one case (no. 10), in both their plain and formulaic forms. The donee of the Svalpa-Velura grant of Anantavarman (no. 9) was Bhaṭṭa Nānaśarmman of the Vatsa gotra and the Bhṛguvat Dairdavat Cyavanavat Jamadagnivat pravara. The Vatsas in fact have the pravara Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya.<sup>59</sup> In the Gautami plates of Indravarman (no. 13), the donees are described as belonging to the Vājasaneyā caraṇa, Parāśara gotra, and Śaktivat, Vasiṣṭhavat, and Kaṇvavat (pravaras). The Parāśara gotra has the pravara Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, and Parāśarya.<sup>60</sup> Kaṇvavat is thus out of place among the pravara names of a Brāhmaṇa of the Parāśara gotra. It may reflect an error on the part of the scribe, being included with the pravara instead of as the name of the śākhā to which the Brāhmaṇa in question may have belonged.

The anupravara finds mention in some of the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions. Bhaṭṭa śrī Nanvaṭṭamuttara, the donee of the Ganjam plates of Jayavarman (no. 7), is described as belonging to the Vatsa gotra; he is said to have a five-(ṛṣi) pravara (pañca-pravara) and the names of four of the five pravaras are given in the formulaic form of Vatsavat, Dairddavat, Bhṛguvat, and Jamadagnivat. Nanvaṭṭamuttara's anupravara is stated to be Savyanā (the intended reading may have been Cyāvana<sup>61</sup>). The Vishmagiri plates of Indravarman (no. 12) refer the donee bhaṭṭaputra Jakṣaśvā(svā)miśarmman to the Jātukarṇya gotra; his pravara is described as Vāsiṣṭhavat and Jātukarṇya; his anupravara is said to be Jātukarṇyavat and Jivadvijeṣṭhavat.<sup>62</sup> Bhaṭṭaputra Duga(rga)khaṇḍin, the beneficiary of the

<sup>58</sup> It may be noted that the initiative for setting up the temple-establishment in question was that of a woman named śrī Elā, who may have been a daughter-in-law of the reigning king, Indravarman.

<sup>59</sup> GPM, p. 89.

<sup>60</sup> GPM, p. 176.

<sup>61</sup> Even so, the pravara does not match the gotra. The Vatsas do have a five-ṛṣi pravara, but it is as follows: Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya (GPM, p. 81).

<sup>62</sup> Jivadvijeṣṭha is not mentioned in texts as a pravara name. The Jātukarṇyas are included among the Vasiṣṭhas, and according to the pravara list in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, have the one-ṛṣi pravara of Vāsiṣṭha (GPM, p. 172-3). In other lists (*Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* and *Matsya Purāṇa* quoted in *ibid*, pp. 180, 185) they are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara of

Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 14) is said to belong to the Vatsa gotra and to have the pañca-pravara of Aurva, Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, and Jāmadagnya; he is said to have the same five anupavaras.<sup>63</sup> The same Brāhmaṇa was the beneficiary of the Ganjam plates of Dānārṇavadeva (no. 15). Here, his name is given as bhaṭṭa Durgakhaṇḍika, and he is simply said to have a pañc-ārṣeya (five-ṛṣi) pravara and a pañc-ānupavara (a five-ṛṣi anupavara).

The terms śākhā and caraṇa appear to have been used interchangeably in some of the inscriptions. Thus, Vājasaneyā is referred to as a caraṇa in inscriptions no. 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, and as a śākhā in nos. 3 and 6. Kāṇva is referred to as a śākhā in nos. 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12. Some inscriptions, however, specify both the śākhā and caraṇa of the donee: inscriptions no. 5, 7, 9, 10, and 12 associate the donee with the Vājasaneyā caraṇa and Kāṇva śākhā. Chandoga is referred to as a caraṇa in nos. 14 and 15. The former inscription refers to the Rāṇyāṇīya śākhā in association with the Chandoga caraṇa.<sup>64</sup>

The representation of Vedic schools among the donees of the Śvetaka Gaṅga grants is as follows: Chandoga (one grant); Chandoga-Rāṇyāṇīya (one grant); Vājasaneyā (five grants -- including one grant with four and another with two donees); Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva (five grants); Kāṇva (one grant).

The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇa donees is mentioned only in the Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman and the Ganjam plates of Dānārṇavadeva (nos. 14, 15). The donee of both these inscriptions, Durgakhaṇḍin/Durgakhaṇḍika, is described as the son of bhaṭṭa Vo(Bo)dhana/Vo(Bo)dhūna. The fact that this Brāhmaṇa was the beneficiary of two grants indicates the expansion of his landed estate. (One of the donees of the Indian Museum plates of Indravarman -- no. 11-- was one Durgakhaṇḍin. He might possibly be identified with the donee of inscriptions no. 14 and 15.)

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Vāsiṣṭha, Atri, and Jātukarṇya. It may be noted that there is an alternative reading of the relevant passage of the inscription in question. According to R. Subbarao ("Madras Museum Plates of Indravarma Deva," *QJAHS* 3, 1928-29: 188), the donee of the Vishmagiri plates was one Candāsāmīśarman, son of Jātukarṇya-bhaṭṭa, belonging to the Vājasaneyā school, Kāṇva branch, Jātukarṇya gotra, and having Vasiṣṭha, Atri, and Jātukarṇya as his pravara. Subbarao sees no reference to the anupavara in the text of the inscription. His reading of the inscriptions, however, seems to be in general less reliable than that quoted above -- that of Tarini Charan Rath ("Vishmagiri Plates of Indravarmadeva," *EI* 19, 1927-28: 134-137).

<sup>63</sup> "...tatha iva(tath=aiva) anupavarā[h\*] pañca " (P. N. Bhattacharyya, "Badakhimedi Copper-plates of Indravarman," *EI* 23, pt. 2, April 1935: 80, ll. 17-18).

<sup>64</sup> Citrarekha Gupta (*The Brahmanas of India: A Study Based on Inscriptions*, pp 3-4) points out that the Rāṇyāṇīya śākhā of the Chandoga school is mentioned in a few inscriptions from other parts of the country -- the Indor copper-plate of the time of Skandagupta, an eleventh century inscription of Mummunirāja, and the Mandhata copper-plates of Devapāla.

A Śvetaka Gaṅga inscription that seems to have intended to give the place of residence of the beneficiary of a royal grant is the Ganjam grant of Jayavarman (no. 5). Here, the words 'viṣaya-vāstavya' occur, but the name of the viṣaya to which the Brāhmaṇa belonged seems to have been omitted inadvertently. Apart from this inscription, no other Śvetaka Gaṅga grant refers to the place of residence of the donee.

The Brāhmaṇa donee of the Ganjam plates of Jayavarman (no.4) -- bhaṭṭaputra Padma -- is referred to as a māhatraya, which may be an error for mahattara.<sup>65</sup> Bhaṭṭaputra Māṇikadeva, the donee of the Ganjam plates of Bhūpendravarmadeva (no. 8) has the epithet of māhātra, which may also perhaps be read as mahattara.

The common Brāhmaṇa name suffixes in the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions are śarmman and deva. Names without suffixes also occur. The epithets bhaṭṭa and bhaṭṭaputra occur frequently.

The inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara and their feudatories: (inscriptions no. 14 - 40)

The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of this group of Gaṅga copper plate grants are generally identified by their name and gotra, and in some cases, also by their Vedic school and place of residence. Eight of the inscriptions record grants to individual Brāhmaṇas<sup>66</sup> and nine to more than one Brāhmaṇa.<sup>67</sup> The following inscriptions belong to the latter category: the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 14), which record a land grant in favour of six Brāhmaṇa brothers; the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman (no 16), which record a grant to the Brāhmaṇa Pillāśarmman and his sister Pillikasvāminī;<sup>68</sup> the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman (no. 19), which record an endowment to several

<sup>65</sup> On mahattara, see n. 37.

<sup>66</sup> This includes the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17), the donee of which made over a share of the land to his brother; the Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 15), the donee of which, from the reference to his Vedic learning, seems to have been a Brāhmaṇa; and the Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta (no. 35), the donee of which was one Nārāyaṇa.

<sup>67</sup> Two of the grants in favour of Brāhmaṇas were made by the king at the request of certain persons. Thus, the grant recorded in the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman (no. 16) was made at the request of the king's mother and that recorded in the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18) at the request of the king's brother. The donor of the Nirakrapur plates (no. 36) was a Gaṅga feudatory, Udayakhedi of the Kadamba family. The details of the Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta (no. 40) suggest that the real donor was an individual named Vurāsī, who perhaps made the grant in conjunction with another individual named Uṇḍilpeṭhi; the two may have bought the land from the king, who may have ratified it and made it tax-free.

<sup>68</sup> Line 12 of the inscription mentions the term 'vadhū' in connection with the beneficiaries of the grant; this could refer either to Pillikasvāminī or to Pillāśarmman's wife.

Brāhmaṇas (numbers and names unspecified) of various (unspecified) gotras; the Santha Bomvali plates of Nandavarman (no. 20), the donees of which were three Brāhmaṇas; the Shalantri/Musinaka plates of Devendravarman (no. 24), the beneficiaies of which were two Brāhmaṇas; the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 31), which record a grant to three hundred Brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneyā caraṇa and various (unspecified) gotras; the Nirakarapur plates of the Kadamba feudatory Udayakhedi (no. 36), which record an endowment to several Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras; the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38), the beneficiaries of which were three Brāhmaṇas; and the Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman (no. 39), which record a grant to two Brāhmaṇas.

The pravaras are specified in only one inscription -- the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38). Here, the donees, A(Ā)dityabhaṭṭa, Yajñabhaṭṭa, and Khaṇḍidevabhaṭṭa are said to have the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, and Bhāradvājapravara.

The Vedic schools represented in the grants of this group of Gaṅga kings are as follows: Bahvṛca (three grants -- including one with two donees), Chandoga (one grant -- six donees), Vājasaneyā (two grants -- including one with three hundred donees), Kāṇva (one grant), Yajur Veda-Kaṭha (one grant). The term śākhā is used in the Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta (no. 40) (Kāṇva śākhā), and caraṇa in the Indian Museum plates (no. 27) (Yajur-Veda-Kaṭha-caraṇa) and the Chicacole plates (no. 31) of Devendravarman (Vājasaneyācaraṇa).

The place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donee/s is indicated in thirteen inscriptions. The six Brāhmaṇa brothers who were the beneficiaries of the Chicacole grant of Devendravarman (no. 14) are said to have resided in Kaliṅganagara. Pillāśarmman, one of the donees of the Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 16), is described as a resident of Kaliṅgapura in Guṇḍra viṣaya.<sup>69</sup> Tamparaśarmman dīkṣita, the donee of the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17) is referred to as a resident of Eraṇḍapali. The beneficiary of the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18) was Viṣṇusomācā[r\*]ya, resident of Śṛṅgāṭika agrahāra in Kāmarūpa viṣaya (which may have been a viṣaya in Kaliṅga, not necessarily in Assam<sup>70</sup>). The various Brāhmaṇas who were the beneficiaries of the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman (no. 19) were residents of Ānandapura. Śrī Dharabha[ṭa], the donee of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22), was a resident of Homavaravala. Ādityaviṣṇuśarmman, one of the donees of the Shalantri/Musinaka plates

<sup>69</sup> Kaliṅgapura could possibly refer to Kaliṅganagara, the Gaṅga capital. The reading of the name of the viṣaya is not certain.

<sup>70</sup> R. K. Ghoshal, "Two Eastern Ganga Copper-Plate Grants From Sudava," *EJ* 26 (1941-42). 66.

of Devendravarman (no. 24) is described as a resident of Nagara (probably referring to Kaliṅganagara<sup>71</sup>). The Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman (no. 27) record an endowment made in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Govindaśarma who was a resident of a place called Pā[ṭa]ka[bojyā?] in Uttara-Rāḍha.<sup>72</sup> Nārāyaṇa, the donee of the Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta (no. 35), is said to have belonged to Māhava village. The Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38) also state the name of the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donees; the three Brāhmaṇas are described as belonging to Siviḍi grāma.<sup>73</sup> The boundaries of the gift village indicate that Siviḍi grāma was adjacent to it. The beneficiary of the Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta (no. 40) was bhaṭṭa Nāra (Nārada ?); his father -- Māṇapa bhaṭṭa -- seems to have been an inhabitant of Kāmavāha-Yāhnuṇa grāma.<sup>74</sup>

Unfortunately, most of the place names mentioned in connection with the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donees mentioned above have not been identified. It may however, be noted that the donees of two -- if not three -- of the grants belonged to Kaliṅganagara, the political centre of these Gaṅga kings and that one records a grant to a Brāhmaṇa from Bengal.

The donees of several of these inscriptions are endowed with epithets indicating their Vedic learning, while reference is also made in a few cases to their performance of the

<sup>71</sup> V. V. Mirashi, "Musinaka Grant of Devendravarman III; Ganga Year 306," *EI* 30, pt. 1 (January 1953): 26. It may be noted that the gift village Musunikā(ka) seems to have been located in the vicinity of Kaliṅganagara.

<sup>72</sup> The geographical term Rāḍha denoted the western regions of Bengal (Benoychandra Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal [Pre-Muhammadan Epochs]*, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1942, p. 45). The Damodar river probably constituted the boundary between Uttara (north) and Dakṣiṇa (south) Rāḍha (*ibid.*, p. 77). In the early medieval period, Rāḍha (which had the same connotations as the geographical term Suhma, which it gradually came to replace) included modern Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, and the northern and eastern portions of Midnapore (Medinipur) and Birbhum, and may also have included the Murshidabad and Bankura areas (*ibid.*, pp. 75-76).

<sup>73</sup> R. Subba Rao ("Chedivalasa Plates of Devendravarman," *QIAHRS* 2, pt. 2, October 1927: 148, 150) sees a reference to the Brāhmaṇas belonging to Vaṅga (in Bengal) in l. 21 of this inscription. This reading has been disputed by D. C. Sircar ("Chidivalasa Plates of Devendravarman; The Year 397," *JASL* 18, no. 2, 1952: 77).

<sup>74</sup> The place of residence of the donees is also mentioned in the Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25) and the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26), but there are no clear indications that the donees of these two grants were Brāhmaṇas. The Bangalore plates record a grant to Rātuka, a resident of Pālukosu, for the provision of oblations, incense, and food offerings for the worship of the deity Parameśvara. The beneficiaries of the Chicacole plates were Ceti, Lokaya and others (or Cetiloka and others), sons of Kavvāsaka Vilaci (perhaps meaning Vilaci who belonged to a place called Kavvāsaka). These donees seem to have been priests of a bhaṭṭārikā or goddess of the village.

six acts enjoined on Brāhmaṇas by the Dharmaśāstras.<sup>75</sup> The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 14), the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman (no. 16), the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17), and the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18) are described as having mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-pāraḡa). The epithet 'Vedāṅga-pāraḡa' is applied to the donees of the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman (no. 19). The donee of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22) is described as one who understands the essence of the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-tattva-jñā). The Chidivalasa grant of Devendravarman (no. 38) describes its beneficiaries as ones who know the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-vedinaḡ) and as ones who incessantly adhere to the dharma as proclaimed in the śruti and smṛti (śruti-smṛty-uditaṁ dharmam=aniśam paryupāsataḡ). The Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman (no. 39) describe the father of its Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries as devoted to the performance of the six acts or duties enjoined on Brāhmaṇas (ṣaṭ-karma-nirata) and as one who understands the meaning of all the Vedas (vidita-sakala-Ved-ārtha), the two donees are described as having mastered the Bahvṛca Veda<sup>76</sup> along with the six Aṅgas (ṣaḍ-aṅga-sahita-Bahvṛca-veda-pāra-ga), and as ones who understand the meaning of all the śāstras (avagat-āśeṣa-śāstr-ārtha). The donee of the Chicacole plates of Anantavarman (no. 40) is referred to as a good student of the Veda. This inscription also describes the donee Nāra as engaged in the six acts or duties enjoined on Brāhmaṇas (ṣaṭ-karm-ābhīrata).

The Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 15) state that the land in question was made over to bhagavat Pataṅga-Śivācārya, guru (preceptor) of the king.<sup>77</sup> Pataṅga-Śivācārya is described as one who has acquired the knowledge of the Veda, Vedāṅga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and Nyāya. It may be noted that the grant is said to have been made on the occasion of the dīkṣā ceremony (of the king),<sup>78</sup> and that Pataṅga-Śivācārya made over half the land to (the deity ?) Yāgeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, and the other half to his disciples and disciples' disciples. These details seem to refer to some kind of maṭha set-up, the head of which was associated with the royal court in the capacity of the king's guru.

The Galavalli plates of Manujendravarman (no. 37) record a grant to Kauṇḍuka-Guṇḍeśvara (probably a deity called Guṇḍeśvara worshipped at a locality called Kuṇḍuka or Koṇḍuka). The gift was apparently received on behalf of the deity by Sāmaveda

<sup>75</sup> viz. adhyayana, adhyāpana, yajana, yājana, dāna, pratigraha.

<sup>76</sup> The Bahvṛca is a recension of the Rg Veda.

<sup>77</sup> According to Manu 2. 142, the Brāhmaṇa who performs rites such as the garbhādāna (conception rite) in accordance with the rules, and gives food to the child is known as the guru (Bühler, The Laws of Manu, p. 56).

<sup>78</sup> 'Dīkṣā' refers to the preparation or consecration for a religious ceremony.



bhagavanta, who was probably the priest in charge of the temple. His name suggests that he was affiliated to the Sāma Veda. Sāmaveda-bhagavanta is described as the son of Brahātma-bhagavanta of Vallakonda or Callakonda. A later endorsement added to the inscription gives the name of a person named Yogātman, who may have been the successor of Samaveda Bhagavanta as priest of the temple. It is not certain whether this later endorsement was approved by the royal authority or whether it constitutes a forgery.<sup>79</sup>

A few of the Gaṅga inscriptions of this group refer to priests, not in all cases identifiable as Brāhmaṇas. The Vishakhapatnam plates of Devendravarman (no. 21) record an endowment made in favour of the deity Dharmēśvara bhaṭṭāraka (probably a deity in the liṅga form) at the time when the superintendence of the shrine was in the hands of the illustrious Brāhmaṇa Somācārya. The Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25) record a grant made to one Rātuka, a resident of Pālukosu, and described as 'Kateya-sūtra-paṇca-vrata',<sup>80</sup> for the provision of oblation (caru), incense (dhūpa), and food offerings (naivedya) for the worship (pūjā) of lord Parameśvara. Rātuka was evidently the priest in charge of the shrine; his description does not establish his Brāhmaṇa identity. The donees of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26) were Cetī, Lokaya and others or Cetiloka and others, sons of Kavvāsaka Vilaci. According to D. C. Sircar, Kavvāsaka may have been the place whence Vilaci came from.<sup>81</sup> These four brothers, who were to share the gift village equally, seem to have been priests of a bhaṭṭārikā (goddess), who may have been a village goddess. There is no indication in the inscription that these priests were Brāhmaṇas.

Mention has already been made of bhaṭṭa Nāra (or Nārada), the beneficiary of the Chicacole plates of Anantavarman (no. 40). The inscription refers him to the Dakṣa gotra and the Kāṇva śākhā. It may be added here that there is a reference in lines 22-23 of the inscription to a sattra, indicating that the endowment may in fact have been made for the provision of a sattra (a charitable feeding-house), apparently under the care of this Brāhmaṇa.

The Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 18) state that the grant to Viṣṇusomācārya was made on the occasion of a marriage ceremony (vivāha-samaye kanyā-dānam). This suggests that the Brāhmaṇa in question may have been an officiant at the marriage (presumably a royal marriage).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Sircar, "Two Grants From Galavalli," p. 189.

<sup>80</sup> This is the reading given by Lewis Rice (Epigraphia Carnatica 9, 1905: 33). The meaning of the epithet is unclear.

<sup>81</sup> Sircar, "Chicacole Plates of Gaṅga Devendravarman," p. 17.

<sup>82</sup> This particular grant was made at the request of Jayavarman, king Devendravarman's brother.

The donees of the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38) are described as the descendents of Gojā-dīkṣita, who had previously acquired the village of Siviḍigrāma.<sup>83</sup> Siviḍi is also given as the place of residence of the donees. This inscription indicates the expansion of the landed estate of this particular Brāhmaṇa family.

The ancestry of the donees appears in seven inscriptions. The titles/epithets given to the Brāhmaṇa donees in this group of Gaṅga grants include bhaṭa/bhaṭṭa, dīkṣita, and ācārya.<sup>84</sup> The frequently-occurring Brāhmaṇa name suffix is śarmman.

## North Orissa

### The Bhauma-Kara inscriptions

Twelve Bhauma-Kara inscriptions record royal endowments of land in favour of Brāhmaṇas.<sup>85</sup> Of these, eight were grants made to individual Brāhmaṇas and four to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The Neulpur plate of Śubhākara (no. 2) is particularly noteworthy as it records a grant made to two hundred Brāhmaṇas (although 202 names are given). The Terundia plate of Śubhākara II (no. 8) records an endowment made to six Brāhmaṇas, the Dharakota plate of Śubhākara (no. 10) to two (according to Rajaguru, three)<sup>86</sup> Brāhmaṇas, and the Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 20) to five Brāhmaṇas. The Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16) actually record an endowment to a Śaiva temple (the deity is Umā-Maheśvara), but one of the shares is specifically stated to be for providing food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas (probably those associated with the temple establishment).

The Brāhmaṇa donees of the Bhauma-Kara land grant charters are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and Vedic school. The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇas is specified in five inscriptions (nos. 17, 19, 24, 25, 26), in some cases the names of both the father and grandfather being specified.

<sup>83</sup> "...Siviḍigrām-ārjita-Gojā-dī(dī)kṣita-varṇīśa(śa)jebhya(bhyo). . ." (Sircar, "Chidivalasa Plates of Devendravarman; Gaṅga Year 397," p. 80, l. 21).

<sup>84</sup> According to Manu 2. 140, the ācārya was a Brāhmaṇa who initiated a pupil and taught him the Veda, Kalpa, and the Rahasyas (G. Buhler, The Laws of Manu, p. 56).

<sup>85</sup> Of the rest of the Bhauma Kara inscriptions, three record grants to temples, two to Buddhist establishments, and one is a secular grant. Two of the grants in favour of Brāhmaṇas were made by Bhauma-Kara queens at the request of certain individuals, whose names appear as the 'vijñāpti' in the inscriptions. -- The vijñāpti of one of the Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī (no. 15) was a person named Śaśilekhā, described as the wife of mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgaleśvara, and as born in the Virāja family and married into the Vrāgaḍi family. The Santuragrāma plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 19) states that the grant was made at the request of rānaka Apsarodeva, lord of Yamagartā maṇḍala Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgaleśvara and Apsarodeva seem to have been feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas.

<sup>86</sup> Rajaguru, "Dharakota Copper-Plate Grant of the Kara King Subhakara Deva of Orissa," p. 194.

The donee of the Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 25) was Śrīdhara bhaṭṭa of the Śaṇḍilya gotra and the Bārhaspatya, Jāmadagnya, and Daivala pravara. The Śaṇḍilas can have the pravara Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, and Śaṇḍila;<sup>87</sup> or Daivala, Āsita;<sup>88</sup> or Kāśyapa, Daivala, Āsita.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the gotra and pravara of Śrīdhara bhaṭṭa do not match.

The anupravara is mentioned in two inscriptions. The donees of the Dharakota plate of Subhākara (no. 10) were two in number: bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa of the Māṅgalya gotra, Āṅgīrasa pravara, and Aurva and Sāvar[ṇṇa?] (Sāvāṇi) anupravara; and bhaṭṭa Devakaṇṭha of the Kauśika gotra, Viśvāmitra pravara and the Devarāta and Audala anupravaras.<sup>90</sup> It may be noted that the gotra and pravara of the first donee do not match. The Māṅgalya gotra has the pravara of Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, and Śyāvāśva.<sup>91</sup> The Kauśikas or Kuśikas have, according to some pravara lists, the pravara of Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, and Daivatarasa;<sup>92</sup> according to others, they have the pravara of Viśvāmitra, Devarāta and Udala.<sup>93</sup> The names of two of Devakaṇṭha's pravara ṛṣis have, in this inscription, been referred to as constituting his anupravara. Dhavala, the donee of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17), is described as belonging to the Viśvāmitra gotra, the Devarāta pravara, and Audala anupravara.

The term śākhā is used in inscriptions no. 17, 24, and 26, caraṇa in nos. 5 and 10, while some other inscriptions refer to the term śākhā as well as caraṇa (nos. 8, 11, 18, 19). The representation of the Vedic schools among the Brāhmaṇas is as follows: Rg Veda (one grant); Bahvṛca (one grant -- fifty-one donees); Chāndīśa (one grant -- fifty-one donees);<sup>94</sup> Vājasaneyā (two grants, one with two and the other with forty-nine donees); Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva (two grants -- including one with six donees); Vājasaneyā-Mādhyamīdina (one grant); Kāṇva (one grant); Chandoga-Mādhyamīdina (one grant); and Āśvalāyana (one grant). It may be noted that the donee of the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 26) is

<sup>87</sup> GPM, p. 161.

<sup>88</sup> ibid., p. 162

<sup>89</sup> ibid.

<sup>90</sup> This is the reading of Binayak Misra (Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 21-22). S. N. Rajaguru, however, reads the relevant section of the inscription differently ("Dharakota Copper-Plate Grant of the Kara King Subhākara Deva of Orissa," p. 192; 194, ll. 22-24). According to him, this inscription records a grant made in favour of three Brāhmaṇas -- bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇadeva, Kuntā bhaṭṭa, and bhaṭṭa Lumbadeva Mitra; the first donee had the Māṅgalya gotra, Āṅgīrasa pravara, and Datātreyā anupravara, while the second had the Kauśika gotra, Viśvāmitra pravara, and Devahotra anupravara. As in Misra's reading, the donees, according to Rajaguru, belonged to the Vājasaneyā caraṇa.

<sup>91</sup> GPM, pp. 139-140.

<sup>92</sup> ibid., p. 150.

<sup>93</sup> ibid., p. 156

<sup>94</sup> Chāndīśa seems to refer to the Chandoga school.

described as 'Chāndogya-pāṭha-prāpta-Mādhyam̐dina-śākh-ādhyāyin.' This is perplexing as the Chandogya śākhā is associated with the Sāma Veda, while the Mādhyam̐dina śākhā belongs to the Yajur Veda. It may also be noted that the two hundred donees of the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara (no. 2), described as cāturvidya Brāhmaṇas belonging to various gotras and caraṇas, represent more or less equally the four Vedas (the Bahvṛca, Vājasaneyā, Chāndīśa, and Ātharva schools).

Some of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions (nos. 8, 17, 19, 24, 25, 26) specify the name of the native place and/or place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donees. The six donees of the Terundia plate of Śubhākara II (no. 8) are described as residents of Taramaṇḍapa-grāma. Dhavala, the beneficiary of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17), is described as having come from Viṅgināṭaka.<sup>95</sup> The donee of the Santiragrama plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 19) was bhaṭṭa Mākyadeva, who came from Ṭakārī and was a resident of Dharmmapāṭṭi. Ṭakārī is mentioned in several inscriptions and was evidently a famous seat of Brāhmaṇa learning. Its location is not known for certain.<sup>96</sup> Mihahīca, the donee of the grant of Vakulamahādevī (no. 24), came from Śāvastha-deśa<sup>97</sup> and was a resident of

<sup>95</sup> According to Kielhorn ("Two Grants of Dandimahadevi," p. 139, n. 10), the name of this place may be read as Viṅgipāṭaka or Veṅgipāṭaka. This place has not been identified. Whether or not it could possibly have some connection with Veṅgi, a name for the coastal area from Vishakhapatnam district to Guntur district (D. C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2nd rev. ed., 1960).

<sup>96</sup> There are numerous references to Takārī (as Ṭakārī, Tarkārī, Tarkārīkā, Tarkāra, Takkāra, Ṭakārī, Takkārīkā, etc.) in inscriptions from various parts of the country from the tenth to the thirteenth century C.E. It is said in some records to be situated in Madhyadeśa, a geographical division which roughly comprised the area of modern Uttar Pradesh and the eastern part of the Punjab, Bihar and North Bengal sometimes also being included in it (Sircar, "Santiragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi," p. 86). The Silimpur inscription describes this village as situated within Śrāvastī (Radha Govinda Basak, "Silimpur Stone-Slab Inscription of the Time of Jayapala Deva," EI 13, 1915-16: 290, vv. 2-4). The location of this Śrāvastī is, however, controversial, some scholars identifying it with the Śrāvastī known to have been situated in modern Set-Mahet on the border of Gonda and Bahraich districts in Uttar Pradesh (R. C. Majumdar ed., The History of Bengal 1, Dacca University of Dacca, 1943, p. 579, n. 1, N. G. Majumdar, "Epigraphic Notes," IA 68, 1919: 208-11), and others locating it in the Bogra district of North Bengal (Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, "Where Was Tarkārī," IA 60, 1931: 14-18). The proponents of the latter view point out that in addition to the Śrāvastī described in the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāyu Purāṇa as the capital of Lava, the son of Rāma, and apparently located in modern Uttar Pradesh, there is another Śrāvastī mentioned in the Matsya and Kūrma Purāṇas. The second Śrāvastī is said to have been founded by king Śrāvastī, son of king Yuvanāśva, and is described in the Matsya and Kūrma Purāṇas to have been located in Gauḍa-deśa, i.e. in Bengal (See Ghosh, *ibid.*, p. 14). The reason for the confusion about the location of Śrāvastī and Ṭakārī appears to be that Brāhmaṇa migrants from the Śrāvastī area in modern Uttar Pradesh named their new settlements in the Hili-Balurghat area of North Bengal after their home villages (Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 297).

<sup>97</sup> The correct reading may be Śrāvastu. On its identification, see n. 96.

Ka[ṇṭi]ḍa village. Śrīdhara bhaṭṭa, donee of the grant of Vakulamahādevī (no. 25), is said to have come from Kolāñca, another important seat of brahmanical learning, not yet satisfactorily identified.<sup>98</sup> The donee of the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 26) was śrī Padmanābha, who came from Kolāñca and was a resident of Komsallā (identified with Kamsarā village in the old Hindol state, about three miles from Taltali, the find-spot of the plate<sup>99</sup>).

The additional information on some of the donees indicates a variety of backgrounds of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the royal endowments made by the Bhauma-Kara kings. Among the donees of the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara (no. 2) were Brāhmaṇas with the following epithets: caturthada (the meaning of this is unclear), chātra (student), agnihotrin (one who performs the Agnihotra sacrifice), Atharva-bhaṭṭa-purohita (a chaplain presumably affiliated to the Atharva Veda), haṇḍikāpati (the meaning of this term is uncertain<sup>100</sup>), and vaṭu (a young Brāhmaṇa<sup>101</sup>). The grant recorded in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī (no. 11) appears to have been made in favour of bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara for making rain, indicating this particular Brāhmaṇa's expertise in magical activities. The Terundia plate of Śubhākara II (no. 8) records a grant to six Brāhmaṇas, and the purpose is stated to be the upkeep of the maṭhas and maṇḍapas established by these Brāhmaṇas in Taramaṇḍapa grāma, their native village. According to D.C. Sircar, the terms maṭha and

<sup>98</sup> Kolāñca, Kroḍāñja, Kroḍāñci, etc. is mentioned often in the early medieval inscriptions of North India. The traditional genealogies contained in some of the Kulajī texts of Bengal (which may be dated from the fifteenth century on), mention either Kolāñca or Kanaui as the place whence king Ādisūra of Bengal imported five Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices who became the progenitors of the Rāḍhiya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas (R. C. Majumdar ed., The History of Bengal 1: 623-25). The location of Kolāñca is controversial. A grant of king Dharmapāla of Prāgyotiśa describes Kroḍāñja as situated in Śrāvastī (Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 298). The Kolāñca of the inscriptions has been identified by J. C. Ghosh with either Kularch or Kalanja village in the Bogra district of Bengal (Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, "Kolāñca, the Fatherland of the Rāḍhi and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas," Indian Culture 2, 1935-36: 358-59). While the Kolāñca of the genealogical accounts was probably located in modern Uttar Pradesh, its namesake of the inscriptions may have been located in Bengal (Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 297-98).

<sup>99</sup> Ghanashyam Das and Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, "Taltali Plate of Dharmamahādevī," p. 216. The gift village, Tarataloi, has been identified with Taltali, the find-spot (ibid.). The donee, thus, obtained a village in the vicinity of the place where he resided.

<sup>100</sup> According to Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary (p. 126), 'haṇḍikā' means 'an earthen pot (for cooking),' and the term 'haṇḍikāpati' may refer to the head of a joint family (i. e. the one responsible for feeding the family).

<sup>101</sup> Mon. Will., p. 719. Vaṭu is evidently the same as baṭu. The meanings suggested for this word are: a boy, lad, stripling youth (especially a young Brāhmaṇa); sometimes also contemptuously applied to adult persons; name of a class of priests (ibid.).

maṇḍapa seem here to have the meaning of a college and a public building respectively.<sup>102</sup> Another meaning of the term maṇḍapa is suggested by V. S. Pathak, according to whom, lexicons give the meaning of the term as "a shelter for persons in general."<sup>103</sup> Dhavala, the donee of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17), is described as a pratihāra. This indicates that he was a Brāhmaṇa associated with the royal court.<sup>104</sup> It may be noted that the inscription seems to suggest that Dhavala in turn gifted one-fourth of the village granted to him to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of a saṁkṛānti (the passage of the sun from one sign or position to another). The father of Padmanābha, the donee of the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 26), was Gadādhara, who bore the epithet paṇḍita.<sup>105</sup>

The common name suffixes of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Bhauma-Kara grants are bhaṭṭa, svāmin, and deva. Bhaṭṭa and bhaṭṭaputra often appear as prefixes to the names. Many names do not have suffixes. The title 'paṇḍita' occurs in one inscription.

### Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century

North and central Orissa

#### The inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala

Of the eleven inscriptions recording endowments made by the early Bhañja kings of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala, ten record gifts to Brāhmaṇas, and one to a Śaiva establishment. All the grants to Brāhmaṇas were made in favour of individual Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa donees are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, Vedic school, ancestry (the name of the father and often also the grandfather being specified), native place, and place of residence.

While the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala specify the pravara of the donees, it may be noted that these pravaras do not always match the gotras (according to the gotra and pravara lists given in various literary sources). This is the case, for instance, in the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 1) and the Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 3).<sup>106</sup> The donee of the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja was

<sup>102</sup> Sircar, "Terundia Plate of Subhakarā II," p. 214.

<sup>103</sup> Pathak, *Smārta Religious Tradition*, p. 50.

<sup>104</sup> The various meanings of the term 'pratihāra' or 'pratihāra' given in Sircar's *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (p. 259) include the following: 'a door keeper,' an officer in charge of the defence of the royal palace or bed-chamber or the head of the guards of the city-gate, a chamberlain or inditer of grants.

<sup>105</sup> The epithet 'paṇḍita' has the connotations of a scholar, a learned man, teacher, or philosopher (*Mon. Will.*, p. 500).

<sup>106</sup> The donee of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, the year 54 (inscription no. 10) should perhaps also be put into the category of donees whose gotra and pravara do not match. According to R. D. Banerji ("Two Grants of Raṇabhañjadeva," p. 322), the donee of this inscription -- whose name seems to have been inadvertently omitted by the scribe had the Rohita gotra, the Rohita aṣṭaka, the Viśvāmītra pravara, and belonged to the Chandoga

brahmacārin bhaṭṭa Manoratha described as having the Kāśyapa gotra<sup>107</sup> and the Gārgya, Āpni, and Āṅgīrasa pravara. The donee of the Singharā plates of Raṇabhaṇja was bhaṭṭaputra Voheḥ of the Kāśyapa gotra, and the Vatsa and Naidhruva pravara. In both cases, the gotra and pravara do not match, as the Kāśyapa gotra has the following pravara: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva; or Kāśyapa Āvatsāra, Āsita.<sup>108</sup>

Reference to the anupravara occurs in only one inscription -- the Baudh plates of Raṇabhaṇja of the year 26 (no. 8). Here, the donee, bhaṭṭaputra śrī Dāmodara, is described as having the Maudgalya gotra, Bhārmāśva pravara, and Āṅgīrasa anupravara. It may be noted that the Maudgalya gotra actually has the pravara of Āṅgīrasa, Bhārmyāśva, and Maudgalya.<sup>109</sup> The inscription has only mentioned one of the pravara-ṛṣi names as such, a second being stated to be the anupravara, and the third being the same as the gotra name.

The terms śākhā and caraṇa occur in several inscriptions; some inscriptions (nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) specify both. The Vedic schools represented are as follows: Bahvṛca (two grants), Chandoga-Kauthuma (three grants), Sāma Veda (one grant), Yajur Veda (one grant), Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva (one grant), Kāṇva (one grant), Mādhyamīna (one grant).

Brahmacārin bhaṭṭa Manoratha, the donee of the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhaṇja (no. 1) is described as hailing from Vaṅgakuṭi and a resident of Gandhātapāṭi.<sup>110</sup> The beneficiary of the Sonpur plates of Śatrubhaṇja (no. 2) was bhaṭṭaputra Kṛṣṇa from Ālāpa grāma. Bhaṭṭaputra Voheḥ, the donee of the Singharā plates of rāṇaka Raṇabhaṇja (no. 3), is described as having come from Bhadra-palāśī grāma in Magaha (Magadha) deśa<sup>111</sup> and as a resident of Gandhātapāṭi.<sup>112</sup> Bhaṭṭaputra paṇḍita Varada of the Orissa Museum plates

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caraṇa and Kauthuma śākhā. The Rohitāyanā gotra has the pravara of Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, and Naidhruva (GPM, pp. 159-60). It is possible, however, that the intended reading of the donee's gotra is Lohita, not Rohita (perhaps the scribe made the error). The Lohitas have, according to some pravara lists, the three-ṛṣi pravara of Vaiśvāmītra, Āṣṭaka/Aṣṭaka, and Lauhita/Lohita (GPM, pp. 147, 152, 157). These are the ṛṣi names given in the inscription concerned.

<sup>107</sup> According to my reading of the facsimile of the plate, the reading should be [Gā]rgya. The gotra and pravara, however, do not match even with this reading. For the Gargas or Gārgyas have the five-ṛṣi pravara of Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śainya, Gārgya or a three-ṛṣi pravara of Āṅgīrasa, Śainya, Gārgya (GPM, p. 114).

<sup>108</sup> GPM, pp. 160, 168.

<sup>109</sup> GPM, p. 129.

<sup>110</sup> Gandhātapāṭi has been identified with modern Gandaradi in the old Baudh State (R. D. Banerji, "Antiquities of the Baudh State," JBORS 15, 1929: 71).

<sup>111</sup> Magadha corresponds roughly to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of south Bihar (Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 110).

<sup>112</sup> This is how the place-name is read by B. C. Mazumdar ("Singharā Plates of Raṇaka Raṇabhaṇja [sic] Deva," p. 484, l. 13). It is quite possible that the intended reading is Gandhātapāṭi, a place mentioned in the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhaṇja (no. 1) as well, and identified with modern Gandaradi in the old Baudh State.

of Raṇabhañja (no. 4) hailed from Tālabhṛtakī grāma in Barendnra (Barendra, i. e. Varendra) maṇḍala<sup>113</sup> and was a resident of Vāri grāma. Bhaṭṭaputra śrī Śrīdhara of the Binka plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 5) came from Bhaṭa-Nirola (which from the prefix Bhaṭa, i.e. Bhaṭṭa, seems to have been a Brāhmaṇa village) and was a resident of Kāmārī. The donee of the Daspalla plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 7) was bhaṭṭaputra śrī Padmākara, from Pecipāṭaka in Varendra maṇḍala,<sup>114</sup> and a resident of Burallā. Bhaṭṭaputra śrī Dāmodara, the beneficiary of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 26 (no. 8) is described as having come from Khaḍuvāpalī bhaṭṭa-grāma (apparently a Brāhmaṇa village) in Madhyadeśa.<sup>115</sup> The beneficiary of the undated Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 9) was Bhaṭṭaputra Devadhara from Madhyadeśa,<sup>116</sup> a resident of Mahiṣipadraka. The Brāhmaṇa donee of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 54 (no. 10), whose name seems to have inadvertently been left out by the scribe, came from Apilomuleri and was a resident of Amvasarāsarā. Śubhadāma, the donee of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 58 (no. 11) came from Ṭakāri in Sāvatti deśa<sup>117</sup> and was resident of bhaṭṭa Tadala (apparently a Brāhmaṇa village) in Oḍra viṣaya.<sup>118</sup> -- The data from the copper plate grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala is, thus, indicative of brahmanical migrations into Orissa from south-east Bihar (Magadha), Bengal, and other parts of northern India. The evidence suggests that these Brāhmaṇas came into Orissa at some earlier point of time, and were settled in villages (in some cases Brāhmaṇa villages) in Orissa prior to their being endowed with land by the Bhañja kings.

The names of the Brāhmaṇa donees of this group of inscriptions do not bear the common Brāhmaṇa name suffixes (śarmman, etc.). The epithets that occur are bhaṭṭaputra, bhaṭṭa, brahmacārin (no. 1), and paṇḍita (no. 4).

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<sup>113</sup> Varendra or Varendrī formed part of Puṇḍravardhana, which was a territorial division which included the northern parts of Bengal. B. C. Sen (Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 112) points out that in modern times, the tract of land on the borders of Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra, and Rangpur, from the Ganga and Mahananda to the Karatoya rivers, corresponding to practically the whole of the Rajshahi division and some sections of Pabna district, goes by the name of Barind, a name reminiscent of the ancient geographical term Varendra

<sup>114</sup> See n. 113.

<sup>115</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>116</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>117</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>118</sup> In this period, Oḍra included the large tract of land between Dakṣiṇa Kosala in the west and coastal Orissa in the east (Ganguly, Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa, p. 57).



### The inscriptions of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Thirteen of the fourteen copper plate inscriptions of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas.<sup>119</sup> Of the Brāhmaṇa grants, the beneficiaries of eleven grants were individual Brāhmaṇas, and those of two were more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2), which record an endowment to eight Brāhmaṇas and the Jangalapadu plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 14) which record a grant in favour of two Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, caraṇa, śākhā, and the name of their father and grandfather.

The anupravara occurs in eight inscriptions. The donee of the Gumsur plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 1) was Bhandeśvara who had the Vatsa gotra, a three-ṛṣi pravara (tri-pravara), and the Vatsa and Bhārgava anupravara.<sup>120</sup> The Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2) identifies three of its donees as belonging to the Kauśika gotra, the Aghamarṣaṇa pravara and Viśvāmitravat anupravara, and five others as belonging to the Vatsa gotra and the Bhārgavavat, Cyavanavat, Ātmanā (Āpnavāna), Aurva, and Jāmadagnya anupavaras.<sup>121</sup> Bhaṭṭa Rudāḍa (Rudraṭa) of the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 3) belonged to the Vatsa gotra, the Āṅgīrasa pravara and the Bhārgava anupravara.<sup>122</sup> The donee of the Komanda plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 4) was bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva of the Gautama gotra, Autathya (Aucathya) pravara, and Āṅgīrasa anupravara.<sup>123</sup> The Pettasara

<sup>119</sup> The donee of the remaining grant -- the Orissa plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 9) -- was vaṇij (merchant) Ivadataka(dattaka), great-grandson of vaṇij Gargadata(datta), grandson of Apadata(datta), and son of Vapadata(datta). He is described as having the Kāśyapa gotra, and as hailing from Tṛ(Tri)bhuvaṇapura in Varendri. This could be an instance of a Brāhmaṇa merchant or of the use of the gotra by a non-Brāhmaṇa.

<sup>120</sup> The Vatsas have the five-ṛṣi pravara of Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya (GPM, p. 81). According to the Āśvalāyana pravara-list, the Jāmadagnya-Vatsas have the above five-ṛṣi pravara, but those who are not Jāmadagnyas have the three-ṛṣi pravara of Bhārgava, Cyāvana, and Āpnavāna (GPM, p. 93). The names of two of these ṛṣis are cited in the above inscription as constituting the donee's anupravara.

<sup>121</sup> The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas have a three-ṛṣi pravara: Vaiśvāmītra, Āghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika (GPM, p. 152). The above inscription cites the name of one of these ṛṣis (Kauśika) as the gotra, another (Aghamarṣaṇa) as the pravara, and the third (Vaiśvāmītra) as the anupravara of three of the donees. As for the five other donees, the names of the pravara-ṛṣis are cited in the inscription as constituting the anupravara of these Brāhmaṇas. (For the pravara of the Vatsas, see n. 120). Two of the ṛṣis' names are given with 'vat' endings. The term anupravara, in this case, evidently has the same connotation as pravara.

<sup>122</sup> The pravara and anupravara names do not match the gotra. For the pravara of the Vatsa gotra, see n. 120.

<sup>123</sup> The Aucathya-Gautamas have a three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgīrasa, Aucathya, Gautama (GPM, p. 105). The above inscription cites the name of one of these ṛṣis (Gautama) as the gotra, another (Aucathya) as the pravara, and a third (Āṅgīrasa) as the anupravara of the donee.

plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 5) record a grant made to bhaṭṭa Keśavarudra of the Bhāradvāja gotra, Āṅgīrasa pravara, and Bārhaspatya anupravara.<sup>124</sup> Bhaṭṭa Lumvādeva of the plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 6) is described as having the Kauṇḍinya gotra, the Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinyat and Maitrā-Vasiṣṭhat pravara and the Maitrāvaruṇat anupravara.<sup>125</sup> The donee of the Ganjam plates of Vidyādharaḥbhañja (no. 8) was Bhaṭṭa Purandara of the Rohita gotra, the Rohita, Aṣṭaka, and Vaiśvāmītra pravaras, and the Viśvāmītravat, Aṣṭakavat and Rohitavat anupravaras.<sup>126</sup> The donee of the plates of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 13) was bhaṭṭa Dāuli of the Bhāradvāja gotra, Āṅgīrasa pravara, and Bārhaspatya anupravara.<sup>127</sup>

The Vedic shoos represented by the beneficiaries of the grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala are as follows: Bahvṛca (one grant), Chandoga-Kauthuma (two grants), Vājasaneyā (two grants), Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva (five grants -- including one with three donees), Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṁdina (one grant), and Taittirīya (two grants)

Four of the inscriptions specify the native place of the Brāhmaṇas, and three of these give the place of residence. Bhaṭṭa Purandara, the donee of the Ganjam plates of Vidyādharaḥbhañja (no. 8), is said to have come from Mammāṇā in Taḍisama viṣaya attached to Varevdhi/Varendhi (Varendri).<sup>128</sup> Bhaṭṭa Ājapāla of the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 11) is described as hailing from a bhaṭṭagrāma (i.e. a Brāhmaṇa village) named Khaḍuvāvallī in Madhyadeśa,<sup>129</sup> and as a resident of a place called Santoṣamādhava. The donee of the Ganjam plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 12) was bhaṭṭaputra Bāppi, who came from Śrīkheḍha in Dakṣiṇāpatha (South India) and was a

<sup>124</sup> The Bhāradvājas have the following pravara: Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja (GPM, p. 113). These are the ṛṣis who are mentioned in connection with the gotra, pravara, and the anupravara of the donee of this inscription

<sup>125</sup> D. C. Sircar ("Two Grants of Bhañja Kings of Vanjulvaka," *EI* 28, pt 6, April 1950 277, ll. 17-18) reads the relevant portion of the text as follows: "Kauṇḍi(ṇḍi)nya-gotrāya Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-K[au]ṇḍi(ṇḍi)nyat Mai[trā]-Vasiṣṭhat pravara Maitrāvaruṇat anupravara." He suggests (ibid., n. 9) that this should be read either as "Kauṇḍinya-Vāsiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-pravarāya" or as "Vāsiṣṭha-pravarāya Maitrāvaruṇ-ānupavarāya." He points out that the occasional use of 't' at the end of the names of the ṛṣis seems to be due to the alternate style of citing the pravaras -- i.e. with the 'vat' endings' (ibid.).

<sup>126</sup> The Rohitāyanās have a three-ṛṣi pravara: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva (GPM, pp 159-60). If the 'Rohita' of the inscription is, however, read as 'Lohita,' the pravara and anupravara names match the gotra. The Lohitas have the following pravara: Vaiśvāmītra, Aṣṭaka, Lauhita (GPM, p 147). The anupravara in this inscription is just a repetition of the pravara, except with the addition of 'vat' endings.

<sup>127</sup> The Bhāradvāja gotra has the following three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja (GPM, p. 113). The inscription cites one of these names as the gotra, another as the pravara, and a third as the anupravara of the donee.

<sup>128</sup> See n. 113.

<sup>129</sup> See n. 96

resident of Oḍijonḡa. Bhaṭṭa Dāuli, the donee of the plates of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 13), came from Vātalaviḍima and was a resident of Kolakhali. Thus, there is evidence in this set of inscriptions of at least three of the Brāhmaṇa donees being immigrants into Orissa.

Some of the Brāhmaṇa names mentioned in this set of inscriptions have the suffixes deva and śarman; many of the names are without any suffix. The names of the donees are often prefixed with the epithet bhaṭṭa. The donees of the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2) describe the eight donees as agnihotṛins. The term agnihotṛin occurs in the plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 6); here it is attached to the name of the father of the donee bhaṭṭa Lumvādeva.

#### The Baripada stone inscriptions

All three of the Baripada inscriptions seem to record endowments to deities.

#### The Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions

Six of the nine Ādi-Bhañja copper plate inscriptions record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas (the other three are secular grants).<sup>130</sup> The Brāhmaṇa donees are in all cases individual Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇas of the Ādi-Bhañja grants are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and the name of their father and/or grandfather. The exception is the Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhañja (no. 5), which only gives the name of the donee and his father, and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja (no. 8), which gives the name of the donee, his gotra, and the name of his father and grandfather. It may be noted that the inscriptions generally indicate the number of ṛṣis that constituted the donee's pravara -- e. g. try-ārṣeya or pañc-ārṣeya. Some of the inscriptions give, additionally, one of the pravara names. Thus, one of the Ādipur plates of Narendrabhañja (no. 2) refers the donee to the Vatsa gotra and the pañc-ārṣeya Jāmadagnya pravara. The donee of the Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja (no. 7) is described as having the Vāsiṣṭha gotra and the Vāsiṣṭha pravara. The beneficiary of the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja (no. 8) had the Śaṇḍilya gotra and the Śaṇḍilya pravara.

Three of the inscriptions indicate the Vedic school to which the Brāhmaṇa donees were affiliated: the donee of the Adipur plate of Narendrabhañja (no. 1) belonged to the Āśvalāyana śākhā of the Bahvṛca caraṇa. The donee of the other Adipur plate (no. 2)

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<sup>130</sup> The actual number of grants to Brāhmaṇas recorded in these six inscriptions is eight, as the two Ādipur plates of Narendrabhañja (nos. 1 and 2) record grants made by Narendrabhañja as well as Raṇabhañja.

belonged to the Bahvṛca śākhā. The donee of the Ukhunda plate of Prthvibhañja (no. 6) was affiliated to the Yajur Veda caraṇa.

The native place of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries is specified in three of the grants, one of these also giving the place of residence of the donee: Bhaṭṭaputra Śi(Śi)tala[deva]śarmman, the donee of the Adipur grant of Narendrabhañja (no. 1), is said to have come from Tilapudraka. Bhaṭṭa D[e\*]vadevadāma, the beneficiary of the other Adipur grant of Narendrabhañja (no. 2), is described as having come from bhaṭṭagrāma (the Brāhmaṇa village) Ālavida.../Allāvadrāha in Odra viṣaya,<sup>131</sup> and as a resident of Rāmaparkaṭi grāma in Khijjiṅga-maṇḍala. Rāmaparkaṭi has been identified with Ramasahi in Kiapir in Joshipur pargana.<sup>132</sup> Bhaṭṭaputra Daṇḍapāṇi, the donee of the Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja (no. 7), is described as hailing from Madhya-deśa.<sup>133</sup>

The suffix śarmman occurs in a few names, but many of the Brāhmaṇa names mentioned in this set of inscriptions have no suffixes. The epithets bhaṭṭa or bhaṭṭaputra occur in several cases.

#### The Jurādā grant of Nettabhañja

The beneficiary of the grant made by Nettabhañja of the Jurādā plates was a Brāhmaṇa named śrī Vā[ppa]nna, son of bhaṭṭa Santoṣa and grandson of bhaṭṭa Guheśvara. This donee is described as a pātra, i. e. a minister,<sup>134</sup> apparently of the king. He is described as having the Vaiśvāmītra gotra and a pañc-ārṣeya (five-ṛṣi) pravara. It may be noted that the Viśvāmitras have, in fact, a three ṛṣi pravara: Vaiśvāmītra, Daivarāta, Audala.<sup>135</sup> Vā[ppa]nna is further said to be a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajur Veda and to have come from Gaṅgavāḍi (in Karnataka).

#### The inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Baudh

Both of the inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Baudh record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas. Three generations of Brāhmaṇas are eulogized in verse in the Baudh grant of Saloṇabhañja. This inscription refers to the donee, one upāsanin<sup>136</sup> Mahādeva, as a logician

<sup>131</sup> See n. 118.

<sup>132</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Grants From Mayurbhanj," p. 158

<sup>133</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>134</sup> Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p. 244. L. 17 of the Jurādā grant of Nettabhañja refers to another 'pātra'-- Yaśodhara -- among the names and titles of persons with whose cognisance the grant was made.

<sup>135</sup> GPM, pp. 150-51.

<sup>136</sup> According to Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary (p. 352), 'upāsanin' is a title or family name of Brāhmaṇas Citrarekha Gupta (The Brahmanas of India a study based on

(tārkika), as one who knows the Vedānta (jñāta-vedānta), as one learned in the Veda (veda-vit), and as a poet (kavi). He is said to be the son of Kṛṣṇa, who is/was learned in the Yajur Veda, who knows/knew the nature of the ātman (ātmavit), and whose mind is/was fixed on brahman (brahma-nyasta-manaskah); and the grandson of Goula, a vipra (Brāhmaṇa)<sup>137</sup> from Madhya-deśa,<sup>138</sup> learned in the śruti, smṛti, and Purāṇa, and belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra. Mahādeva, thus, belonged to a learned Brāhmaṇa family that had migrated to Orissa from Madhya-deśa during the time of the donee's grand-father. The donee of the Baudh grant of Kanakabhañja was Harivaṁsa(śa), the son of Dhanapati and grandson of Arthapati. The donee is described as virtuous, munificent, learned, and the best among Brāhmaṇas (dvija-var-ottamaḥ). The piety and learning of his father and grandfather are also eulogized. His father, Dhanapati, is described as learned, virtuous, and foremost among Brāhmaṇas, and his grandfather Arthapati as foremost among the virtuous. Harivaṁsa(śa) is said to belong to the Parāśara gotra and to have a three-ṛṣi pravara. He is also described as hailing from Hastigrāma in Madhyadeśa.<sup>139</sup> According to Rajaguru and Tripathi, the grant was made for the purpose of Candikāvaraṇa (sic) i.e. the Brāhmaṇa was invited for the recitation of the Candi (Saptasati Candi) before the goddess Candikā.<sup>140</sup>

#### The inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

Both the inscriptions of the Bhañja kings of Kolāḍa record grants of land to the same Brāhmaṇa. The donee of the Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañjadeva was Jagadharaśarmman, described as well-versed in the duties enjoined in the śruti and smṛti, as well as in astrology. Jagadharaśarmman is said to hail from Vapabhūmi grāma in the midst of Thihāra viṣaya. Thihāra has been identified with Tikkarapada in Gumsur district,<sup>141</sup> and Vapabhūmi village with Boppangi in Gumsur taluk.<sup>142</sup> He is said to be a resident of Paṭṭavāḍa pāṭaka attached to Koṇṭarāvaṅga viṣaya. (The headquarters of Koṇṭarāvaṅga viṣaya has been identified with Kotayagada in Chatrapur taluk, eight miles from

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inscriptions, pp. 49-50) suggests that the epithet upāsani may have originally referred to a Brāhmaṇa who maintained the aupāsana or domestic fire.

<sup>137</sup> The word 'vipra' (derived from the root 'vip,' to tremble, shake, etc.) is used to denote a sage, and often applied to Brāhmaṇas in particular (Mon. Will., pp. 972-73).

<sup>138</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>139</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>140</sup> Rajaguru and Tripathy, "Baud Plates of Kanakabhanjadeva," p. 17. Rajaguru and Tripathy also point out that inviting a Brāhmaṇa for this recitation is a practice still followed by the royal family of Orissa in the month of Āśvina during Dasaharā.

<sup>141</sup> This is an identification suggested by R. Krishnamachari in an editorial note to Hiralal's "Four Bhañja Copper-Plate Grants," p. 303

<sup>142</sup> Hiralal, "Four Bhañja Copper-Plate Grants," p. 302.

I Patapatanam).<sup>143</sup> The donee belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra, and had the Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, and Bhāradvāja pravara. He was a student of the Mādhyamīdina śākhā of the Yajur Veda. Jagadhara is described as the son of Dhārādhara, learned in the śruti, smṛti, and astrology, the grandson of the astrologer (jyautiṣika) Śrīdhara, and the great-grandson of Anantakaṇṭha paṇḍita. The references to the Brāhmaṇa donee as well as his ancestors as astrologers is noteworthy; they may have been astrologers attached to the court. The donee of the Antirigam plates of Jayabhāṇjadeva was daivajña<sup>144</sup> śrī Jagadhara, son of paṇḍita Dhārādhara, evidently the same person as the one who benefitted from the grant of Yaśabhaṇja. Here, he is described as belonging to the community of Tākārī Brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeśa<sup>145</sup> and as having come from Paṭavāda pāṭaka in Ko[ṇḍa]rāvaṅga viṣaya in Dakṣiṇa Tosala.<sup>146</sup> The details of his gotra and pravara, as well as the Vedic school he was a student of, correspond to those given in the grant of Yaśabhaṇjadeva.<sup>147</sup>

#### The Bonai plate of Udayavarāha

The Bonai plate of Udayavarāha records an endowment of land to two Brāhmaṇas. One of the donees was bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama, the son of Keśava and grandson of bhaṭṭa Ujola. He is described as having the Parāśara gotra, the Vāsiṣṭha and Śakti pravara, and the Vājasaneyā caraṇa, and is said to come from Konara. The second donee was bhaṭṭa Bachāpā, son of bhaṭṭa Uchāha and grandson of bhaṭṭa Trivikrama. This donee belonged to the Kauśika gotra and had a try-ārṣeya (three-ṛṣi) pravara.

#### The Madras Museum plates of Narendradhavalā

This inscription does not record a royal grant.

#### The Śulkī inscriptions

All ten Śulkī inscriptions record royal endowments of land to individual Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and the name of their father and/or grandfather and native place. The śākhā and/or caraṇa are specified in several inscriptions.

<sup>143</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> This epithet evidently means 'one who knows fate or men's destinies' (*Mon. Will.*, p. 497); it evidently refers to the donee's knowledge of astrology.

<sup>145</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>146</sup> Dakṣiṇa Tosala included modern Puri, as well as parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts.

<sup>147</sup> It may be noted that Jagadhara is the chief donee of the Kapoteswar plates of Aniyāṅkabhīma III. (See Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "More Light on the Family of the Donee in Kapoteswar Plates of Aniyāṅkabhīma III," pp. 43-48.)

Some of the Śulkī inscriptions simply refer to the number of ṛṣi-names constituting the pravara of the donee, while others specify these names. There are a few discrepancies in the gotras and pravaras of the donees. Vāvana or Vṛveṇa, the donee of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4), is said to have the Śāṇḍilya gotra, and the Āsita and Daivala pravara. Śāṇḍilya has been left out of the list.<sup>148</sup> Cāṇḍavacha, the donee of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 5) had the Kāśyapa gotra and the Naidhruva pravara. This pravara is incomplete.<sup>149</sup> There is a difference of opinion concerning the beneficiary of another Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 6). According to Hara Prasad Shastri, the grant was made in favour of Citradikṣita Govarahuti, who had the Yajñādha-Parāśara gotra and the Trigargya pravara,<sup>150</sup> while according to A. Banerji-Sastri, the donee was one Dhirivvaraṅgatiśarman of the Śuṅga pravara.<sup>151</sup> It may be pointed out that there is no gotra by the name of Yajñādha-Parāśara, nor a pravara by the name of Trigargya.<sup>152</sup> The fault probably lies either with the scribe of the inscription or with Shastri's reading of its text. According to Manmohan Chakravarti's reading, the donee of the Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 9) was Madhusodan, who belonged to the Vatsa gotra and the Yaśvārīśaya pravara.<sup>153</sup> There is no gotra by the name of Yaśvārīśaya. Again, this seems to be a case of careless incising or faulty reading of the text of the inscription.<sup>154</sup>

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Śulkī grants are as follows: Chandoga-Kauthuma (one grant),<sup>155</sup> Yajur Veda (one grant), Vājasaneyya (one grant),<sup>156</sup> Kāṇva (one grant), and Mādhyamīdina (two grants).

<sup>148</sup> The Śāṇḍilyas can have the following pravara. Śāṇḍilya, Āsita, Daivala (GPM, p. 161).

<sup>149</sup> The Baudhāyana list gives the pravara of the Naidhruva-Kāśyapas as Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva (GPM, p. 160)

<sup>150</sup> Hara Prasad Shastri, "Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," p. 415, ll. 23-24

<sup>151</sup> Banerji-Sastri, "Dhenkānāl Grants of Ranastambha and Jayastambha," p. 323, ll. 24, 25

<sup>152</sup> Even if the gotra is taken as Parāśara, and the pravara as Gārgya, the gotra and pravara do not match: the Parāśaras have the pravara of Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, Parāśarya (GPM, p. 176)

<sup>153</sup> Man Mohan Chakravarti, "Two copper-plate inscriptions of Kulastambha-deva, an Eastern Cālukya King," JASB 64, pt. 1 (1895): 126-7.

<sup>154</sup> It may be suggested that what has been read as 'Trigārgya' in inscription no. 6 and as 'Yaśvārīśaya' in no. 9, may actually be 'try-ārṣeya' and 'pañc-ārṣeya' respectively.

<sup>155</sup> The donee of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4) came from Rāḍha. D. C. Sircar ("Dominions of the Śulkis of Orissa," pp. 47-48) points out that the present-day Rāḍhiya Brāhmanas all claim to be affiliated to the Sāma Veda.

<sup>156</sup> This is Hara Prasad Shastri's reading ("Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," p. 398, l. 16). According to A. Banerji-Sastri's version of the text of ll. 16-17 of the inscription in question ("Dhenkanal Grants of Ranastambha and Jayastambha," p. 319), the donee is described as a student of the Vājasaneyya, Kāṇva, and Bhṛgu recensions. It may be pointed out that there is no recension of the Veda by the name of Bhṛgu.

Eight of the Śulkī grants indicate the native place of the donee. Paucuka, the donee of the grant of Raṇastambhadeva (no. 2), is described as having come from Tillaṅga/Tellaṅgala bhaṭṭagrāma (i. e. a Brāhmaṇa village) in Rāḍha maṇḍala.<sup>157</sup> The donee of the Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha (no. 3) was bhaṭṭaputra Visva(śva)rūpa from Maṅgalavilā. The beneficiary of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4), Vāvana/Vṛveṇa, came from Kolāṅca.<sup>158</sup> Cāṇḍavacha, the donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha (no. 5), came from Mutāvaśu (Mutāvasu).<sup>159</sup> The donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha (no. 6) was Citradikṣita Govarahuti or Dhirivvararaṅgatiśarman from Hastipada.<sup>160</sup> The donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha (no. 7) was bhaṭṭa Vṛ(Bṛ)haspati from Nidhatir (Nidhati ?) grāma in Madhyadesa(śa).<sup>161</sup> The donee of the Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 9) may have come from Atidhā.<sup>162</sup> Bhaṭṭaputra Velluka of the Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 10) hailed from Āviddhā.

Some of the Śulkī inscriptions give some additional descriptive material about the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the royal grants. The Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha (no. 1) describes Sudarśanadeva as one who is constantly engaged in making oblations (homa), recitation of the Veda or study (svādhyāya), the repeated recitation of prayers or passages from the scriptures (japa), austerities or meditation (tapas), and mental control (niyama). He is further characterized as one whose mind is intent upon the performance of acts ordained in the Vedas (ved-odita-kriyā) and devoted to the worship of men, gods, the twice-born, elders, and guests. In the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4), bhaṭṭaputra Nirvāna, the father of the donee Vāvana/Vṛveṇa, is described as well-versed in the knowledge of the three Vedas (trayī vidyā). The donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha (no. 6) as well as the donee's father are given the epithet 'citra-dikṣita,' which is translated as 'well-initiated'

<sup>157</sup> See n. 72

<sup>158</sup> See n. 98.

<sup>159</sup> Perhaps this is a mistake for Muktāvastu. The Talcher plates of Gayāḍatunga locate Mūthāutha (Muktāvastu) in Varendra maṇḍala (in Bengal), and the Kalibhana plates of Somavamśi Mahābhavagupta locate Muktāvathi (Muktāvastu) in Śrāvastu. The village in question has been variously located by different scholars in Madhyadeśa, Bengal, or Assam (see Swati Dutta, *Migrant Brāhmanas in Northern India*, p. 22).

<sup>160</sup> Shastri reads Hastipada, which seems to be an incorrect reading. According to D. C. Sircar and P. C. Rath ("Kālibhanā Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Somavamśi King Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya," *IHQ* 20, 1944: 241), the identification of Hastipada is uncertain, but this place-name is reminiscent of the celebrated Hastigrāma near Vaiśālī (modern Bihar) in Muzaffarpur district in north Bihar.

<sup>161</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>162</sup> Binayak Misra (*Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 29) identifies Athidhā with Ayodhyā.



by A. Banerji-Sastri.<sup>163</sup> Bhaṭṭa Vṛ(Bṛ)haspati, the beneficiary of the Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha (no. 7), is described as a parama-vaiṣṇava, in addition to being identified by his gotra, pravara, caraṇa (Yajur Veda), śākhā (Mādhyaṁdina), and ancestry. The donee of the Hindol plate of Kulastambha (no. 8) was an agnihotrin, and is described as one who is intent on the recitation and repetition of sacred works, punty, performing sacrifices (for others), self-restraint, and religious austerities (japa-svādhyāya-śauca-yājana-niyama-tapo-bhāvit-ātman) and as a person endowed with good qualities and virtuous conduct (śīla-guṇa-samudācāra-yukta).

The Brāhmaṇa name suffixes that occur in the Śulki grants are deva and svāmin. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are invariably prefixed with 'bhaṭṭa' or 'bhaṭṭaputra.'

### The Tuṅga inscriptions

All five Tuṅga inscriptions record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas. Three of these were made to individual Brāhmaṇas, and two to more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 2) which records a grant to three Brāhmaṇas and the Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 3), which records an endowment made to twenty-two Brāhmaṇas (some of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of this inscription are groups of brothers).

The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the Tuṅga endowments are identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and the name of their father and/or grandfather. The native place and/or place of residence is specified in all but one inscription (no. 4). The Vedic school of the Brāhmaṇa donees is indicated only in two inscriptions.

The anupravara of the donee appears in one inscription -- the Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatūṅga (no. 5). Bhaṭṭa Isāna, the donee, is here described as belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra, and as having the Āvatsāra pravara,<sup>164</sup> and the Naidhruva anupravara.

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Tuṅga grants are as follows: Chandoga-Kauthuma (one grant) and Kāṇva (one grant).<sup>165</sup>

The Tuṅga grants provide information on the native place and place of residence of many of the donees. Bhaṭṭa Bhāinādeinṛva(deva), the donee of the Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 1), is described as belonging to a traivedya family (i. e. a family learned in the three Vedas) of a place called Śrīcchātra. The other Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no.

<sup>163</sup> Banerji-Sastri, "Dhenkānāl Grants of Ranastambha and Jayastambha," p. 325.

<sup>164</sup> A. K. Rath ("The Khargaprasāda Copper Plate of Vinītatūṅga," p. 254, l. 25 and n. 8) thinks that the pravara should be read as Vatsa, but the gotra and anupravara match with Āvatsāra.

<sup>165</sup> Two of the three donees of this grant are specifically described as belonging to this gotra, though it is quite likely that the third donee belonged to it also.

2) specifies the native place as well as place of residence of two of its three donees. One of them was bhaṭṭaputra Devaśarman from Mūthāutha bhaṭṭagrāma (a Brāhmaṇa village) in Varendra maṇḍala,<sup>166</sup> a resident of Sāvira bhaṭṭagrāma in Oḍra viṣaya.<sup>167</sup> The other was bhaṭṭaputra Vāsudeva from Sāvathi (Śrāvasti), a resident of Yamagarta-maṇḍala. The third donee may also have been a resident of Yamagarta-maṇḍala, as he may have been a son of the second donee. Mūthāuthā has been identified with Muktavastu (mentioned as the home of donees in many royal charters),<sup>168</sup> while Sāvathi (Śrāvasti) may refer to the area around Baigram in the Bogra district of north Bengal;<sup>169</sup> thus both donees seem to have been Brāhmaṇas of north Bengal settled in Orissa. Yamagarta has been identified by B. Misra with Jamagadia in the old Angul State.<sup>170</sup> The beneficiaries of the Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 3) number twenty-two. Of these, the one who received foremost mention was bhaṭṭaputra Dādo, who is said to have come from Ahichatra (Ahicchatra, in modern Uttar Pradesh) and was a resident of Kūruvā bhaṭṭagrāma in Odra viṣaya.<sup>171</sup> It is possible, but not certain, that these details apply to the other donees of this grant as well. The Kharagaprasada plate of Vinītatūṅga (no. 5) records a grant to bhaṭṭa Iśāna, described as hailing from Poḍi and as a resident of Koṭamala. Poḍi has been identified with Puṇḍi in Srikakulam district on the Howrah-Madras railway line.<sup>172</sup>

The suffixes of Brāhmaṇa names that occur in the Tuṅga grants are deva, śarman, ojhā,<sup>173</sup> and ghoṣa; many of the names have no suffixes. The father of two of the donees of the Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 3) has 'dīkṣita' attached to his name. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are often preceeded with the epithet bhaṭṭa or bhaṭṭaputra.

#### The Dhenkanal plate of Jayasinha

The beneficiaries of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayasinha were two Brāhmaṇas named Mahendrasvāmin and Skandasvāmin. They are described as belonging to the Autathya (Aucathya) gotra, and Bahvṛca carana.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>166</sup> See n. 113.

<sup>167</sup> See p. 118.

<sup>168</sup> Sircar, "Grants of Gayadatunga," p. 98. On Muktvastu, see n. 159.

<sup>169</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>170</sup> Binayak Misra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 40.

<sup>171</sup> See n. 118.

<sup>172</sup> A. K. Rath, "The Khargaprasāda Copper Plate of Vinītatūṅga," p. 247.

<sup>173</sup> Ojhā was apparently derived from the title upādhyāya.

<sup>174</sup> This is the reading of Hara Prasad Shastri ("Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," p. 418, l. 6). According to Binayak Misra (Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 25), the donee belonged to the Vājasaneyā carana.

### The inscriptions of the Nandodbhavas

Five of the six grants of the Nandodbhava kings record endowments to Brāhmaṇas (the remaining one being a secular grant to a Kāyastha, probably a sandhivigrahika). Of these, four inscriptions record grants made to individual Brāhmaṇas, while one inscription -- the Tamra plate of Devānandadeva (no. 4) -- records an endowment made in favour of three Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇa donees of the Tuṅga copper plate grants are identified usually by their name, gotra, pravara, the name of their father and grandfather, and in some cases, by Vedic school, native place and place of residence as well.

It may be noted that the names of the pravara-ṛṣis are only specified in one of the Talcher plates of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 1). The other inscriptions simply indicate the number of ṛṣis that constituted the donee's pravara (try-ārṣya or pañc-ārṣeya). There is one discrepancy in the matter of the gotra and pravara of a donee. Kuladevapāla bhaṭṭa, the donee of the Jurerpur plate of Devānadadeva (no. 2), is said to have the Ulūka gotra and a pañc-ārṣeya pravara. The Ulūkas, however, have a three-ṛṣi pravara -- Vaiśvāmītra, Daivarāta, and Audala.<sup>175</sup> The donee of the Jayapura or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) is described as having the Bṛhaspati gotra. The Vedic school to which the Brāhmaṇas were affiliated is specified in one (no. 1) of the six Nandodbhava inscriptions. The only school referred to is the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajur Veda (possibly two grants).<sup>176</sup>

Four of the inscriptions indicate the native place, and three of these the place of residence, of the Brāhmaṇas. Vasma(Brahma?)ddharabhāṭa(bhaṭṭa), the donee of the Baripada Museum plate of Devānandadeva (no. 1), is described as hailing from Puṇḍavaraddhana (Puṇḍravarddhana)<sup>177</sup> and as belonging to Jamva(ba)-Nārāyaṇapura, which appears to have been a Brāhmaṇa settlement. The donees of the Jurerpur plate of Devānandadeva (no. 2) was Kuladevapāla Bhaṭṭa, who came from Rāḍha<sup>178</sup> and was a resident of a place, the name of which is not clear in the inscription (it ends in 'pura'). The three donees of the Tamra plate of Devānandadeva (no. 4) were Brāhmaṇas from

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<sup>175</sup> GPM, p. 149.

<sup>176</sup> According to Satyanarayan Rajaguru's summary of the contents of this inscription ("Tamra Plate of Devanandadeva," pp. 115-20), the donees of this grant were students of the Yajur Veda. There is no reference to this, however, in the text of the inscription as given by Rajaguru himself.

<sup>177</sup> Puṇḍravardhana was a geographical term denoting the area of north Bengal. In the seventh century, it included the Malda, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, and portions of Bogra and Rangpur districts lying to the west of the Karatoya river (Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 105-6). In the early medieval period, Puṇḍravardhana was an important province of the Pāla kings from the time of Dharmapāla to Madanapāla, and is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Candras, Varmans, and Senas (*ibid.*, p. 105).

<sup>178</sup> See n. 160.

Hastipada.<sup>179</sup> The Jayapura or Tamul plate of Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) records an endowment to a Brāhmaṇa whose name may have been Bāmana, who came from Suparvatyopeta-Khasyavaṇa (?) and was a resident of Jāmvūvādā.

The Baripada Museum plates of Devānandadeva (no. 1) describe the donee as a hotā (i.e. hotṛ)<sup>180</sup> and as 'ricavāvasa-vat dityadhavya.'<sup>181</sup> The donee as well as the father of the donee in the Tamra plate of Devānandadeva (no. 4) are referred to as dīkṣitas.

The names of the Brāhmaṇas are in some cases prefixed with the epithet bhaṭṭaputra or followed by bhaṭṭa.

### The Hindol plate of Vira-Pracandadeva

The Hindol plate of Vira-Pracandadeva records an endowment to three Brāhmaṇas - bhaṭṭaputra Duvaṇandi(nandi), Thiraṇandi(nandi) and Bhagaṇandi(nandi). The three donees are described as sons of bhaṭṭaputra Raviṇandi(nandi). Rajaguru reads "Vacā(tsā)ra-Naidhruva" in line 28 and suggests that the donees may have had the Vatsa gotra and had the Naidhruva pravara.<sup>182</sup> It may be noted, however, that this gotra and pravara do not match.<sup>183</sup> They are said to belong to the Yajur Veda carana and to have come from a Brāhmaṇa village (bhaṭṭagrāma) in Varaindri (Varendri).<sup>184</sup>

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179 The name of the place of residence of the donees also seem to be indicated in the inscription, but cannot be made out: the reading of the relevant word in l. 30 is "Ja(ya)jvātūāya," which might be a mistake for "...vāstavyāya" On Hastipada or Hasupāda, see n. 160.

180 In the sacrificial context, the hotṛ is the reciter par excellence, one of the officiants in charge of reciting the formulae or hymns taken from the Ṛg Veda, he is also the agent of every act in the sacrifice whose author is not specified. The word hotṛ can also designate an officiant in the sacrifice in general (Renou, Vocabulaire du Rituel Védique, pp. 175-76)

181 The meaning of this latter epithet is not clear

182 Rajaguru, "Hindol Plate of Vira Prachandadeva of Kulika-Vamśa," p. 7

183 The Vatsas have a five-ṛṣi pravara -- Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya (GPM, p. 81). According to the Āśvalāyana list (quoted in the GMP, p. 93), the Jāmadagnya-Vatsas have the above five-ṛṣi pravara, but those who are not Jāmadagnyas have Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna

184 See n. 113.

### The Somavamśi inscriptions

Twenty-four of the Somavamśi inscriptions record royal grants to Brāhmaṇas.<sup>185</sup> Of these, twenty-one were made in favour of individual Brāhmaṇas and three to more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (no. 3), which record a grant to four Brāhmaṇas, another set of Patna plates of the same king (no. 4), which record a grant to two Brāhmaṇas, and the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (no. 22), which record a benefaction made in favour of two Brāhmaṇas.

The Somavamśi land grant charters usually identify the Brāhmaṇa donees by their name, gotra, pravara, Vedic school, the name of the father and/or grandfather, native place, and place of residence.

Four inscriptions reveal Brāhmaṇas whose gotra and pravara do not match. The donee of the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) was bhaṭṭaputra sa(sva)rodayī śrī Yaśakara of the Parāśara gotra and the Ātreya pravara. The Parāśara gotra actually has the pravara of Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, and Pārāśarya.<sup>186</sup> The donee of the Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta (no. 24) was bhaṭṭaputra śrī Nārāyaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya gotra and the Maitrāvaruṇa pravara. The Kauṇḍinya gotra may have the pravara of Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, and Bhāradvāja, or Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, and Kauṇḍinya.<sup>187</sup> The donee of the Sonpur plates of the time of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 30) was bhaṭṭa Udayakarasa(śa)mma(rmma)n who had the Kumārahārīta gotra and a five-ṛṣi pravara. The donee of the stray plate found at Sonpur (no. 31) was bhaṭṭaputra Ābhābhakaraśra(śa)mma(rmma)n, apparently the son of Udayakaraśarmman (of no. 30), with the same gotra and pravara details as his father. The Kumārahārīta gotra does not appear in the gotra lists. There is a Hārīta gotra which, however, has a three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgīrasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva; or Māndhātṛa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Of the remaining inscriptions, no. 33 records a grant to a Śiva temple; no. 27 records the construction of a Śaiva temple by the mother of the king Udyotakeśarī; no. 7 records a royal grant made to the merchants' association of Kamalavana, which in turn gifted the land to two temples; no. 23, which may not be a royal inscription, records certain Jain benefactions; no. 26 seems to record a grant made to a courtesan; the rest of the inscriptions record private Buddhist or Jain benefactions made during the reigns of Somavamśi kings. One of the royal grants made in favour of Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 30), was made at the request of nāyaka śrī Mahipati and bhaṭṭa śrī Aniruddha, both these individuals seem to have shared the titles of mahāsandhivigrahika and rāṇaka.

<sup>186</sup> GPM, p. 176.

<sup>187</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 113, 180.

<sup>188</sup> *ibid.*, p. 128.

Two of the inscriptions mention the anupravara of the beneficiaries. These are the Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) and the Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 6). The former refers to four Brāhmaṇa donees, specifying the anupravara of three of them: one of the donees was Dāmāka, of the Kautsa gotra, the Āṅgīrasa, Āmbarīṣa, and Yauvanāśva pravara, and the Yauvanāśvavat, Āmbarīśavat, Āṅgīrasavat anupravara,<sup>189</sup> another (whose name appears to have been inadvertently omitted), is said to belong to the Gautama gotra, to have the Āṅgīrasa pravara, and the Bārhaspatya anupravara;<sup>190</sup> a third donee, bhaṭṭaputra Vāsū(su)deva, had the Kṛṣṇātreya gotra, the Ārcanānasa pravara, and the Śyāvāśvana anupravara,<sup>191</sup> a fourth donee was Koṇḍadeva of the Agastī gotra, the Idhmavāha pravara, and the Cyāvana anupravara.<sup>192</sup> The donee of the Gaintala plates, bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Tikū, belonged to Vatsa gotra, had the Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya pravara, and the Jāmadagnya, Aurva, Āpnavāna, Cyāvana, and Bhārgava anupravara.<sup>193</sup>

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Somavamśi grants are as follows: Bahvrca (one grant), Rg Veda (two grants), Chandoga (one grant); Chandoga-Kauthuma (two grants), Kauthuma (one grant), Vājasaneyā (two grants), Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṁdina (four grants), Mādhyaṁdina-Kāṇva (two grants), Kāṇva (four grants -- one with two donees); Gautama (two grants); Maitrāyaṇīya (one grant).

The information on the native place and the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇas is as follows: The donee of the Vakrantentalī plates of Mahābhavagupta I (no. 1) was bhaṭṭaputra Jātarūpa, who came from Rādhāphamvālikandara and was a resident of

189 The text reads: "Kaucch(ṣa)-gotrah Angīrasa-Varṣa-Yo(Yau)vanāśva-pravarah Yūvanaśvad-Amvarīśad-Āṅgīra-ānupravara" (J. F. Fleet, "Records of the Somavamśi Kings of Katak," *EI* 3, 1894-95 342, II 10-11). The Kautsas have the pravara indicated in this inscription (See *GPM*, pp 121-22). The anupravara given for this donee in the inscription is the pravara list in reverse order, with the addition of 'vat' suffixes.

190 Bārhaspatya does not figure among the pravara-ṛsis of the Gautama gotra except in the Āśvalāyana list (as quoted in the *GPM*, p. 108). The latter list includes the Rkṣas in the Gautama gaṇa and gives the pravara of the Rkṣas as Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, and Mātavacasa. Even so, the gotra and pravara of the donee do not match.

191 The Kṛṣṇātreyas have the following pravara: Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva (*GPM*, pp 139-40).

192 According to some pravara lists (e. g. that of Baudhāyana quoted in the *GPM*, p 188), the Agastī gotra has the following pravara. Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aṇḍhamavāha, Āpastamba (quoted in *GPM*, p. 189) gives the alternative of the one-ṛṣi pravara of Āgastya. Āśvalāyana (quoted in the *GPM*, p. 192) gives the alternative of Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha. The *Matsya Purāṇa* list (quoted in the *GPM*, p 192) gives for the Agastis the pravara of Agastya, Mahendra, Mayobhuva.

193 The Vatsas have the pravara indicated in the inscription (see *GPM*, pp. 79-81). The anupravara given in the inscription apparently consists of an enumeration of the pravara-ṛsis in the reverse order.

Merāṇḍā. Bhaṭṭaputra śrī Govinda, the donee of the Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (no. 2), came from Hastipada<sup>194</sup> and was resident of Jambu grāma. The beneficiaries of the Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) had the following background: bhaṭṭaputra Dāmāka came from Pampāsarasi(sī) and was a resident of Leiśṅga (identified with Loisinga village in Bolangir district<sup>195</sup>); the second donee (whose name is not given) came from Oḍayaśṅgā and was a resident of Khaṇḍakṣetra;<sup>196</sup> bhaṭṭaputra Vāsū(su)deva came from Koṅkaledḍa and was a resident of Lipatuṅga; the fourth donee, Koṇḍadeva, came from Kaliṅga<sup>197</sup> and was a resident of Pampāsarasi(sī).<sup>198</sup> The two donees of the Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 4) were bhaṭṭaputra śrī Keśava and Apya, both of whom came from Kommāpira and resided in Loiśṅgā.<sup>199</sup> Bhaṭṭaputra śrī Sānthakara, the donee of the Nagpur Museum plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (no. 5), came from Puruṣamaṇḍapa grāma in Oḍra deśa<sup>200</sup> and was resident of Murujuṅga grāma. Bhaṭṭaputra śrī Tikū of the Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (no. 6) is described as having come from Śāluvi grāma in Madhya-deśa<sup>201</sup> and as a resident of Lapusoḍḍā grāma in Kosala deśa.<sup>202</sup> The donee of the Kapāleśvara and the two sets of Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta (nos. 8, 9, 10) was bhaṭṭa śrī mahattama Sādhāraṇa, who hailed from Ṭtakārī (Ṭakārī)<sup>203</sup> and was a resident of Turvunnā in Kośala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kośala). Bhaṭṭaputra śrī Devu, donee of the Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 11), came from Muktāvathi grāma in Śrāvastī<sup>204</sup> and is described as a resident of Añjaṇi grāma as well as 'sadā-kaṭaka-vāstavya' (always residing in the capital),<sup>205</sup> the latter epithet apparently indicating his association with the court. Śrī Kāko of the Orissa State

<sup>194</sup> According to Sircar and Rath ("Kālibhanā Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Somavarṁśī King Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya," p. 241), the identification of Hastipada is uncertain, but this place-name is reminiscent of the celebrated Hastigrāma near Vaiśālī (modern Besarh in Muzaffarpur district in north Bihar).

<sup>195</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 111, n. 3.

<sup>196</sup> The word khaṇḍakṣetra also means a plot of land.

<sup>197</sup> On Kaliṅga, see chap. 1, n. 20.

<sup>198</sup> This is the place whence the donee of the Vakrantentali plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 1) came.

<sup>199</sup> This seems to be the same place where one of the donees of the Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) resided.

<sup>200</sup> See n. 118.

<sup>201</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>202</sup> The reference is probably to Dakṣiṇa Kosala (corresponding to the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region), which was also the homeland of the Somavarṁśīs.

<sup>203</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>204</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>205</sup> 'Kaṭaka' may refer to the (royal) camp or to the capital (Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 151).

Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 12) came from Likhāḍiyā grāma in Śrāvasthi (Śrāvasti)<sup>206</sup> and is also described as 'sadā-kaṭaka-vāstavya' (always residing in the capital). The donee of the Balangir plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 13) was Kāmadeva, who hailed from Mādhvāla and was resident of Jalajadḍa in Kosala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). Śrī Śaṅkhaṇī(ṇi) of the Cuttack plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 14) came from Śrīvalla grāma in Madhyadeśa<sup>207</sup> and was a resident of śrī Śilābhañjapāṭi in Oḍra deśa.<sup>208</sup> He is also said to have the 'Takkāra-pūrvva-Bhāradvāja-gotra.'<sup>209</sup> The beneficiary of the Nibinna plates of Mahāśivagupta (no. 15) was śrī Puṇḍari(ri)kasa(śa)rmman dīkṣita, who came from Bhaṭṭa[pa]roli and was a resident of Marameṇḍā grāma in Kosala (i. e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). Bhaṭṭa śrī Mahodadhi, the donee of the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta of the year 24 and 28 (no. 16, 17), came from Kāsili in Śrāvasthi maṇḍala<sup>210</sup> and was a resident of Antaraḍi in Lāvaḍā viṣaya. The donee of the Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha (no. 18) was Rāṇaka śrī Rāccho, apparently a Brāhmaṇa from Kāsillī bhaṭṭagrāma in Śrāvasthi maṇḍala<sup>211</sup> and a resident of Siṅgoā grāma in Devībhoga viṣaya in Kosala (i. e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). The beneficiary of the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 19) was a bhaṭṭa-brāhmaṇa (no name given) who came from Madhura in Madhya-deśa<sup>212</sup> and was a resident of Ullakheṭa. Ullakheṭa has been tentatively identified with Ulakhara village in the old Sarangarh Feudatory State, about twenty miles west of Liñjira.<sup>213</sup> The donee of the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of the Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) was bhaṭṭaputra sa(sva)rodayī śrī Yaśakara, who came from Hastigrāma in Madhyadeśa.<sup>214</sup> The donees of the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (no. 22) were two brothers, one of whom, śrī Śaṅkaraśarmman, is described as having come from Palāsa grāma in Tirabhukti (identified with Tirhut in Bihar<sup>215</sup>). Bhaṭṭaputra śrī Nārāyaṇa, donee of the Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta (no. 24), is said to have come from Hastipada.<sup>216</sup> The donee of the

<sup>206</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>207</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>208</sup> See n. 118.

<sup>209</sup> Fleet, "Records of the Somavaṃśi Kings of Katak," p. 353, ll. 33-34. Fleet (ibid., p. 354, n. 14) suggests that this may indicate that the donee belonged to a branch of the Bhāradvāja gotra which was formerly settled at Takkāra.

<sup>210</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>211</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>212</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>213</sup> Pandeya, "The Mahakosala Historical Society's Plates of Mahābhavaguptarajadeva," p. 136.

<sup>214</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>215</sup> Binayak Misra, "Narasinghpur Charter of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV," p. 4.

<sup>216</sup> See n. 160.



Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30) was bhaṭṭa Udayakaraśa(śa)mman, who came from Mahuvāli in Sāvatha (Śrāvasti) maṇḍala<sup>217</sup> and was a resident of Kamalapura. The stray plate of a Somavarmśi grant found at Sonpur (no. 31) records an endowment to bhaṭṭaputra Ābhābhakaraśa(śa)mman who, like the donee of no. 30, came from Mahuvāli in Sāvatha (Śrāvasti) maṇḍala and was, as was he, a resident of Kamalapura.

An examination of the inscriptions yields some additional information on the Brāhmaṇa donees. Sādhāraṇa, the donee of the Kapāleśvara, and the two sets of Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta (nos. 8, 9, 10) has the title 'mahattama'.<sup>218</sup> Lines 37-42 of these three inscriptions, lines 48-51 of the Gaintala plates (no. 6) and lines 44-48 of the Sonpur plates (no. 7) of the same king eulogize one of the king's ministers named Sādhāraṇa, who seems to be no other than the beneficiary of the three above-mentioned grants. This Brāhmaṇa is described in these inscriptions as one whose intellect has been clarified by his knowledge of all the artha-śāstras and the smṛti, and one who is possessed of great splendour by virtue of his being a veritable 'sura-guru' (preceptor of the gods, i. e. Brhaspati) in his knowledge of the Veda, Vedānta, Śikṣā, Kalpa, and Itihāsa. Thus, Sādhāraṇa (who originally came from Takārī) was a Brāhmaṇa who occupied a prominent administrative position in the Somavarmśi court and was also a Brāhmaṇa who came to accumulate a large landed estate as a result of royal endowments made to him. The donee of the Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (no. 11), bhaṭṭaputra śrī Devu, is described as a kāladeśī. This epithet suggests that he may have been an astrologer who indicated auspicious and inauspicious times, and may have been associated with the royal court in this capacity (since he is also described as 'sadā-kaṭaka-vāstavya' i. e. one always residing in the capital). Śrī Puṇḍari(ri)kasa(śa)mman, the donee of the Nibinnā plates of Mahāśivagupta (no. 15), bears the epithet of dīkṣita. Bhaṭṭa śrī Mahodadhi was the beneficiary of the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta of the year 24 and 28 (no. 16 & 17), indicating the expansion of this particular Brāhmaṇa's landed estate. Rācco, the donee of the Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha (no. 18), who from the description contained in the inscription (the specification of gotra, pravara, caraṇa, śākhā, and the epithet 'bhaṭṭa' prefixed to the names of his grandfather Parameśvara and father Vasiṣṭha)

<sup>217</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>218</sup> Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary (p. 190) suggests that the term 'mahattama' may refer to a village headman. This does not seem to be the meaning here as the donee was apparently associated with the royal court.

was a Brāhmaṇa, bears the title of rāṇaka.<sup>219</sup> Śrī Abhimanyu, the donee of the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha (no. 20), whose gotra and pravara are mentioned in the inscription, also bears the title of rāṇa.<sup>220</sup> These seem to be Brāhmaṇas who occupied an important political position in relation to the royal court. The donee of the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) has the epithet 'sa(sva)rodayī' (the meaning of which is not clear). Bhaṭṭaputra Ābhābhkaraśra(śa)mma(rmma)n, the donee of the stray plate found at Sonapur (no. 31) was evidently the son of bhaṭṭa Udayakarasa(śa)mma(rmma)n, the donee of the Sonapur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva, indicating the expansion of the landed estate of this particular Brāhmaṇa family.

Most of the names of Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Somavamśī inscriptions do not have standard brahmanical suffixes; in a few cases, however, the suffixes deva and śarmman do occur. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are generally preceded by the epithet bhaṭṭa or bhaṭṭaputra.

#### South and north Orissa

##### The inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅga (and their feudatories) (inscriptions no. 41-77)

Only five of the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅga kings record grants to donees who can be definitely identified as Brāhmaṇas. The rest of the Gaṅga inscriptions record endowments to temples, including the endowment of perpetual lamps, made by the kings, members of the royal family, as well as nāyakas<sup>221</sup> and private individuals on the one hand, and secular royal grants made by the Gaṅga kings to nāyakas on the other. The Simhupura plates of Dharmakhedi (no. 43), the Kadamba feudatory of Gaṅga king Devendravarman, record a grant to two brothers (probably actually cousins) named nāyaka Dudurāvalakam and nāyaka Cāmaṇḍakam. These two nāyakas are said to belong to the Vatsa gotra and to have come from Sālivaṇa-Dadapura.<sup>222</sup> These are not typical Brāhmaṇa donees, it is not clear whether they were Brāhmaṇa nāyakas or whether this is a case of the use of the gotra identification by non-Brāhmaṇas.

<sup>219</sup> 'Rāṇaka' was a title frequently used by feudatory rulers. See Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p. 276.

<sup>220</sup> This probably has the same meaning as 'rāṇaka.'

<sup>221</sup> Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary (p. 214) gives several meanings of the term 'nāyaka.' These include a royal officer; ruling chief; the head of ten villages, a subordinate ruler; a general.

<sup>222</sup> Rajaguru identifies Sālivaṇa of this inscription with the Śālivaṇa mentioned in the Ayodhyā kāṇḍa (sarga 71) of the Rāmāyana as lying to the west of Ayodhyā, between Ayodhyā and Kaliṅganagara (Satyanarayana Rajaguru, "Simhupura Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba King Dharmakhedi," JAHRS 3, 1928-29: 175.

All the imperial Gaṅga endowments to Brāhmaṇas were made to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The smallest number of beneficiaries are those of the Chicacole plates of Rājarāja I (no. 58), while the rest of the grants were very large ones -- to five hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta -- no. 53), three hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I Devendravarman -- no. 57), three hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Kornī plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga -- no. 62), and an additional grant to three hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Kornī plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga -- no. 65). Mention may also be made of the Chikkalavalasa plates of Vajrahasta (no. 50), which record a royal grant to a merchant who made over most of the land to three hundred Brāhmaṇas headed by Māpaya nāyaka.<sup>223</sup>

The beneficiaries of the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta (no. 53) were five hundred learned Brāhmaṇas, described as engaged in the six acts -- yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, (dāna),<sup>224</sup> and pratigraha. The inscription further states that two hundred units of land yielding two hundred murakas (i. e. murajas) of grain were given to Koṭṣvaradeva (apparently a deity) for bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), naivedya (food offerings), dīpa (lamps), pūjā (worship), etc., and so that the repairs of what was broken in the temple should be effected without fail by the Brāhmaṇas living there.<sup>225</sup> If it may be supposed that this reference is to the three hundred Brāhmaṇas mentioned before, we have here evidence of a large royal endowment made to Brāhmaṇas, who apart from being presented as fulfilling the classic six duties enjoined on Brāhmaṇas by the Dharmaśāstras, were associated with a Śaiva temple establishment.

The donees of the Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I Devendravarman (no. 57) were three hundred Brāhmaṇas. These Brāhmaṇas are described as belonging to the Ātreya gotra and as having the Śyāvāśva-try-ārṣeya pravara. This seems to mean that they had three

<sup>223</sup> The donees of Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta (no. 46) were the following: Irugana śrī Mānāditya-Cotta of the Kāśyapa gotra, grandson of Cotta-Vādayarāja from Pettakallu and son of śrī Mānāditya-Cotta who was in turn the son of Rūpadevī of the Vaiḍumba family; and Vira-Bhūriśrava, described as one who stayed away from the women of others and whose mind was fixed on truthfulness. The first donee was apparently a relative of the king, as Vajrahasta's mother, Vinayamahādevī, is known to have belonged to the Vaiḍumba family (See, for instance, Konow, "Narasapatam Plates of Vajrahasta III; Saka Samvat 967," p. 150, vv. 7-8). The mention of the gotra of this donee, may indicate his Brāhmaṇa status, or may be an instance of the use of the gotra by a non-Brāhmaṇa.

<sup>224</sup> This word seem to have been inadvertently omitted.

<sup>225</sup> According to Sten Konow ("Madras Museum Plates of Vajrahasta III; Saka Samvat 984," *El* 9, 1907-08 95, n. 2), Koṭṣvara was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaraceru, the gift village.

pravaras including Śyāvāśva.<sup>226</sup> They are further said to have been affiliated to the Chandoga school. Thus, they were Sāma Vēdī Brāhmaṇas.

The Chicacole plates of Rājārāja I (no. 58) record a comparatively modest grant, the number of donees being only two. Four parts of the land were assigned to Vāsudevaśarmman who had the Vatsa gotra and was a resident of Kalipura; two parts were for Nārāyaṇaśarmman of the Kāśyapa gotra.

The beneficiaries of the Kornī plates (of Śaka 1003) of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 62) were three hundred Brāhmaṇas, described as belonging to various (unspecified) gotras and as engaged in the six acts of yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, dāna, and pratigraha.

The Kornī plates (of Śaka 1034) of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 65) state that Khonna and Muḍaparu villages in Varāhavartini viṣaya had been granted in the Śaka year 1003 by Vajrahasta, the father of Coḍagaṅga, to three hundred Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras engaged in the six acts of yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, dāna, and pratigraha. The Kornī plates seem to record the additional grant of land measuring 88 units taken from Tūlubu grāma to the same Brāhmaṇa donees of Khonna grāma.

Reference may also be made to the Murupaka grant of Coḍagaṅga (no. 63), which records a grant in favour of the deity Narendreśvaradeva. The protection of the temple establishment (the term used in the inscription is 'deva-sthāna') was entrusted to five Brāhmaṇas of the village. These Brāhmaṇas were apparently priests of the temple; the names of the donees and their fathers are given, and they are described as belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra.

The Vedic affiliations of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries are indicated only in one inscription, the Gallavallī plates of Rājārāja Devendravarman I (no. 57), which record a grant to three hundred Brāhmaṇas of the Chandoga school.

### Summary

Epigraphic evidence indicates that royal land grants to Brāhmaṇas were a feature throughout the period under review (fourth to mid-twelfth century). Till the tenth century, endowments to Brāhmaṇas far outnumbered those to other types of beneficiaries, whether temples or secular donees. With the advent of the imperial Gaṅgas, however, there was a departure from this pattern; there was an increase in grants made by the kings as well as several members of the royal family to temple establishments, as well as a marked increase

<sup>226</sup> The Ātreya gotra has the three-ṛṣī pravara of Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, and Śyāvāśva (GPM, p 142).

in the number of grants made to secular beneficiaries, particularly nāyakas or military chiefs.

The inscriptions provide valuable information on Brāhmaṇas in general and Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments in particular. The bases of Brāhmaṇa identification in these inscriptions include gotra, pravara, anupravara, śākhā, caraṇa, native place, and place of residence. The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇa donees is infrequently given in the inscriptions of the period designated in this study as Period I (fourth to seventh century), the only instances being the grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja. The specification of ancestry is somewhat more frequent in Period II (seventh to tenth century), instances where it occurs being one Śailodbhava, seven Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga, and four Bhauma-Kara grants. In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), the specification of the name of the father and grandfather of the Brāhmaṇa donees becomes a regular feature, except in the case of grants to very large numbers of Brāhmaṇas.

Gotra: The inscriptions of Orissa provide a few instances of the use of the term 'gotra' in the loose sense of 'family.' For instance, in the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman, where the grant is said to have been made to Kumāraśarmman of the Sāvarṇa gotra, a pañc-ārṣeya Vājasaneyī Brāhmaṇa, and to his eight sons, and thus to his gotra, i.e. family (evam=etasmai gotrāya dattaḥ). Another instance that may be cited is the reference in the Buguda plates of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarman to the birth of this particular king having caused his gotra, i.e. family, to blossom forth.<sup>227</sup>

As far as epigraphic evidence from Orissa of the use of gotra in the case of non-Brāhmaṇas is concerned, reference may be made to the Orissa plates of Neṭṭabhañja, one of the later Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala. Here, the donee is described as vaṇij (i.e. merchant) Ivadat(datta)aka, great-grandson of vaṇik Gargadata, grandson of Apadata, and son of Vapadata; Ivadattaka is described as having come from Tṛ(Tri)bhuvanapura in Varendra, and as belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra. This may, however, represent the case of a Brāhmaṇa merchant. More conclusive evidence comes from the Arasavalli plates (no 49) of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta. This inscription records a grant of Harisavelli or Arisavalla village to the Meḍapa nāyaka, Viddāma, Meḍama, and Potama, the son and the three daughters respectively of mahāpradhāna Dālampeggaḍa and his wife Mavanaka. The village was subsequently divided into a number of shares assigned to a number of different people, the details being given in the inscription. One part of the village was assigned to Śiriyapa nāyaka, Vajji nāyaka, and Guṇḍama nāyaka, who are described as the sons of Naḍupana nāyaka, a Kāyastha of the Kāśyapa gotra and his wife Paitapā. Among the other

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<sup>227</sup> F. Kielhorn, "Buguda Plates of Madhavavarman," *EI* 3 (1894-95): 44 II 24-25

claimants to a share of this village were Dāmara nāyaka and Viṇarāyi nāyaka, sons of Kāyastha Caṇḍu nāyaka of the Kāśyapa gotra.<sup>228</sup> Another imperial Gaṅga inscription that may be cited in connection with the use of gotras by non-Brāhmaṇas is the Chikkilavalasa grant (no. 50) of Vajrahasta. The beneficiary of this grant was Mallaya sreṣṭhin (merchant), who is described as the son of Somana sreṣṭhin and his wife Erayapā, and as the grand-son of Mādhava, belonging to the Vaiśya community and having the Datta gotra. It may be noted that Datta is not a gotra that appears in the brahmanical lists; nor is it clear in what sense the term gotra is being used here. The Boddapadu plates (no. 51) of the imperial Gaṅga Vajrahasta record the grant of Avarenga village in favour of the god Jaleśvara. The mādhara-manavartika (probably meaning 'maintenance') was given to Erama, son of Māvaya and his wife Kamcapā, grandson of Erayama born in the Vaiśya gotra (Vaiśya-gotr-otpannaḥ). The term gotra has here been used to denote the varṇa of the family to which Erayama belonged.

Apart from these few references that indicate its use by non-Brāhmaṇas (the precise sense in which the term is used in these contexts being far from clear), it is as a basis of Brāhmaṇa identity that gotra is prominent in the inscriptions. In fact, gotra can be seen as the single most consistently specified basis of the identification of Brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions of Orissa throughout the period under review, from the fourth right down to the mid-twelfth century C.E. The gotra affiliations of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the royal grants have been catalogued in a Table at the end of this chapter. The gotra names appear in the inscriptions in a variety of different spellings (which have been standardized in the course of this discussion), in some cases probably due to the peculiarities of the local dialect and in others to the carelessness of the drafter or engraver of the inscription. A few gotra names that occur in the inscriptions are not known from the lists given in literature. This could be taken to indicate that the lists are not exhaustive; but it may also indicate errors made by the scribes of the inscriptions, or may betray fictitious Brāhmaṇas. A list of the gotras of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries is given in Appendix V.

Pravara: Among the inscriptions of Orissa, the earliest use of the pravara designation occurs in the Ragolu plates of the Māṭhara king Śaktivarman, and dates roughly to the fourth-fifth century C.E.. It may be noted that this inscription simply refers to the donee as having a five-ṛṣi pravara, the names of the ṛṣis not being indicated. This is the only specification of pravara, however, to occur in the inscriptions that have been grouped for the purposes of this study into Period I (fourth to seventh century). It is in Period II of

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<sup>228</sup> The kāyasthas are an instance of an occupational group (record-keepers) that crystalized into a caste in the early medieval period.

our chronological scheme (seventh to tenth century) that the references to the term pravara and the specification of the pravara names (or at least the number of pravara names) of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments become frequent. Thus, the pravara is often specified in the inscriptions of the Śailodbhavas, Neṭṭabhaṇja, Śvetaka Gaṅgas, and Bhauma-Karas. The only exception as far as the specification of the pravara of the Brāhmaṇa donees of Period II is concerned is constituted by the inscriptions of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅgas of this period, where the pravara names occur only in one record -- the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38). The references to pravara continue in Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), occurring frequently in the inscriptions of the early and later Bhaṇjas of Kṛiṇjali-maṇḍala, Ādi-Bhaṇjas, Neṭṭabhaṇja of the Jurāḍā grant, Bhaṇjas of Baud, Bhaṇjas of Kolāḍa, Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate, Śulkīs, Tungas, Nandodbhavas, Vira-Pracaṇḍadeva of the Hindol plate, and Somavamśīs. The sets of inscriptions where the specification of pravara is either absent or infrequent are the Dhenkanal plate of Jayasinha and the grants of the imperial Gaṅgas. In the latter case, the pravara makes its appearance only in one inscription -- the Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I (no. 57).

As with the gotras, the pravara names as they appear in the inscriptions of Orissa, display a great degree of orthographic variation. In some cases, the pravara names are given with 'vat' endings, as they appear in the adhvaryu's formula in the śrauta ritual. In several inscriptions, the name of the eponymous ṛṣi after whom the gotra is named and whose name also forms part of the pravara of that particular gotra is omitted in the specification of the pravara names. Some inscriptions also ascribe to the Brāhmaṇa donees pravaras that do not match their gotras according to the lists given in the Sūtra literature. There are two possible explanations for this: one is the carelessness with which many of the inscriptions seem to have been engraved. Another possibility has been raised by Brough -- that non-matching gotras and pravaras may indicate fictitious Brāhmaṇas, i.e. individuals whose bona fides as Brāhmaṇas may be questioned.<sup>229</sup>

Anupravara: The term anupravara, which occurs in several inscriptions of Orissa, is one that is conspicuous by its absence in the Sūtra literature. An examination of the inscriptions where the names of the gotra, pravara, and anupravara match with the gotra and pravara lists of the Sūtra texts yields the following conclusions concerning the anupravara: From the evidence of some inscriptions, it seems that the anupravara names are identical with the pravara names, presented in the same or the reverse order, with or without the 'vat' endings. Thus, in the Badakhimedi plates of the Śvetaka Ganga king Indravarman (no. 14),

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<sup>229</sup> Brough, *GPM*, pp. xvii, 21, n. 1

the anupravara is said to consist of the same five names as the pravara (the names of the latter being specified). The Ganjam plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Dānārṇavadeva (no. 15) refer to the same donee as having a pañc-ārṣeya pravara and a pañc-ānupravara. In the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja, one of the later Bhañja kings of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala (no. 2), in the case of the second set of donees, the pravara is not specified; instead, five names are given as constituting the anupravara. As these names are in fact the pravara names of this gotra, it seems that the term anupravara has been used in this case in the place of, and in the same sense as, pravara. In the Ganjam plates of Vidyādharaḥbhañja (no. 8), the later Bhañja king of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala, the anupravara names are the pravara names given in the reverse order with the addition of 'vat' endings. In Gaintala plates of Somavaṁśī Mahābhavagupta (no. 6), the anupravara names are the same as the pravara names, except that they are enumerated in the reverse order.

In some other inscriptions, the anupravara has a different status: only one of the three pravara names is given in the inscription as the pravara, the name of the eponymous ṛṣi being omitted from the pravara specification and the remaining pravara name being presented as the anupravara. This is the case in the following inscriptions: the Dharakota plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara (no. 10) (in the case of the second donee), the Ganjam plate of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17); the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, the early Bhañja king of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala (no. 8); some of the grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala -- the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2) (in the case of one of the donees), the Komanda plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 4), the Pettasara plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 5), possibly the plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 6), and the plates of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 13); the Khargaprasada plate of the Tuṅga king Vinītatunga, and the Patna plates of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) (in the case of the second donee).

Vedic school: The Vedic affiliation of Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments is generally indicated in the inscriptions throughout the period under review. The terms śākhā and caraṇa both occur, and in some cases are apparently used interchangeably. On the basis of the epigraphic data, the following break-up of the number of beneficiaries (whose Vedic affiliations are indicated) affiliated to the various Vedic schools has been drawn:

Period I (fourth to seventh century): Bahvṛca -- 9+; Sāma Veda -- 4; Chandoga -- 13+; Yajur Veda -- 4; Taittirīya -- 10; Vājasaneyā -- 35+; Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṁdina -- 5; Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva -- 1; Mādhyaṁdina -- 2; Kāṇva -- 1; Maitrāyaṇīya -- 22+; Devaṁrāta -- 1; Aupamanyava -- 1; Atri -- 8; Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas -- Brāhmaṇas of eight inscriptions. It may be noted that the the beneficiaries of the Sirpur grant of the



Pāṇḍuvamśī queen Vāsaṭā were twelve in number, including four Brāhmaṇas of the three Vedas (excluding the Atharva Veda). Altogether, among the donees of Period I, the number of beneficiaries belonging to the various branches of the Vājasaneyā school number 64+, the number of beneficiaries belonging to the schools of the Yajur Veda are 80+, and outnumber by far Brāhmaṇas belonging to other Vedic schools. Brāhmaṇas of the Rg Veda schools number 9+, those of the Sāma Veda schools 17+, and the Atharva Veda is not represented at all.

Period II (seventh to tenth century): Bahvrca -- 55, Āśvalāyana -- 1; Chandoga -- 8; Chandoga-Rāṇāyaṇīya -- 1, Chandoga-Kauthuma -- 1, Chandoga-Mādhyamdina -- 1, Taittirīya -- 1; Vājasaneyā -- 364, Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva -- 14; Vājasaneyā-Mādhyamdina -- 1, Kāṇva -- 3, Kaṭha -- 1; Atharva Veda -- 51, Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caranas -- the beneficiaries of three inscriptions, including one (the Neulpur plate of Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara) in favour of two hundred caturvidyā Brāhmaṇas (including those affiliated to the Atharva Veda). As in Period I, in Period II, Brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneyā school (altogether 382), and of the Yajur Veda (altogether 384) outnumber those belonging to the schools of the other Vedas. Brāhmaṇas of the schools of the Rg Veda total 57, those of the Sāma Veda 10, and the Atharva Veda 51 (one grant).

Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century). Bahvrca -- 5-6, Bahvrca-Āśvalāyana -- 1; Rg Veda -- 2; Chandoga -- 301; Chandoga-Kauthuma -- 9, Kauthuma -- 1; Sāma Veda -- 1; Yajur Veda -- 6-7; Taittirīya -- 1; Vājasaneyā -- 6-7, Vājasaneyā-Kāṇva -- 8, Vājasaneyā-Mādhyamdina -- 5; Kāṇva -- 10, Mādhyamdina -- 6, Mādhyamdina-Kāṇva -- 2; Maitrāyaṇīya -- 1; Gautama -- 2. In Period III, a large single grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of the Chandoga school makes the Sāma Vedins the best-represented with a total of 312 Brāhmaṇas. The number of Brāhmaṇas of the various Vājasaneyī schools remains substantial (37-38 beneficiaries), as does that of the Yajur Veda in general (45-46 beneficiaries). Brāhmaṇas of the Rg Veda number 8-9, and the Atharva Veda is not represented.

Native place and place of residence. The earliest reference to the place of residence of Brāhmaṇa recipients of royal endowments occurs in the Peddadugam plates of Śatrudamana and perhaps also in the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman. Among the other inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century), the place of residence is definitely specified in two of the Piṭṭbhakta grants, several early Kalinganagara Gaṅga grants, those of Pṛthivī-riahārāja, the Vigrahas, and two Pāṇḍuvamśī grants (one of which also indicates the native place of the two beneficiaries). References to the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇas occur also in some of the inscriptions of Period II (seventh to tenth century) -- in one Śvetaka Gaṅga inscription, as also in thirteen Kalinganagara Gaṅga and a few

Bhauma-Kara grants. Some of the Bhauma-Kara grants also indicate the native place of the donees

The specification of native place, often also of the place of residence, of the donees becomes a frequent feature in the inscriptions of Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century). These details occur in most of the grants of this period, those of the early Bhañjas of Khinjalī-mandala, Ādi-Bhañjas, Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā grant, Bhañjas of Baud, Bhañjas of Kolāḍa, Udayavarāha, the Śulkīs, Tuṅgas, Nandodbhavas, Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva, and Somavamśīs. The evidence indicates the influx of Brāhmaṇas from other parts of India into Orissa during this period. Many of the places whence they came have not been identified. However, a large proportion of the Brāhmaṇa migrants seem to have come from various parts of Madhyadeśa (which comprised modern Uttar Pradesh and the eastern parts of Punjab, as also sometimes Bihar and North Bengal), and Bengal. Several came from renowned centres of brahmanical learning such as Ṭakārī, Śrāvastī, Kolāṇca, and Hastipada. The Vedic affiliations of these Brāhmaṇas suggest that the Brāhmaṇas of these centres (as also the migrant Brāhmaṇas in general) specialized particularly in the study of the Yajur Veda and, to a lesser extent, the Sāma Veda. A few of the Brāhmaṇas came from other parts of the country: Ujjain and Gujarat in the Bonda plates of Pāṇḍuvarṃśī Tīvara, Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e. South India in the Ganjam plates of the later Bhañja king Śatrubhañja, and Gangāvādī, i.e. the Karnataka area in the Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja. It may be noted that many of the Brāhmaṇa immigrants came from Brāhmaṇa villages (bhaṭṭa-grāmas or agrahāras) in their native localities and seem to have settled down in various parts of Orissa prior to being made the subject of royal endowments. The evidence of brahmanical migration and settlement yielded by the inscriptions of Orissa is an indicator of brahmanical spatial mobility, especially that of the Yajur Vedic Brāhmaṇas, in this part of the subcontinent during the early medieval period.

The imaging of the Brāhmaṇa recipients of royal land grants in the inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa focuses on their learning, especially their Vedic learning. Occasionally, the expertise of a donee in a variety of different philosophical traditions is indicated. The donees are in several cases described as conforming to the Dharmaśāstra prescription of the six activities appropriate to Brāhmaṇas: study (adhyayana), teaching (adhyāpana), sacrificing (yajana), conducting sacrifices for others (yājana), offering gifts (dāna), and accepting gifts (pratigraha). While these six acts include the performance of sacrifices, references to the sacrificial expertise or activities of the Brāhmaṇas also occur in the description of the beneficiaries of the two grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja, the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti, the Bonda plates of Pāṇḍuvarṃśī Tīvara, the Dhenkanal plate of the Śulkī king Raṇastambha, and the Baripada plates of Nandodbhava Devānanda. The epithets

dikṣita and agnihotrīn, which appear frequently in the inscriptions, as also perhaps the less-common epithet upāsānin, may be taken as further indications of the sacrificial activities of some of the Brāhmaṇas.

Reference to the sectarian affiliations of Brāhmaṇa donees occurs in only three instances: the Adhabhara plates of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī king Mahā-Nannarāja, where the term bhāgavata is applied to the donee, the Sirpur inscription of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī queen Vāsatā, where two of the beneficiaries are described as bhāgavatas, and the Dhenkanal plate of the Śulkī king Kulastambha, where the donee is referred to as a parama-vaiṣṇava. In the last two cases, the references to sectarian affiliation are accompanied by the specification of the Vedic school to which the Brāhmaṇas in question were affiliated.

A few of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal grants were specifically associated with temple establishments and/or maṭhas. Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrayaṇīya school were associated with a maṭha of Manināgeśvara in the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha and Bhānudatta. The beneficiaries of the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Ganga king Indravarman (no. 11) were the deities Mādhava and Svayambhu as well as certain Brāhmaṇas probably associated with the temple of these deities. The Vishakhapatnam plates of the Kalinganagara Gaṅga king Devendravarman (no. 21) record a grant in favour of the deity Dharmēśvara bhattāraka at a time when the superintendence of the shrine lay with a Brāhmaṇa named Somācārya. The individual in charge of the shrine of Guṇḍeśvara, a grant in favour of which is recorded in the Gallavallī plates of the Kalinganagara Gaṅga king Manujendravarman (no. 37), may have been a Brāhmaṇa. The Terundia plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara II (no. 8) records a grant made in favour of six Brahmanas for the upkeep of the mathas and maṇḍapas established by these Brahmanas in their native village. The two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16) record a grant in favour of a Śaiva temple (of Umā-Maheśvara), and also assign a share for the provision of food and clothing for Brāhmaṇas, probably those associated with the temple. The Madras Museum plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta (no. 53) suggest that the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries mentioned therein were associated with a temple of the deity Koṭīśvaradeva. The Murupaka grant of imperial Ganga Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 63) entrusted the protection of the temple of the deity Narendreśvaradeva to five Brāhmaṇas of the village -- Such references, few as they may be, to Brāhmaṇas associated with temple establishments and maṭhas provide a clue to the networks of diffusion of sectarianism.

The evidence throughout this period indicates that apart from specializing in Vedic learning, Brāhmaṇas pursued a wide variety of vocations. The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments were in some cases associated with the court in various capacities

including those of priests, astrologers, and administrators. Some were attached to the court in various administrative capacities, occupying posts such as those of the *deśākṣapataladhikṛta* (officer of the records and accounts department), *pratihāra* (chamberlain), *patra* (minister), and *karanika* (scribe). Others were associated with the court in their capacity as *purohita* (chaplain), *punyāha-vācaka* (a priest officiating at religious ceremonies), and *jyotiṣī* (astrologer). Some, such as the *mahattara* (a village elder or headman<sup>2</sup>) and *mahāmahattara* (probably a head of the council of mahattaras) seem to have played an important role in village-level affairs. Still others, who bore titles such as *acarya*, *upadhyaya*, *oḥa*, and *pandita*, seem to have specialized in scholarly pursuits and teaching. There is one reference to a *Brāhmaṇa bhogika* (a term which could, among other things, mean the enjoyer of a revenue-free grant of land or the head of the territorial division known as a *bhoga*), two to what appear to be *Brāhmaṇa rāṇakas* (perhaps feudatory rulers), and one to an individual who may have been a *Brāhmaṇa nāyaka* (military chief).

The references to *agrahāriya Brāhmanas* being given grants of land and the evidence of certain *Brāhmanas* being the beneficiaries of more than one royal endowment of land indicates that apart from *Brāhmanas* emerging as a land-owning class during the period under review, some of the landed estates in *Brāhmaṇa* hands were considerably large.

Of particular interest are the grandiose grants of land made by some kings of Orissa to several hundreds of *Brāhmanas*. Grants of this sort are absent in Period I (fourth to seventh century). They occur in Period II (seventh to tenth century) in two instances, represented by the Chicacole plates of the Kalinganagara Gaṅga king Devendravarman (no. 31), which record an endowment made to three hundred *Brāhmanas*, and the Neulpur plates of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara which claims to record a grant to two hundred *Brāhmaṇas* (though the number of beneficiaries actually named in the inscription are 202). In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), there are a number of very large grants made by the imperial Ganga kings, recorded in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta (five hundred *Brāhmanas*), Galavalli plates of Rājārāja I (three hundred *Brāhmaṇas*), the Korni plates of Śaka 1003 of Anantavarman Codagaṅga (three hundred *Brāhmaṇas*), and the Korni plates of Śaka year 1034 of the same king (three hundred *Brāhmaṇas*). The details of the *brahmadeyas*, including these large *Brāhmaṇa* settlements, form the subject of the next chapter.

## Chapter IV

### The Brahmadeya Settlements

Land endowed by kings to Brāhmanas in ancient and medieval Orissa constituted a type of land holding/settlement described variously in the inscriptions as a brahmadeya, agrahāra, or śāsana<sup>1</sup> This chapter presents the epigraphic data on the nature of these Brāhmaṇa settlements -- the extent and location of the holdings, the nature of the land granted, the description of the boundaries (where this occurs), and the terms and conditions of the grant (which indicate the nature of the rights that the gift bestowed on the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries) The modern correlations of place names for which identifications have been offered by scholars have been indicated<sup>2</sup>

The sections of the royal grants that specify the terms and conditions under which the grant was made are replete with a series of technical terms. Some of the fiscal terms that occur frequently in royal land grants are kara, pratyāya, uparikara, bhaga, bhoga, meya, and hiraṇya. While kara, in some contexts, has been seen as denoting a specific tax, and has been variously interpreted as a property tax, an emergency tax levied on traders, artisans and others, or an agrarian tax over and above the king's customary share<sup>3</sup> -- literary and epigraphic sources use it in as a generic term as well, denoting taxes in general Pratyāya was another generic term for taxes<sup>4</sup> The uparikara has been variously interpreted as a tax levied on cultivators without any proprietary rights in the soil, a tax on temporary tenants,

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<sup>1</sup> While the term brahmadeya refers specifically to land gifted by kings to Brahmanas, the terms agrahāra and śāsana have a wider application and may refer to land granted to Brāhmanas or to religious establishments Three inscriptions of the Gangas of Kalinganagara -- the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman, the Santa-Bommali plates of In-iravarman, and the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman (nos 3, 6, and 32) refer to land granted to deities as constituting a 'dev-āgrahāra' An unusual instance of the term 'āgrahāra' referring to a secular tax-free land holding is to be found in the Chicacole plates of the Kalinganagara Ganga king Madhu-Kāvārnava (no 44), which refer to three villages having been constituted into a 'vaiśya-āgrahāra' (the beneficiary, Erapa nāyaka belonged to a vaiśya family)

<sup>2</sup> In the listing of land endowments in this chapter, the number of the inscriptions as given in Appendix I appears in parenthesis Subsequent numerical references in the course of the discussion of the terms of the grant, boundaries of the land, and so forth likewise refer to the numbering given in Appendix I The orthography of the place-names follows the text of the inscriptions, variant readings have been indicated Diacritic marks have been used only for ancient place-names, and not for modern ones The spelling of the frequently occurring technical terms has been standardized for the sake of uniformity

<sup>3</sup> U. N. Ghoshal, Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1929, 2d ed., Calcutta Saraswat Library, 1972) p. 41, 85, n. 31 (hereafter cited as U. N. Ghoshal, Hindu Revenue System), Dwijendra Narayan Jha, Revenue System in Post-Maurya and Gupta Times (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1967) pp. 46-48 (hereafter cited as Jha, Revenue System)

<sup>4</sup> U. N. Ghoshal, Hindu Revenue System, p. 279

and an additional cess <sup>5</sup> Bhāga referred to the king's customary share of the produce <sup>6</sup> The term bhāga was often compounded with another term -- bhoga -- which appears to have stood for the periodical supplies of various items such as fruits, flowers, firewood, and so forth that the villagers were obliged to supply to the king <sup>7</sup> Meya (literally, 'what is or can be measured') was another general term referring to dues that were paid in kind. It often occurs in the inscriptions in conjunction with the term hiranya, which refers to dues paid in cash <sup>8</sup> Because of the controversy surrounding the interpretation of some of these and other technical terms, and in order to differentiate between terms which seem to have carried similar connotations, most technical terms have been left in the Sanskrit original in the discussion that follows. Where the meaning is clear, it is indicated in the body of the text. The possible connotations of more problematic terms have been discussed in footnotes to the text at the first instance of their occurrence.

### Period I: The fourth to the seventh century

South Orissa

#### The Pedda-Dugam plates of Mahārāja Śatrudamana

The Pedda-Dugam plates of Śatrudamana record the grant of Duhāgrāma, Vasuvāṭaka, and Govāṭaka in Varddhamāna āgrahāra in Gīri-Kaliṅga. The three localities are described as 'grāmakas' in lines 6 and 10, the term probably signifies a small village. Duhāgrāma has been identified with Pedda-Dugam, the find-spot of the plates, in Narasannapeta taluk, Srikakulam district.<sup>9</sup> According to D. C. Sircar, the reference to the gift villages being situated in an āgrahāra may suggest that the grant involved a reallocation of localities that were already revenue-free.<sup>10</sup> Gīri-Kaliṅga may indicate a hilly area of Kaliṅga. The boundaries of the gift villages are not specified. The three villages are said to have been constituted into a brahmadeya and granted to the donees as a dvija-bhoga (an object of enjoyment of the Brāhmaṇas). The inscription urges the inhabitants to obey the donees and to render to them the appropriate taxes (pratyāya), meya (dues paid in kind), etc.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *CII* 3 98, n. 1; Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 276, D. C. Sircar, ed., *Select Inscriptions* 1, 2d ed. (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1965): 266, n. According to Jha (*Revenue System*, pp. 55) none of the interpretations that have been put forward so far are correct.

<sup>6</sup> Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* 1 372, n. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 255.

<sup>9</sup> Sircar, "Pedda-Dugam Plate of Śatrudamana, Year 9," p. 91.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p. 90. It may be pointed out that the reference in this inscription to several villages being situated in an āgrahāra is unusual.

### The Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman

The land granted to five Brāhmanas by the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman was Tampoyaka (Rajaguru reads Tapoyaka<sup>11</sup>) grāma in Korāsodaka-pa[n\*]cālī. Krishnamacharlu identifies the gift village with Tampa in Parlakimedi taluk of Ganjam district.<sup>12</sup> Korāsodaka-pañcālī, according to Ramdas, must have comprised the area around Koroshanda, the find-spot of the plates.<sup>13</sup> The grant is said to have been constituted into an agrahāra to last as long as the moon, stars, and sun (ā-candra-tār-ārka-pratiṣṭham) and was declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharauś=ca parihṛtya).

### The Pitrbhakta grants

The endowments of land made to Brāhmaṇas by the Pitrbhakta kings consisted of the following pieces of land

1. (No. 1) Hemandaka grāma in Bhiliṅga bhoga-vīśaya

Bhiliṅga has been identified with Bhilinga village, about five miles from Baranga.<sup>14</sup>

2. (No. 2) Astihavera grāma.

Astihavera has been identified with Atava in Srungavarapukota taluk.<sup>15</sup>

3. (No. 3) Kuttura grāma in Mahendra bhoga

4. (No. 4) Bṛhatprosthā grāma

5. (No. 5) Honareṅga grāma

6. (No. 6) T[i]rtthāna grāma

T[i]rtthāna has been identified with Tirida in Kudala taluk, Ganjam district.<sup>16</sup>

7. (No. 7) Kohetūra grāma

8. (No. 8) Deyavāta/Aḍeyavāta

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<sup>11</sup> Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "The Korashanda Copperplate Grant of Visakhavarman," JBORS 14 (1928), 283, l. 2

<sup>12</sup> C. R. Krishnamacharlu, "Epigraphical Notes," EI 27 (1947-48), 202

<sup>13</sup> G. Ramdas, "Koroshanda Copper-Plates of Visakhavarman," p. 24. The gift village of the Chicacole plates of Kalinganagara Ganga king Indravarman (no. 11) is said to be located in Korasotaka pañcālī, which seems to be the same as the locality referred to in the plates of Viśākhavarman. The suffix 'pañcālī' occurs in other inscriptions as well. M. Somasekhara Sarma ("Pancavīśaya of the Early Grants of Kalinga," PIHC, 7th session, Madras, 1944, pp. 220-28) has pointed out that there are four pañcālīs mentioned in early Ganga grants -- Korasotaka, Puṣyagiri, Devanna, and Cikhali.

<sup>14</sup> Saratchandra Behara, "Two Sets of Copperplate Grants From Baranga," OHRJ 6, pt. 2 (July and October 1957), 108.

<sup>15</sup> C. R. Krishnamacharlu, quoted by M. Venkataramayya, "Tekkali Plates of Maharaja Umavarman, Year 9," p. 301.

<sup>16</sup> C. R. Krishnamacharlu, in a note to R. K. Ghoshal's "Bobbili Plates of Chandavarman," EI 27 (1947-48), 35.

### 9 (No 9) Siṅghala grāma

It may be noted that in all cases, the holding granted consisted of an entire village, and that the administrative unit within which the gift village was situated is specified in only two inscriptions

The Pitrbhakta inscriptions generally state that the land was constituted into an agraḥāra that was to last as long as the sun, moon, and stars existed (ā-sahasrāṁśu-śaśi-tāraka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candra-tārak-ārka-pratiṣṭham)<sup>17</sup> indicating that the grant was made in perpetuity. The endowment is in all cases declared to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiś=ca pariḥṛtya / sarva-kara-parihārāiś=ca pariḥṛtya / sarva-kara-bhara-parihārāḥ pariḥṛtya). The Tekkalī plates of Umavarman supplement this with the statement in line 4 that the village was made tax-free (a-kara-grāhika-grāma). The residents of the gift villages were instructed to wait on the donees and to render, according to established custom, the meya (dues paid in kind) and hiranya (dues paid in cash).<sup>18</sup> Among the other terms that may be noted is the statement in the Dhavalapeta plates of Umavarman that the village was granted along with the vātaka (saha-vātakena). According to Ghoshal, 'vātaka' in this context must mean road, as the other possible meanings of the word -- garden, orchard, etc. -- do not seem to be applicable.<sup>19</sup> The Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman contain the phrase 'a-karam bhara-vāna-varjam' (line 5); the first part of this may be interpreted as referring to the tax-free status of the gift land, but the meaning of 'bhara-vāna' is not clear.

Three of the Pitrbhakta inscriptions appear to contain references to the villages granted as agraḥāras forming a separate category of land holdings, probably from the fiscal point of view. Thus, lines 5-6 of the Brhatproṣṭhā plates of Umavarman state that the gift

<sup>17</sup> The Bobbili plates of Candavarman have the following variation: ā-samudr-ādri-tārak-ārka-pratiṣṭham (to last as long as the sea, mountains, stars, and sun), while the Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman have the following ā-samudr-ārka-tāraka-pratiṣṭham (to last as long as the sea, sun, and stars). Hereafter, such standard stipulations concerning the perpetuity of the grant have not been translated literally.

<sup>18</sup> Behara ("Two Sets of Copperplate Grants From Baranga," p. 108, ll. 9-10) gives the following variant reading of the usual passage in the Baranga plates of Umavarman: "meyavarim-ādi samutpa(tpā)dya māna-dravyam=upaneyam=it."

<sup>19</sup> R. K. Ghoshal, "Dhavalapeta Plates of Umavarman," *EI* 26 (1941-42) 135, n. 3. It is not clear why Ghoshal considers the other meanings of vātaka inappropriate here. According to Hasmukh Dhiraḥlal Sankalia (*Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat (Places and Peoples in Inscriptions of Gujarat 300 B.C. to 1300 A.D.)*, Poona: Deccan College, 1949, p. 57), vāta, vātaka, vātu, and vātukā appear as suffixes in the names of villages, and have always connoted in Sanskrit, Ardhamāgadhī, and Pāli literature a temporarily enclosed area, for instance a garden, plantation, or a low-caste village enclosed by trees. It may, further, be noted that the word vātaka occurs in some inscriptions as a corrupt form of pātaka (Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 367), and in some cases, it seems to mean a hamlet. The latter is another possible meaning of the word in the inscription in question.



village was separated from the Dantayavāgu bhoga (division) and was made equal or similar to the Thirty-six agrahāras ("[Da]ntayavāgu-bhogād=uddhṛtya śaṭ-trimśad agrahāra-sāmānyan=kṛtvā") This is followed (in line 6) by the phrase "bhoga-samba[ndha-nirvva]canīyam=prattaḥ" -- the meaning of which is not certain Hultsch suggests that it may mean that the gift village was to be mentioned henceforth in connection with the division of the Thirty-six agrahāras.<sup>20</sup> The Temburu plates of Umavarman (lines 6-7) state that the gift village was separated from the Dantayavāgu madamba<sup>21</sup> and made equal to the agrahāras of Kalinga ("Dantayavāgu-madambād=viniskṛsya Kaling-āgrahāra-sāmānyam kṛtvā"). The reference to the granted land being made equal to the Thirty-six agrahāras occurs again in lines 5-6 of the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman ("śaṭ-trimśad-agrahāra-sāmānyañ=c=āgrahārah pradeyam"). The term 'Thirty-six agrahāras' may have been used in these inscriptions in the sense of 'all the agrahāras' rather than indicating precisely thirty-six tax-free villages.<sup>22</sup> The reference to the villages granted being made equal or similar to the Thirty-six agrahāras probably indicates that the village in question was granted on the terms and conditions applicable to all the other agrahāras.

In spite of the formulaic assertion in all the Piṭṭbhakta inscriptions of the revenue-free status of the land granted, one of the inscriptions seems in fact to be a kara-śāsana, i.e. a charter recording a revenue-paying grant.<sup>23</sup> This is the grant recorded in the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman. According to D. C. Sircar's reading and interpretation of the relevant passage, the inscription refers to the registration of the amount payable for the village being fixed at two hundred panas<sup>24</sup> to be paid annually in advance as in the case of the Thirty-six, i.e. of all other agrahāras.<sup>25</sup> This seems to point to the custom realizing revenue from agrahāras being rather widespread.

<sup>20</sup> Hultsch ("Bṛhatprokṣita Grant of Umavarman," p. 6) translates the entire passage as follows: "having separated (it) from the [Da]ntayavāgu division (bhoga) (and) having joined (it) to the Thirty-six Agrahāras in such a way that it must be mentioned (henceforth) in connection with (this) division (?)"

<sup>21</sup> The madamba was a kind of administrative unit

<sup>22</sup> Sircar, "Ningondi Grant of Prabhanjanavarman," p. 115. Sircar points to the similar usage of the number 36 in the Bengali expression 'chattis-jāt' ('the 36 castes,' i.e. all or most of the castes) and the Hindi 'chattis-garh' ('the 36 forts,' a name given to an area originally containing many forts)

<sup>23</sup> See D. C. Sircar, "Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1952, pp. 4-10. Apart from referring to the charter recording a revenue-paying grant of land, the term 'kara-śāsana' is also used to refer to the land granted by means of such a charter (Sircar, *ibid.*, p. 6)

<sup>24</sup> On the pana, see *infra*, n. 33

<sup>25</sup> śaṭ-trimśa(trimśa)d-agrahāra-sāmānyañ=c=āgrahāra-pradeya[m\*]      sāmba(sāmva)tsarikam  
sa(pa)n-āgram      śata-bhu(dva)yan=c=ā[m\*]śam      c=opanibandhyah(dhya) " (Sircar, "Ningondi Grant of Prabhanjanavarman," p. 115). Ghoshal ("Bobbili Plates of Chandavarman, King of Kalinga, Year 4," p. 35, ll. 5-7) reads as follows: 'śaṭ-trimśa(trimśa)d-agrahāra-sāmānyañ=c=āgrahāra[h\*]      pradeya[m\*]      sāmba(va)tsarikam

### The Māthara grants

The following land endowments were made by the Māthara kings to Brāhmaṇas:

1. (No. 1) Rāk[a]l[u]va grāma (referred to as a grāmaka in line 5) in Kaliṅga viṣaya.

Rākaluva has been identified with Ragolu, the findspot of the plates, near Srikakulam.<sup>26</sup>

2. (No. 2) A locality called Ningonḍi,<sup>27</sup> which was adjacent to or formed part of Astuhoṇa-Rāmagrāma.

3. (No. 3) [A]ndoreppa grāma, described in the inscription as having been previously gifted by Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka.

Andoreppa has been tentatively identified with the find-spot Andhavaram on the left bank of the Vamsadhara river, in Narasannapeta taluk in Srikakulam district.<sup>28</sup>

4. (No. 4) Sakuṇaka grāma in Āvi-pāriśva of Ba(Va)rāhavarttanī.

Varāhavarttanī probably corresponded to parts of Tekkali and Srikakulam taluks.<sup>29</sup>

In all the inscriptions, except perhaps in the Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman (no. 2), the land gifted to Brāhmaṇa donees consisted of whole villages. The boundaries of the land are specified in only one inscription -- the Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman (no. 2). These included the following land-marks: Rukmapati in the north, Vyāghraprastara together with a mole-hill by a śālmālī tree in the west, and the sea (apparently the Bay of Bengal) in the south.<sup>30</sup>

The Māthara land grants give the usual stipulation of the perpetuity of the agrahāra (ā-candra-tārakāt / ā-candra-tāraka-pratiṣṭham / ā-sahasrārṇśu-śaśi-tārakāt). Two of the

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saṇāgram śatabhu(bhū)yañ=c= āsām=c=opanibandhyaḥ," and remarks that the entire passage in which the grant is announced is "somewhat loose and incoherent in construction ..." (ibid. p. 36, n. 7).

<sup>26</sup> Hultzsch, "Ragolu Plates of Saktivarman," p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> It is not clear whether Ningonḍi was a whole village or part of one.

<sup>28</sup> Subrahmanyam, "Andhavaram Plates of Anantasaktivarman," p. 176.

<sup>29</sup> Śakuna occurs as the name of one of the villages adjacent to the gift village in the Andhavaram plates of the Kalinganagara Gaṅga king Anantavarman (no. 19); the villages in question are said to be located in Varāhavarttanī. The Śakuna of the Gaṅga grant seems to be the same as Sakuṇaka village mentioned above. The Varāhavarttanī division occurs in several other inscriptions (e.g. Gaṅga inscriptions). Hultzsch (in an editorial note to Ramamurti's "Nagadam Plates of Vajrahasta; Saka Samvat 979," p. 185, n. 5) quotes Krishna Sastri's suggestion that Varāhavarttanī may be identified with another territorial division named Koluvarthanī (also mentioned in Gaṅga inscriptions), on the grounds that the words 'kolu' and 'varāha' both mean boar. According to Venkataramayya ("Madras Museum Plates of Anantasaktivarman," p. 234), the names of these divisions were perhaps derived from the prevalence of a profusion of boars in the area.

<sup>30</sup> It is odd that the eastern boundary is not indicated. D. C. Sircar ("Ningondi Grant of Prabhanjanavarman," p. 114) suggests that perhaps the word 'pūrveṇa' was inadvertently left out by the scribe before the reference to the śālmālī tree and the mole-hill.

inscriptions (the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman and the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman) specifically state that the agrahāra was to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-pradeyaiś=ca parihṛta / sarva-parihāraiś=ca parihṛtya). The Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman, are according to D. C. Sircar's reading of the text, a kara-śāsana, the rent for the land being fixed at two hundred paṇas to be paid in advance.<sup>31</sup> The Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman specify that the gift village was not to be entered by the bhatas (a-bhaṭa-praveśya).<sup>32</sup> The inscriptions urge the inhabitants of the villages to serve the donees according to established custom, and two inscriptions (nos. 11 and 12) state that they should render to the donees dues such as the meya and hiraṇya.

### The Vāsiṣṭha grants

The endowments made to Brāhmaṇas by the Vāsiṣṭha kings consisted of the following villages:

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<sup>31</sup> Sircar's reading of the relevant portion ("Ningondi Grant of Prabhanjanavarman," p. 118, l. 15) is as follows "sā[m\*]vatsarika-kara-ṇāgra-śatau dv[au] (read śate dvaye)" Sircar (ibid., p. 114) suggests that the unit of two hundred probably refers to two hundred paṇas of cowries, he points out that eighty cowries are known to have made one paṇa and that two hundred paṇas were, thus, equal to sixteen thousand cowries. S. N. Rajaguru (IO 1, pt. 2 45) disagrees with Sircar's reading, his version of the passage in question is as follows. "sa[m]vatsarika kara-phanāgra śatau-dvau" According to him, the passage refers to the date of the charter, not to the rent.

<sup>32</sup> In this particular case, the reference is only to the bhaṭas, but numerous inscriptions of the ancient and early medieval period stipulate that the gifted village was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhatas (a-cāta-bhaṭa-praveśya). Fleet (CII 3 98, n. 2) translates these words as irregular and regular troops. He follows G. Buhler in his interpretation of 'cāṭa'. Buhler ("Inscriptions from Kāvi," IA 5, 1976 115, n.) suggests that the cāṭas formed part of the rabble of irregular soldiery that formed part of a king's army. He points out that in the treatises on law, the term 'cāṭa' is usually explained by 'stena' (a thief), and is sometimes combined with 'krūra' (a cruel person). The word bhaṭa seems to mean soldiers. It is used in the Amarakośa (2 8 62) as a synonym of 'sainya'. Bhagvanlal Indraji and Buhler ("Inscriptions of Nepal," IA 9, 1880 175, n. 41) interpret 'cāta-bhaṭa' as 'cātān pratu bhaṭah,' i.e. soldiers against robbers, signifying the royal police. J. Ph. Vogel (Antiquities of Chamba State, pt. 1, pp. 131-32) suggests that in more recent times, 'cār' (cf. cāṭa) signified the head of a pargana, and that the bhaṭa was an official subordinate to the cāṭa. According to D. C. Sircar ("Polsara Plates of Arkesvaradeva; Yugabda 4248," EI 28, 1949-50 64-65), the cāṭas and bhaṭas may have been constables and peons. Jha (Revenue System, p. 33) suggests that the literary and epigraphic evidence indicates that the cāṭas and bhaṭas acted partly as a police and partly as a military, and may have been responsible for arresting robbers and persons guilty of treason. The stipulation against their entry in land grant charters, according to Jha, suggests either that villagers were liable to make some contribution in cash or in kind to these cāṭas and bhaṭas when they happened to stop in or pass through a village; or that they were connected with the collection of revenue. In the course of the discharge of their duties, it is possible that they were in the habit of oppressing the people with unjust exactions for their personal benefit. This, concludes Jha, would explain the dislike for the cāṭas and bhatas in various literary works as also the stipulation in the land grants that these people were not to enter the gifted village.

1. (No. 1) Tonṭā[pa]ra grāma.

Tonṭāpara has been tentatively identified with Totada village in Srikakulam district.<sup>33</sup>

2 (No 2) Kiṇḍeppa grāma (Narasimham reads Kiṇḍoppa<sup>34</sup>) in Tellavalli viṣaya.

Kiṇḍeppa has been tentatively identified with Kondapalem near Tella-gamudy.<sup>35</sup>

Tellavalli has been identified by R. C. Majumdar with Tella-gamudy village,<sup>36</sup> and by Narasimham with Jeypore.<sup>37</sup>

The villages are said to have been constituted into an āgrahāra in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kāla-pratiṣṭham / ā-candr-ārka-tāraka-pratiṣṭham). The land is declared to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-parihāraiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛtya). According to the Sripuram plates of Anantavarman, the gift village was separated from the Kharapurisa madamba as well as the Pattana bhoga.<sup>38</sup> The village is described in lines 9-10 as already an āgrahāra, similar to (or, in this case, joined to) the Kharapuri madamba, and paying taxes ("eṣa pūrvam=ev=āgrahārah Kharapuri-madamba-sāmānyaḥ kara-pradaḥ"). This seems to indicate that the village granted was already an āgrahāra, albeit a tax-paying one, and that the royal charter made it tax-exempt.

The Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman state that the endowment was to be enjoyed by the sons and grand-sons of the donee (putra-pautrikam=upabhujyamānaḥ), i.e. was hereditary, and that the gift village was not to be disturbed by the vallabhas and durllabhas.<sup>39</sup> The inhabitants of the villages were instructed to obey and serve the donees respectfully. The Sripuram plates of Anantavarman state that they should serve the donees respectfully and render unto them the fruits of the land (grāma-phalam=upanīya).

#### The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara (inscriptions no. 1-13)

Ten of the Gaṅga inscriptions of this group record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments they record consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Jijjika grāma in Voṅkhara bhoga.

<sup>33</sup> Srinivasa Rao, "Sripuram Plates of Anantavarman, Lord of Kalinga," p. 50.

<sup>34</sup> M. Narasimham, "The Kindoppa Copper Plate Inscription of Anantavarman of the Kalinga Kingdom," *JAHRS* 8, pts. 2 and 3 (October 1933 and January 1934) 160, 2nd plate, 1st side, l. 2.

<sup>35</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Srungavarapukota Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalinga," p. 59.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid*

<sup>37</sup> Narasimham, "The Kindoppa Copper Plate Inscription of Anantavarman of the Kalinga Kingdom," p. 157.

<sup>38</sup> The term 'bhoga' can have a variety of meanings, depending on the context (See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 54-55). Here, it refers to an administrative division.

<sup>39</sup> According to R. C. Majumdar ("Srungavarapukota Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalinga," p. 61, n. 5), 'vallabha' means overseer, superintendent, or herdsman, or may stand for royal officers in general, while 'durllabha' could be an adjective (meaning excellent) qualifying vallabha or could also be an official designation.

Jijjika has been identified with Jirjingi, the find-spot of the plates.<sup>40</sup>

2. (No. 2) Pratiṣṭhāpura grāma in Dāgha-paṇcālī viṣaya.

3. (No. 4) Two and a half halas<sup>41</sup> of land purchased from the agrahārika or agrahārikas<sup>42</sup> by the king, in Hoṇḍevaka grāma in Kroṣṭhukavarttānī

4. (No. 5) A hala of land in the rāja-taṭāka-kṣetra (i.e. in the vicinity of the royal tank)<sup>43</sup> constituted into a separate section in Siddārthaka grāma in Varāhavarttānī.

5. (No. 8) Kettaṭa grāma in Devanna-paṇcālī.

6. (No. 9) Toṭavāṭaka grāma in Kroṣṭhukavarttānī.

Toṭavāṭaka has been identified with Totada or Todavada, about eight miles from Andhavaram, the find-spot of the plates.<sup>44</sup> Kroṣṭhukavarttānī has been identified with the area around Narasannapeta taluk in Srikakulam district.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> R. Subba Rao, "The Jirjingi Copper Plates of Indravarman," QJAHS 3, pt 1 (July 1928): 49.

<sup>41</sup> The word 'hala' literally means 'plough,' but also referred to a kind of land measure. According to Puspa Niyogi ("The Plough Measure in North India," PIHC, 18th session, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 104-106), it referred to the area of land that could be tilled with a single plough in one day, an area that depended on variables such as the nature of the soil and the size of the plough. Niyogi (*ibid.*, p. 106) states that while the term hala appears frequently in the inscriptions of the tenth to twelfth century C E, it is difficult to ascertain when it first came to denote a land measure. It may be pointed out that the reference to hala in the above-mentioned inscription -- the Urlam plates of the Ganga king Hastivarman -- is dated in the (Gaṅga) year 80. If the commencement of the Ganga era is placed towards the end of the fifth century C. E., this would place the Urlam plates around the last quarter of the sixth century C. E., and this reference to hala would be much earlier than the ones cited by Niyogi.

<sup>42</sup> Hultzsch ("Urlam Plates of Hastivarman, the Year 80," pp. 331; 333, n 9), translates 'agrahārikas' as 'the residents of the agrahāra.' According to Fleet (CII 3: 52, n 2), however, 'agrahārika' is a technical title probably denoting an officer in special charge of an agrahāra. D. N. Jha (Revenue System, p. 169) agrees with Fleet's interpretation of this term, and points out that the agrahārika is mentioned in inscriptions from the Gupta period onwards. According to Jha (*ibid.*), the agrahārika's administrative jurisdiction over the agraharas can be inferred from lines 12-14 of the spurious Gaya plate of Samudragupta. The relevant passage has been translated as follows by Fleet (CII 3: 257) " ... And from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artisans, &c of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the *Āgrahārika* of this (village) (for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations): (for) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (the privileges of) an *agrahāra*." According to Jha (Revenue System, p. 170), this stipulation was aimed at preventing a loss of income to the state, and the agrahārika seems to have been an officer in charge of tax-free gift villages, especially the fiscal and administrative aspects of these. It may be pointed out that the passage from the spurious Gaya inscription of Samudragupta does not, in fact, conclusively support the interpretation of the term agrahārika or āgrahārika as an officer in charge of agrahāras, Hultzsch's interpretation of the term being just as, if not more, plausible. Jha himself states in a foot-note (*ibid.*, p 170, n 72) that the term āgrahārika may also mean one who is the holder of an agrahāra.

<sup>43</sup> This possibly indicates that the gift land was located on crown land.

<sup>44</sup> Subrahmanyam, "Andhavaram Plates of Indravarman," p 41.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

7. (No. 10) Tāmaraceruva grāma along with the vāṭaka,<sup>46</sup> in Barāhavarttanī (Varāhavarttanī)viṣaya.

8. (No. 11) Tālamūla grāma in Korosoṭaka-pañcālī.<sup>47</sup>

9. (No. 12) Bhukkukura-ccheda in Kūraka-rāṣṭra.

Bhukkukura has been identified with Bukkur in Palakonda taluk, opposite Purle on the Nagavali river.<sup>48</sup> Kūraka has been tentatively identified with Kurchavalasa, about four miles north-west of Siddhantam, and Kūraka rāṣṭra with Palakonda taluk.<sup>49</sup>

10. (No. 13) A hala of land, measured by the rod used for brahmadeyas (brahmadeya-daṇḍa-mānamitā), in Tuṅgannā grāma in Rūpyavati viṣaya.<sup>50</sup>

It may be noted that the gift land of inscriptions no. 4 and 9 lay in Kroṣṭukavarttanī viṣaya, and that of inscriptions no. 5 and 10 lay in Varāhavarttanī.

The boundaries of four of the land endowments of this group of Gaṅga kings are specified. The land-marks referred to are as follows:

No. 4: Ant-hills; the embankments of various fields (kṣetra-pālī); the western bank of the Ghoṣaṇa well (vāpī); the boundary of Hattaravanna; an artificial row of stones.

No. 5: The embankment of the royal tank (rāja-taṭāka); ant-hills; boulders; dhimāra/adhimāra trees; a kāraka tree.

No. 12: Ant-hills, arjuna trees; a karaṇja tree; rocks; a timira tree.

No. 13: The Vidyugaṅgā (apparently a stream or river); a row of boulders; the boundaries of Śarkkaravāṭaka. Lines 21-22 of the inscription state that the water of the tank (taḍāga) of Tuṅgana (the village wherein the gift land was situated), flowing out of the Kārākhaṇḍī and Brāhmaṇapālanī (apparently water-channels), entered the field until the crop ripened.

The land gifted by the early Gaṅga kings to Brāhmaṇas is said to have been constituted into an agrahāra gifted in perpetuity (ā-samudr-ādri-śāśi-tāra-ārka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candr-ārka-tāraka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham). It was declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-parihāraiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-kara-parihāreṇa). The residents were ordered variously to obey the donees, to live happily, rendering to them taxes such as the bhāga and bhoga, and not to obstruct the donees in any way. Lines 17-18 of the Achuyutapuram plates of Indravarman (no. 5) state that no one should cause any hindrance to the donee if he chose to open the sluice of the tank ("taṭāk-odaka-bandhana-

<sup>46</sup> See supra, n. 19 on vāṭaka.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Korosoṭaka pa[ñc]ālī of the Koroshanda plates of Viśākṣavarman

<sup>48</sup> Ramadas, "Purle Plates of Indravarman: The [Ganga] Year 149," 61.

<sup>49</sup> ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Rūpyavati viṣaya may be connected with Rūpavarttanī viṣaya (MER 1919: 14)

mokṣe na kenaciḍ=viḡhātaḡ kāryy=eti"); the reference seems to be to the rāja-taṭāka or royal tank mentioned in the boundaries.

#### The grants of Prthivī-mahārāja

The endowments made to Brāhmaṇas by Prthivī-mahārāja consisted of the following villages:

1. (No. 1) Tāṇḍivāḍa grāma in Pāguṇāra viṣaya.

Tāṇḍivāḍa has been tentatively identified by Panchamukhi with Tadiparru in Tanuku taluk of the Kistna district,<sup>51</sup> and by Venkataramayya (also tentatively) with either Tadiparru or Tamarada in Tanuku taluk.<sup>52</sup> Pāguṇāra viṣaya has been identified by Panchamukhi with the modern Tanuku taluk of Kistna district<sup>53</sup> and by Venkataramayya with Narasapur taluk in East Godavari district.<sup>54</sup>

2. (No. 2) Gollāvalli grāma in Rudravati viṣaya

The villages are declared to have been constituted into tax-free agrahāras (sarva-kara-parihāreṇ=āgrahārīkṛtya), and the charters stipulate that no one was to cause any obstruction (to the donees).

#### The grant of Charamparāja

The Khandipada Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja record the endowment of Ekaṭika grāma in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāra viṣaya. The village granted is said to have been made tax-free (a-karīkṛtya).

#### North and central Orissa

##### The grants of the Viḡrahas and their feudatory Dharmarāja

The endowments made by Dharmarāja and Lokaviḡraha (the latter to the maṭha of Maṇināgeśvara and certain Brāhmaṇas of the Maṭrāyaṇīya branch of the Yajur Veda) consisted of the follows holdings:

1. (No.1) Ā[rddhā]kamaṇḍuka grāma along with Candanavāṭaka in Parakkhalamārggaviṣaya.

<sup>51</sup> Panchamukhi, "Tandivada Grant of Prthivi-Maharaja: 46th Year," p. 97.

<sup>52</sup> Venkataramanayya, "Tāṇḍivāḍa Plates of Prthivī Mahārāja," p. 193.

<sup>53</sup> Panchamukhi, "Tandivada Grant of Prthivi-Maharaja: 46th Year," p. 97. According to Panchamukhi, Pāguṇāra viṣaya can be identified with territorial units mentioned in certain eastern Cālukya inscriptions -- the Pāgunavāra viṣaya of the Vandaram plates of Ammarāja II (EI 9, 133), the Pāgunavara viṣaya of a grant of Bhima II (IA 13, p. 214), and the Pāguṇavara viṣaya of an inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana V (MER 1913-14, C. P. no 6)

<sup>54</sup> Venkataramanayya, "Tāṇḍivāḍa Plates of Prthivī Mahārāja," pp. 192-93

Candanavāṭaka has been tentatively identified by Rajaguru with Chandanapalli, less than a mile east of Sumandala, the findspot of the plates.<sup>55</sup> According to D. C. Sircar, Parakkhalamārgga must have been situated in the Khallikot region,<sup>56</sup> while Rajaguru identifies its headquarters with Pankala mutha in the Khallikot taluk.<sup>57</sup>

2. (No. 2) Ū[rddvaśr]nga grāma in Uṭida viṣaya.

Lokavigraha's grant is said to have been made after ascertaining that the village did not contain any land uncultivated for a long time and that the land possessed many good qualities (cira-khila-śūnyam=aneka-guṇam=ity=avadr̥tya). Both the grants were made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kāla-sthitya / ā-candr-ārka-samakāliya). The Kanas plate of Lokavigraha states that the grant was made in perpetuity in accordance with the akṣaya-nīvi-dharma (the law of the non-transferability governing permanent endowments),<sup>58</sup> after having established the four boundaries of the village. The Sumandala plates of Dharmarāja declare the gift land to be free from all taxes and oppressions (sarva-kara-pīḍā-varjita);<sup>59</sup> the village was granted together with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa) and together with the dues known as the uparikara (s-oparikara).

#### The grants of the Mudgalas/Mānas and their feudatory Śivarāja

The endowments made to Brāhmaṇas by the Mudgala/Māna kings and their feudatory Śivarāja consisted of the following:

1. (No. 1) Kannirdhaka/Kanirvaka in Annarakuddakoṇa/Astarakuddakoṇa viṣaya.

Kannirdhaka/Kanirvaka has been identified with Kundara village, about two miles south of Erbang, and Annarakuddakoṇa/Astarakuddakoṇa with either Astaranga or Konarak.<sup>60</sup>

2. (No. 2) Eight timpiras<sup>61</sup> of land in Ghaṇṭākarnṇakṣetra adjoining Sarepha village situated in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya, along with homestead land (vāstu) measuring 200

<sup>55</sup> Rajaguru, "The Sumandala Copper-Plate Inscription of Dharmmarāja of the Gupta-Samvat, 250," p. 66

<sup>56</sup> Sircar, "Sumandala Plates of the Time of Prithivivigraha-bhattaraka: Gupta Year 250," p. 84.

<sup>57</sup> Rajaguru, "The Sumandala Copper-Plate Inscription of Dharmmarāja of the Gupta-Samvat, 250," p. 66

<sup>58</sup> Fleet (CII, 3. Appendix IV, p. 182, n. 2) translates 'akṣaya-nīvi' as 'a permanent endowment.' U. N. Ghoshal (*Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 265, 293) translates 'nīvidharma-akṣayena' as 'according to the custom of non-destruction of 'nīvi-dharma,' and 'nīvi-dharma' as the custom of (non-destruction of) the principal. The technical term 'nīvi-dharma-akṣayena' (or akṣaya-nīvi-dharma) would thus refer to the non-transferability of the land. This is also how the term is interpreted by D. N. Jha (*Revenue System*, p. 135), who states that 'nīvidharma' refers to a grant in perpetuity without the right of alienation.

<sup>59</sup> The nature of these oppressions is discussed in the Summary at the end of this chapter.

<sup>60</sup> S. N. Rajaguru, "Erbang Plate of Sambhuyasa," *OHRJ* 12, no. 3 (1964): 114.

<sup>61</sup> Timpira is a land measure that occurs frequently in the inscriptions of Orissa



hastas.<sup>62</sup> Sarepha, the headquarters of Sareph-āhāra viṣaya, has been identified with Soro in Baleshwar district, close to which place the inscription was found.<sup>63</sup>

3. (No. 3) Taṇḍralvalu/Tuṇḍilvaluja grāma in Vorttanoka visaya.

The land granted by these kings was gifted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kāla / ā-candr-ārka-samakālaṁ). The Erbang plate of Śambhuyaśas (no. 1) states that the land was granted along with the dues known as the parikara (sa-parikara)<sup>64</sup> and along the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-piḍā-rahita). These stipulations are also to be found in the Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas (no. 2), with the additional statements that the land was endowed with grain (sasya-sahitā) and that it was granted along with homestead land measuring two hundred hastas (vāstu-hasta-śata-dvaya-sametā). The Patiakella grant of Śivarāja (no. 3) simply states that the endowment was made according to the akṣaya-nīvi-dharma (the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments)

#### The Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti

The endowment made by Śubhakīrti to a Brāhmaṇa donee consisted of forty droṇas<sup>65</sup> of land (of an unspecified nature) and one droṇavāpa of homestead land (vāstu) in Kumbhārapadraka grāma in Keta(?)kapadrika uddeśa (read deśa). No privileges or exemptions are specified.

#### The grants of the Dattas

The endowments made by the Dattas to Brāhmaṇa recipients (this includes the Kanas grant of Bhānudatta, the beneficiaries of which were the deity Maṇināga as well as various Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the Yajur Veda) consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No.1) Muhā(?) - Kumbhārapadraka (village), said to have been detached from the maṇḍala(sarva-maṇḍala-varjita) <sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The hasta was a well-known unit of land measurement in ancient and early medieval India. See Puspa Niyogi, Contributions to the Economic History of northern India from the tenth to the twelfth century A.D. (Calcutta: Progressive Publishers, 1962), pp. 85-87.

<sup>63</sup> N. G. Majumdar, "Four Copper Plates From Soro," p. 201.

<sup>64</sup> 'Sa-parikara' appears to mean the same thing as 's-oparikara'.

<sup>65</sup> According to R. C. Majumdar ("Two Copper-Plates of Śaśāṅka from Midnapore," p. 6), the equation of one droṇavāpa to one-eighth of a kulyavāpa in Sanskrit lexicons is supported by epigraphic evidence. Majumdar also points out that the droṇa -- an abbreviation of droṇavāpa -- is a land measure which continued to be used into modern times in Bengal.

<sup>66</sup> The maṇḍala is a type of administrative or territorial division. See the section on the Piṭṭbhakta grants for other references to the detachment of endowed land, probably for fiscal purposes.

2. (No. 2) Adayāra grāma in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya in Uttara Tosali, which formed part of Oḍra viṣaya.

3. (No. 3) Va(Ba)hīravvāṭaka grāma in Varukāṇa (or Varukona/Varukona) viṣaya in Sareph-āhāra.

Varukāṇa has been tentatively identified with Barua pargana.<sup>67</sup>

4. (No. 4) Va(Ba)hīrvāṭaka grāma in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya.

5. (No. 5) Kum[vu]kīrīkṣilāka (Rajaguru reads Kum̐barka Śunkhalāka<sup>68</sup>) grāma in Uṭṭa[mā]lloka (Rajaguru reads Uḍḍāmaloka) viṣaya.

Rajaguru identifies Kum̐barka Śunkhalāka with Sukala, near the Maṇināga hill of Ranapur;<sup>69</sup> Misra disputes this identification, suggesting that the more appropriate identification is with Raja Sunakhala village, situated six miles from Ranpur.<sup>70</sup>

6 (No. 6) Anya Bandiraka (the lesser Bandiraka)/Nandīraṭa grāma in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya.<sup>71</sup>

It may be noted that the gift land in inscriptions no. 2, 3, 4, and 5 was situated in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya. This is an instance of the clustering of brahmadeya settlements in a particular area.

The villages in inscriptions no. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are described as not containing any land uncultivated for a long time (cira-khila-śūnya). It may be noted that the Soro plate of Somadatta (no. 3) and the Soro plate of Bhānudatta (no. 4) record the endowment of the same village. It seems that the village was initially granted by Somadatta to two Brāhmaṇas, and that Bhānudatta's grant recorded the addition of the claims of two more donees<sup>72</sup> to this village. It seems that the gift villages of the two Soro plates of Somadatta (nos. 2 and 3), the Soro plate of Bhānudatta (no. 4), and the Balasore plate of Bhānudatta (no. 6) were in the same vicinity. This may be inferred from the earlier-mentioned fact that they are all described as being located in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya, as well as by the fact that there is an overlap in the names of the donees of these four grants. This suggests the expansion of the land estates of certain Brāhmaṇas in the area known as Sareph-āhāra viṣaya.

Three of the grants of the Data kings (nos. 7, 8, 9) do not specify any terms of the gift. The Soro plate of Bhānudatta (no. 4) declares the endowment to be free from all

<sup>67</sup> Sircar, "Four Copper Plates From Soro," p. 201.

<sup>68</sup> Rajaguru, "The Olasingh Copper Plate of Bhānuvardhana," p. 32, ll. 7-8.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>70</sup> R. N. Mishra, "Identification of Sunākhālā of the Olasingh Plate of Bhānuvardhan and the God Maṇi-Nāgesvara," *OHRJ* 16, no. 3 (1967): 32.

<sup>71</sup> Haridas Mitra ("Balasore Copper-Plate Inscription of Śrī-Bhānu," *IHQ* 11, no. 4, December 1935 62, l. 2) reads the name of the viṣaya as Sagaḍhāhāra. This seems to be an incorrect reading as Sareph-āhāra is a viṣaya known from several inscriptions.

<sup>72</sup> i. e. in addition to the two who were already enjoying the endowment.

oppressions (sarva-piḍā-varjita). The Kanas plate of Bhānudatta (no. 5) contains the conventional statement about the perpetuity of the grant (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam).

## West Orissa

### The Nala grants

Two of the Nala inscriptions -- the Kesaribeda plates of Arthapati (no. 1) and the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman (no. 2) -- record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments consisted of the following villages:

1. (No. 1) Keselaka grāma.

Keselaka has been identified with the find-spot, Kesaribeda.<sup>73</sup>

2. (No. 2) Kadambagiri grāma.

Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba village in Nagpur district (in Madhya Pradesh)<sup>74</sup>

The Rithapur plates specify the boundaries of Kadambagiri village. These included a mountain/hill, the limit of the viṣaya, Māluka viraka (apparently a village) with the cultivated land (karmmantaka), Madhukalatikā, Bakasāmalaka with the piṇḍira (pomegranate) tree, Trimandira viraka and the boundary of the kingdom (rājya-sima).<sup>75</sup>

The Kesaribeda plates describe the endowment as made in perpetuity (a-candra-tārakam), hereditary (putra-pautrikam), and free from all taxes (sarva-kara-visarjita). It is, further, stipulated that the land was not to be entered by the bhaṭas (a-bhaṭa-praveśa), while the term 'a-vaha' that occurs in this inscription has interpreted as referring to the exemption from the obligation of providing conveyance to royal officials on tour.<sup>76</sup> The villagers were instructed to happily continue working on their land, to serve the donees according to the custom prevalent in the viṣaya and to render unto them dues (pratyāya) such as the hiranya, etc.. The Rithapur plates declare the endowment to be made in perpetuity (ā-candra-tāraka) and exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-visarjita). The village in question was not to be entered by the bhaṭas (a-bhaṭa-praveśa), was exempt from providing conveyance to royal officials on tour (a-vaha), free from tolls (a-śulka),<sup>77</sup> and free from all disputes (sarva-bādhā-parihīna). The village is said to have been granted along with ten nivartanas of land

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<sup>73</sup> Sircar, "Kesaribeda Plates of Nala Arthapati-bhattaraka," p. 16.

<sup>74</sup> Gupte, "Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarman," p. 102.

<sup>75</sup> According to Gupte (ibid., p. 104, n. 4) 'rājya' should here be understood in the sense of a division of the kingdom.

<sup>76</sup> Sircar, "Kesaribeda Plates of Nala Arthapati-bhattaraka," p. 15.

<sup>77</sup> According to Ghoshal (*Hindu Revenue System*, p. 282), the term 'śulka' denoted tolls and customs duties. According to Jha (*Revenue System*, p. 76), while the precise connotation of śulka cannot be ascertained, it is fairly certain that it referred to a tax on commodities levied on traders and merchants, perhaps including taxes on both foreign and indigenous merchandise.

(sa-daśa-nivarttanika),<sup>78</sup> along with the right of ploughing (?) (sa-hala),<sup>79</sup> and along with the vāṭaka (sa-vāṭaka).<sup>80</sup> The inscription contains a stipulation in lines 13-14, the exact purport of which is not clear, that nothing is to be said with reference to certain ciñcāla (tamarind) or palāśa trees or the boundaries (of the village) (ciñcāla-palāśa-padrakamaryyādayā na kiñcid vaktavyaḥ).

#### The Terasingha plates of Tustikāra

The Terasingha plates record the grant of Prastara-vāṭaka to a Brāhmaṇa. The term 'vāṭaka' here may mean a hamlet. A statement at the end of the inscription, which may be a later interpolation, includes in the endowment a piece of land that was fallow and mainly rocky (śūnya-kṣetram prastara-kṣetra-pramukham). The queen's endorsement, added to the grant (in lines 2-3 of the first side of the first plate of the grant), describes the land as "Dāya-Jvar-Ola[k-ā]di-bhogaka-kṣetra[m]" According to D. C. Sircar, this may indicate that the land was being enjoyed by certain persons named Dāya, Jvara, and Ulaka.<sup>81</sup> The land was constituted into an agrahāra to last for ever (ā-candra-tāra-ārka-pratiṣṭham), and the residents of the gift land were instructed to serve the donee according to established custom.

#### The Śarabhapurīya grants

All ten grants made by the Śarabhapurīya kings were in favour of Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made to these Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following holdings:

- 1 (No. 1) Śarkarā padraka (also referred to as a grāma) in Nandapura bhoga. Śarkarā has been tentatively identified with Sakara village, close to Nandgaon on the Mahanadi in the old Sarangarh State.<sup>82</sup> There are two villages called Nandaur, big and small, in Bilaspur district, approximately forty miles from Sakara, not far from Sakti on the B. N. Railway. The site of these villages has yielded some old relics and may represent the headquarters of the old Nandapura bhoga.<sup>83</sup>
2. (No. 2) Keśavaka grāma in Cullāḍasīma bhoga or in the bhoga bordering Cullāḍa. Keśavaka has been tentatively identified with Keshwa village on the banks of a nullah of the same name, about five and a half miles south-east of Mahasamund

<sup>78</sup> The nivartana is a land measure mentioned in a variety of literary and epigraphic sources. Its exact dimensions are not certain; literary references suggest equivalences ranging from about half an acre to about 4 3/4 acres (see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp 409-10)

<sup>79</sup> Hala could also refer to the land measure by this name, and the reference could thus be to land measuring one hala in area. On hala as a land measure, see n. 41.

<sup>80</sup> For the various possible meanings of the word vāṭaka, see supra, n. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Sircar, "Terasingha Plates of Tustikāra," p. 277, n. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Sircar and Pandeya Sarma, "Pīparjūlā Copper-Plate Inscription of King Narendra of Śarabhapura," p. 144.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*

in Mahasamund taluk <sup>84</sup> Cullāḍa may be represented by Charoda village, seven miles due east of Keshwa <sup>85</sup>

3. (No. 3) Pamvā grāma in Pūrvva rāstra.

Pamvā has been identified with modern Pamgarh, about twenty-one miles north of Tundra in the Janjgir tahsil of Bilaspur district <sup>86</sup> It has been suggested that Pūrvva rāstra was perhaps so-called because it lay to the east of the Mekala mountains. <sup>87</sup>

4. (No. 4) Two neighbouring villages -- Navannaka and Śāmbilaka grāma in Kṣitimandāhāra.

Navannaka has been tentatively identified with the findspot of the plates, Nahna, Naina of the maps, located about three miles south of Khariar. <sup>88</sup> Śāmbilaka may be represented by San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahna <sup>89</sup>

5. (No. 5) A village, the name of which is lost due to the plate being damaged, previously granted by a person named Nanna

6. (No. 6) Sunikā grāma in Hakirī bhoga.

7. (No. 7) Śivilingaka grāma in Tosadda(dḍa) bhukti

The bhukti of this inscription has been identified by Mirashi with Tusda near Dumaripalli, about thirty miles south-east of Arang, and by Pandeya with Tosara village in the old Patna State <sup>90</sup>

8. (no. 8) Cullandaraka grāma in Tuṇḍaraka bhukti

The village in question has been identified with Childa village, 82° 31' E and 21° 30' N. <sup>91</sup> Tuṇḍaraka has been identified with Tundra in Baloda Bazar tahsil of Raipur district, about six miles south of Seori Narayan on the Mahanadi, and about thirty-five miles west of Sarangarh <sup>92</sup>

9. (No. 9) Śrīsāhikā grāma in Pūrvva rāstra. Lines 25-27 of the inscription state that in this village, the well known as the Śrīvāpikā, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank (taṭāka), and extending upto the road, was given to one of the two donees, Nāgavatsasvāmin, in excess of his exact share, because he was the elder.

Śrīsāhikā has been identified with modern Sīrsahi in Baloda Bazar tahsil, about twenty-five miles south-west of Tundra.

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<sup>84</sup> Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Kurud Plates of Narendra," *EI* 31 (1955-56): 264-65.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, p. 265

<sup>86</sup> Hira Lal, "Sarangarh Copper Plates of Maha-Sudeva," p. 283

<sup>87</sup> Fleet, *CII*, 3 192, n 1

<sup>88</sup> Sten Konow, "Khanar Plates of Maha-Sudeva," *EI* 9 (1907-08): 172

<sup>89</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> L. P. Pandeya, "Arang Plates of Mahasudevaraja," *EI* 23 (1935-36): 20

<sup>91</sup> Mirashi, "Thakurdiya Plates of Maha-Pravararaja," p. 22.

<sup>92</sup> Hira Lal, "Sarangarh Copper Plates of Maha-Sudeva," p. 283

10. (No. 10) Āṣāḍhaka grāma in Tuḍā (or Tuṇḍa) rāṣṭra

Tuḍā rāṣṭra has been identified with one of the villages named Tundam, Tundra, Tundri, or Tundragaon in the vicinity of Seori Narayan, about twenty-five to thirty miles from Thakurdiya.<sup>93</sup> The village Āṣāḍhaka has been identified with Asoud, 82° 54' E. and 21° 45' N, about two miles north of the Mahanadi, within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the villages Tunda, Tundra, etc.<sup>94</sup>

In all, nine Śarabhapuriya inscriptions record the grant of one village, while one records the grant of two villages. The situation of gift villages in the same vicinity is suggested by the details of the grants recorded in inscriptions no. 3 and 9: the villages granted by these inscriptions lay in Pūrvva rāṣṭra. The villages granted by inscriptions no. 8 and 10 also seem to have been in the same vicinity as those granted by inscriptions no. 3 and 9.

The grants were in most cases specifically stated to have been made in perpetuity (yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirana-pratuhata-ghor-andhakāram jagad=avatiṣṭhate, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun, moon, and the stars) The donees were given the right to hidden treasures and deposits found on the land (sa-nidhi=s-opanidhi). The land in question was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhataṣ (a-cāṭa-bhata-praveśya) It was, in most cases, declared to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-viśarjita), the residents being instructed to obey the donees, and to give them the dues known as the bhoga and bhāga. The Pipardula plates of Narendra state that the residents were to give to the donee the meya, hiraṇya, and other pratyāyas. The Kurud plates of the same ruler state that the residents should obey the donee and give give him the bhāga, dhānya, hiraṇya, etc

#### The Pānduvamśi grants

Seven Pānduvamśi inscriptions record royal grants of land to Brāhmanas, while one records a grant made by the mother of a Pāṇḍuvamśi king to a temple establishment which included Brāhmanas of the three Vedas. The endowments made to Brāhmaṇa donees were as follows

1. (No. 1) Sālāgrāmāmantamaraka in Gula grāmaka in Ākāśa rāṣṭra which which was attached to Cche(Che)ndaparaṅga viṣaya.

2. (No. 2) Varddhamānaka in Pāñcagarttā viṣaya in Uttara-rāṣṭra in Mekalā. Varddhamānaka has been identified with the find-spot, Bamhani.<sup>95</sup> Pāñcagarttā viṣaya has been identified with the region around Bamhani, watered by the five

<sup>93</sup> Mirashi, "Thakurdiya Plates of Maha-Pravararaja," p. 22.

<sup>94</sup> ibid

<sup>95</sup> Chhabra, "Bamhani Plates of Pandava King Bharatabala: Year 2," p. 134.

tributaries of the Son river, the headquarters of the viṣaya perhaps being represented by Pachgaon, about three miles south of Sahdol.<sup>96</sup>

3. (No. 3) Bondaka and Avaḍḍā (apparently adjacent to Bondaka) in Piharāja bhukti.

Bondaka has been identified with the find-spot Bonda, about two miles from the bank of the Mahanadi, near Balpur in Raigarh.<sup>97</sup> Piharāja may be identified with Pihara, about one mile south-east of Bonda.<sup>98</sup>

4. (No. 4) Pimparipadraka in Penṭhāma bhukti.

5. (No. 6) Kōṭiṇīka grāma in Aṣṭadvāra viṣaya.

Kōṭiṇīka grāma has been identified with either Kathakoṇī or Kotmī villages, both about twelve miles from Adhabhara, the find-spot of the plates.<sup>99</sup> Aṣṭadvāra has been identified with Adhabhara, the find-spot of the plates.<sup>100</sup>

6. (No. 9) Vatapadraka in Kośira-Nandapura viṣaya

Vatapadraka has been identified with Batapadaka village, about four miles from Bardula, the find-spot of the plate.<sup>101</sup> The headquarters of Kośira-Nandapura viṣaya has been identified with the site of two adjoining villages, Nandapur, big and small, in Bilaspur district, not far from Sakti on the Bengal-Nagpur line.<sup>102</sup>

7. (No. 14) Śarkkarā pāṭaka in Lāyoḍḍaka viṣaya

Lāyoḍḍaka has been tentatively identified with Lara village, about ten miles north-east of Bonda.<sup>103</sup>

The endowments are stated to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-tāraka-nirodham / ā-candr-ārka-samakāl-opabhog-ārtham / yāvat ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirana-pratihata-ghor-āndhakāram jagad=avatiṣṭhate). The privileges and exemptions attached to the holdings included the following together with the tax known as udranga (s-odranga), together with the dues known as uparikara (sa-parikara), along with all taxes (sarva-kara-sameta / sarva-kar-ādāna-sameta), not to be entered by the cātas and bhāṭas (a-cāṭa-bhata-

<sup>96</sup> *ibid* C. R. Krishnamachari (quoted in *ibid*, p. 142, n. 6) read the name of the viṣaya as Pāṇḍagarttā, which he identified with modern Pandra, about fifty miles south east of Sohagpur. Mekalā, according to Chhabra (*ibid.*, p. 138) comprised the the south-eastern part of the old Rewa State, as well as parts of the Bilaspur and the old Mandla districts.

<sup>97</sup> Sircar, "Bonda Plates of Mahasiva Tivara, Year 5," p. 114

<sup>98</sup> *ibid*

<sup>99</sup> Bal Chandra Jain, "Adhabhara Plates of Maha-Nannaraja," p. 220

<sup>100</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> P. B. Desai, "Bardula Plates of Mahasivagupta: Year 9," *EI* 27 (1947-48): 289

<sup>102</sup> *ibid* According to Desai, Kośira-Nandapura viṣaya appears to be the same as the Nandapura bhoga mentioned in the Pipardulā plates of the Śarabhapuriya king Narendra. He adds that Narendrapur, the site with which he identifies the headquarters of the Kośira Nandapura viṣaya, has reportedly yielded some ancient remains, including a silver coin of the Śarabhapuriya king Prasannamātra.

<sup>103</sup> V. V. Mirashi and L. P. Pandeya, "Bonda Plates of Mahasivagupta, Year 22," *IJ* 35, pt. 2 (April 1963): 63

praveśa / pratiniṣiddha-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa), along with the hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhiḥ s-opanidhiś=ca), and free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita). Five inscriptions (nos. 3, 9, 10, 14, 15) gave the donees the right to punish or realize fines from those guilty of the ten offences (sa-daśāparādha).<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, two inscriptions (nos. 1, 2) specifically state that the donees were not given the right to punish thieves (cora-daṇḍa-varjita).<sup>105</sup> The residents were asked to obey the donees and to live happily, rendering unto them dues such as the bhāga and bhoga. The Bonda plates of Tivara (no. 3)

<sup>104</sup> The interpretation of this technical term is controversial. According to Fleet (CII 3: 189, n. 4), it indicates the right given to the donees to the proceeds of fines imposed on persons guilty of committing one or more of the ten offences. He suggests that the ten offences were the sins of the body, speech, and the mind mentioned in texts such as the Dharmasindhusāra of Kāśināthopādhyāya (ch. 2, vv 19 ff.) and the Aśāṅgahrdaya of Vāgabhaṭa (Sūtrasthāna, ch. 1, vv. 21 ff) as the following theft, killing, the pursuit of other men's wives, harshness of language, untruthfulness, slander, incoherent conversation, coveting the property of another, thinking of wrong things, and holding to that which is not true. U. N. Ghoshal (Hindu Revenue System, pp 286-88) disagrees with Fleet's interpretation; his fundamental objection is that there is no basis for supposition that the grant of rights of jurisdiction were ever intended to be given to the beneficiaries of religious grants. He suggests that sa-daśāparādha refers to the right of the donee to at least a partial exemption from the penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villagers. D. N. Jha (Revenue System, pp. 90-91) agrees with Fleet's interpretation of sa-daśāparādha as indicating the donee's rights to the proceeds of fines for certain offences, and points out that this implies that these fines ordinarily constituted a source of income for the state. The ten offences, however, he suggests, are more likely to have been those enumerated by Nārada as the transgression of the king's commands, the murder of a woman, the mixture of varṇas, intercourse with another man's wife, robbery, pregnancy caused by a man other than the husband, abuse, insulting language, assault, and procuring abortion (see F. Max Muller ed., Sacred Books of the East, vol. 33, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1889, pp. 234-35, vv 11-12). Kane (History of Dharmaśāstra, 3: 264) points out that while some of these crimes, such as murder and robbery, were included among the vyavahārapadas (topics of litigation or dispute in which action was initiated by the parties involved), others, such as the mixture of varṇas (varṇa-samkara) were included by Nārada (verse 4) in the prakīṛṇaka (miscellaneous matters into which the king could initiate investigation even if no private complaint had been lodged).

<sup>105</sup> Fleet (CII 3: 98, n. 3) translates 'cora-daṇḍa varjam' as "with the exception of fines (imposed) on thieves." Ghoshal (Hindu Revenue System, pp. 277-78) rejects this interpretation. He argues that the context in which the term occurs in the inscriptions suggests it to be an immunity granted to the donee and not a right reserved by the donor; that there is no evidence to suggest that the transfer of civil jurisdiction was ever intended in the case of religious grants, that village authorities never exercised criminal jurisdiction apart from that dealing with minor transgressions, and hence the question of the transfer of such rights to them never arose. According to Ghoshal, cora-varjam and its equivalents referred to the immunity of the donee from the tax imposed on villagers for the provision of the village police. As pointed out by Jha (Revenue System, p. 89), Ghoshal's arguments are far from convincing. Cora-varjam, cora-daṇḍa-varjita, etc. seem to have referred to the exclusion of the donee from the right to try thieves or to levy fines on them, implying that the state reserved this right.



contain the term 's-āputrika-veṇi-bhojya' (lines 22-23). D. C. Sircar suggests that it may refer to the right to enjoy the property of a person who died without leaving an heir.<sup>106</sup> The Rajim plates of Tivara (no. 4) refers in lines 21-22 to the endowment being 'dāradraṇaka-sarva-kar-ādāna-sametaḥ.' The meaning of the term dāradraṇaka, evidently a revenue term, is not certain.<sup>107</sup>

## Period II: The seventh to the tenth century

South and central Orissa

### The Śailodbhava grants

Twelve Śailodbhava inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made to these Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Chavalakkhaya grāma in Kṛṣṇagiri viṣaya.

Chavalakkhaya has been identified with Sabuliya village near Khallikota railway station.<sup>108</sup> Hultsch suggests that Kṛṣṇagiri may be the same as Nilagiri, which is a name of Jagannātha Puri,<sup>109</sup> while Rajaguru prefers to identify it with a hill called Nilagiri in Khallikota taluk of Ganjam district.<sup>110</sup>

2. (No. 2) Kumbhārache... in Aharaṇṇa/Āharaṇṇa village in Thoraṇa viṣaya. (The full name of the first place-name cannot be read. It may have ended in 'cheda,' meaning 'section,' in which case Kumbhāra-cheda may have referred to the potters' section in the village.)

3. (No. 3) Pūṣiṇo grāma in Khadira-pāṭṭaka in Guḍḍa viṣaya.

4. (No. 4) Amva(ba) grāma in Deva-grāma viṣaya.

5. (No. 5) Sā(Mā ?)la grāma in Thoraṇa viṣaya.

6. (No. 6) Twenty-three timpīras of land in Tamataḍā grāma attached to Vyāghrapura bhukti in Jayapura viṣaya

<sup>106</sup> Sircar, "Bonda Plates of Mahasiva Tivara, Year 5," p. 114. According to Sircar (*ibid.*), the term 'veṇi' means 'reunited property after it was once divided.' He states that the term 'āputrika-veṇi' is sometimes mentioned in the inscriptions as 'aputra,' 'āputraka,' or 'aputraka-dhana.'

<sup>107</sup> According to Fleet (*CII*, 3: 299, n 1), dāradraṇaka is a fiscal term. He states that while dictionaries translate 'dāra' variously as a cleft, gap, hole, ploughed field, wife, etc., they do not mention the word 'draṇaka' or any root whereby the latter word can be explained. Fleet suggests (*ibid.*) that dāra-draṇaka may refer either to an agricultural cess or to a marriage-tax. Rajaram Narayan Saleore (*Life in the Gupta Age*, Bombay. Popular Book Depot, 1943, pp. 353-54) suggests that the occurrence of the term in connection with the granting of a village suggests that it refers to an agricultural tax, and not to a tax on marriages.

<sup>108</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 160.

<sup>109</sup> Hultsch, "Plates of the Time of Sasankaraja; Gupta-Samvat 300," p. 144

<sup>110</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 160.

Jayapura has been identified with Jeypore estate.<sup>111</sup>

7. (No. 8) Twelve timmiras of land in a village (the name of which cannot be read) in Kaṭakabhukti viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.

(There is a reference to pūrva-khaṇḍa in line 43; what exactly it refers to in relation to the gift land is not clear.)

8. (No. 9) Five ṭimpīras of land in Usavāṭaka grāma in Tanekaṇḍrā viṣaya.

Usavāṭaka has been identified with Ustapada village in the old Ranapur State in Puri district, where the plates were found.<sup>112</sup>

9. (No. 10) Nivina grāma in Khidīṅgāhāra viṣaya. Line 47 of the inscription seem to refer to the additional grant of two timpiras of land.

Nivina grāma has been identified with Nimmina in Ganjam district, the find-spot of the plates, while Khidīṅgāhāra has been identified with Khidingi in Kudala taluk of the same district.<sup>113</sup>

10. (No. 11) Śivā[dhi]vāsa (Rajaguru reads Śivāvivāsa<sup>114</sup>) grāma in [Ki]rā[ta]talaka (Rajaguru reads Śrīrājatilaka<sup>115</sup>) viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.<sup>116</sup>

11. (No. 13) Half of Koṇḍeḍḍa village in Khidīṅgāhāra viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.

12. (No. 14) Two ṭimpīras of land in Duka grāma in Domgī grāma in Vartini viṣaya.

Vartini has been tentatively identified with Vartini in Athagada taluk of Ganjam district.<sup>117</sup>

Two of these grants -- the Nivina and Puri plates of Dharmarāja (nos. 10 and 14) -- specify the boundaries of the gift land. The boundary specifications in the Nivina plates are given in a vernacular that contains a mixture of Telugu and Oriya elements. The boundaries are indicated by various trikūṭas (a term often translated as the junction of three villages),<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> N. G. Majumdar ("Cuttack Museum Plates of Maḍhavavarman," p. 151) suggests that Jayapura viṣaya may be identical with the Jayakaṭaka viṣaya of Koṅgoda maṇḍala referred to in the Dharakota plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara.

<sup>112</sup> Rajaguru, "Ranapur Plates of Dharmmarāja," *IO* 1, pt. 2: 218.

<sup>113</sup> N. P. Chakravarti, "Nivina Copper-Plate Grant of Dharmarajadeva," 38.

<sup>114</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 215, l. 27.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid*

<sup>116</sup> Koṅgoda maṇḍala appears to have comprised modern Ganjam and Puri districts and the southern parts of Cuttack district (Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, p. 46). Koṅgoda also appears as the name of the capital of the Śailodbhava kingdom.

<sup>117</sup> Rajaguru, "The Puri Copper-plate-grant of Dharmmaraja (Samvat 512 or 590 A. D.)," p. 181, n. 181.

<sup>118</sup> According to D. C. Sircar ("Chidivalasa Plates of Devendravarman; Gaṅga Year 397," p. 79, n. 1), Oriya lexicons such as the *Pramoda Abhidhāna* support the translation of this word as 'a junction of three villages,' although in inscriptions it is not always associated with three villages.

joḍas (canals), rows of forest trees, an ant-hill, and rocks. The boundaries of the gift land in the Puri plates are as follows: The village road in the east, a row of trees in the south, a tank (taṭāka) in the west, and a path with the boundary of the metal-workers' section (kāṁsakāra bhiṭṭāka bāstu) in the north.

The number of exemptions and privileges specified in most of the Śailodbhava grants to Brāhmaṇas are few. The grants usually indicate the perpetuity of the endowment (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam / ā-candr-ārka-kālam / ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam). Most of the grants further state that the land had been given after having made it tax-free (a-karikṭya / a-karatvena). In the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja, the land is declared free from all oppressions (sarva-piḍā-varjita) and was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (cāṭa-bhaṭ-āpraveśya). The phrase 'na-kiñcid-anaparagra' that occurs in this inscription perhaps should be read as 'na kiñcit-parigrahaḥ,' indicating that the donees were not to be obstructed in any way. There is possibly a reference to the law governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi dharma) in the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja (no. 1).<sup>119</sup>

#### The grants of Neṭṭabhañja

The Baud and Russellkonda plates of Neṭṭabhañja record the grant of the following land holdings:

1. (No. 1) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) called Stambakāra-launḍaka in Olāśṛṅga viṣaya.

The land is said to have been granted with the fixed boundary of Battarāghāṭa (identified with Patrapada on the bank of a small river in Angul<sup>120</sup>). Olāśṛṅga has been identified with Oida on the north bank of the Mahanadi in the old Athamallik State.<sup>121</sup>

2. (No. 2) Caṇḍūtuṅga grāma (Rajaguru reads Baṇḍutuṅga<sup>122</sup>).

Rajaguru identifies Baṇḍutuṅga with Banatumva village, the find-spot of the plates.<sup>123</sup>

The Russellkonda plates simply indicate that the grant was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-kṣitidhara-sama-kālāya). The Baud plates also stipulate the perpetuity of the endowment (candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam) but add that it was exempt from the

<sup>119</sup> The relevant phrase has been read as 'akṣyaṇīye' by Hultzsch ("Plates of the Time of Sasankaraja; Gupta-Samvat 300," p. 145, l. 22). The intended reading, I suggest, may be 'akṣaya-nīvi.'

<sup>120</sup> Binayak Misra, "Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja," p. 105

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> Rajaguru, "The Bānatumva Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañja Deva of Drmarāja-kula," p. 269, l. 21.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, p. 267.

obligation of paying taxes (kar-ādāna-varjita) and was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-ābādhā-parihṛta). The land is said to have been made tax-free (a-karikṛtya).

### The grants of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

Fifteen of the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas, while one (no. 11) records an endowment made in favour of two deities as well as to certain Brāhmaṇas (perhaps associated with the temple establishment). The endowments made by the kings of this dynasty consisted of the land holdings:

1. (No. 1) Vaṭa grāma in Hāmanibhoga/Hāmaniagośa viṣaya.
2. (No. 2) Vadaribhaṣṭi grāma in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya.
3. (No. 3) Pherava grāma in Lauhaśṛṅgāra viṣaya. The gift land seems to have included the hamlet of Aśvatthaccheda.  
Pherava grāma has been identified by M. S. Sharma with Barua in Sompeta taluk,<sup>124</sup> but according to R. C. Majumdar, this identification is not acceptable.<sup>125</sup> Lauhaśṛṅgāra viṣaya has been tentatively identified with Loisinga in the old Patna Feudatory State.<sup>126</sup>
4. (No. 4) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) in Paḍala[śū]ṅga grāma in Khalugakhā(kha)ṇḍa viṣaya.
5. (No. 5) Bhusuṇḍā grāma in Nḍāśṛṅga viṣaya.
6. (No. 6) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) called Svalpa-Kalañjara in Bhasaṇḍā grāma in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya. The land is said to measure ten murajas.  
Bhasaṇḍā grāma has been identified with Bhasunda village in Badakhimudi taluk, Ganjam district in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya.<sup>127</sup>
7. (No. 7) Bālamaśṛṅga grāma in Vartani viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.
8. (No. 8) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) in Vāḍode grāma in Khalgukhaṇḍa viṣaya.
9. (No. 9) Svalpa-Velura grāma in Khalgukhaṇḍa viṣaya.
10. (No. 10) Dvayaṇḍoli grāma in Ja[no ?]ra viṣaya.

<sup>124</sup> M. Somasekhara Sarma, "A New Grant of the Gāṅga Sāmantavarman," Journal of Oriental Research, Madras 11 (1937): 58.

<sup>125</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Pherava Grant of Samantavarman, King of Kalinga, Year 185," EI 27 (1947-48): 113, n. 1.

<sup>126</sup> *ibid.*, p. 112-13. Majumdar cautions that this identification cannot be considered certain or even probable until more definite information about the location of the Śvetaka Gaṅga kingdom is forthcoming.

<sup>127</sup> Satyanarayan Rajaguru, "Two Grants From Ganjam," OHRJ 7, pt. 2 (July 1958): 85, n..

11. (No. 11) Bheṭhiśṛṅga grāma in Paṭaṇi-khaṇḍa viṣaya. (CChabra reads the name of the viṣaya as Padraṇi-khaṇḍa or Paduṇi-khaṇḍa<sup>128</sup>).

12. (No. 12) Some land in Ameraśiṅga grāma in Jalamvora viṣaya.

Jalamvora has been identified with Jalmuru near Urlam in Ganjam district.<sup>129</sup>

13. (No. 13) Salacaṇikā/Salavaṇikā grāma (referred to in lines 14-15 of the inscription as a khaṇḍakṣetra) attached to Hemvakamaṭamva viṣaya. From a statement at the end of the inscription, it appears that the land measured four murajas.

14. Tanardā grāma in Hallanyara viṣaya.

15. Kāsi[ḍḍā] grāma in Jayaḍā viṣaya.

The endowments made by the Śvetaka Gaṅgas to Brāhmaṇas, thus, consisted in some cases of a piece of land and in others of a whole village. The land gifted by two of the inscriptions (nos. 2, 6) lay in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya, and by three of the inscriptions (nos. 4, 8, and 9) in Khalgukhaṇḍa viṣaya. The land gifted by inscriptions no. 5 and 6 may have been located in or around the same village.

Eight of the inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gift land. The boundaries are indicated by the following land-marks:

No. 1: A modai tree; an aśvattha tree; a lake (sara). ('Sara' can also mean tank, pool, pond, etc.).<sup>130</sup>

No. 2: A morapāda tree; the boundary of the embankment (pālī); a siṇḍārā tree; twenty nalas to the west -- the boundary of Dharmarāja's Kalingā-mārga (Kalinga road).

No. 3: A dry river; the Meghāvatī river (which perhaps may be identified with one of the tributaries of the Tel<sup>131</sup>), the Kodrava canal (khālī), trenches, a hill.

No. 4: The boundary of Teintura grāma; a path; a gādarī (?)

No. 6: The limit of the eastern bank (ālī) of the lake/tank (puṣkaraṇī), the boundary of the artisans' section (karmakāra-cheda-sīmā); the boundary of a lake (sara); the section (cheda) of Skandaśarman.<sup>132</sup>

No. 8: The embankments at the boundaries of the field.

No. 12: The western bank of the tank (puṣkaraṇī) as far as the river; the bhoga-pāṭaka (perhaps indicating a gift village) of Vṛddha-bhogika; the river as far as the middle of its bed.

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<sup>128</sup> B. Ch. Chhabra's editorial note to C. C. Das Gupta's "Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Indravarman," *EI* 26 (1941-42): 169, n. 1.

<sup>129</sup> R. Subbarao, "Madras Museum Plates of Indravarman Deva," p. 184

<sup>130</sup> *Mon. Will.*, p. 1182.

<sup>131</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Pherava Grant of Samantavarman, King of Kalinga, Year 185," p. 113

<sup>132</sup> It is possible that the reference to Skandaśarman's section indicates a brahmadeya settlement adjacent to the piece of land gifted by this inscription.

No. 13: Three ant-hills; a tank (taṭāka); a forest (araṇya); a tank called Kośamva; a tank called Udaya.

The agrahāras endowed by the Śvetaka Gaṅgas were, in most cases, specifically stated to be made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam / ā-candr-ārka-kāla-pratiṣṭham) and to have been made tax-free (a-karikṛtya). The Ganjam plates of Jayavarman (no. 4) contain the term 'padra-sahitena,' which appears to mean 'along with the inhabited area.'<sup>133</sup> A few of the inscriptions -- the Ganjam plates of Pṛthivivarmadeva (no. 10), the Indian Museum plates of Indravarman (no. 11), the Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 14), and the Ganjam plates of Dāṇārṇava (no. 15) -- state that the land was granted along with water, land, and forests (sa-jala-sthal-āraṇya). The Ganjam plates of Dāṇārṇavadeva state that the land was granted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), along with the inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āraṇya), and along with forests and bushes (s-āṭavī-viṭapa-samanvita). The land granted by the Indian Museum plates of Indravarman was given, among other things, along with half the bank (evidently of a river or stream that flowed by).

One of the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions -- the Ganjam grant of Pṛthivivarmadeva (no. 10) records the grant of a kara śāsana (a revenue-paying endowment). Instead of the usual stipulation of the tax-free nature of the endowment that occurs in other inscriptions, lines 20-21 of this grant state that the land was given subject to the payment of taxes (sa-karikṛtya), and the annual rent is specified as four palas of silver (prativarṣaṁ rūpya-palāni catvārideyaṁ).

#### The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kalīṅganagara (inscriptions no. 14-40)

Seventeen of this set of Gaṅga inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments recorded are as follows:

1. (No. 14) Poppaṅgika grāma in Sarau maṭamba in Kroṣṭukavarttani.

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<sup>133</sup> Fleet (CII, 3: 170, n. 3) cites Monier-Williams' various explanations of 'padra:' a village, a road in a village, the earth, a particular district (see Mon. Will., p. 585). He also cites Bühler's explanation of padra as being the same in meaning as 'padr,' 'a grazing place' (Bühler, "Valabhi Inscriptions, No XVIII," IA 15, 1886: 337). Fleet supports H. H. Wilson's (Glossary of Indian Terms) explanation of pādar (i.e. padr) as 'common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' Kishori Mohan Gupta ("Land System in Accordance With Epigraphic Evidence With Notes on Some of the Inscriptions and on Some Terms Used in Them," IA 51, 1922: 73) disputes this, and asserts that according to the lexicons, 'padra' means a village. According to D. N. Jha (Revenue System, pp. 9-10), too, Wilson's interpretation is unacceptable. Jha supports Hasmukh Dhirajlal Sankalia's conclusion (Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p. 52) that, when compounded with the name of a village, the suffix 'padra' indicated a place of habitation in, around, or on a road leading to a particular village.

1 Poppaṅgika has been identified with Poppagi village, and Sarau with Sarvakota village.<sup>134</sup>

2. (No. 15) Haḍuvaka grāma in Puṣyagiri-pañcālī viṣaya.

Haḍuvaka has been identified with the find-spot, Sudava.<sup>135</sup>

3. (No. 16) Navatula grāma in Korasoḍaka-pañcālī viṣaya.

Navatula has been identified with Nautala, a hamlet about six miles south-west of Parlakimedi, and Korasoḍaka with Koroshanda, six miles south of Parlakimedi, in Ganjam district.<sup>136</sup>

4. (No. 17) A hala of land in the brahmacāri section (brahmacāri-cheda) of Siddhāthaka grāma in Varāhavattanī.

Siddhāthaka has been identified with Siddhantam (near Srikakulam), the find-spot of the plates, and Varāhavarttanī tentatively with the area between the Vamsadhara and Nagavali rivers.<sup>137</sup>

5. (No. 18) Tālatthera grāma in Kroṣṭukavarttanī.

6. (No. 19) Kālamaḍamvi(bi)śakuna grāma in Vārāhavarttanī (Varāhavarttanī) <sup>138</sup>

7. (No. 20) Cikhallikā grāma in Phareya bhukti.

8. (No. 22) Mede[lā]ka grāma in Tirikaṭu viṣaya.

9. (No. 24) Musunikā(ka) grāma, attached or adjacent to Sidhathā in Varāhavarttanī.

Musunika has been identified with Musunuru.<sup>139</sup> Sidhathā is probably identical with Sidhathā of the Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25), and perhaps is represented by modern Siddhantam.<sup>140</sup> Varāhavarttanī has been identified as comprising the area around Chicacole (Srikakulam).<sup>141</sup>

10. (No. 27) Puruṣṭhanā or Puruṣjvanā grāma in Bukudravaka in Lohadaṅgara.

11. (No. 31) Tāmaracheru grāma in Varāhavarttanī viṣaya.

12. (No. 33) Siṇicarāṇa grāma and also perhaps (the text is rather corrupt here) two hundred halas of land belonging to the kuṭumbin Rokū (?), as well as a tank (taṭāka).

13. (No. 35) Perhaps Jaḍyālā kṣetra (the passage is defective).

14. (No. 36) Pagaḍākheḍa grāma in Narendrave bhoga.

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134 Rajaguru, *IO*, 2: 63.

135 R. K. Ghoshal, "Two Eastern Ganga Copper-plate Grants from Sudava," p. 63.

136 R. K. Ghoshal, "Trilingi Inscription of Devendravarman, son of Guṇāṃbava (Ganga) Year 192," *IHQ* 20 (1944): 234

137 G. Ramdas Pantulu, "Siddhantam Plates of Devendravarman," *EI* 13 (1915-16) 213

138 A possible reading could be 'Śakuna grāma in Kāla maḍamba'

139 Manda Narasimham, "The Shalantri Copper-Plate Grant of Devendra Varman," *JAHS* 18 (1947-48): 118.

140 Mirashi, "Musunika Grant of Devendravarman III, Ganga Year 306," p. 26

141 *ibid.*

15. (No. 38) Kandalivāḍa grāma in Sahakoluvarttanī.<sup>142</sup>

In lines 22-23, the gift village is referred to as 'Siviḍi-praveśa,' which may mean that it was adjacent to or had access through Siviḍi, or that its rent was assessed along with that of Siviḍi.<sup>143</sup>

16. (No. 39) Na(Nā)pitavātaka grāma in Koluva[r\*]ttanī.

17. (No. 40) A piece of land producing 101 standard measures of paddy (dhānya) as well as four hiḍas<sup>144</sup> in Dvikāthadha village in Dviparṇica sīman (division).

Dharmmapura has been identified with Dharmmarajapur in the old Dharakota zamindari in Aska taluk.<sup>145</sup>

-- It may be noted that the land gifted by inscriptions no. 14, 18, and 39 lay in Kroṣṭukavarttanī, while that of nos. 17, 19, 24, and 31 lay in Varāhavarttanī. This indicates the clustering of some of the brahmadeya settlements in these particular areas.

The boundaries of most of these endowments are specified and comprised the following land-marks:<sup>146</sup>

No. 14: Varicus trenches, including one that apparently marked the boundary of the viṣaya (viṣaya garttā) and one in which the water from the Poppaṅgika hill and that from the Sāyadaka hill unites and runs; a kosamba tree; a giṇigīṇi tree; the boundary of Kuruḍumbi village; tinduka trees; a kadamba tree; a jambā tree; a bamboo clump.<sup>147</sup>

No. 16: A vibhītaka tree situated at a trikūṭa at the bank of the Koṇca trench in the midst of Navatula and Malava, north-west of Kellaḍā; a kapittha (?) in the midst of Navatula and Kellaḍā; an ant-hill; an embankment; a polla and kośamba tree; the water of the hill, etc.

No. 17: Rocks, including one at the foot of the bund of the tank (taṭāk-āli-mūle); a tūṣkaḥkaraka (?) tree; a trench; ciñca (tamarind) trees.

<sup>142</sup> According to R. Subba Rao ("Cheedivalasa Plates of Devendravarman," p. 148) Siviḍi in Kandalivāḍa village was the gift land; he identifies Siviḍi with Chīdivalasa, the find-spot of the plates.

<sup>143</sup> Sircar, "Chīdivalasa Plates of Devendravarman," p. 78, n. 1. D. N. Jha, *Revenue System*, pp. 155-56) disputes Sircar's suggestion that 'Siviḍi-praveśa' may mean that the village in question had its rent assessed with Siviḍi. He asserts that praveśya (or praveśa) means 'on the border of.'

<sup>144</sup> According to D. C. Sircar ("Chicacole Plates of Gaṅga Anantavarman," *JASBL* 18, no 1, 1952: 48), 'hiḍa' is an Oriya word meaning embankment; he adds, however, that here it seems to refer to a piece of raised, i.e. homestead land, and has the same meaning as the Oriya word 'bhiṭa' or 'bhiṭā'.

<sup>145</sup> Rajaguru, "Simhipura Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba King Dharmakheḍi," p. 175.

<sup>146</sup> The reading as well as meaning of some of the land-marks is not certain.

<sup>147</sup> According to Rajaguru (*IO*, 2: 67, n.), Poppaṅgika may be identified with modern Voppaṅgi village and Kuruḍumbi with Kurudingi, not far from Sarakota in Srikakulam district.



No. 18: The summit of Devaparvata; a row of forest trees (vana-rāji); Tālatthera. Hemaśṛṅga; several trikūṭas; several ant-hills, including two at the boundary (sandhi) of Kavāṭa; kośāmra trees; various rows of ciñca trees including those at the trikūṭa of Vasantapura, at the trikūṭa of Soma-vāṭaka, and at the trikūṭa of Dhāra-vāṭaka; Koṅga parvata; the eastern bank of the well (vāpī-pūrv-āli); the trikūṭa of Dumūlli at the summit of the hill; the royal road (rāja-mārga); a nimba tree; the sandhi of Kapāṭ; a row of kuḍuṅgas (?); the bank of a tank (taṭāka), a trench (garttā); various trees; Pipū, Korkkaṇṭa, and Salavadeva hills.

No. 19: The aśvattha tree on the embankments (sarva-pāli) at Sindhivāsa at the boundary of Indrapura; several rows of forest trees; the water course (jala-mārga) flowing in the shape of a half-moon at the trikūṭa of Indrapura and Dantapura grāmas; the well (kūpa) at the boundary of Diṇḍikavāṭaśakuna grāma, a nandi tree, a row of forest trees along with a water course (jala-mārga) at the boundary of Oruvaṅgapāḍā and Śakuna grāma; the trikūṭa of Piśāhali, Vukaḍapātaka, [Sā]mantapātaka, and Śra(Śa)kuna grāma.

No. 20: The Ḍollamgī and other trenches; various embankments (setu), rocks; a well (vāpī).

No. 22: Various rows of forest trees; rocks; the Caṭera river, a group of tentali (tamarind) trees; the Gurā tank (taṭāka); the Kalajñā tank (taṭāka); a trench (garttā); a vaṭa (banyan) tree; a trikūṭa

No. 24: The embankment (āli) of the Dhānya tank (taṭāka); the trench (garttā) marking Musinaka, Murumvaka, and Aralaka; the summits of various hills; the north-west pasture (go-cara) upto the Vāṇśa trench; the north-east pasture of Musinaka; a nyagrodha (banyan) tree at the boundary of Yavayaṭika, Yāmivāṭaka, and Musunika; the flow of the embankment (āli), the north-east pasture

No. 27: The already-established boundary of an embankment (setu).

No. 31: Various rows of forest trees, boulders, Tentali, an ant-hill

No. 35: Several boulders, including one placed on account of the rāja-śāsana at the common boundary of of Jaḍyālā and Voṅkara villages; halaṁdū trees; a bhātakī tree; dhanamjaya trees; several tintriṇi trees; a trench; several ant-hills; nimba trees, a viṣa tree. The land seems to have lain along a road (mārga) between Jaḍyālā and Voṅkhara villages, and included a taṭāka (tank).

No. 36: The river; a vaṭa (banyan) tree; a cluster of bushes or an outpost (gulmaka);<sup>148</sup> a tintiṇi tree; an audumvara tree; the summit of a hill going to Asuralekam.

<sup>148</sup> Gulma (or gulmaka) may mean, according to the context, a bush, squadron, or an outpost (Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 123) *Mon. Will.* (p. 360) gives the following

No. 38: Several tintri trees, including one at the trikūṭa of Siviḍi, Bhrāḍivāḍa, and Kandalivāḍa; various rows of forest trees, including one with nimba trees, another with tintilī and tāla trees, and another with three tāla trees and a haridrā tree at the trikūṭa of Kandavivāḍa, Nāpina(ta)vāḍa, and Siviḍi; groups and rows of rocks; a hill; an ant-hill near a haridra tree, and another at the trikūṭa of Kandalivāḍa, Kolandāri, and Nāpitā(ta)vāḍa;<sup>149</sup> a śālmali tree.

No. 39: Various ant-hills, including one at the trikūṭa of [Dī]bu, Siviḍi, and Nāyadavāṭa, another at Bhāju, and another east from Keva; rows of forest trees, including one that ran upto the trikūṭa, and another that ran up to the ant-hill at the trikūṭa of Kandakavāṭaka, Kolala, and Nāpitavāḍaka grāmas,<sup>150</sup> another that ran upto a tank (taṭāka); various rocks situated at trikūṭas; trenches.

No. 40: The boundaries of the land were clearly defined by rocks.

The holdings of land gifted by this group of Ganga kings to Brāhmaṇas were constituted into agrahāras that were granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candr-ārkam).<sup>151</sup> The gift land was in most cases declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-kara-bharān=muktvā / sarva-kara-bharāt=pratiṃucya / sarva-kara-parihāreṇa). The residents of the villages were told to live happily, rendering unto the donees the dues known as the bhāga and bhoga. The Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17) state that the land was granted together with the entrance to the water-course or together with the water-course and the habitation (udaka-mārga-niveśana-sahitā), and adds that during the summer months the water was to be enjoyed equally with the other householders (grīṣm-odakam kuṭumbais=tulyam), and that no one was to obstruct the donee in his enjoyment of the land. The Santa Bomvali grant of Nandavarman (no. 20) contains a reference to 'niveśana-sahita' (lines 19-20), which may be translated as 'together with the habitation.' The Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman (no. 27) state that future kings, royal officers, cāṭas and bhatas, daṇḍapāśikas, and others were not to cause any obstruction to the donee, and that nobody was to dispute the boundaries of the land. The Tekkalī plates of Anantavarman (no. 33) state that the land was granted along with the tank (taṭākena sahitaṃ). The Kalahandi plates of Vajrahasta (no. 35) also state that the land granted included a tank (taṭāka-sahita-bhūmi). The frequent references to water resources such as tanks in these inscriptions may be noted.

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meanings: a cluster or clump of trees, thicket, bush, shrub, a troop or guard of soldiers, body of troops, division of an army etc.

<sup>149</sup> It may be noted that in all three cases where the term 'trikūṭa' occurs in this inscription, it refers to three villages.

<sup>150</sup> 'Trikūṭa' here, again refers to three villages.

<sup>151</sup> A few inscriptions do not specify the privileges and/or exemptions bestowed on the land. These are nos 22, 31, and 36.

Two of the grants being considered here appear to record kara-śāsanas. One is the Kalahandi grant of Vajrahasta (no. 35). According to D. C. Sircar, the passage in lines 22-23 which reads "samvacchare (samvatsare) karaḥ Phālguna-pratipadī[kha(ī ?)-pañca-deḍaḥ]" -- the import of which Banerji says he is not sure<sup>152</sup> -- seems to stipulate the amount of annual rent to be paid in the month of Phālguna. Sircar points out that 'sām̐vatsarik-karaḥ' means annual rent.<sup>153</sup> The other kara-śāsana is the Chicacole grant of Anantavarman (no. 40). This indicates the fixing of the revenue at ten māśakas (probably meaning either ten coins or silver weighing ten māśakas).<sup>154</sup> The same inscription also says that the land was to be enjoyed along with all the other exemptions (apara-samasta-parihāreṇabhoktavyam)

#### North Orissa

##### The grants of the Bhauma-Karas

Twelve Bhauma-Kara inscriptions record endowments of land to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made consisted of the following land holdings:

1. (No. 2) Three villages: Kompāraka in the valley of the hills (parvata-dronī) in Pañcāla viṣaya, and Daṇḍāṅki and Yoka in Vubhyudaya viṣaya.<sup>155</sup> It seems that the latter two villages were combined into one large brahmadeya settlement under the name of Saloṇapura (The beneficiaries of this grant were two hundred Brāhmaṇas.)

Kompāraka has been identified with Kupari (20° 19' N.; 86° 25' E) in Balasore district.<sup>156</sup>

2. (No. 5) Vuvradā grāma in Antarudra viṣaya.

Vuvradā has been identified by Tripathī with Vanvarada, nearly three miles from Chaurasi, in Antarodha pargana,<sup>157</sup> and by Misra with Buhuruda (19° 10' N; 85°

<sup>152</sup> P. Banerjee, "Kalahandi Plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, Ganga Year 383," *EI* 31, pt 7 (July 1956) 321, n. 7

<sup>153</sup> *ibid*; and p. 392, n. 1 (editor's note).

<sup>154</sup> D. C. Sircar points out ("Chicacole Plates of Gaṅga Anantavarman," p. 49) that while according to *Manu* (8. 135) and some other early law-givers, a māśaka of silver weighed two ratis, i. e. 3.66 grains, the Madras Museum plates of Narendradhavala seem to speak of a māśaka of 5 or 8 ratis of silver. Sircar continues (*ibid*) that the *Śabdakalpadrūma* mentions māśakas of 5, 6, 7, and 8 ratis.

<sup>155</sup> According to R. D. Banerji ("Neulpur Grant of Subhakara The 8th Year," p. 2), the villages gifted were two in number -- parvata-dronī Kompāraka in Pañcāla viṣaya and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka in Pañcāla and Vubhyudaya viṣayas in Utara-Tosali

<sup>156</sup> Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 3. Misra (*ibid*) points out that Kupari lies near a hill, and has yielded some Buddhist sculptures dating to the ninth century

<sup>157</sup> Narayana Tripathī, "Chaurasi Grant of Sivakara Deva," p. 301. Tripathī adds that the modern Brāhmaṇa residents of this village, like the donees of this grant in question, belong to the Kātyāyana gotra

58" E.), about ten miles north-east of Puri.<sup>158</sup> Antarudra viṣaya has been identified with Antarodha pargana in Sadr subdivision in Puri district.<sup>159</sup>

3. (No. 8) Lavāgaṇḍā grāma in Sulāntarakurbha viṣaya.

4 (No. 10) Guṇḍaja or Gujjāṭa grāma in Jayakaṭaka viṣaya.

Guṇḍaja has been identified with Gundrivadi (19° 13" N.; 84° 27" E.), about ten miles northwest of the headquarters of Dharakota taluk.<sup>160</sup> Jayakaṭaka has been tentatively identified with the area near Jayagada, now called Jaugaḍa.<sup>161</sup>

5. (No. 11) Kontasparā grāma in Olāśrama viṣaya.

Kontasparā has been identified with Kantapara (20° 8" N.; 86° 4" E.) in Cuttack district, and Olāśrama with Olasa (20° 9" N.; 86° 1" E.) in Cuttack district.<sup>162</sup>

6. (No. 17) Villa or Vilva grāma in Varaḍā-khaṇḍa viṣaya in Pūrvva-khaṇḍa.

Vilva has been identified with Belagan (19° 20" N.; 84° 51" E.) in Athagarh taluk in Ganjam district; a portion of Ganjam district near Aska is still known as Pūrvva-khaṇḍa.<sup>163</sup>

7. (No. 18) [Ga]rasāmbhā or Rasambhā grāma

Rasambhā has been identified with Rambha in Khallikota taluk in Ganjam district.<sup>164</sup>

8. (No. 19) Sāntīra grāma along with Komyosaṅga in Pacha(ści)ma-khaṇḍa<sup>165</sup> in Tamura viṣaya.

The headquarters of Tamura viṣaya has been tentatively identified with Tamur (21° 18" N.; 85° 14" E.) in the old Pal-Lahara State.<sup>166</sup>

9. (No. 20) Kaṁtsarā-nagari grāma,<sup>167</sup> upto the boundary of Vāṁsiliccheda attached to Khidiṅgāhāra viṣaya.

Kaṁtsarā has been tentatively identified with the find-spot Ghantasila, about five miles west of Chilka lake, while Khidiṅgāhāra has been identified with Khedajhari, about ten miles north-west of Ghantasila.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 8.

<sup>159</sup> Narayana Tripathi, "Chaurasi Grant of Sivakara Deva," p. 301.

<sup>160</sup> Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 21.

<sup>161</sup> Rajaguru, "Dharakota Copper-Plate Grant of the Kara King Subhakara Deva of Orissa," p. 192.

<sup>162</sup> Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 24.

<sup>163</sup> *ibid*, p. 58.

<sup>164</sup> *ibid*, p. 59

<sup>165</sup> According to Sircar ("Santiragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi," p. 86), it seems that Pūrvva and Paścima khaṇḍas merely refer to the eastern and western divisions of a viṣaya.

<sup>166</sup> Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 51.

<sup>167</sup> Binayak Misra (*ibid.*, p. 61) suggests that the suffix 'nagari' in the name of the gift village indicates that it had a large population

<sup>168</sup> *ibid*

10. (No. 25) Choḍāt[vutsā] grāma in Uregodḍā-khaṇḍa, near Mai[r]jemaṇi (the reading of this place-name is not certain) khaṇḍaka

11. (No. 25) Śakemvā village and ten malas (i.e. mālas) of land in Deśalā village in Keṇavā-khaṇḍa.<sup>169</sup>

12. (No. 26) Tarataloi grāma in Talamura viṣaya

Tarataloi has been identified with Taltali, near the find-spot Malishahi, while the headquarters of Talamura viṣaya has been identified with Talmul, a Brāhmaṇa śāsana village, a mile away from Taltali.<sup>170</sup>

Two of the Bhauma-Kara grants to Brāhmaṇas-- the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17) and the Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 20) -- specify the boundaries of the gift land.<sup>171</sup> The land-marks mentioned are as follows

No. 17 The peak of a hill; various gādis (?); the boundaries of Hoṇḍala grāma (identified with Hundalu -- 18° 3' N.; 84° 53' E -- in Ganjam district),<sup>172</sup> Khairapaṭagrāma.

No. 20. Mahākāleśvara grāma, a tāla (palm) tree, an embankment; a vandha (i.e. bandha -- dam or road<sup>173</sup>); a samudra-kara-vandha (perhaps an embankment on the sea shore, where taxes were being levied), a setu (bridge or embankment), a place called Rayāḍa.

The Bhauma-Kara endowments are, as usual, said to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam).<sup>174</sup> The exemptions and privileges bestowed on the endowments include some of the usual ones: the land was granted together with the dues known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), together with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīdā-varjita). Some of the less common terms that appear in the Bhauma-Kara charters are the following. 'sa-tantravāya-gokuta-śaundik-ādi-prakṛtikah,' 'sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmakah,' and 'a-lekhanī-praveśatayā' The first of these terms apparently indicates that the land was granted along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects. The second term may be translated as 'along with the outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc.'

<sup>169</sup> According to Binayak Misra's reading (ibid., pp. 54, 125, 56), the gift village was called Deśala, while Priyatosh Banerji's reading ("Angul Copper Plate of Dharmamahādevī," JASL 17, no. 3, 1951: 250 and n. 4) indicates that the land gifted was ten mālas of land in Deśana grāma.

<sup>170</sup> Ghanashyam Das and Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, "Taltali Plate of Dharmamahādevī," p. 216.

<sup>171</sup> The boundaries of the village gifted by the grant of Vakulamahādevī (no. 24) are simply described as being well-known.

<sup>172</sup> Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 58.

<sup>173</sup> Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 45.

<sup>174</sup> Ll. 39-40 of the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī add that this gift of Śrī Siddha Gaurī should last as long as the Gangā flowed, and as long as the sea and the stars existed.

This term may have had fiscal implications, referring to the right to collect dues at these outposts, or may refer to the grant of control over military outposts.<sup>175</sup> 'A-lekhanī-praveśātaya' may have meant that the land in question could never become the subject of another document, i.e. could neither be regranted nor transferred by the donee to anyone.<sup>176</sup>

In most cases, the grant is said to have been made according to the *bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya*, registered on a copper-plate, and made tax-free according to the *akṣaya-nīvi dharma* (the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments). *Bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya* -- literally, 'the rule or principle of covering the hole' -- is akin to another technical term that often makes its appearance in land grants -- *bhūmicchidra-nyāya*. The latter term (literally 'the law of a hole or a furrow in the ground') seems to have indicated that the land was granted along with all the rights of ownership, such as those to which a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time became entitled.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>175</sup> R S Sharma (*Indian Feudalism* p 283) points out that *Manu* 7. 114 refers to military outposts (*gulmaka*) stationed in villages by the king. According to Sharma, the term 'sa-gulmaka' indicates that the donees were given control over the local coercive machinery, which facilitated the exercise of their fiscal privileges and the maintenance of the self-sufficient rural economy by force.

<sup>176</sup> This has been suggested by Sircar, "Santirigrama Grant of Dandimahadevi," p 86.

<sup>177</sup> U N Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p 296. In the *Arthaśāstra* (2. 2) there is a section on 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhānam'. The king is advised herein to allot pastures for cattle on land unsuitable for agriculture, and to grant land in the wilderness to ascetics for the study of the Veda and for the performance of sacrifices; he is also advised to lay out forests and animal parks for his recreation on such land. R P Kangle (*The Kāutiliya Arthaśāstra*, pt 2, Bombay University of Bombay, 1972, p 59) translates the term 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhānam' as 'the disposal of non-agricultural land'. This does seem to be the connotation of this term in this section of the *Arthaśāstra*. The meaning of *bhūmicchidra* in the inscriptions where it appears frequently, is, however, a matter of debate. Fleet and Bühler interpret it as meaning land fit to be ploughed or cultivated (Fleet, *CII*, 3 138, n. 2). Barnett (*JRAS*, 1931, p 165) sees the reference to *bhūmicchidra-nyāya* as indicating that the donees in question held the land under the same condition as that applied to tenants holding land in forests, etc. -- that the king reserved the right to eject them at will. This view is evidently incorrect, as the grants in almost all cases are specifically stated to have been made in perpetuity. According to Sircar (*Indian Epigraphy*, pp 397-98), the technical term *bhūmicchidra-nyāya* was based on the ancient custom that a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time was entitled to its tax-free enjoyment. In course of time, Sircar continues, the connotations of the term *bhūmicchidra* changed, and it came to refer to uncultivable (*kṛṣy-ayogyā*) land. Epigraphic evidence does not support this hypothesis. The details of the majority of land grants of Orissa (and those belonging to other parts of India as well for that matter) do not suggest that the land gifted was either uncultivated or uncultivable. If it originally possessed either meaning (as *Arthaśāstra* 2. 2 suggests it did), that was lost by the time the term appears in early medieval inscriptions, where it may simply have been meant to emphasise the comprehensive rights in land bestowed on the beneficiaries of royal grants. Sircar ("Santirigrama Grant of Dandimahadevi," p. 86) has suggested that the idea of 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya' seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the original meaning of *bhūmicchidra-nyāya*. He suggests that the idea behind the former term was probably that the loss of lands due to various causes was compensated by the gift of land.

This term may have had fiscal implications, referring to the right to collect dues at these outposts, or may refer to the grant of control over military outposts.<sup>175</sup> 'A-lekhanī-praveśataya' may have meant that the land in question could never become the subject of another document, i.e. could neither be regranted nor transferred by the donee to anyone.<sup>176</sup>

In most cases, the grant is said to have been made according to the *bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya*, registered on a copper-plate, and made tax-free according to the *akṣaya-nīvi dharma* (the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments). *Bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya* -- literally, 'the rule or principle of covering the hole' -- is akin to another technical term that often makes its appearance in land grants -- *bhūmicchidra-nyāya*. The latter term (literally 'the law of a hole or a furrow in the ground') seems to have indicated that the land was granted along with all the rights of ownership, such as those to which a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time became entitled.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>175</sup> R. S. Sharma (*Indian Feudalism* p. 283) points out that *Manu* 7 114 refers to military outposts (*gurmaka*) stationed in villages by the king. According to Sharma, the term 'sa-gurmaka' indicates that the donees were given control over the local coercive machinery, which facilitated the exercise of their fiscal privileges and the maintenance of the self-sufficient rural economy by force.

<sup>176</sup> This has been suggested by Sircar, "Sanuragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi," p. 86.

<sup>177</sup> U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 296. In the *Arthaśāstra* (2.2) there is a section on 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhānam.' The king is advised herein to allot pastures for cattle on land unsuitable for agriculture, and to grant land in the wilderness to ascetics for the study of the Veda and for the performance of sacrifices; he is also advised to lay out forests and animal parks for his recreation on such land. R. P. Kangle (*The Kautīliya Arthaśāstra*, pt. 2, Bombay: University of Bombay, 1972, p. 59) translates the term 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhānam' as 'the disposal of non-agricultural land.' This does seem to be the connotation of this term in this section of the *Arthaśāstra*. The meaning of *bhūmicchidra* in the inscriptions, where it appears frequently, is, however, a matter of debate. Fleet and Bühler interpret it as meaning land fit to be ploughed or cultivated (Fleet, CII, 3. 138, n. 2). Barnett (*JRAS*, 1931, p. 165) sees the reference to *bhūmicchidra-nyāya* as indicating that the donees in question held the land under the same condition as that applied to tenants holding land in forests, etc. -- that the king reserved the right to eject them at will. This view is evidently incorrect, as the grants in almost all cases are specifically stated to have been made in perpetuity. According to Sircar (*Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 397-98), the technical term *bhūmicchidra-nyāya* was based on the ancient custom that a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time was entitled to its tax-free enjoyment. In course of time, Sircar continues, the connotations of the term *bhūmicchidra* changed, and it came to refer to uncultivable (*kṛsy-ayogyā*) land. Epigraphic evidence does not support this hypothesis. The details of the majority of land grants of Orissa (and those belonging to other parts of India as well for that matter) do not suggest that the land gifted was either uncultivated or uncultivable. If it originally possessed either meaning (as *Arthaśāstra* 2.2 suggests it did), that was lost by the time the term appears in early medieval inscriptions, where it may simply have been meant to emphasise the comprehensive rights in land bestowed on the beneficiaries of royal grants. Sircar ("Sanuragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi," p. 86) has suggested that the idea of 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya' seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the original meaning of *bhūmicchidra-nyāya*. He suggests that the idea behind the former term was probably that the loss of lands due to various causes was compensated by the gift of land.

The Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 25) seems to record a kara-śāsana. According to D. C. Sircar's reading, the relevant portion of the inscription states that the village Śakemvā was given as a revenue-free gift while ten mālas of land in Deśalā village were given subject to the annual payment of three palas of silver.<sup>178</sup>

### Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century

North and central Orissa

#### The grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Ten of the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Kumurukelā grāma along with Jaintāmūrā in Uttarapalli.

2. (No. 2) Milupāḍi khaṇḍakṣetra in Royarā viṣaya.

Royarā has been identified as situated on the borders of the old Sonpur State.<sup>179</sup>

3. (No. 3) Singarā-mahallopī grāma in Dakṣiṇa-palli-bhogī-khaṇḍa, on the banks of the Vyāghra river.

The Vyāghra river has been identified with the Bagh river.<sup>180</sup>

4. (No. 4) Vāriśāmā grāma in Rāirā viṣaya, on the banks of the Mora river.

5. (No. 5) Ṭasapaikerā grāma in Utra(ttara)-palli, on the banks of the Mahānadi river (the same as its modern namesake).

6. (No. 7) Hastileṇḍā grāma along with Paca(ñca)-palli, in Tullāsidgā viṣaya.

7. (No. 8) Vāllāśrīṅga khaṇḍakṣetra in Kh[ā\*]tiā viṣaya.

8. (No. 9) Amvasari grāma in Dakṣiṇa-pali-Sivarākhaṇḍa.

9. (No. 10) Konatinthi grāma in Khātiyā viṣaya.

10. (No. 11) Turallā grāma in Tullaśrīṅga viṣaya.

It may be noted that several inscriptions describe the land gifted to Brāhmaṇas as being located on the banks of rivers. Further, the gift land of two of the inscriptions (no. 3 and 9) was located in Dakṣiṇa-palli, while that of two others (no. 8 and 10) was located in Khātiā/Khātyāviṣaya.

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He adds, however, that the term may also simply refer to the custom relating to the reclamation of fallow land.

<sup>178</sup> The passage in question has been read differently by different scholars. Binayak Mīsra (*Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 54, l. 26, and n. 20) reads "kara-ṭṭiya-laruka," and says that the phrase is unintelligible. Priyatosh Banerji ("Angul Copper-Plate of Dharmamahādevī," p. 250, and n. 5) reads "kara-trini(ṇi) palarukaḥ," adds that Mīsra's reading may also be correct, and is not able to give the meaning of the phrase. D. C. Sircar ("Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," p. 8) reconstructs the entire passage in the following manner. "Deśalāgra(grā)ma-da(sa)śa-ma(mā)la-vibhāgaḥ kara-trini-pala-ru(rū) (pya\*)kaḥ praupāditaṁ(taḥ) "

<sup>179</sup> B. C. Mazumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Records of Sonpur," p. 101.

<sup>180</sup> B. C. Mazumdar, "Singharā Plates of Raṇaka Raṇabhanjā Deva," p. 481.



Leaving aside the occasional indication in a few of the inscriptions of the name of the river running past the gifted land, a more detailed specification of the boundaries occurs in only one of these inscriptions -- the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 8). The land-marks referred to are the Śālañki river (identified with the Salki<sup>181</sup>), the Mahānadi, two āśvattha trees, and a rock.

The grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala mention only one privilege bestowed on the land granted to Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries. This is expressed in the phrase 'nidhy-upanidhi sahita' (or sa-nidhiś=c=opanidhiś=ca), indicating that the donees had the right to hidden treasures and deposits found on the land.

#### The grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

All fourteen grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala record endowments of land to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made by these kings were of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Macchaudra grāma.

2. (No. 2) Rātaṅga / Arātaha grāma in Vā[su]deva-khaṇḍa viṣaya

Rātaṅga has been identified with Rottongo in Gumsur taluk, while the headquarters of the viṣaya mentioned here has been identified with Vasudevapur, four miles from Rottongo.<sup>182</sup>

3. (No. 3) Macchaḍa grāma in Machāḍa-khaṇḍa viṣaya.

Macchaḍa may be identified either with Machgaon in Cuttack district<sup>183</sup> or with Mujagodo in Gumsur taluk.<sup>184</sup>

4. (No. 4) Karañjāḍu grāma in Sāraḍḍā viṣaya.

Karañjāḍu may be identified either with Komanda or with Karada, about sixteen miles north of Komanda; Sāraḍḍā has been identified with Arada, about ten miles east of Komanda.<sup>185</sup>

5. (No. 5) Peṭṭasara grāma in Māṇḍi[ḍḍā] viṣaya.

6. (No. 6) Deūlaḍḍa grāma in Śalvaḍa viṣaya.

7. (No. 7) Tuṇḍ[u]rāva grāma in Ramalavva/Ramalavdha viṣaya.

8. (No. 8) Mu(Mū)la-māchāḍa grāma in Māchāḍa-khaṇḍa viṣaya.

This is the same as the gift village of inscription no. 3.

9. (No. 9) A part of Gundapāṭaka grāma in Nānvakhaṇḍa viṣaya.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Sten Konow, editorial note to R. D. Banerji's "Two Grants of Raṇabhanjadeva," p. 327, n. 4.

<sup>182</sup> Hiralal, "Four Bhanja Copper-Plate Grants," p. 301.

<sup>183</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> *MER* 1917- 1918: 136.

<sup>185</sup> Panigrahi, "Komanda Copper-Plates of Nettabhanja," p. 173.

<sup>186</sup> It is not certain whether this was a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. The donee was vanik Ivadata(tta)ka of the Kāśyapa gotra, great grandson of vanik Gargadata(tta), grand-son of

10. (No. 10) Valkā khaṇḍakṣetra in Drolaḍā grāma, along with the cowherds' section (gokuṭa bhāga-bhāga(ka)-saha).

11. (No. 11) Koṅkaira grāma in Paścima-khaṇḍa of Ramalava viṣaya.

12. (No. 12) Komvavāḍā grāma in Vodākhaṇḍa viṣaya.

13. (No. 13) Two villages: Seḍā grāma in Nānākhaṇḍa viṣaya, along with Rāi grāma.

14. (No. 14) Kontamullo/Kontamallo grāma in Sulavāḍḍa viṣaya.

Two of these inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gift land. These are the Orissa and Daspalla plates of Neṭṭabhañja (nos. 9 and 10). The land-marks referred to in these inscriptions are as follows:

No. 9: The śrī-Raṇabhañja-va(ba)ndha (possibly a reservoir constructed by Raṇabhañja's successor in his memory); the boundary of the road.

No. 10: A small trench (garttā); a stream; the summit of a hill.<sup>187</sup>

The Brāhmaṇa holdings mentioned in two of the inscriptions (no. 7 and 11) were located in Ramalava viṣaya. It may be noted that inscriptions no. 3 and 8 indicate the re-granting of the same village to a different donee. There is a passage at the end of inscription no. 9 which suggests that the land granted by this charter was gifted in addition to some previously gifted land (pūrva-datta-pāṭaka-sahitena), which may have been located in the same area.

The grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiṇjali-maṇḍala are generally declared to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-tārā-yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālaṁ yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-tāraḥ etc.). The inscriptions further state that the gift land was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśena), that it was to be free from all obstructions (sarva-bādhā-pāṇihāreṇa) and was made tax-free (a-karatvena).

#### The grants of the Ādi-Bhañjas

Six Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions record endowments of land in favour of Brāhmaṇas. The grants consisted of the following:

1. (No. 1) Vṛ(Bṛ)hat-Sārāi grāma in Urtti viṣaya in Khijjiṅga. The same plate records Raṇabhañja's grant of Svalpa-Sarāyī grāma in Uratti viṣaya (evidently the same as the Urtti viṣaya of the main grant) to another donee.

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Apadata(ṭta), and son of Vapadata(ṭta). The donee is said to have come from Trī(Trī)bhuvanapura in Varendri. It is not clear whether this is a case of Brāhmaṇa merchant or of the use of the gotra by a non-Brāhmaṇa. A reference at the end of the inscription seems to record an additional grant of land in the Gundapāṭaka, the gift village in favour of (the deity) śrī Pṛ(Pu)ṛuṣottama. The land in question is said to have been consututed into a brahmapura.

<sup>187</sup> The meaning of some other words mentioned in this inscription in connection with the boundaries is not clear.

Urti has been identified with Urti village in the old Keonjhar state (now Kendujhar district), about ten miles north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the Vaitarani river.<sup>188</sup> Sorai village near Urti may represent one or both of the villages mentioned in the inscription.<sup>189</sup>

2. (No. 2) Śarapadraka grāma in Kerakera viṣaya. The same plate records Raṇabhañja's grant of a village, the name of which may be Pāḍeva.

Kerakera has been identified with the modern village of that name in Ghoshdapi in Adipur pargana, about twelve miles south-south-east of Khiching.<sup>190</sup> Śarapadraka may be identified either with Soras village near Kerakera or with Saradaha village in Karanjia pargana.<sup>191</sup>

3. (No. 5) Mok[u]ga grāma in Phaṁsarā viṣaya.

4. (No. 6) Gaṇḍa grāma in Piḡaṇḍa bhoga in Khijīṅga maṇḍala.

5. (No. 7) Syallāmayī / LLāmayī grāma in Urti viṣaya.

6. (No. 8) Bonulā grāma in Uttara-khaṇḍa in Sidhāhimbā viṣaya.

None of the inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gifted land.

It may be noted that the gifted villages mentioned in inscriptions no. 1 (either two adjacent villages or two parts of the same village) and no. 7 were located in Urti viṣaya

Most of the Ādi-Bhañja grants refer to very few privileges and exemptions bestowed on the gifted land (there are no terms at all in nos. 6 and 8). In some inscriptions, the land is stated to have been made tax-free (a-karatvena) and is said to have been granted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), along with bushes and creepers (sa-viṭapa-lata). One of the Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja (no. 2) contains the largest number of technical terms among this set of inscriptions indicating the privileges and exemptions that the gift land was to enjoy. In this inscription, the land is said to have been granted along with the dues known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), and along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāyagokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādikaṁ prākṛtika). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīdavarjita), was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśatayā),<sup>192</sup> and was granted according to the bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya.<sup>193</sup> It is also stated to have been made tax-free according to the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi-dharma).

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<sup>188</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Three Copper-Plate Grants From Mayurbhanj," p. 154.

<sup>189</sup> *ibid*

<sup>190</sup> *ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>191</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> See *supra*, p. 33.

<sup>193</sup> See *supra*, p. 33, and n. 177.

### The Jurādā grant of Netṭabhañja

The endowment recorded in the Jurādā grant of Netṭabhañja consisted of Jurādā grāma in Gaḍa viṣaya in Khiñjali-maṇḍala.

The Jurādā grant specifies quite a few exemptions and privileges that were bestowed on the gift land. The land is said to have been granted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), along with bushes and creepers (sa-viṭapa-latā), along with inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āranya), along with mango and madhu (madhūka ?) trees (s-āmra-madhu), and along with fish and water (sa-mīna-toya). It was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa), was exempt from future taxes (bhaviṣyat-kara-rahita), and was granted in perpetuity (candr-ārka-paryantam) according to the bhīmicchidr-āpidhānanyāya.<sup>194</sup>

The Jurādā plates apparently record a kara-śāsana. The annual sum levied on the village was fixed at four palas of silver, while an additional four palas were to be paid as khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍamola.<sup>195</sup> The khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍamola was perhaps a tax that had to be paid to the officer in charge of the territorial unit known as the khaṇḍa.<sup>196</sup>

### The grants of the Bhañjas of Baudh

Both inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Baudh record endowments made to Brāhmaṇas. The land gifted was as follows:

1. (No. 1) Nayaḍā grāma in Khatyā viṣaya in Gandharavāḍi.

Khatyā has been identified with Kaintragarh in the old Athamallik state, on the banks of the Mahanadi, and Gandharavāḍi with Goehhabari in the old Baudh State.<sup>197</sup>

2. (No. 2) Jamarāpura and Sihipura, two pāṭakas (villages) in Vāghulākhaṇḍaka; the villages were named together as Dharmmapura.

Jamarāpura has been tentatively identified with Jampadar near Narla in Kalahandi district.<sup>198</sup>

Both the inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Baudh specify the boundaries of the gifted land. Those of Nayaḍā village included various rocks, the boundary of Tuṇḍaridhiṅga, and half the bank of the Mahānadī river. The boundaries of Jamarāpura and Sihipura included a

<sup>194</sup> See supra, p. 33, and n. 177.

<sup>195</sup> "Rājaki(kiya)-pratya(yā)ya(yo) rūpya-pla. 4. khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍamola-rūpya pla 4." (Sircar, "Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," p. 7).

<sup>196</sup> ibid, p. 8. It may be mentioned that the term 'khaṇḍapāla' appears in the list of officers informed of the grant in the Sonapur/Kelga plates of Somavarṁśi Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30), and in the Anturigaṃ plates of Yaśabhañja and Jayabhañja, the Bhañja kings of Kolāḍa (nos. 1 and 2). The grant of Jayabhañja gives the names of the officers as well; the name of the khaṇḍapāla seems to have been Purañjaya.

<sup>197</sup> Panigrahi, "Baudh Plates of Salonabhañja," p. 277.

<sup>198</sup> Rajaguru and Tripathy, "Baud Plates of Kanakabhanjadeva," p. 18.

rock at Maddhavapura/Māharapura grāma, a rock at Koyāsīmha/Kopāsīmhyā grāma, and the Tela river (which may be identified with the modern Tel river). Koyāsīmha has been identified with Kesinga on the banks of the Tel, in Kalahandi district.<sup>199</sup>

The plates of Salonabhañja (no. 1) state that the gifted land was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-opadrava-varjitam), that it was granted along with right to hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhy-upanidhiś=ca), and along with all the other items that may be produced on the land (s-opajāt-ānya-vastukam). The inscription contains an additional stipulation that seems to mean that the donee was to present every year to the king a pair of garments as a token of respect.<sup>200</sup> The plates of Kanakabhañja state that the land was granted along with water, land, and fish (sa-jala-sthala-matsyam),<sup>201</sup> along with madhūka and mango trees (madhuk-āmra-vane syī ?), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-opadrava-varjita).

#### The grants of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

The land endowed by the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa in favour of Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following villages:

1. (No.1) Komyāṇa grāma in Voḍā viṣaya.

Komyāṇa has been identified with Konomona in Chatrapura taluk of Ganjam district.<sup>202</sup> Voḍā has been identified with Bodda Patti, three miles from Konomona, in Chatrapur taluk.<sup>203</sup>

2. (No. 2) Reṅgaraḍā grāma in Khiñjaliyag[a]ḍa viṣaya.

It has been suggested that Khiñjaliyagaḍa viṣaya signifies the viṣaya adjoining the fort of Khiñjali.<sup>204</sup>

The grants of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa contain a comparatively long list of exemptions and privileges. The village mentioned in the Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañja (no. 1) was endowed along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), along with trees, creepers, etc. (aneka-vṛkṣa-lat-ādi-sameta); along with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āranya), along with water, land, fish, and tortoises (sa-jala-sthala-matsya-kacchapa), along with water and cultivated fields (sa-jala-kṣetra-bhūmi); along with all the taxes such as the bhāga, bhoga,

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<sup>199</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> "Prau-samvatsaram deyaṁ nrpa-vandāpan-ārthakam(m). grām-ādhipatinā vāso-yugam =ekam nrpe=param(m)." (K. C. Panigrahi, "Baudh Plates of Salonabhanja," p. 278, ll 18-19). Panigrahi (*ibid.*, p. 278, n. 4) points to the comparatively modern custom prevalent in the Orissa Feudatory States, whereby Brāhmaṇas holding tax-free land under a copper-plate charter presented the ruler with one rupee, a coconut, and a sacred thread

<sup>201</sup> It may be noted that the land in question was on the banks of a river

<sup>202</sup> Hiralal, "Four Bhanja Copper-Plate Grants," p. 302

<sup>203</sup> *ibid*

<sup>204</sup> Tarini Charan Rath, "Antirigam Plates of Jaya-Bhanja-Deva," p. 42. According to Rath, Khiñjali was the old name of Gumsur.

and hiraṇya (sakala-bhāga-bhoga-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāya-sameta). The village was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The endowment was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam), and was declared tax-free (a-karatvena). The land gifted by the plates of Jayabhaṇja was given to the donee along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), (s-odvelam) (?), along with the right to hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi-s-opanidhi), along with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āraṇya), and along with the entire produce of grain (sarva-sasy-otpatti-sahitam). The land was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas and was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-opadrava-vivarjitam). It was declared tax-free (a-karīkṛtya).

#### The Bonai grant of Udayavarāha

The endowment made by Udayavarāha in favour of two Brāhmaṇa donees consisted of Koṇḍāsamā grāma attached to Kokelā viṣaya in Talāi maṇḍala. Its boundaries included Konda, Tritamālaṅkasa, the Supadra forest, and Tālagacha. The endowment was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārkam), and included the rights over the outposts situated in the village, landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc. (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādī-gulmaka). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita), and was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśita).

#### The grants of the Śulkīs

All ten inscriptions of the Śulkīs record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas. The land gifted was as follows:

1. (No. 1) A village, the name of which has been variously read as Kolapoṅka, Tyalyaketu near Travarnitata, and Kolāmpaka.  
Kolāmpaka has been identified with Kolambi (23° N.; 83° 41" E.).<sup>205</sup>
2. (No. 2) Land in the south-east part of Jārā grāma in Jārā-khaṇḍa.  
Jārā has been tentatively identified with Jalī (21° 53" N.; 85° 44" E.).<sup>206</sup>
3. (No. 3) Siṅga grāma in Paścima-khaṇḍa of Pū[rvva] viṣaya.  
Siṅga has been identified with Singara (20° 50" N.; 85° 8" E.).<sup>207</sup>
4. (No. 4) Candrapura grāma in Koṅkula khaṇḍa in Goillā/Goyila viṣaya.  
Candrapur has been identified with Chandpur (20° 47" N.; 85° 23" E.), Goyila with Goyilu (20° 45" N.; 85° 29" E.), and Koṅkula with Kankulu (20° 47" N.; 85° 17" E.).<sup>208</sup>
5. (No. 5) Llolapura /Lloṇapura grāma in Kodālā maṇḍala.

<sup>205</sup> Binayak Misra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, p. 30.

<sup>206</sup> *ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>207</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>208</sup> *ibid.*

Lolapura has been identified with Lonipara (20° 53" N.; 84° 56" E.).<sup>209</sup>

6. (No. 6) Kameśirsa grāma in Tagakula-khaṇḍa.

7. (No. 7) Jharabāḍa/Jharavāḍa grāma in Goyillo-khaṇḍa.

Jharabāḍa has been identified with Jharaveda (21° 11" N.; 85° 25" E.), and Goyillo with Goyilu (20° 45" N.; 85° 29" E.).<sup>210</sup>

8. (No. 8) One or several localities (the reading is not certain) in Sogga (?) grāma in Gapāraśṛṅga viṣaya.

9. (No. 9) Kāṅkanira/ Kāṅkavirā grāma in Goulā(lo?)-khaṇḍa.

Kāṅkavirā has been identified with Konkarai (20° 58" N.; 85" E.), and Goulā with Goyilu (20° 45" N.; 85° 28" E.).<sup>211</sup>

10. (No. 10) Paḍāra/Pajār grāma in Goila-khaṇḍa

Goila has been identified with Goyilu (20° 45" N.; 85° 29" E.).<sup>212</sup>

It may be noted that the gift villages in inscriptions no.4, 7, 9, and 10 lay in the same area (Goyila/Golia/etc. )

Three of the inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gift land, which are as follows:

No. 1: According to Hara Prasad Sastri's reading and interpretation, the boundaries of the gift village were marked by the revenue-paying fruitful lands of Bhaumasmaka, the boundaries of which were settled by the king's father as being to the west of Mvipya, and from the south all round surrounded by Jodāpathana and other lands.<sup>213</sup> According to Banerji-Sastri's reading, the boundaries were Sagdhiyo and Jādā.<sup>214</sup>

No. 2: Cakalika-bhūmi (identified with Chakalia, 21° 53" N.; 85° 39" E.<sup>215</sup>); the field or section of the pillar or column makers (?) (stambhakāra-kṣetra); Āhāra; Jaura; Cintābhūmi.

No. 8: Pa[ñca]śasya, Puṇyavṛddhi, Sarvadā..., Sāraṭura, and Kharāṇḍava seem to have been places constituting the boundaries.

The Śulkī endowments are often specifically stated to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-vyavasthayā/yāvac=candr-ārka-tāraka/ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam etc.) The privileges that variously occur in the grants include the following: along with the taxes

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<sup>209</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>210</sup> *ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>211</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>212</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Hara Prasad Shastri, "Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal," pp 397, ll. 10-14; 399. It may be suggested that 'jodā' could refer to a stream instead of forming part of a place name.

<sup>214</sup> Banerji-Sastri, "Dhenkānāl Grants of Raṇastambha and Jayastambha," p 319, ll 10-14, 321.

<sup>215</sup> Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 28

known as the uparikara (sa-parikara); along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa); along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala); and along with inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āraṇya). The Hindol plate of Kulastambha (no. 8) contains the additional stipulation that the land was granted along with the fields (kṣetra-sahitayā). One of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (no. 4) stipulate that the land was granted along with weavers, cowherds, fishermen, and others (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-kaivart-ādi-jana-pramāṇīyam),<sup>216</sup> and the other Dhenkanal grant (no. 6) of the same king that it was gifted along with weavers, cowherds, brewers and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-sa-prakṛtika). Inscription no. 4 also states that the land was granted along with fishing rights and customs outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries etc. (matsya-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-śulka-sthān-ādi-gulmaka).<sup>217</sup> No. 6 has: matsya-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka (along with fishing rights and outposts situated in the village, at the landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc.). The Hindol plate of Kulastambha (no. 8) contains the interesting statement that the land was granted along with abundant kuśa grass and firewood employed in sacrifices (yajñ-opakaraṇa-pracura-kuśa-samit-sameta). Some of the inscriptions state that the land was to be free from all obstructions (sarva-bādhā-vivarjitena) and was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The term a-lekhanī-praveśatayā occurs in two of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (nos. 4 and 6), probably indicating that the land in question was never to become the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable. The terms akṣaya-nīvi-dharma (the law of the non-transferability governing permanent endowments) occurs in the Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha (no. 3), while bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya<sup>218</sup> occurs in one of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (no. 6).

Two of the Śulkī grants are kara-śāsanas. The Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha (no. 3) specifies the ṭṛṇ-odaka (i.e. tax)<sup>219</sup> to be two palas of silver,<sup>220</sup> even though the conventional phrases referring to the tax-free nature of the endowment are also present. The Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 10) specifies the rent as ten palas of silver.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>216</sup> The term 'pramāṇīyam' may suggest that the grant was witnessed by the weavers, cowherds, fishermen, and others. However, this is the only inscription where this word is appended to the standard stipulation. The reference to the fishermen may also be noted.

<sup>217</sup> The reference to fishing rights and the appearance of śulka instead of nadi may be noted.

<sup>218</sup> See p. 33, and n. 177.

<sup>219</sup> According to Sircar, "Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," p. 6, 'ṭṛṇ-odaka' -- literally 'grass and water' -- is a technical term denoting a cess due to the king even when the gift land was said to have been rendered tax-free.

<sup>220</sup> R. D. Banerji ("Talcher Grant of Kulastambha," p. 158, ll. 27-28) reads "ṭṛṇ-odaka rūpya 40 4;" Sten Konow (editorial note, *ibid.*, n. 13) reads the numerical figures as 40 and 2. D. C. Sircar ("Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," p. 7) reads "ṭṛṇodaka rūpya-pla 2."

<sup>221</sup> "kara-śāsa ru pla 10" (Sircar, "Puri Plate of Kulastambha," p. 169, l. 31).



### The grants of the Tuṅgas

The land endowed by the Tuṅga kings to Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Svalpa-Kom[pai]/Svalpakomi grāma in Khem(mbā)i viṣaya.

2. (No. 2) Vāmāitālla grāma in Tuṅkerā viṣaya.

Tuṅkerā has been identified with Tonkour (21° 25" N.; 85° 14" E.) in the old Pallahara State.<sup>222</sup>

3. (No. 3) Toro grāma in Veṇḍuṅga viṣaya.

Toro has been identified with Thora-kota (21° 20" N.; 85° 2" E.) in Pallahara, and Veṇḍuṅga with Balanga (21° 44" N.; 84° 47" E.) in Bonai<sup>223</sup>.

4. (No. 4) Koṅjari (Koṅjari) grāma in Khemvāi viṣaya.

Koṅjari has been identified with Keonjhar (Kendujhar)<sup>224</sup>

5. (No. 5) A piece of land called Lavantaivīya-khaṇḍakṣetra

The Tuṅga endowments were made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārkam / yāvac=candr-ārka-tārakāt/candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam/yāvat-kṣiti-jala-pavana-hutāśana-grah-eva-kṣiti-tārakāt). The Talcher plate of Gayāḍatunga (no. 1) refers to the land being granted along hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi s-opanidhi). All but one of the inscriptions state that the gifted land was not to be entered by cāṣas and bhaṣas (a-cāṣa-bhaṣa-praveśya). The Bonai plate of Vinītatuṅga (no. 4) contains a longer list of privileges and exemptions than do the other Tuṅga grants. Here, the land is said to have been granted along with the taxes known as the uparikara (sa-parikara); along with the space above the ground (s-oddesa), along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śaundik-ādi-sa-prakṛtika); and along with the ouposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc. (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita) and was not to be made the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśita). Lines 27-28 of the Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatuṅga (no. 5) have the following term: "dvādaśa-pramāny-āvibādhā-vivarjita." While the latter part of the phrase seems to suggest that the endowment was to be free from all obstructions, the meaning of the first part is not clear.

Two of the Tuṅga grants are kara-śāsanas. The Talcher plate of Gayāḍatunga (no. 2) states that the tax had been fixed at four palas of silver<sup>225</sup> The Asiatic Society plate of

<sup>222</sup> Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 40.

<sup>223</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>224</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>225</sup> "...ṭṭṭ-odaka-rupya-pla catvāri anke ru pla 4...." (Sircar, "Grants of Gayadatunga," p. 100, ll. 32-33).

the same king (no. 3) refers to the land having been constituted into a kara-śāsana, and specifies the rent as being fixed at nine palas of silver.<sup>226</sup>

#### The Dhenkanal grant of Jayasimha

The land granted in favour of two Brāhmaṇa donees by Jayasimha consisted of Kāryāṭi grāma attached to Yamagartta viṣaya. Yamagartta has been identified with Jamagadia (20° 30" N.; 85° 5" E.) in Angul or with Jomurdi (21° 30" N.; 85° 14" E.) in Pallahara.<sup>227</sup> The endowment is simply stated to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam), nothing further being said about the privileges and exemptions bestowed on the it.

#### The Nandodbhava grants

The grants made by the Nandodbhava kings in favour of Brāhmaṇa recipients consisted of the following land-holdings:

1. (No. 1) Lamve(mbe)va/Lamve(be)da grāma in Potoḍā viṣaya.  
Lambeva has been identified with Limboo (20° 28" N.; 85° 6" E.) in the old Narasinghpur State, and Potoḍā with Potala (20° 42" N.; 86° 14" E.) in the old Hindol State (now included in Dhenkanal district).<sup>228</sup>
2. (No. 2) Palāmūnā grāma in Kahāśṛṅga viṣaya.
3. (No. 3) Doloṣara grāma in Kaleḍa khaṇḍa in Erāvaṭṭa maṇḍala.
4. (No. 4) Tamvāvarā grāma in Sarēva-khaṇḍa viṣaya.
5. (No. 6) Śilohā/Śilodā, a piece of land (khaṇḍakṣetra) in Aitārāstambha-khaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭa-maṇḍala.  
Śilohā or Śilodā has been identified with Siridi (20° 45" N.; 85° 9" E.) in the old Dhenkanal State (now the name of a district).<sup>229</sup>

The Jurerpur and Narsinghpur plates of Devānandadeva (nos. 2 and 3) do not specify any terms of the grant. In the other inscriptions, the land is said to have been granted along with land and water (sa-jala-sthala / sa-jala-sthala-yoga) and along with pits/trenches and mounds (sa-gartt-āvāskara). The Jayapura or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) have the additional term 'sa-parvat-āraṇya,' indicating that the land had been granted along with hills and forests.

<sup>226</sup> "... kara-sā(śā)sanam kṛtaḥ ru(rū)pya-pala-navena (read navakena) añken=api ru(rū)pya-pla 9 un-o[da\*]ka-pūrvakena." (ibid., p. 104, ll. 33-34).

<sup>227</sup> Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 24.

<sup>228</sup> ibid., p. 36.

<sup>229</sup> ibid.

### The Hindol grant of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva

The grant of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva records the grant of Vaḍapāṭi (or Vajrapāṭi) attached to Kurmmadeva viṣaya to three Brāhmaṇas. No privileges or exemptions are specified.

### The Somavarṇśi grants

The endowments made by the Somavarṇśi kings to Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following land holdings:

1. (No. 1) Vakrat[e]ntali grāma in Lupattarā-khaṇḍa.
2. (No. 2) Jambū grāma in Potā viṣaya.  
Jambū village has been tentatively identified with Jamgaon, adjacent to Kalibhana, while Potā viṣaya may be the same as Povā viṣaya which has been identified with Pow in the old Sonapur State, nineteen miles south of Binka.<sup>230</sup>
3. (No. 3) Vakaveḍḍa grāma in Ongātaṭa viṣaya.
4. (No. 4) Pāsitalā grāma in Potā viṣaya.
5. (No. 5) Satallamā grāma in Kaśaloḍā viṣaya.
6. (No. 6) Ṛṣi grāma in Nimunā viṣaya.
7. (No. 8) Two villages: Raṇḍā and Alāṇḍalā grāma in Povā viṣaya in Kośala deśa.<sup>231</sup>
8. (No. 9) Arki grāma in Tulumva-khaṇḍa in Kośala deśa.
9. (No. 10) Tūleṇḍā/Truleṇḍā grāma (Rajaguru reads Yantralenu/Ntralenu<sup>232</sup>) in Sandānā viṣaya in Kośala-deśa.
10. (No. 11) Konnayillā grāma in Ṭokkārā viṣaya in Kośala-deśa.  
Ṭokkārā has been identified with Tukra, about fourteen miles east of Bargarh town
11. (No. 12) Kuḍukolo khaṇḍakṣetra in Gaṇḍitarna viṣaya in Odha-deśa (probably to be read as Odra-deśa).<sup>233</sup>
12. (No. 13) Some land in the north of Talakajja-grāma, including the Avariya river, in Sanūlā viṣaya in Kośala deśa(śa).

According to Sircar, the river mentioned here may be the Aurag, a feeder of the Mahanadi.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Sircar and Rath, "Kālibhanā Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Somavarṇśi King Mahā-Bhavagupta I Janamejaya," p. 240.

<sup>231</sup> i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, which comprised the modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur areas.

<sup>232</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 145.

<sup>233</sup> In this period, Odra included the large tract of land between Dakṣiṇa Kosala in the west and coastal Orissa in the east (Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, p. 57).

<sup>234</sup> Sircar, "Balangir Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti; Regnal Year 8," p. 118

13. (No. 14) Cānda grāma in Maraḍa viṣaya in Dakṣi[ṇa\*] Tosali (Fleet thinks this should be emended to Dakṣiṇa Kosala<sup>235</sup>).

Cānda may be identified with Chandra village in Hariharpur pargana, while Maraḍa viṣaya may be identified with Hariharpur pargana, locally known as Maraḍa Hariharpur.<sup>236</sup>

14. (No. 15) Nibinnā grāma (spelt Nibiṇḍā in line 5) in Uttara-pallikā in Gaṇuḍapāṭa-maṇḍala in Kośala-deśa.

Gaṇuḍapāṭa has been tentatively identified with Ghantapara in the old Sonapur State (now included in Bolangir district).<sup>237</sup>

15. (No. 16) Deḷāḍeli grāma in Telāṭaṭa viṣaya in Kosala-deśa.

16. (No. 17) Lūttarumā grāma in Telāṭaṭa viṣaya in Śaṇavatī.

17. (No. 18) Gauḍasimiṇilli grāma in Sākhaṅgadyanhā viṣaya in Kosala.

18. (No. 19) Liṇjira grāma in the vicinity of Pṛthurā bhukti.

Liṇjira has been identified with a village of the same name near Baramadela in the old Sarangarh Feudatory State.<sup>238</sup> Pṛthurā has been identified with Pithora in the Padampur tract, about forty-five miles north-west of Sambalpur.<sup>239</sup>

19. (No. 20) Bhilli grāma in Abhapparā-khaṇḍa in Antaruda viṣaya.

Antaruda viṣaya has been identified with Antarodh pargana in Puri district.<sup>240</sup>

20. (No. 21) Two villages: Vṛhadbhūsāyī grāma in Bhrāṇḍa viṣaya in Kośala, and Māraṇjaurā grāma in Santovarḍa khaṇḍa in Śambarabāḍi maṇḍala (probably also in Kośala).

21. (No. 22) One village to each of the two donees: Kontalaṇḍā grāma in Saṁsarāva khaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala in Oḍri (Oḍra) deśa; and Lovākaraḍā grāma in Saṁsarāva khaṇḍa.

Kontalaṇḍā has been identified with Kantilo in the old Khandapara State, not far from Balihari (in the old Narsinghpur State), the find-spot of the plates.<sup>241</sup> Airāvaṭṭa has been identified with Ratagarh in Banki, about sixteen miles from Marada, while Lovākaraḍā has been tentatively identified with Marada, about four miles from Kantilo.<sup>242</sup>

22. (No. 24) Loisarā grāma in Giḍāṇḍa maṇḍala.

<sup>235</sup> Fleet, "Records of the Somavarṁśi Kings of Katak," p. 351, n. 11.

<sup>236</sup> Rangalala Banerjia, "Note on a Copper-plate Grant found in the Record Office of the Cuttack Collectorate," *JASB* 46, pt. 1, no. 2 (1877): 150.

<sup>237</sup> Mazumdar "Three Copper-Plate Records of Sonpur," p. 96, n. 5.

<sup>238</sup> Pandeya, "The Mahakosala Historical Society's Plates of Mahabhavaguptarajadeva," p. 136.

<sup>239</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 16.

<sup>241</sup> Binayak Misra, "Narsinghpur Charter of Uddyotakeśari Mahābhavagupta IV," p. 4.

<sup>242</sup> *ibid.*

23. (No. 30) Atteṇḍā grāma in Kesalogā khaṇḍa in Uttaravalli viṣaya.

24. (No. 31) Gudhuvamāla khaṇḍakṣetra and Kahapura khaṇḍakṣetra in Vurayudā grāma in Roṅgaḍā maṇḍala, as well as Paviśa grāma.

It may be noted that the land of inscriptions no. 2 and 4 lay in Potā viṣaya, while that of nos. 16 and 17 lay in Telātaṭa / Telātaṭṭa viṣaya.

It may also be pointed out that the donee of inscriptions no. 8, 9, and 10 was the same (Sādhāraṇa, a Brāhmaṇa minister of the king), as was the donee of inscriptions no. 16 and 17. Further, Ābhābhakaraśra(śa)rmman, the donee of the Stray plate found at Sonapur (no. 31) was the son of Udayakarasa(śa)mman, the donee of the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 3). This indicates the expansion of the landed estates of these Brāhmaṇa families.

The grants of the Somavamśī kings usually specify a large number of privileges and exemptions, several of which are not encountered in the grants of other dynasties. The land is generally said to have been granted up to its four boundaries (catuḥ-sīmā-paryanta), along with hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhiḥ s-opanidhiḥ), along with pits and barren tracts (sa-gartt-ośara); along with mango and madhūka trees (s-āmra-madhūka), along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala); and along with the dues known as the uparikara (sarv-oparikar-ādāna-sahita). It is, further, stated that the land was to be free from all obstructions (sarva-bādhā-vivarjita) and was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (pratiniṣiddha-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa / a cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The land was said to have been made tax-free by means of a copper-plate charter (tāmra-śāsanen-ākariḥṭya) and to have been granted in perpetuity (ā-candra-tāra-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kāl-opabhog-ārtham). The residents of the gifted land were told to live happily, rendering to the donees all the dues such as the bhoga, bhāga, kara, and hiranya.

Some of the Somavamśī inscriptions contain certain additional terms referring to aspects of the flora and fauna over which the donees were given certain rights. Thus, the Cuttack Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 14) state that the land was granted along with palm and other trees (tāl-ādi-taru-saṁyuta). The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) grant the land along with the bushes or outposts of the viṣaya (sa-gūḍa-viṣaya; probably should be read as sa-gulma-viṣaya), and along with the paṅkāla (sa-paṅkāla).<sup>243</sup> The Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśari Mahābhavagupta (no. 22) state that the land was gifted along with half the bank of the Mahānadi (Mahānadi-ardha srotaḥ sameta) and along with sīsu, madhūka, tāla, and other trees (sīsu-madhūka-tāla-nānā-vṛkṣa). The Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta (no. 24) state that the land was granted together with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āraṇya). The Sonpur plates of

<sup>243</sup> The meaning of 'sa-paṅkāla' is not clear. It may have something to do with paṅka, which means mud, dirt, clay, etc. (Mon. Will., p. 574); or the reading may be 'paṅkāra,' which in certain lexicons, means dam or dyke (ibid.).

Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30) grant the land along, among other things, with fish and tortoises (sa-matsya-kacchapa), along with bushes and forests (sa-ṣṭap-āraṇya), and along with mango and madhūka forests (s-āmra-madhu-van-ākīrṇa). The stray plate found at Sonapur (no. 31) contains the following terms: along with fish and tortoises (sa-matsya-kacchapa); together with village and bushes or bushes of the village (sa-kheṭa-ṣṭapa); together with low and high lands (sa-khalla-onnata);<sup>244</sup> along with inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āraṇyaka); along with bushes and creepers (sa-gulma-latāka); along with mango and madhūka trees (s-āmra-madhūka); along with tamarind trees (sa-tantalika); along with palm trees (sa-tālaka); and along with various trees (nānā-vṛkṣa-sameta). The land is also said to have been granted along with hidden treasures and deposits, elephants' teeth (ivory), tiger-skins, and various wild animals (nidhy-upanidhi-hastidanta-vyāghra-carma-nānā-vanacara-sameta), suggesting that the gifted land was situated in or close to a forested area inhabited with wild-life.

The term 'sa-pratihāra' occurs in the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha and the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (nos. 20 and 22). It has been suggested that it means 'together with the tax of for the maintenance of the city-gates.'<sup>245</sup>

The term 'sa-daś-āparādha' occurs in several inscriptions (nos. 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21). It seems to have referred to the right to adjudicate or collect fines for certain offences

Four Somavamśī inscriptions refer to a series of taxes, the exact meaning of all of which is not certain.<sup>246</sup> Thus, lines 31-32 of the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha (no. 20) contain the following passage: "andhāruvā padāti jīvya hastidaṇḍa varalivardda cihol adatt ādi sahita." The Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (no. 22) contain the following passage: "hastidanta-varavalāvanda coṭāla andhāruva pratyandhāruvā ādattā padātijīva ahidaṇḍa antarāvaḍḍi vandhadaṇḍa vijayavandāpanā mārggaṇika prabhṛti bhaviṣyat-kara sahitaḥ" (lines 39-42). Lines 38-40 of the Ratnagiri plates of Kaṇa (no. 28) refer to the following terms: hastidaṇḍa, varabalivardda, ciṭṭola, andhāruā, pratyandhāruā, adattā, padāti-jīvya, antarāvaḍḍi, rintakāvaḍḍi, vasāvakī, viṣayālī, ahi-daṇḍa, hala-daṇḍa, bandha-daṇḍa, vandāpanā, vijayavandāpanā, and khaṇḍapāla. The following three terms also occur: nānā-mārggaṇī-sameta, bhaviṣyat-kara-sameta, and sa-khaṇḍapālīya. The Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara (30) contain the following passage: "suvarṇṇadaṇḍa-ahidaṇḍa-vartmadaṇḍa-vandāpanā-vijayavandāpanā-tṛṇ-odaka-śāsan-ārddhika-cara-balivarda-ārthāruvā-pratyarthāruvā-padātijīvya-ādatta-

<sup>244</sup> According to Sircar's *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 399, 'khalla' is derived from the Onya 'khāl,' meaning low-land

<sup>245</sup> *ibid.*, p. 401.

<sup>246</sup> The orthography of these terms is left here as it appears in the inscriptions

ātūrāvaddi-bhaviṣyat- kar-ādi-sametah" (lines 16-19). These plates also contain the terms "go-gauḍa-sameta" and "sa-khaṇḍapāliya."<sup>247</sup>

D. C. Sircar has offered the following meanings of some of these fiscal terms: suvarṇadaṇḍa -- a tax payable by professional goldsmiths; ahi-daṇḍa -- a tax payable for the maintenance of snake-charmers; vandāpanā -- an offering payable on the occasion of visiting the king; vijaya-vandāpanā -- the offering payable on the king's return from a victorious military campaign; śāsanārdhika -- an additional share of the produce payable by tenants cultivating rent-free lands; varabalivarda -- a tax on prize bullocks; padātijivya -- a tax for the maintenance of paiks; go-gauḍa -- literally 'cow and cowherd,' a grazing tax or a tax on cowherds; hastidaṇḍa -- a tax payable for the possession of elephants, bandhadaṇḍa -- a ransom payable in lieu of imprisonment; pratihāra -- a tax for entry into the royal palace or the maintenance of the pratihārīs; arthāruvā and pratyarthāruvā -- dues paid by money-lenders for the amounts loaned and those realized with interest; āturāvaddi -- a levy for the treatment of the king in sickness; coṭāla -- perhaps the same as ciṭolā, the meaning of which is not clear; ādattā -- interest or fine on the arrears of taxes.<sup>248</sup> Hala-daṇḍa may refer to a tax on ploughs.<sup>249</sup> Mārgaṇika or mārgaṇaka has been tentatively connected with the word 'mārgaṇa,' 'beggar,' and may have been an impost of a general character levied on villages.<sup>250</sup>

Two of the Somavarṁśī grants to Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries are kara-śāsanas. These are the two sets of Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (no. 3, 4) which specify the annual tax as eight and five palas of silver respectively.<sup>251</sup>

#### South and north Orissa

##### The grants of the imperial Gaṅgas and their feudatories: (inscriptions no. 41- 77)

The following land-holdings were granted by the imperial Gaṅga kings and their feudatories to Brāhmaṇa recipients:

1. (No. 53) Tāmaraceru grāma along with Cikhali-vāṭaka

(This very village was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas by the Chicacole plates of Indravarman, Gaṅga (no. 10), and to five hundred Brāhmaṇas by the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 31).)

<sup>247</sup> On khaṇḍapāla, see supra, p. 38 and n. 196.

<sup>248</sup> Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 402-3

<sup>249</sup> Debala Mitra, "Ratnagiri Plates of Somavamsi Karna," p. 264.

<sup>250</sup> U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 317.

<sup>251</sup> "... prativarṣa-dātavya-ru(rū)pyak-āṣṭa-pala-kala-dāna(rn\*) viniścītya...." (Sircar, "Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," p. 8).

"... prativarṣe c=ātra śāsanē kara-paṇca-rūpya-plāni niṣṭāṅkya kara-śāsanam=īdam dattam yatra rū pla 5 ..." -- Ganga Mohan Laskar, "Four new Copper-Plate Charters of the Somavarṁśī Kings of Koṣala (and Kaṭaka ?)," *JASB N.S.* 1, 1905: 13, ll. 45-46

2. (No. 57) Koḍila grāma in Varāhavarttanī. (The donees were three hundred Brāhmaṇas).

Koḍila has been identified with Kodisa, about two miles from Galavalli, the find-spot of the plates.

3. (No. 58) Br̥hatkoḍila grāma along with Bhinnāla vāṭaka, in Varāhavarttanī.

Br̥hatkoḍila was probably situated near Koḍila grāma of inscription no. 57.

4. (No. 62) Khonna grāma in Varāhavarttanī.

Khonna has been identified with Korni, the find-spot of the plates.

5. (No. 65) These plates seem to record the additional grant (to the three hundred Brāhmaṇa donees who had received Khonna grāma by a previous grant made by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga) of land measuring eighty-eight units taken from Tūlubu grāma as well as some land from Gārā village.

The boundaries of the gifted land are indicated in two of the above-mentioned inscriptions, and were as follows:

No. 62: The trikūṭa of Khonna, Domvaravalli and Toneṅgi villages; the crooked trench (garttā) of Toneṅgi village; various rows of marīca trees; a marīca trees with an ant-hill, including one at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Toneṅgi and Khollera villages; a big ant-hill; a row of forest-trees; a small well (tanu-vāpikā) and a trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Kollera and Tūlubu villages; a trench; the trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Tuluvu and Gārā villages; the trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna Gārā, Dombaravelli, and Toneṅgi.<sup>252</sup>

No. 65: The boundaries include the Toneṅgi-grāma trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Omvaravelli, and Toneṅgi; ant-hills; marīca trees; a row of trees; an ant-hill and a marīca tree at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Tonneṅgi, and Khollira; a row of forest-trees; trenches; rocks, many located at various trikūṭas; the mouth of a trench entering the tank (taṭāka); the boundary (sandhi) of the embankments (setu) of two tanks (taṭāka).

It may be noted that the mention of the same villages among the boundaries of nos. 62 and 65 indicates that the villages gifted by these charters were in the same vicinity.

The land is generally stated to have been granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālaṁ yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat), along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala); it was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjita), and was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The cultivators were to render to the donees all dues such as the bhāga, bhoga, etc.. The Chicacole plates of Rājārāja I (no. 58) contains the expression 'grāma-grāsaṁ kṛtvā'.<sup>253</sup> Sircar suggests that the absence of any

<sup>252</sup> It may be noted that 'trikūṭa' consistently refers to three villages in this inscription.

<sup>253</sup> C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, "Six New Eastern Ganga Copper-Plate Inscriptions," *JAHS*, 8, pts 2 and 3 (October 1933 and January 1934): 180, l. 2.



reference in the inscription to the land being made revenue free and the use of the term 'grāma-grāsa' instead of 'agrahāra' to describe the holding may indicate that the donees were to pay some rent.<sup>254</sup> It may be noted that none of the inscriptions mentioned above specifically state that the endowment was rendered tax-free.

### Summary

Brahmadeya grants in ancient and early medieval Orissa consisted of one or more villages or one or several plots of land in one or more than one village. In Period I (fourth to seventh century), out of the sixty-two grants to Brāhmaṇas examined, fifty-one consisted of grants of single villages, four of more than one village, and seven of one or more plots of land. In the case of the gift of pieces of land within villages, the dimensions of the granted area are in most cases specified. The land measure terms used are hala (including one reference to a hala of land measured by the rod used for brahmadeyas in the imperial Gaṅga inscription no. 13), timpira, hasta, droṇa, droṇavāpa, and nivartana.

In Period II (seventh to tenth century), of the fifty-eight Brāhmaṇa grants examined, forty-three were grants of single villages (including four grants of one village along with some additional land), one of more than one village, and fourteen of a piece or several pieces of land within one or more villages. The pieces of land are sometimes referred to as khaṇḍakṣetras, and some of the inscriptions specify the area gifted, the land measure terms used being timpīra (also spelt timmīra, ṭimpīra, timpīra), muraja, nala, hala, and māla. The Chicacole plates of the Kalinganagara Gaṅga king Vajrahasta (no. 40) refer to the produce of the gift land as being 101 standard measures of paddy. This is the only instance in the inscriptions of Orissa of the specification of the volume of produce of the gifted land.

In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), of the eighty-nine grants to Brāhmaṇas examined, sixty-seven consisted of grants of one village (including one of one village and some additional land), ten of more than one village, and eleven of one or more pieces of land (referred to often as khaṇḍakṣetras) within one or more villages. The dimensions of the pieces of land are not indicated in any of the inscriptions of this period.

An examination of the details of the location of the gifted land and of its boundaries (in cases where this is provided) gives evidence from all three Periods of the contiguity or at least the close proximity of some of the brahmadeya settlements.

As far as the detailed specification of the boundaries of the land gifted to Brāhmaṇas is concerned, in Period I there are only six instances (out of total of sixty-two grants to Brāhmaṇas). In Period II, the number of inscriptions specifying the boundaries of the gift land rises to twenty-seven (out of total of fifty-eight grants to Brāhmaṇas). In Period III, the number is eleven (out of a total of eighty-nine grants to Brāhmaṇas). The

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<sup>254</sup> Sircar, "Two Grants From Galavalli," pp. 193-94

specification of boundaries occurs most regularly in the royal grants of the Śvetaka Gaṅga and Kaliṅganagara Ganga kings. The boundaries were usually indicated by land-marks such as trees, rocks, ant-hills, trenches, rivers, hills, embankments, tanks, wells, the boundaries of adjoining villages, and the junctions of several villages.

Throughout the period under review, the land gifted to Brāhmaṇas was described as having been granted in perpetuity. A few inscriptions explicitly lay down the hereditary nature of the endowment. The permanent and inalienable nature of the endowment was also indicated by the statement made in some of the inscriptions of all three periods that the grant had been made according to the law governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi-dharma), or in the statement that appears from about the eighth century onwards that the land was not to become the subject of another document (a-lekhanī-praveśatayā).

In most (not all) cases, the endowments were declared exempt from paying taxes to the state, the residents often being exhorted to obey the donees and to render to them the appropriate dues. The Jurādā grant of Neṭṭabhañja and two Somavaṁśī grants -- the Ratnagiri plates of Kaṇṇa (no. 28) and the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30) state that the endowment was granted along with future taxes, i.e. was exempt from all future state taxes. Thus, in most cases, the royal grants to Brāhmaṇas involved a permanent renunciation of the state's revenue claim over the brahmadeya land. In this context, the references to brahmadeya villages being constituted into separate sections, presumably because of their distinct fiscal status, is noteworthy. The right to levy and collect taxes was bestowed by royal decree on the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries.

An examination of the epigraphic evidence from Orissa indicates, however, that not all endowments of land made by kings to Brāhmaṇas were tax-free. There are two clear instances of kara-śāsanas among the inscriptions of Period I, four among the inscriptions of Period II, and seven (or perhaps eight, if no. 58 is included) among the inscriptions of Period III. The evidence of the Bobbili plates of Piṭṭbhakta Caṇḍavarman and the Siripuram plates of Vāsiṣṭha Anantavarman provide further evidence of tax-paying agrahāras. The absence of any specific reference to the tax-free status of the endowments in the grants of the imperial Gangas (and the occurrence of the phrase 'grāma-grāsam=kṛtvā' in no. 58) may suggest that the brahmadeya settlements created by these kings were not, in fact, tax-free. While the evidence of the kara-śāsanas indicates the existence of at least two major categories of brahmadeya settlements, the one exempt from all state revenue claims, the other that remained subject to the payment of what was perhaps a nominal tax, the overwhelming majority of the brahmadeyas fell into the former category.

Apart from the revenue exemptions enjoyed by most brahmadeyas, the list of exemptions associated with these endowments usually included a guarantee of the non-intervention of the cāṭas and bhaṭas, the regular and irregular soldiery. The Srungavarapukota plates of the Vāsiṣṭha king Anantavarman contain the stipulation that the

gift village was not to be disturbed by the royal functionaries known as the vallabhas and durllabhas. The Indian Museum plates of the Kalīṅganagara Gaṅga king Devendravarman stipulate that the donee was not to be obstructed or disturbed by future kings, royal officers, cāṭas and bhaṭas, the officers known as the daṇḍapāśikas and others.

These stipulations seem to be related to a statement that appears regularly in the inscriptions throughout the period under review -- that the gifted land was to be free from all oppressions or obstructions. The nature of these oppressions or obstructions is not specified. However it seems likely that they included things such as unjust or excessive revenue demands, forced labour, forced loans, the billeting of troops, harassment by the soldiery in the course of military campaigns, and the provision of goods and services to royal officers and members of the royal family. The exemption from the obligation of providing conveyance to royal officers on tour in the Kesaribeda plates of the Nala king Arthapati can also be mentioned in this context.

The brahmadeya settlements thus appear to have been, in most cases, settlements that were for all practical purposes free from any kind of state intervention. The exemptions to this effect were accompanied by a series of privileges awarded to the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries. These were not confined to revenue rights, they also included comprehensive rights over the natural resources of the land. The statement that appears in some of the inscriptions from about the eighth century onwards -- that the grant was made according to the bhūmicchidra-nyāya -- seems to have had the purport of emphasizing the donees' comprehensive and permanent rights over the land granted to them.

Apart from the general statement that occurs in several inscriptions that the holding was granted along with water and land, more specific references to water resources occur in the description of the boundaries of the gift land as well as, in some cases, in the context of the privileges bestowed on the settlement. Among the various types of water resources mentioned, rivers and tanks are the most prominent, while wells are mentioned in a few inscriptions. Some of the villages appear to have included more than one tank. A few Kalīṅganagara Gaṅga inscriptions -- the Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman (no. 5), the Tekkali plates of Indravarman (no. 13) and the Siddhantam plates of the Gaṅga Devendravarman (no. 17) -- guarantee the donee's access to water resources. Two other inscriptions of kings of the same dynasty -- the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman and the Kalahandi plates of Vajrahasta (nos. 33 and 35), specifically include a tank in the land granted to the Brāhmaṇa donees. A few inscriptions, such as the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 11) and the Narasinghpur plates of Somavaṃśi Udyotakeśari (no. 22) state that the land had been gifted along with half the bank of the rivers on the banks of which the gifted land apparently lay.

The description of the boundaries and some of the terms of the inscriptions in some cases suggest that the brahmadeya settlements lay in proximity to forest, rights over

which were often transferred to the Brāhmaṇa donees. Forests or forest trees are mentioned among the boundaries of the following inscriptions: the Nivina plates of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja (no. 10); the Gautami plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 13), and six Kalīṅganagara Gaṅga grants -- the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18), the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman (no. 19), the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22), the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 31), the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38), and the Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman (no. 39). Four Śvetaka Ganga grants state that the land has been granted along with water, land, and forests (sa-jala-sthal-āranya). The Ganjam plates of Dāṇāṃvadeva (no. 15), a king of this same dynasty, describes the land was granted along with the inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āranya), and along with forests and bushes (s-āṭavī-ṣṭapa-samanvita). The term sa-padr-āranya occurs in the Jurādā grant of Neṭṭabhañja, in the Dhenkanal plate of Śulkī Kulastambha (no. 7), and in the stray Somavamśī plate found at Sonepur (no. 31). This term may have permitted the possibility of the expansion of the donees' estate into adjacent uncultivated forest area. The Jayapura or Talmul plate of the Nandodbhava king Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) indicates that the land in question had been granted along with hills and forests (sa-parvat-āranya). The Kudopali plates of the time of Somavamśī Mahābhavagupta (no. 24) grant the land along with bushes and forests (sa-ṣṭapa-āranya). The stray Somavamśī plate found at Sonepur (no. 31) granted the donees rights over the wild-life of the forest and its proceeds (elephants' teeth, tiger-skins, and various animals).

The occurrence of the term 'sa-padr-āranya' in certain inscriptions is significant because it meant that the donees were given rights over the habitation area of the brahmadeya settlements. In a similar vein, the Santa-Bomvali grant of the Kalīṅganagara Gaṅga king Nandavarman (no. 20) contains the term 'niveśana-sahita' -- together with the habitation.

While most of the land grant charters of Orissa bestowed certain revenue rights and rights over natural resources on the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, several Pāṇḍuvamśī and Somavamśī grants seem to refer, in addition, to the award of certain judicial rights (sa-daś-āparādha). This was the right to adjudicate in certain matters or the right to collect the proceeds of fines levied for such offences (or both). On the other hand, there are the two Pāṇḍuvamśī inscriptions that specifically state that the donees did not have the right to punish thieves. In general, however, the royal grants of Orissa do not specify any rights reserved by the state over the gifted land.

From the ninth or tenth century, epigraphic evidence indicates an increase in the control of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries over sources of revenue other than those based on land. Grants of the Bhauma-Karas, Udayavarāha, the Śulkīs, and the Tuṅgas give the donees control over outposts situated in the village, landing or bathing places, and ferries (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). This stipulation seems to have had fiscal

implications, although it has been suggested that it refers to control over military outposts.<sup>255</sup>

Among the inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa, the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī and Somavarṁśī grants contain the longest list of taxes which the donees were given the right to collect from the inhabitants of their brahmadeya villages. It is not certain whether this indicates a larger number of taxes levied by these kings or a larger number of fiscal exemptions and privileges granted to the donees. From the ninth or tenth century, some of the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas, Ādi-Bhañjas, Śulkīs, and Tuṅgas give the donees rights over the inhabitants of the village such as weavers, cowherds, brewers, and fishermen (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-prakṛtika). This reflected a significant enlargement of the scope of the rights granted to the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries.

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<sup>255</sup> Sharma, Indian Feudalism, p. 283.

## Chapter V

### Royal Endowments to Religious Establishments

The majority of royal endowments of land in ancient and early medieval Orissa were made in favour of Brāhmaṇas. A few grants, however, were made to Buddhist and Jaina establishments, temples, and maṭhas (monasteries). The discussion that follows begins with a brief account of Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism, Śāktism, and Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa (and the contiguous areas of Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh) up to the middle of the twelfth century C.E.. This is followed by a presentation of the epigraphic data on the religious establishments patronized by the kings of ancient and early medieval Orissa.<sup>1</sup> This includes details of the beneficiaries, and the nature and terms of the endowments. Although the focus is on grants made by kings, reference will also be made to records of the building of temples, of or gifts to religious establishments by members of the royal family, feudatories, administrative personnel, and on occasion, by private individuals.

#### Buddhism in Orissa

There are a few literary references to Orissa in early Buddhist texts. Tapassu and Bhallika, mentioned as the first disciples of the Buddha in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Pitaka, the Aṅguttara Nikāya, and in the Jātakas, were merchants of Ukkala (Utkala).<sup>2</sup> Several texts refer to the Vassa and Vañña tribes of Ukkala repudiating their earlier beliefs and recognizing the teachings of the Buddha.<sup>3</sup> The Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka gives an account of three generations of kings named Kālīṅga of Dantapura.<sup>4</sup> And according to a tradition preserved in the Buddhavaṃśa and Dāthavaṃśa, after the Buddha passed away, one of his tooth relics was brought to Kalinga and enshrined in a caitya at Dantapura.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The epigraphic sources used for this study do not include the numerous imperial Gaṅga inscriptions found within the precincts of various temples in Andhra Pradesh such as those at Mukhalingam, Draksarama, and Srikurmam. These inscriptions are in Telugu or a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit. Many of them have been published in various volumes of South Indian Inscriptions, (Madras-Delhi-Mysore Archaeological Survey of India, 1890- ) and also in Rajaguru's IO, 3, pts 1 & 2, where the text of the records is given in the Devanagari script.

<sup>2</sup> Vinaya Pitaka 1.3 ff., Aṅguttara Nikāya 1.26; Udāna Commentary 54; Jātaka 1.80; Thera Gāthā Commentary 1.48. Cited by N. K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orissa (Cuttack: Utkal University, 1958), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Majjhima Nikāya 3.78, Aṅguttara Nikāya 2.31; Saṃyutta Nikāya 3.73; Kathā Vatthu 1.141. Cited by Sahu, *ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Fausboll, Jātaka 4, pp 228-36; cited by Sahu, *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Buddhavaṃśa, Pali Text Series, 28, 6; ed. B. C. Law (Punjab Sanskrit Series). Cited by Sahu, (Buddhism in Orissa, p. 7). Sahu questions the historicity of the accounts of the

These references notwithstanding, it was probably after the Aśokan conquest that Buddhism received an impetus in Orissa. In subsequent centuries, it seems to have also played an important role in the spread of Buddhism to south-east Asia <sup>6</sup>

The account of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang suggests that in the seventh century C.E., it was Hīnayāna Buddhism that was the predominant form of Buddhism in the Wu-ta country, i.e. Orissa <sup>7</sup> The Hīnayāna monks of Orissa are described in Hiuen Tsang's account as having presented a treatise composed by Prajñāgupta to king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, and having challenged the Mahāyānists to dispute even one word of it. Harṣavardhana is said to have sent a message to Śīlabhadra, the Chancellor of the Nālandā monastery, requesting him to send to Orissa four learned Mahāyāna monks to take up the Hīnayānists' challenge. Of the four scholars selected by Śīlabhadra for this task, Hiuen Tsang suggests that he was the only one who felt equal to the task, the other three (Sāgaramatī, Prajñāraśmi, and Sīrīharaśmi) being a little diffident about the venture.<sup>8</sup> Harṣavardhana is also said to have invited the learned Jayasena to take up residence in Orissa, offering to assign to him the revenue of eighty large towns, but the Mahāyāna scholar declined <sup>9</sup>

Hiuen Tsang does, however, refer to the existence of a hundred Mahāyāna monasteries in Orissa.<sup>10</sup> His account describes a monastery named Pu-sei-po-ki-li (Puṣpagiri), the site of which may be tentatively identified with Udayagiri or Nalitagiri (Lalitagiri).<sup>11</sup> Buddhist literature locates other centres of the Mahāyāna in Orissa at Bhora Śāla (a famous centre for Buddhist logic), Tosali and Ratnagiri (associated with Buddhist yoga), and Dantapura <sup>12</sup> Several renowned Mahāyāna scholars such as Nagarjuna, Āryadeva, Dignāga, Vasumitra, Triratnadāsa, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, and Dharmakīrti are

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Kaliṅga kings as also the tradition about the tooth relic being brought to Dantapura (ibid., p. 14). On the location of Dantapura, see chap I, n 39

<sup>6</sup> Sahu, ibid., pp 38-43

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Beal, The Life of Hiuen-tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li (London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co Ltd., 1911, Popular re-issue, 1914), p 159.

<sup>8</sup> ibid., pp. 159-61

<sup>9</sup> ibid., p. 154.

<sup>10</sup> According to Sahu (Buddhism in Orissa, pp 68-71), Tārānātha's testimony that the Mahāyāna teachings and the Prajñāpāramitā were left by Mañjuśrī in the house of Candragupta, a king of Oḍiṣā, has a historical element Sahu argues that the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism lay in Orissa

<sup>11</sup> Ramaprasad Chanda, Exploration in Orissa, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No 44 (Calcutta: Government of India, 1930), p 6 Alexander Cunningham (The Ancient Geography of India, 1st published 1871, enlarged ed, Varanasi Bharatiya Publishing House, 1975, p 432) locates the Puṣpagiri monastery at Udayagiri and Khandagiri According to N K Sahu (Buddhism in Orissa, Utkal University, 1958, p 50), the location of the Puṣpagiri monastery should be sought in the Phulbari-Ghumsur area

<sup>12</sup> Sahu, ibid., p. 95. For a detailed discussion of these and other Mahāyāna centres in Orissa, see Sahu, ibid., pp 80-95

known to have been associated with Orissa.<sup>13</sup> In the eighth century, the Buddhist monk Prajñā delivered to the Chinese emperor Te-tsung an autographed manuscript of the Mahāyāna text the Gaṇḍavyūha (a part of the Avatamśaka), sent by a king of Orissa. The Orissan king in question seems to have been one of the Bhauma-Karas, though which member of this dynasty he was is a matter of dispute.<sup>14</sup>

In course of time, Orissa emerged as an important centre of Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna Buddhism and its offshoot -- Kālacakrayāna. Uḍḍiyāna, one of the four centres of Hindu as well as Buddhist tantra was probably located in Orissa.<sup>15</sup> Several of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas, such as Sarahapāda (or Rāhulabhadra), Luipā, Vajraghaṇṭa, Kambala, Padmavajra, Indiabhūti, Padmasambhava, Lakṣmī Karā, Virūpā, and Kānhupā (or Kṛṣṇācārya) are known to have been associated, through birth, residence, or teaching, with Orissa.<sup>16</sup> That Ratnagiri was an important centre of Kālacakrayāna is indicated by a reference in the eighteenth century Tibetan text Pag Sam Jon Zang, according to which ācārya Bitoba brought the Kālacakra Tantra from Śambhala to Ratnagiri where he explained it to Abodhutipa, Bodhiśrī, and Nāropa.<sup>17</sup>

Buddhist structural remains have been found at numerous places in Orissa, including Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, Kundeswar, Vajragiri, and Baneshwarnasi (all in Cuttack district), Baudh (Phulbani district), Khiching (Mayurbhanj district), and Khadipada, Solampur, and Ayodhya (in Balasore district).<sup>18</sup> Of these, Ratnagiri has revealed a major Buddhist monastic establishment that flourished from about the fifth century C.E. till the twelfth century, after which period it continued to exist in a state of decline till about the sixteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Kuruma in Puri district has revealed an ancient Buddhist site replete with a number of Buddhist images datable to the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> A Buddhist monastic establishment has also been unearthed at Sirpur (Raipur

<sup>13</sup> Nāgārjuna was born in South Kosala, visited Orissa, and set up several vihāras there. Āryadeva was born in Sīrīhapura in Kalīṅga. Dignāga spent much time in the Bhora Śāila monastery. Vasumitra, Triratnadāsa, Sthiramata, Dharmapāla, and Dharmakīrti are known to have lived for varying periods of time in Orissa. For detailed references, see Sahu, *ibid.*, pp. 95-117.

<sup>14</sup> See chap. I, n. 107.

<sup>15</sup> The other three centres were: Pūrṇagiri, Kāmākṣa, and Sīrīhaṭṭa. On the various theories about the location of Uḍḍiyāna see Sahu, *ibid.*, pp. 142-47. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi's suggestion (Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, Bombay, Orient Longmans: 1961, p. 106) that Puranagiri may be an error of the copyists for Puṣpagiri remains speculative.

<sup>16</sup> Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 162-72.

<sup>17</sup> Cited by Debala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971), p. 226.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p. 226. IAAR, 1957-58, pp. 39-41; 1958-59, pp. 33-36; 1959-60, pp. 38-39, 1960-61, pp. 28-30.

<sup>20</sup> IAAR, 1974-75, pp. 37, 70, 1975-76, p. 37; 1976-77, p. 40.



district, Madhya Pradesh), with evidence of a Śaivite intrusion in the later levels.<sup>21</sup> South of the modern boundaries of Orissa, Buddhist remains have been discovered at Sankaram and Ramatirtham (Vishakhapatnam district) and Salihundam (Srikakulam district) in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>22</sup> The remains at the first two of these sites may be assigned to roughly the first to the tenth centuries C.F. .<sup>23</sup> The earliest stone inscriptions found at Salihundam have been dated to about the second century C.E.<sup>24</sup> The remains of a Buddhist vihāra complex have also been found at Kotturu in Vishakhapatnam district and Markandaputta in Srikakulam district.<sup>25</sup>

### Jainism in Orissa

According to Jaina tradition, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra taught his doctrine in Orissa in the course of his travels.<sup>26</sup> The remains of Jaina structures and sculptures have been found in various parts of Orissa. The Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves (located six miles west of Bhubaneswar railway station) contain a series of Jaina rock-cut dwelling retreats for ascetics. The inscriptions in the Hathigumpha and Manchapuri caves indicate that these hills were an important Jaina centre during the period of the Cedis. The Hathigumpha inscription (which may be assigned roughly to the first century C.E.)<sup>27</sup> commences with a Jaina salutation to the arhats and the siddhas, and after describing the childhood and education of the Cedi king Khāravela, proceeds to give an account of the thirteen years of this king's reign after his consecration (abhiṣeka) at the age of twenty-four. Line 12 of the inscription refers to Khāravela's having, in his twelfth year, restored the image of the Kalinga jina that had been carried away by Nandarāja.<sup>28</sup> Lines 14-15 refer to the excavation by this king of a

<sup>21</sup> IAAR, 1953-54, p. 12; 1954-55, pp. 24-26, 1955-56, pp. 26-27; 1960-61, p. 61

<sup>22</sup> Mitra, Buddhist Monuments, pp. 218-22

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

<sup>24</sup> T. N. Ramachandran, "An Inscribed Pot and Other Buddhist Remains in Salihundam," EI 28, pt. 3 (July 1949): 133-37; A. S. Gadre, "Brahmi Inscription from Salihundam," EI 31, pt. 2 (April 1955): 87-88; IAAR, 1953-54, pp. 11-12.

<sup>25</sup> IAAR, 1953-54, pp. 23-24; 1955-56, p. 73.

<sup>26</sup> Kailash Chand Jain, Lord Mahāvīra and his Times (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974) p. 54.

<sup>27</sup> K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, "The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela," EI 20 (1929-30): 71-89; D. C. Sircar ed., Select Inscriptions, 1, pp. 213-21

<sup>28</sup> This Nandarāja was probably one of the Nanda kings of Magadha, in all likelihood Mahāpadma Nanda, the first ruler of this dynasty. Jayaswal and Banerji ("The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela," p. 85) suggest that the Kalinga jina referred to in line 12 of the Hathigumpha inscription may have been Śitalanātha, the tenth Jaina tīrthankara. N. K. Sahu (Utkal University History of Orissa 1: 228-29) thinks the reference may be to Rṣabhanātha, the first Jaina tīrthankara. According to Sushil Chandra De ("Khāravela in Sculpture," OHRJ 11, 1962, p. 39), a frieze in the Manchapuri cave depicts the installation or worship of the Kalinga jina by Khāravela and his family after its recovery from Nandaraja.

number of caves for the residence of monks in the Kumārī (i.e. Udayagiri) hills<sup>29</sup> The Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves contain a large number of inscriptions including one in the Manchapuri cave which records the erection of a shrine and a cave (for residence) for the Jaina monks by the chief queen of Khāravela.<sup>30</sup>

The inscriptions in the Hathigumpha and Manchapuri cave belong to the first century B.C.E. or the first century C.E., but the Jaina establishment in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills may predate these inscriptions.<sup>31</sup> Khandagiri witnessed important building activity during the Somavamsī period, when a few of the old cells were converted into sanctuaries with the carving of tīrthaṅkaras and śāsana-devīs (deities associated with the tīrthaṅkaras) on the walls.<sup>32</sup> Sculptural additions continued during medieval and modern times, although the cells were not inhabited by monks throughout this long period. Thus, the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills reveal evidence of Jaina occupation from perhaps a pre-Khāravela period to the present day, with a few breaks.<sup>33</sup>

Jaina images (some belonging to the medieval period) have been found at a large number of sites in Orissa including the following: Anandpur, Baidakhia, Baranchua, Jumbhir, Podasinghidī, and Thunigan in Kendujhar district; Baleshwar in Baleshwar district, and Chasakhanda in Cuttack district<sup>34</sup>

#### Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava Temples in Orissa

Sanskrit works such as the Ekāmra Purāṇa, Svarṇādrīmahodaya, Ekāmra-Candrikā, and Kapila-saṃhitā (none of which are earlier than the thirteenth century) give an account of the origin and history of the important temples of Bhubaneswar which is heavily embellished with myth.<sup>35</sup> The Mādalā Pāñji, the palm-leaf chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri, and another source of information on this matter, belongs to about the seventeenth century. The problem of dating the temples of Orissa is compounded by the fact that very few temples bear commemorative inscriptions. Most of the temple inscriptions post-date their construction, and record endowments made to the temple

<sup>29</sup> It may be mentioned that while some scholars (for instance, A. K. Rath, "Jainism in Kalinga in the Pre Mauryan Period," OHRJ 11, 1962, p. 126) speak of Jainism as the State religion of Orissa on the strength of the Hathigumpha inscription, according to Walther Schubring, all the inscription indicates is that the Jaina community flourished during Khāravela's rule (The Doctrine of the Jainas: Described After the Old Sources, trans. Wolfgang Beurlen, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962, p. 48).

<sup>30</sup> R. D. Banerji, "Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves," EI 13 (1915-16): 159-67.

<sup>31</sup> Debala Mitra, Udayagiri and Khandagiri (New Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, 1975), p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> IAAR, 1975-76, p. 37, 1958-59, p. 73.

<sup>35</sup> Donaldson, Hindu Temple Art of Orissa, p. 5.

establishment, not indicating who was responsible for the construction of the temple.<sup>36</sup> In the absence of more direct evidence, the palaeography of the temple inscriptions remains an important basis for delineating the chronology of Orissan temples.<sup>37</sup>

The earliest extant temples in Orissa belong to the sixth century C.E. These are the Lakṣmaṇeśvara, Bharateśvara, and Śatrughneśvara temples at Bhubaneswar. The frequency of the depiction of Lakuliśa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, on these temples suggests that they were associated with the Śaiva Pāśupata sect.<sup>38</sup> Images of Lakuliśa continue to occur throughout Orissa on the facades of the temples of the succeeding centuries, indicating the popularity of this sect in Orissa.<sup>39</sup> According to K. C. Panigrahi, some of the earliest temples of Orissa were named after famous teachers of the Pāśupata sect.<sup>40</sup>

The eighth and ninth centuries witnessed an upsurge of temple-building activity throughout Orissa.<sup>41</sup> The temples built during the ensuing period display an amalgamation

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid*

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, p. 6. Donaldson points out that there are a few exceptions to the rule; the few inscriptions that do permit a precise dating of certain temples include the commemorative inscriptions on the Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara, Ananta-Vāsudeva, and Pāpanāśini temples at Bhubaneswar, the Śobhaneśvara temple at Niali, the Cāteśvara temple at Kisenpur, and the Candraśekhara temple at Kapilas hill (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6). Of these temples, only the Brahmeśvara falls within the chronological scope of this study, the others being later in date.

<sup>38</sup> Lakuliśa was considered an incarnation of Śiva. Few historical details about him can be gleaned from the various sources. He seems to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family, and is supposed to have settled at a place named Kāyāvarohana, Kāyāvatāra, Kārohana or Kāyārohana, apparently located in the Lata or Bhrgukaccha region of Gujarat (David N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two Lost Śaivite Sects*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972, p. 177). His name is derived from 'lakula', 'laguda', or 'lakuta', which mean a club. Lakuliśa was 'the lord who bears the club'. He generally appears in iconographic representations with a club in his left hand (*ibid.*). The date of Lakuliśa is controversial; he may have lived during the early centuries of the common era (*ibid.*, p. 179). He is supposed to have had four disciples -- Kuśika, Gargya, Kauruṣa, and Maitreya, who were responsible for the initial dissemination of Pāśupatism. According to Debala Mitra ("Lakuliśa and Early Śaiva Temples in Orissa," in *Discourses on Śiva: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Nature of Religious Imagery*, ed. Michael W. Meister, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984, p. 105), Lakuliśa often appears in sculpture in a teaching pose, surrounded by his disciples.

<sup>39</sup> See Debala Mitra, "Lakuliśa and Early Śaiva Temples in Orissa," pp. 103-18.

<sup>40</sup> Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 224. The Pārāśaśvara, which seems to have been the original name of the Paraśurāmeśvara, and the Kapileśvara temple are two examples cited by Panigrahi. According to Panigrahi (*ibid.*, pp. 225-26), the shrines listed in texts such as the *Svarṇādri-mahodaya* and *Ekāmra Purāṇa* reveal some more instances of temples whose names were evidently derived from those of Pāśupata teachers. The Bhārati Maṭha, the oldest maṭha of Bhubaneswar, still observes the Pāśupata practice of enshrining lingams representing deceased teachers in shrines (Panigrahi, *ibid.*, pp. 226-27).

<sup>41</sup> Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, p. 111. Donaldson observes that this unprecedented expansion of temple-building activity reflects an increase in the number of competent workshops as well as developing local patronage.

of Śaivism, Śāktism, and Tantrism.<sup>42</sup> Śākta images appear in the temples of Orissa from the eighth century onwards, the terrifying aspects of the goddess being displayed in the Vaitāl, Uttareśvara, and Mohinī temples of Bhubaneswar.<sup>43</sup> Cāmuṇḍā and Durgā Mahīsamardanī were among the more frequently depicted goddesses. The Sapta-Mātrkāś or Seven Mothers appear often on the walls of Śaiva temples.<sup>44</sup> The two hypaethral temples at Hirapur in Puri district and Ranipur Jharial in Bolangir district indicate the worship of the Yoginīs in the early tenth century. Several Śākta shrines, including the Vaitāl Deul, indicate the influence of the Śaiva Kāpālīka sect.<sup>45</sup> Jajpur was one of the most important centres of Śāktism in Orissa and was famed as one of the Śākta pīṭhas.<sup>46</sup>

The largest temple at Bhubaneswar is the Liṅgarāja temple, dedicated to Śiva. According to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, it took three generations of kings to effect the completion of the temple of Kṛtīvāsa (as the Liṅgarāja was then known): begun by Yayāti-keśarī, continued by Ananta-keśarī, it was finally completed by Lalāṭendukeśarī.<sup>47</sup> While the Yayāti-keśarī of this tradition may be identified with one of the two Somavamśī kings named Yayāti,<sup>48</sup> the other two kings are not mentioned in the Somavamśī inscriptions.<sup>49</sup> The tradition current in Bhubaneswar, however, ascribes the building of the Liṅgarāja to Yayāti-keśarī and Udyotakeśarī. An inscription on the wall of the jagamohana (the hall in front of the shrine) records an inscription dated 1114-15 C.E. in the reign of the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, and gives an upper limit for the date of the Liṅgarāja. Taking into account the epigraphic evidence, the apparent synchronism with the Somavamśī kings, and the architectural features of the temple, the completion of the Liṅgarāja may be tentatively assigned to the third quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 72-73

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, p. 72

<sup>44</sup> Deheja, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup> Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, p. 73.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 349-51. D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), p. 86.

<sup>47</sup> *Mādalā Pāñji*, Prachi Edition, p. 6; cited by Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 165.

<sup>48</sup> Panigrahi (*Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 165) identifies him with Yayāti II.

<sup>49</sup> Panigrahi (*ibid.*, pp. 165-66) suggests that Ananta-keśarī and Lalāṭendu-keśarī may be have been aliases of Udyota-keśarī. He argues that Udyota-keśarī may have been converted into Ananta-keśarī in the *Mādalā Pāñji* account because it was an uncommon and unfamiliar name. Further, there is a cave known locally as the Lalāṭendu Keśarī guphā in the Khandagiri hill which contains an inscription dated in the fifth year of Udyotakeśarī. According to Panigrahi, if Ananta-keśarī and Lalāṭendu-keśarī are accepted as being names of Udyotakeśarī, the apparently contradictory evidence of the traditional accounts and the inscriptions can be reconciled, the Liṅgarāja was begun by Yayāti II and completed by his successor Udyotakeśarī.

<sup>50</sup> Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, p. 329.

Until the middle of the twelfth century C.E., Orissa was the land of Śaiva temples, and Vaiṣṇava temples were few in number. Vaiṣṇavism is represented at Bhubaneswar by only two temples, one of which is the small Maṇibhadreśvara temple.<sup>51</sup> At Gandharadi in Phulbani district are located the twin temples of Siddheśvara and Nīlamādhava, dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively, dating to the early tenth century.<sup>52</sup> Another instance of a Vaiṣṇava temple is the Pañca Pāṇḍava temple on the bank of the Birupa river, bordering Ganeswarpur village in Cuttack district.<sup>53</sup> Among the early examples of Vaiṣṇava temples in Dakṣiṇa Kosala is the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur (built by the Pāṇḍuvamśi queen Vāsatā), stylistically dated to the seventh or eighth century.<sup>54</sup> While the number of surviving pre-twelfth century Vaiṣṇava temples in Orissa is few, there is considerable evidence of Vaiṣṇava influence on the Śaiva shrines of Orissa. Hari-Hara images appear frequently in Śaiva temples. Vaiṣṇava motifs and imagery are prominent in the Maṇikeśvara temple at Śukleśvara, the Śaiva temple at Badgaon, the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhalingam, and the Simhanātha temple near Baideswar.<sup>55</sup> Among the Vaiṣṇava sculptural remains found in Orissa, mention may be made of a row of ten images of Viṣṇu found near Niali in Cuttack district and a tenth century Viṣṇu image found in a ruined brick structure at Chahata in Puri district.<sup>56</sup>

The construction of the Jagannātha<sup>57</sup> temple at Puri is generally placed in the middle of the twelfth century C.E. and is ascribed to the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍaganga.<sup>58</sup> The earliest epigraphic reference crediting Coḍaganga with the construction of the temple occurs in the Dasgoba plates of Rājārāja III (1199 C.E.).<sup>59</sup> However, while the imperial Gaṅga praśasti from the time of Rājārāja III onwards gives the credit for the construction of the Jagannātha temple to Gaṅgeśvara (Anantavarman Coḍaganga), this achievement does not receive mention in any of the inscriptions of Coḍaganga nor in those of his four sons who ruled in succession after him -- Kāmāṇava (1147-56 C.E.), Rāghava

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<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 358-59

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 219-20

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 281-84

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, p. 190

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 126-27, 141, 154-55, 166

<sup>56</sup> *IAAR*, 1971-72, p. 76, 77

<sup>57</sup> The deity enshrined in the Puri temple came to be known by the name of Jagannātha towards the end of the thirteenth century, prior to this, he was known as Puruṣottama (H. v. Steitencron, "Early Temples of Jagannātha in Orissa: the formative phase," in *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, eds. Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, p. 62)

<sup>58</sup> For the tradition crediting one of the Somavamśi kings named Yayāti with building an earlier temple of Puruṣottama at Puri, see von Steitencron, "The Advent of Viṣṇuism in Orissa: An outline of its history according to archaeological and epigraphical sources from the Gupta period up to 1135 A.D.," pp. 16-22

<sup>59</sup> D. C. Sircar and Sadasiva Ratha Sarma, "Dasgoba Plates of Rajaraja III, Saka 1120," *EI* 31, pt. 6 (April 1956) p. 255, v. 27

(1156-70 C.E.), Rājārāja II (1170-90 C.E.) and Anangabhīma II (1190-98 C.E.). Literary sources suggest that while the construction of the Jagannātha temple may have been begun during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, it may not have been completed during his life-time. According to the Purusottama-māhātmya, which forms part of the Utkalakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (which may be assigned to about the early fourteenth century), the temple was begun by a king named Indrayumna who did not live to see its completion. Indrayumna is described as worrying in heaven about the continuation of the building activities.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, the Rāja-bhoga Itihāsa section of the Orissa *Mādalā Pāñji* (of about the seventeenth century) associates the foundation of the Jagannātha temple with Coḍagaṅga's eldest son, Kāmārṇava. The account mentions Rājārāja (II) as having continued the work on the temple (Rāghava, the successor of Kāmārṇava is omitted from the account), and gives the credit for the completion of the temple to Anangabhīma II.<sup>61</sup> Thus, while literary and epigraphic evidence gives contradictory accounts of the construction of the Jagannātha temple, it does suggest that the temple was not completed during the reign of one king. The construction of the Jagannātha temple was probably begun by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga in around 1136 C.E., when the Gaṅga empire had stabilized and its centre of gravity shifted northwards; the temple probably saw its completion during the reigns of the successors of Coḍagaṅga.<sup>62</sup>

#### **Royal endowments to Buddhist establishments: The fourth to the mid-twelfth century**

Among the inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century), the Jayarampur plate of mahārāja Acyuta, a feudatory of mahārājādhirāja śrī Gopacandra records the royal endowment of Śvetavālikā village<sup>63</sup> to some Buddhist monks residing in a vihāra (monastery) at Bodhipadraka and to Ārya-Avalokiteśvara installed and honoured by the Ārya-saṃgha. The grant was made in order to make provisions for bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), gandha (sandal paste), puspa (flowers), dipa (lamps), and so forth,<sup>64</sup> for providing for the havis (oblations), piṇḍa-pātra (the pots for offering oblations), as well as sleeping or resting places and medicines for the monks. The grant was made in perpetuity (to last as long as the moon and the sun). According to S. N.

<sup>60</sup> *Skanda Purāṇa*, Utkalakhaṇḍa, 20, 47b, 21, 44b, 22, 13-14, 22, 22b-24a. Cited by von Stenegeron, "The Date of the Jagannatha Temple: Literary Sources Reconsidered," p. 531.

<sup>61</sup> von Stenegeron, *ibid.*, pp. 525-27.

<sup>62</sup> The evidence for the date of the Jagannātha temple has been discussed in detail by von Stenegeron, *ibid.*, pp. 516-32.

<sup>63</sup> Śvetavālikā has been identified with the twin villages of Sialia and Bela, about one mile north-east of Jayarampur (Rajaguru, "Jayarampur Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Gopachandra," p. 222).

<sup>64</sup> These terms occur often in the temple context. Their occurrence in a Buddhist context may be noted.

Rajaguru, line 31 of the inscription indicates that the annual tax was fixed at 100 ariṇḍaka-cūrṇikās.<sup>65</sup> This is, thus, a kara-śāsana. Rajaguru admits that the ariṇḍaka-cūrṇikā is a currency not known from any other source, literary or epigraphic.<sup>66</sup> It may be pointed out that while Ariṇḍaka-cūrṇikā is an unfamiliar term, it may be related to the terms 'piṇḍaka' and cūrṇi. 'Piṇḍaka' appears to have referred to a kind of tax levied in cash or in kind, or to the total tax assessment of a land-holding,<sup>67</sup> while 'cūrṇi' probably denoted one hundred cowrie-shells.<sup>68</sup>

The Mallar plates of the Pāṇḍuvarṇi king Mahāśivagupta (no. 10) record this king's gift of Kailāsapura grāma in Taraḍaśaka bhoga to a small Buddhist monastery at Taraḍaśaka which had been constructed at the instance of a woman named Alka (Alakā), wife of Koradeva. the gift is said to have been made by the king at the request of his maternal uncle Bhāskaravarman.<sup>69</sup> The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka), along with hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi s-opanidhi), along with the right to punish or realize fines from those guilty of the ten offences (sa-daś-āparādha), and along with all taxes (sarva-kara-sameta). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-piḍā-varjita), and was not to be entered by cātas and bhatas (pratisiddha-cāta-bhata-praveśatayā). The residents of the village were told to live in contentment, rendering to the donees all dues such as the bhoga, bhāga, and so forth.

Among the royal grants to Buddhist establishments of Period II (seventh to tenth century), two of the Bhauma-Kara grants -- the two Talcher plates of Śivakaradeva (nos. 13, 14) -- between them record the grant by the king of Kallāni grāma attached to Purvva-rāṣṭra viṣaya and Suraddhipura grāma in Madhyamakhandā viṣaya<sup>70</sup> (both viṣayas being located in north Tosali) to a Buddhist establishment. The grant was made at the request of

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 250.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>69</sup> Kailāsapura has been tentatively identified with Kesla village, about eight miles to the south-east of Mallar (Mirashi and Pandeya, "Mallar Plates of Mahāśivagupta," p. 120). According to Mirashi and Pandeya, Taraḍaśaka bhoga, within which the gift village was located, may be identified with the Talahāri-maṇḍala mentioned in several later inscriptions (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1231, 1232, 1240), one of these inscriptions refer to Mallāla (which may be identified with Mallar, the find-spot of the inscription under discussion). Mallar village has yielded ruins of old temples as well as Buddhist and Jain sculptures. According to Mirashi and Pandeya, the Buddhist sculptures at Mallar are said to have been brought from a village called Jaitpur, situated one mile north of Mallar, and hence, Jaitpur may mark the site of the Buddhist monastery referred to in the Mallar plates.

<sup>70</sup> Binayak Misra (*Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 42, 51) identifies Kallāni village with modern Kallam (20° 15' N., 86° 24' E) in the old Keonjhar state, and Suraddhipura with modern Sirdarpur (21° 18' N., 83° 11' E) in the old Talcher state (*ibid.*, p. 51). It may be noted that some Buddhist sculptures were discovered in the vicinity of Jagati, the find-spot of the Talcher plates (*ibid.*, p. 32).

rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga (apparently a Bhauma-Kara feudatory). In the case of both grants, one share of the land was assigned for the perpetual provision for snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal paste), puṣpa (flowers), dhūpa (incense), dīpa (lamps), naivedya (food), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship) for the lord Buddha (Buddha bhaṭṭāraka) in the shrine (āyatana) built by Amu bhaṭṭāraka,<sup>71</sup> as also for the maintenance of servants, and for supplying the ten attendants of the female mendicants (bhikṣuṇīs) with garments, pots for offering oblations (piṇḍa-pātra), sleeping or resting places, and medicines. A third of the income from the land was for repairs of the shrine, and the remaining third for the maintenance of the dānapati.<sup>72</sup>

Both the Bhauma-Kara grants mentioned here describe the boundaries of the gift land. In the case of inscription no. 13, these were as follows: Trikaṭā (trikūṭa ?); a joṭa (canal); the middle of the bed of the Kavaḍa joṭa; Gohiri; the eastern embankment (pūrv-ālī); Vitāvirā; Tailakhāta; Vā(Bā)gha-gartikā; the Māṣa river. The boundaries of the village gifted by inscription no. 14 included the following land-marks: Tamāla khaṇḍakṣetra; the Sumeyi river, Devalaya joṭa; Trikaṭā (trikūṭa ?); the river as it passed close to Pustariyāpura, Gayādapura, Kalyāṇipura, Hastināpura-kṣetra, Koraṇḍiya-kṣetra, and Śaṅkhapura; Janapaṅgā.<sup>73</sup> The terms of the grants were as follows: the land was granted in perpetuity (candr-ārka-kṣiti-samakālam) according to the bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya, which probably means along with all rights of ownership such as those to which a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time became entitled. It was granted along with the taxes known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), together with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍhik-ādi-prakṛtika), and along with the outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). The gifted land was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-piḍā-varjita), and was

<sup>71</sup> Reference to these elements of worship in a Buddhist context may be noted.

<sup>72</sup> Misra (ibid p. 41) states that the deed was executed at Jayāśrama viḥāra, which according to him (ibid, p. 42) was probably located at Jagatī, the find-spot of the inscription. However, neither the text nor the translation of the inscription as given by Misra contain any reference to this viḥāra. The occurrence of the term 'dānapati' may be noted. Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary (p. 79) includes the following as the possible meanings of this term: one who gives a gift; one who dedicates the image of a deity (especially as the result of a previous vow); an official designation. Elsewhere, according to Sircar ("Three Inscriptions from Valgudar," EI 28, 1949-50 138, n. 2), in old Bengali, 'dānapati' refers to a person who, having promised to dedicate an object on the fulfillment of a particular desire, kept this vow.

<sup>73</sup> The following identifications have been suggested by Binayak Misra (Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 51) Tamāla with Tamur (21° 18" N.; 85° 14" E.) in the old Pal-Lahara State, the Sumeyi river with the Somakoi river in the old Pal Lahara State; Devalaya joṭa with the Dulia river in Keonjhar, Koraṇḍiya with Kolanda (21° 15" N.; 85° 10" E.), Janapaṅga with Jonapara (21° 15" N., 85° 13" E.).



not to be made the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable (a-lekhani-praveśatayā)

Mention may be made of the Khadipada image inscription (no. 4) of the time of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara, which records a private donation. This inscription records the dedication of the image of Padmapāni (on which it is inscribed) by a person named Rāhularuci, the mahāmaṇḍalācārya and paramaguru. According to S. C. De, Rāhularuci of this inscription may be identified with the famous Buddhist teacher named Rāhulabhadra of Oḍiṣa (Orissa), mentioned in Tārānātha's account and in the Tibetan Pag-Sam-Jon-Zan.<sup>74</sup>

Among the inscriptions of Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), the Ratnagiri plates of the Somavamśī ruler Karṇa (no. 28) record the royal grant of Koṇā grāma in Vra(Bra)hmo(hme)-Aṭṭhāvīsa-khaṇḍa in Uttara-Tosali. The endowment was made in favour of a woman described in the inscription as rānī śrī Karppūraśrī, daughter of Mahārīmā Hīṇadevī(vī) or mahārī Māhūnadevī and grand-daughter of Udayamati Karppūraśrī is, further, described as having the Kāśyapa gotra and a three-ṛsī pravara, and as hailing from the renowned Saloṇapura mahāvihāra in Utkala-deśa.<sup>75</sup> According to Debala Mitra, the statement in the inscription that the donee came from the Saloṇapura monastery suggests that she was a Buddhist, although if so, her claiming a gotra and pravara seems incongruous. Mitra also states that her title 'rānī' is enigmatic, and it is not clear whether she was the wife of a rānaka or one of Karṇa's secondary queens.<sup>76</sup> According to D. C. Sircar, Karppūraśrī was one of the secondary queens or concubines of Karṇa, and, from the fact that the names of her mother and grand-mother are given in the inscription as also that her mother is described as 'mahārī,' she appears to have been the daughter of a prostitute or a devadāsī. Sircar continues that a devadāsī could not possibly have been associated with a Buddhist monastery, that she could not have been a resident of the Saloṇapura monastery, and that the reference in the inscription should probably be interpreted as indicating that Karppūraśrī lived in the vicinity of the Saloṇapura monastery.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> S. C. De, "The Orissa Museum Image Inscription of the Time of Śubhākara-deva," PIHC, 12th session, (1949), p. 67.

<sup>75</sup> Modern Solampur was probably the site of the Saloṇapura monastery.

<sup>76</sup> Debala Mitra, "Ratnagiri Plates of Somavamśi Karṇa," p. 264.

<sup>77</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Note on Ratnagiri Plates of Somavamśi Karṇa," p. 272. According to Devangana Desai (Erotic Sculpture of India: A socio-cultural study, New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill Publishing Co., 1975, p. 163), an inscription from Gaya (IA 10, 1881-341-47) refers to devadāsīs dancing and singing in a Buddhist establishment in India, while the thirteenth century testimony of Chau Ju Kua indicates that such women were also associated with Buddhist temples in Cambodia.

### Royal grants to Jaina establishments: The fourth to the mid-twelfth century

There are no instances of royal grants in favour of Jaina religious establishments in Period I (fourth to seventh century). Among the royal grants of Period II (seventh to tenth century), reference may be made to the Banpur plates of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta (no. 12).<sup>78</sup> These plates record the grant of three *ṭimpīras* of land in Suvaṇṇaloṇḍī attached to Thorāṇa viṣaya and two and one-fourth *ṭimpīras* in Madhuvāṭaka village attached to Rāṇḍa sīman (subdivision) in favour of a religious establishment presided over by Pravu(bu)ddhacandra, who is described in the inscription as an 'eka-śāṭa' (perhaps indicating a monk who has taken a vow to wear only one piece of cloth) and a disciple of the venerable teacher (arhad-ācārya) Nāsicandra. The purpose of the grant seems to have been to provide for the *bali* (offerings to all creatures), *sattrā* (charitable feeding), and *caru* (oblations to the ancestors)<sup>79</sup> at a what may have been a Jaina religious establishment of which Pravu(bu)ddhacandra was in charge. The inscription specifies that the endowment was to be enjoyed by Pravu(bu)ddhacandra till his death (*yāvat jīvati*), i.e. was not hereditary.

The inscriptions of Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century) include several records in the Khandagiri caves belonging to the Somavarṃśī period. The Lalatendu-Kesari cave inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī (no. 23) is inscribed on the back wall of the Lalatendu-kesari cave above a group of Jaina images of the Dīgambara sect. The purport of the inscription seems to be that in the fifth regnal year of the king Udyotakeśarī, decayed tanks and temples were repaired, and images of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* set up on the Kumāra (i.e. Khandagiri) hill. There is a reference in the inscription to the illustrious Pārasyanātha, i.e. Pārśvanātha, but the fragmentary nature of the relevant section makes it difficult to reconstruct it satisfactorily. Two private inscriptions in the Navamunī caves (nos. 25, 26), one of which (no. 25) is dated in the eighteenth regnal year of the Somavarṃśī king Udyotakeśarī, between them, refer to two generations of probably Jaina teachers (*ācāryas*) -- Kulacandra and Subhacandra. Kulacandra is described (in no. 25) as an *ācārya* of the Deśī gaṇa of the Graha kula which belonged to the Ārya saṃgha.

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<sup>78</sup> According to D. C. Sircar ("Two Sailodbhava Grants From Banpur," p. 39), the real donor in this particular case may have been a queen named Kalyāṇadevī or Śrīkalyāṇadevī (her name occurs in l. 44), and the grant may have been endorsed by the king. The name of the queen is preceded by the epithet 'bhagavat'. If the epithet refers to the queen, it may suggest that she was the mother of the king; it may, on the other hand, refer to the unnamed deity (Sircar, *ibid.*, p. 40). The defective nature of the passage in question makes it difficult to ascertain the precise meaning intended.

<sup>79</sup> The terms *bali*, *caru*, and *sattrā* occur often in the inscriptions in association with the activities associated with temples. The occurrence of these terms in this inscription in association with what is possibly a Jaina establishment may be noted.

## Royal endowments to temples

### **Period I: The fourth to the seventh century**

South Orissa

#### The early Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara (inscriptions no. 1-13)

Two of the early Kalinganagara Gaṅga inscriptions record royal grants to temples. The beneficiary of the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman (no. 3) was the god Nārāyaṇa, described in the inscription as the one who lies on the seven seas, who is sung in the seven hymns, who is the sole lord of the seven worlds, and who has the designation 'Raṇabhītodaya.' The deity was apparently named after the king, Raṇabhīta being one of the *biruḍas* (aliases) of Hastivarman. The grant was made for providing for the performance of *bali* (offerings to all creatures), *caru* (offerings to the ancestors), and *sattra* (charitable feeding), and for repairs of dilapidation in the temple of this deity. It may be noted that this grant was made by the Gaṅga king Hastivarman at the request of *bhogika*<sup>80</sup> Buddha-maṇci. The endowment consisted of six *halas*<sup>81</sup> of land along with four *niveśanas* (houses) constituted into a separate section in Rohaṇakī grāma in Varāhavarttani visaya. Rohaṇakī has been identified with modern Ronanki (84°E. x 18° 20' N.), and Varāhavarttani visaya with the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkali.<sup>82</sup> The inscription states that the endowment was constituted into an *agrahāra* for the god (*dev-āgrahāra*), to last as long as the moon, sun, and the stars (*ā-candr-ārka-tāraka-pratistham*), and was exempt from all taxes (*sarva-karaḥ parihr̥tya*). The boundaries of the gift land are specified: they included the trenches of the village (*grāma-garttā*), a mound of earth, the trenches of the visaya with the Kuravaka thicket, and a palm-grove.

The grant recorded in the Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman (no. 6) is said to have been made for the performance of *bali* (offerings to all creatures), *caru* (offerings to the ancestors), and *sattra* (charitable feeding), as well as for the repair of dilapidation, in the temple of bhagavat Rāmeśvara bhāṭṭāraka at Dantayavāgu. This grant was made by the king at the request of the talavara deva-bhogika.<sup>83</sup> The land gifted to this deity consisted of two *halas* of land in Haribhaṭa grāma in Kroṣṭukavarttani (identified with Chicacole, i.e.

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<sup>80</sup> Fleet (*CII*, 3: 100, n. 2) connects the title 'bhogika' with the territorial units 'bhoga' and 'bhukti'. D. N. Jha (*Revenue System*, pp. 187-88) prefers to connect it with *bhoga* as a fiscal term, and suggests that the *bhogika* may have had something to do with the realization of this item of the king's revenue.

<sup>81</sup> On *hala*, see chap. IV, n. 41.

<sup>82</sup> R. C. Majumdar, "Narasingapalli Plates of Hastivarman, The Year 79," p. 65.

<sup>83</sup> These were apparently two official titles. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (p. 334) includes the following among the possible meanings of 'talavara': the title of the nobility or of a subordinate ruler, the administrator of a city, a police officer in charge of a city, a royal official. The meaning of 'dev-bhogika' is not clear. For 'bhogika,' see n. 80.

Srikakulam<sup>84</sup>), and a hala of land in Dantayavāgū.<sup>85</sup> The land is, as in the case of the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman, said to have been constituted into a 'dev-āgrahāra,' and the endowment was declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya) and was to last as long as the moon and the sun (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham). The boundaries of the field in Haribhaṭa included the following land-marks: the channel to carry off excess water of the tank called Kṣatriya-taṭāka; arjuna trees; a row of ant-hills; an artificial line of heaped-up rocks; a nimba tree; a well (kūpa); the royal road (rāja-mārga).

#### North and central Orissa

##### Śatrubhaṇja of the Asanapat inscription

The Asanapat inscription of mahārāja Śatrubhaṇja records the construction of a temple (dev-āyatana) by the king. Today, only some bricks remain at the site where the inscription was found. The inscription is inscribed below an image of Śiva in the tāṇḍava pose (representing Śiva's dance of destruction), and it is quite likely that the temple in question was one dedicated to Śiva.

##### The Vighrahas

According to D. C. Sircar's reading, the Kanas plate of Lokavighraha records a grant for the institution of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and sattra (charitable feeding), at the maṭha associated with the deity Maṇināgeśvara of Caikāmbaka or Ekāmbaka, and for the maintenance of Brahmanas who belonged to various gotras, and were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch (of the Yajur Veda).<sup>86</sup> If the place-name mentioned in the inscription is taken as Ekāmbaka, it may be regarded as a variant of Ekāmra or Ekāmraḥ, the ancient name for Bhubaneswar.<sup>87</sup> The actual donors were certain officials of Uṭṭa viṣaya including the vaiśvāsika, viṣayapati, and amśabrhadbhogika,<sup>88</sup> who obtained permission from Lokavighraha to make the grant. The land granted to the maṭha was Ū[rddhvaśṛ]ṅga grāma attached to Uṭṭa viṣaya. The grant is said to have been made after having ascertained that the village had in it no land uncultivated for a long time and that the land possessed many good qualities (cira-khila-śūnyam=aneka-

<sup>84</sup> R. K. Ghoshal. "Santa-Bommali Plates of Indravarman: [Ganga] Year 87," p. 196.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Dantayavāgu bhoga mentioned in the Brhatproṣṭhā grant of the Piṭṭbhakta king Umavarman (no. 4).

<sup>86</sup> According to Rajaguru ("The Olasingh Copper Plate of Bhanuvardhana," p. 40), the grant was made in favour of the deities Ambikā (Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (Maheśvara or Śiva).

<sup>87</sup> Sircar, "Two Plates From Kanas," p. 330.

<sup>88</sup> According to Sircar's Indian Epigraphical Glossary (pp. 360, 378, 18), the vaiśvāsika was probably a privy councillor or private secretary, the viṣayapati the governor of a district or viṣaya, and the amśabrhadbhogika probably the share-holder of a big jagir.

guṇam=ity=avadhṛtya).<sup>89</sup> The endowment is said to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-samakāliya) according to the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi-dharma).

### The Dattas

The deity Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka of Caikāmvakā or Ekāmvakā and Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya school were also, according to D. C. Sircar's reading, the beneficiaries of the Kanas grant of Bhānudatta. The land granted in this case was Kum[vu]kīrṣilāka grāma attached to U[ttā]mā[1]oka viṣaya. The land is referred to as 'cira-khila-śūnya' (having no land uncultivated for a long time), and the grant is said to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam). According to Rajaguru's reading and interpretation however, Bhānudatta's grant was made in favour of the goddess Ambikā (whom he identifies with Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (whom he identifies with Maheśvara or Śiva)<sup>90</sup> Rajaguru reads the name of the gift village as Kumbarka Sunkhalāka<sup>91</sup>

It is not certain whether the Maṇināgeśvara maṭha of the two Kanas inscriptions can be identified with the Kanas matha in Puri district where the two copper plates were found, or whether the maṭha in question was situated at Ranpur, or somewhere else altogether. According to D. C. Sircar, the name of Maṇināga, the son of Kadrū, is well-known in Pauranic literature.<sup>92</sup> He suggests that Manināga seems to have been identical with the Yakṣa Maṇibhadra who was widely worshipped in ancient India. The popularity of the Maṇināga cult in Orissa, he continues, is indicated by the existence of the Maṇināga hill at Ranpur as well as by the goddess Maṇināga-Durgā worshipped there.<sup>93</sup>

### West Orissa

#### The Nalas

Two of the Nala inscriptions record the erection of temples. The Podagarh stone inscription of the Nala king Skandavarman (no. 3) records the setting up of a sanctuary (pāda-mūla) of Viṣṇu. Abundant dakṣiṇā (sacrificial fees) was distributed on the occasion, and the gift of a 'pura' (here perhaps to be understood in the sense of a holding<sup>94</sup>) was

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<sup>89</sup> An alternative interpretation of the phrase cira-khila-śūnya could be land that has been for a long time uncultivated and empty

<sup>90</sup> Rajaguru, "The Olasingh Copper Plate of Bhanuwardhana," p. 40.

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.*, p. 32, ll. 7-8.

<sup>92</sup> Sircar, "Two Plates From Kanas," p. 330 Sircar (*ibid.*, n. 5) cites the Skanda Purāṇa, Āvāntyakhaṇḍa, Revākhaṇḍa, chap. 72 in this regard

<sup>93</sup> *ibid.* See also R. N. Mishra, "Identification of Sunākhalā of the Olasingh Plate of Bhānuwardhana and the god Maṇi-Nāgeśvara," pp. 31-33

<sup>94</sup> Krishnamacharlu, "The Nala Inscription at Podagadh, 12th Year," p. 157, n. 1

made for Puruṣa (the Supreme Being, here evidently Viṣṇu). The proceeds were for the establishment of a sattrā (charitable feeding house) for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas (vipras), ascetics (yatis), and the poor and destitute. The location of the land in question is not specified in the inscription, but it probably lay near Podagarh, where the temple was evidently constructed. The inscription stipulates that the gifted land was not to be entered by soldiers (apraveśyam bhāṭaiḥ), and declares it to be permanently exempt from taxes (sadā kara-visarjitam).

The Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga (no. 4) records the construction of a temple dedicated to Hari (Viṣṇu). The introductory stanzas of the inscription refer to Viṣṇu's churning of the milk-ocean and to his dwarf incarnation. The king apparently had the temple built for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased son. The inscription is incised on a stone slab built into a wall of the maṇḍapa (hall) of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu as Rājīvalocana (the lotus-eyed one). The inscription seems to be in situ, and the temple it refers to was apparently none other than the Rājīvalocana temple, one of the three important temples at Rajim.<sup>95</sup>

#### The Pāṇḍuvarṁśīs

Among the various inscriptions that may be assigned to the reigns of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī kings, only one (no. 15) records a grant by a Pāṇḍuvarṁśī king to a temple. One inscription of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī period (no. 8) records an endowment of land to a Śaiva establishment by Durgarakṣita, a subordinate of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī king Bālārjuna, another (no. 13) records the construction of a temple of Hari (i. e. Viṣṇu) by Vāsaṭā, the mother of king Bālārjuna, and two (nos. 11 and 12) record private donations to Śaiva temples for the provision of flowers for the deity.

The beneficiary of the royal endowment recorded in the Lodhia plates of Mahāśivagupta (no. 15) is described as śrīmad-Īśāneśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (i. e. Śiva) established in a temple at Khadirapadra. The endowment is specified to be for the provision of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), and sattrā (charitable feeding), for nṛtya (dancing) and vāditra (music), as well as for the repair of dilapidation to the temple. It may be noted that this grant is said to have been made at the request of Śulapāṇi, a disciple of Pramathācārya who came from Pañcayajña tapovana in Dvaitavana forest.<sup>96</sup> The land granted in favour of the deity was a village

<sup>95</sup> Mirashi, "Rajim Stone Inscription of the Nala King," pp. 49, 54-55.

<sup>96</sup> According to Rajaguru (IO, 4 350), the Pramathācārya of the Lodhia plates can probably be identified with the person whose name has been read as Prapittrācārya or Pramathācārya in one of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple inscriptions (see A. Ghosh, "Parasuramesvara Temple Inscriptions," EI 26, 1941-42: 126-27). It may be pointed out, however, that according to Ghosh (ibid., p. 126), the palaeography of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple inscription in question belongs to the first half of the ninth century, which is later than the period of the

named Vidyapadraka in [O]ṇi bhoga. The village in question has been identified with modern Baidpali village in the Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district.<sup>97</sup> The land was granted along with hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhāna s-opanidhāna), along with all taxes (sarva-kara-dāna-sameta), and along with the right to punish or realize fines from those guilty of the ten offences (sa-daś-āparādha). It was declared free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjita) and was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (pratisiddha-cāta-bhaṭa-praveśa). The grant was made in perpetuity, and the residents of the village were instructed to make over to the beneficiary dues such as the bhāga and bhoga

The Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta (no. 13), which was originally inscribed on the brick Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur, records the endowment of six villages by Vāsaṭā, the mother of the king, in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment. The villages gifted were Toḍaṅkaṇa, Madhuveḍha, Nālipadra, Kurapadra, Vāṇapadra, and the additional village of Vargullaka.<sup>98</sup> Three of the shares were specifically endowed for the provision for charitable feeding (sattra), the repair of dilapidation to the temple, and the support of the families of the servants of the temple respectively. The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts. Twelve of these shares were assigned to Brāhmanas representing the three Vedas (four Brāhmanas affiliated to each of the three Vedas -- Rg, Yajur, and Sāma), and the last three shares to the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin, who is referred to as the puṇya-vācaka,<sup>99</sup> and to two Bhāgavatas -- Vāmana and Śrīdhara. The additional village of Vargullaka is specified to have been granted for the provision of balī (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), and sattra (charitable feeding). Verse 35 of the inscription states that the fifteen shares were not to be alienated by gift, sale, or mortgage ("ete pañca-daś-āṅgā vivarjitā dāna-vikray-ādhanaiḥ"). The endowment was hereditary; however, the inscription stipulates that if any of the descendants of the donees were not of virtuous conduct, they were to be replaced. Further, all the transactions were to be carried out by the principal resident Brāhmanas and worshippers (pāda-mūla) of the temple acting unanimously after meeting together. Verses 41-42 of the Sirpur stone inscription, which are fragmentary, seem to record a gift by the

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Lodhia plates. Rajaguru (IO, 4 350) also suggests that Pramathācārya belonged to the Śaiva Maṭṭamayūra sect, and points out that Dvaitavana was an important pilgrim site mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

<sup>97</sup> Pandeya, "Lodhia Plates of Maha-Sivagupta, Year 57," p. 322.

<sup>98</sup> Hira Lal ("The Sirpur Stone Inscription of the Time of Mahasivagupta," p. 188) identifies Vargullaka with Gullu, about ten miles south-west of Sirpur and five from Arang, Kurapadraka with Kulapadar, fifteen miles south-east of Sirpur, Toḍaṅkaṇa with Turenga near Kulapadar, and Madhuveḍha with Madhuban (about four miles from Turenga). He suggests that Vanapadra must have been close to Sirpur as it is described as 'in this place' (sthāne atra).

<sup>99</sup> A priest who officiates at auspicious ceremonies and proclaims with mantras a happy day to the ceremony and its performer.

king Śivagupta to Guṇārya bhaṭṭa, and refer to part of the gift being reserved for a virtuous Brāhmaṇa learned in the śāstras and the commentaries (vyākhyā) as well as in the Vedas.

The Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna (no. 8) records an endowment of land made by Durgarakṣita, a subordinate of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, to certain beneficiaries associated with a Śaiva temple. The details of the inscription are of interest as they provide information on persons and activities associated with this particular temple establishment, which was apparently located at modern Senakapat. According to verse 15 of the Senakapat inscription, two halas of black-soil land in Guḍaśarkaraka were granted to the god Madanāṛāti (the enemy of Madana, i. e. Śiva). Verses 16-18 of the inscription state that Durgarakṣita entrusted the temple to a Śaiva ascetic named Sadāśivācārya and to his spiritual successors;<sup>100</sup> Sadāśivācārya himself was apparently the spiritual successor of Sadyaḥśivācārya who hailed from a penance grove called Āmardaka.<sup>101</sup> Verses 20-22 name Sadāśivācārya as the beneficiary of three plots of land -- four halas of black-soil land in Koḍāsīmā village, and two plots of black-soil land measuring two halas in Vīyāṇaka village and in a locality called Lāṭa in Śrīparṇikā village.<sup>102</sup> According to verses 22-23 of the Senakapat inscription, the Śaiva ascetics were to arrange for a sacrificial ceremony (yāga), the initiation of people into the Śaiva faith which is capable of providing spiritual emancipation (nīrvāṇa-dakṣa-dīkṣā), the exposition of Śaiva doctrine (samayasya vyākhyā), and the running of a charitable feeding house (annasya sattram) every year during the full-moon day of the months of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika, and Māgha. The inscription further stipulates that the Śaiva ascetics (tapasvins) were to stay at the temple and were not to lend money at interest. The boundaries of the tala-pāṭaka, i.e. the land gifted to the temple, are specified and included a trench (garitā), Śivasamudra (probably a place-name), and two roads (mārga).

Of the private donations to temples mention may be made of the Sirpur Gandheśvara temple inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta (no. 11), which records the provision of flowers for the worship (pūjā) of the deity Gandharveśvara<sup>103</sup> by Jorjjarāka, who is described as one of the many saintly and pious persons living in the kingdom of the

<sup>100</sup> According to Rajaguru (IO, 4: 350), the Śaiva ascetics probably belonged to the Mattamayūra sect.

<sup>101</sup> According to Dikshit and Sircar ("Senakapat Inscription of the Time of Sivagupta Balarjuna," pp. 34-35), Āmardaka is the name of the Kāla-Bhairava form of Śiva, and the penance grove referred to in the Senakapat inscription probably derived its name from the worship of this deity. The location of this place has not been identified, but it may be noted that references to it occur in several inscriptions from different parts of the country.

<sup>102</sup> Dikshit and Sircar (ibid., p. 34) offer some tentative identifications of the place names mentioned in this inscription. Guḍaśarkaraka may perhaps be identified with one of the several villages called Sankra lying in the vicinity of Senakapat, while Koḍāsīmā may be identified with modern Korasi.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Gandheśvara, the present name of the temple.



king. The flowers were to be supplied by the garland-makers of Navahaṭṭa for as long as they lived there. The Sirpur stone inscription (no 12) records the provision of funds by two persons named Nāgadeva and Keśava, subjects of Śivagupta, for the provision of garlands of flowers for the worship of Śiva in the town of Śripura. Nāgadeva is referred to as a devoted servant of Śivagupta and as a distinguished Brāhmaṇa (dvij-ottama); Keśava is described as highly proficient in the arts and zealous in the performance of good deeds.

## **Period II: The seventh to the tenth century**

South and central Orissa

### The Śvetaka Gaṅgas

While the beneficiaries of the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Ganga king Indravarman (no 11) included certain Brāhmanas who are named at the end of the inscription, a half share seems to have been set aside for a deity referred to as bhattaraka Svayambhūkeśvara, and another portion assigned to śrī Mādhava, apparently another deity. The temple in question seems to have been constructed under the instructions of a woman named śrī-Elā, as it is referred to as her 'dharma-kīrti'. Elā is described as the queen of śrī Ganga Svayambhu, the eldest son of śrī Gosvā(sva)manī. Gosvamani's name appears later in the inscription in connection with the registration of the grant with a seal, and she was probably Indravarman's queen. This indicates that Elā was the king Indravarman's daughter-in-law. The deity Svayambhūkeśvara was apparently named after the husband of Elā, and was probably in the form of a linga.<sup>104</sup> The beneficiaries of the Indian Museum plates included certain Brāhmanas whose names are given at the end of the inscription. The village granted in favour of the temple establishment was Bhethiśṅga attached to Paṭanī-khaṇḍa visaya (Chhabra reads Paḍraṇī-khaṇḍa or Paduṇī-khaṇḍa visaya<sup>105</sup>). The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-ksiti-samakālam), having been made tax-free (a-karīkṛtya), along with water, land, and forests (sa-jala-sthal-āranya) and with half the bank (of the stream/river) (ardha-srotra-sahitena).

### The Gangas of Kalinganagara (inscriptions no. 14-40)

The beneficiary of the royal endowment of land recorded in the Viśakhapatnam plates of the time of Devendravarman (no 21) was a deity named śrīmad Dharmēśvara bhāṭṭāraka, the grant is said to have been made at the time when the superintendentship of the shrine lay with the illustrious Brāhmaṇa (vipra) Somācārya. The deity was probably in

<sup>104</sup> C. C. Das Gupta ("Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Indravarman," p 167) takes Mādhava and Svayambhūkeśvara to be names of Brāhmanas donees, which does not seem to be the case at all.

<sup>105</sup> B. Ch. Chhabra's editorial note to C. C. Das Gupta's "Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Indravarman," p. 169, n. 1.

the form of a *liṅga* and named after the king's uncle Dharmakheḍi, at whose request the grant was made. The endowment consisted of several villages (the names cannot be read with certainty) with their boundaries as they were being enjoyed from former times (*pūrvabhujyamāna-sīmā-sahitāni*) in *Dāvadāmadavarāṇi viṣaya*. The villages were granted in perpetuity (*ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭhām*).

The Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25) record a grant of land to an individual named Rātuka, a resident of Pālukosu, and a 'Kateya-sūtra-pāṇca-vrata';<sup>106</sup> also for the provision of *caru* (offerings to the ancestors), *dhūpa* (incense), and *naivedya* (food offerings) for the *pūjā* (worship) of the most worshipful deity (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka*) *Parameśvara*. The precise connection of Rātuka with the temple is not clear; he may have been the priest of the shrine. The endowment consisted of *Sidhatā grāma* in *Varāhavartanī*, the boundaries are specified.<sup>107</sup>

The Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26) record a royal endowment in favour of *Ceti*, *Lokaya* and others (or *Cetiloka* and others), sons of *Kavvāsaka Vilaci*. The four brothers were to share the gift village equally (*sāmānya-bhoga*). The endowment consisted of *Viriṇṭarṇi(nṭi ?)ka grāma* in *Puṣkaraṇi[ī] viṣaya* (*Puṣkaraṇi* has been identified by Narayana Rao and Subba Rao with *Srikurmam* in *Srikakulam* district<sup>108</sup>), excluding the land belonging to the *bhaṭṭārikā* -- apparently the village goddess to whom a part of the village had been assigned at an earlier date. The boundaries of the land are specified, and

<sup>106</sup> The meaning of this epithet is not clear.

<sup>107</sup> Lewis Rice (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 9 33) does not give the text of the portion of the inscription referring to the boundaries. It may be noted that *Sidhatā* is mentioned in the *Musinaka* grant of Devendravarman (no. 24) as one of the villages adjacent to *Musinaka*, the gift village, which is said to have been situated in *Varāhavartanī viṣaya*. *Musinaka* has been identified by Narasimham with modern *Musunuru* village. *Mirashi* ("Musinaka Grant of Devendravarman III, Ganga Year 306," p. 26) suggests that *Sidhatā* of the *Musinaka* grant is the same as *Sidhatā* of the Bangalore plates. He further suggests (*ibid*) that these in turn may be identical with *Siddhārthaka* village, mentioned in the *Achyutapuram* and *Siddhantam* plates, which may be identified with modern *Siddhantam*, about three miles south of *Nagarakatakam*, near the right bank of the *Vamsadhara* river. The *Achyutapuram* plates of the *Kalinganagara* king *Indravarman* (no. 5) record a grant in favour of a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Durggaśarmman*. The endowment consisted of one *hala* of land (constituted into a separate section) in the *rāja-taṭāka-kṣetra* (probably in the vicinity of the royal tank) in *Siddhārthaka* village in *Varāhavartanī*. The *Siddhantam* plates of the *Kalinganagara* Ganga king *Devendravarman* (no. 17) record the grant of one *hala* of land in the *brahmacārī* section of *Siddhārthaka* village in *Varāhavartanī*. The Bangalore plates of *Devendravarman* (no. 25) referred to above seem to make over *Sidhatā* village to *Rātuka* and the temple establishment with which he was associated. If the villages mentioned in these three inscriptions are identical, the Bangalore plates appear to have set aside the claims of the descendants of the *Brāhmaṇa* concees of the *Achyutapuram* and *Siddhantam* plates. Further, the fact that *Sidhatā* was adjacent to *Musinaka* of the *Musinaka* plates may be noted, as it suggests the clustering of *brahmadeya* and *devadeya* villages in certain areas.

<sup>108</sup> C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, "Six New Eastern Ganga Copper-Plate Inscriptions," p. 193.

included the following land-marks: two embankments (setu), including one situated at the boundary of Mārādā grāma, various rows of forest-trees; the boundary of Puṣkarinī(ṇi) (probably the head-quarter of a viṣaya of this name); the boundary of Puṣkarinī(ṇi) and Kumārikābhaḍa village. The endowment was made in perpetuity (candī-ārka-tārakam yāvat) and was exempted from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharam=apahṛtya) According to D C Sircar, the expression 'sva-karma-vṛtyā' (in line 11) in the inscription and the subsequent reference to the bhaṭṭārikā, seems to suggest that the four donees were priests of the said goddess and received the grant as fees for their priestly services.<sup>109</sup>

The Chicacole plates of Satyavarman (no. 32) record that Tāru grāma in Galela or Galelai viṣaya was constituted into an agrahāra of the village god (grāma-deva), and was given by the king to Kamalāsana, the son of Guru Khandyama. Line 21 refers to the land as a 'Śaiva-sthānakam.' The boundaries of the village are specified, and included the following land-marks: three (?) tanks (taṭāka), an arjuna tree, hills, rocks, akṣa-loṇka (?), ali-śilatala (?), a well (vāpī) The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candra-tārakam), having been made free from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛtya)<sup>110</sup>

The Galavalli plates of Manujendravarman (no. 37) record a grant to Kaunduka-Guṇḍeśvara, probably a deity named Guṇḍeśvara, worshipped at a place called Kunduka or Koṇḍuka. The gift was apparently received on behalf of the deity by Samaveda-bhagavanta, son of śrīmad Vallakonda (or Callakonda) Brahmātma bhagavanta (perhaps meaning Brahmātma bhagavanta of Vallakonda) Sāmaveda-bhagavanta was probably a priest at the temple of Gundeśvara. The grant is said to have been made by the king afterwards in the presence of the deity Gundiśvara.<sup>111</sup> The endowment consisted of three villages -- Numkapāṭaka and Baḍavadā in Galela viṣaya (which perhaps may be identified with Galavalli, the find-spot<sup>112</sup>), and Cintacedu in Homva viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift land included an embankment (setu) and certain trikūṭas described as well-known to the people of the viṣaya. The Galavalli plates contain a later endorsement, which may be a forgery. This states that śrī Devendravarman, lord of Kālīṅga, received blessings from Śiva and gifted two localities called Yegū/ Egu and Mahanta, collectively known as Giṇṭi and

<sup>109</sup> Sircar, "Chicacole Plates of Gaṅga Devendravarman," pp. 17-18

<sup>110</sup> The meaning of ll. 33-34, which seem to contain an additional stipulation regarding the grant is not clear. The lines read as follows: "Punar=apī Galelai dhānya-sahaśra(sra)kasya bhūmi[h\*] tad-viṣaye grām-ānugrāme tā(ta)ṇḍula-muraya-ghṛta-tāli Galelai polai khandi" (J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions," IA 14, January 1885: 12)

<sup>111</sup> According to N. Ramesan ("Galavalli Copper-plate Inscription of King Manujendravarman of E. Ganga Dynasty," p. 163), Guṇḍeśvara may be identified with the deity now known as Kāmeśvara (Śiva), worshipped in an ancient Śiva temple at Galavalli.

<sup>112</sup> Sircar, "Two Grants From Galavalli," p. 189

situated in Koṇḍaguḍi, to Yogātman and to the deity Guṇḍiśvara, Yogātman seems to have been the successor of Sāmaveda bhagavanta as the priest of the temple.<sup>113</sup>

The Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 15) record a royal grant to Pataṅga-Śivācārya, the guru of the king, on the occasion of a dikṣā<sup>114</sup> ceremony. Pataṅga-Śivācārya in turn is said to have made over half the land to Yāgeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (who seems to have been a deity), and the other half to his disciples and his disciples' disciples. The establishment in question seems to have been some sort of a temple-maṭha set-up. The endowment made in its favour consisted of Haduvaka grāma in Puṣyagiri-pañcālī viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift land are specified and included the following land-marks: the Guṇahārī trench; a kadamba tree; ciñca trees; a nimba tree; a sarjja tree; a timira tree at the embankment of the tank (taṭāka), the kāraka tree at the Piśāca embankment (Piśāc-ālī); a bhallātaka tree at the western and northern bank of the tank, jambu trees; the boundary of Cullaveṇa (?), śālmali trees, a kośamba tree; saptapaṇṇa (?); a big rock; a jambu tree with an ant-hill, a madhūka tree. Haduvaka has been identified with Sudava, the place where the plates were found.<sup>115</sup> The land was declared to have been given in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham), having been exempted from all taxes (sarva-karaṇa parihrīya); the residents were instructed to make over to the donees the appropriate dues such as the bhāga and bhoga.

The grant recorded in the Pattali plates (no. 29) of yuvarāja Rājendravarman, the son of Anantavarman, is said to have been made for the provision of balī (offerings to all creatures), naivedya (food for the deity), and caru (oblations to the ancestors) at the shrine of a goddess referred to as śrīmat-Kaṅcipottī-bhaṭṭārikā. The endowment consisted of Pāṭṭali grāma (referred to elsewhere as Pādali) in Kṛṣṇamaṭṭamva. The boundaries of this village are laid down, and included a boundary pillar (naidhānī-śilā), a bilva tree, trenches including the Bhuttaka and Kāśimvi(bī) trenches, an āmra tree, and various rows of forest trees. The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham) and exempted from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharāṇa parihrīya). The inscription records the additional grant of Kuśasankira grāma in Dāpu-pañcālī and Aralī grāma in Jāmvō(mbo)ṭṭa-pañcālī in favour of the same deity by Loka-mahādevī, Rājendravarman's mother.<sup>116</sup>

### The Bhauma-Karas

The Terundia plate of Śubhākara (II) (no. 8) records a grant made by this king at the request of a queen in favour of six Brāhmaṇas who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra, were

<sup>113</sup> According to Sircar (ibid.), the endorsement may imply that Manujendra made the grant under the orders of his father, Devendravarman.

<sup>114</sup> 'Dikṣā' refers to the consecration for a religious ceremony.

<sup>115</sup> R. K. Ghoshal, "Two Ganga Copper-Plate Grants from Sudava," *IEI* 26 (1941-42), 63.

<sup>116</sup> Thus, three villages were endowed in favour of this deity.

students of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Vājasaneyā carāṇa, and residents of Taramaṇḍapa grāma. The grant is specifically stated to be for the purpose of the upkeep of mathas and maṇḍapas<sup>117</sup> established by the Brāhmaṇas in Taramaṇḍapa grāma. The endowment consisted of Lavāgaṇḍā grāma attached to Sulāntarakurbha viṣaya. The land was granted along with the taxes known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantavāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-prakṛtika), along with the outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and fernes, etc. (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-piḍā-varjita) and was not to be made the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśatayā). The grant was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-ksiti-sama-kālam) according to the bhīmichidr-āpidhāna-nyaya (which implied all the rights of ownership such as to which a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time became entitled), and was made tax-free according to the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments (aksaya-nivi-dharma).

The Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva (no. 9) records a royal grant made at the request of a person named Pulindasena, the income from which was to be divided in the following manner: half the income of the land was for snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal paste), puṣpa (flowers), dīpa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food offerings), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship) for the god Vaidyanātha bhattāraka enshrined in the temple of Pulindeśvara,<sup>118</sup> for clothes and food for the servants; and for repairs. The other half of the income of the land was for providing the Śaiva ācārya tapasvins with meals, garments, and medicines, and for the maintenance of the family of the dānapati<sup>119</sup> every day with six ādhakas of husked rice at the cost of four hiraṇya panas. The endowment consisted of Noḍḍilo grāma (identified with Nandelo in the old Hindol State<sup>120</sup>) attached to Kāṅkavirā viṣaya (identified with Karavira in Angul<sup>121</sup>). The boundaries of the gift land are specified, and included the following land-marks: a stone planted in the middle of the stream of the Dhānyamāda-jota, the bed of this jota, trees including a karañja tree; an aśvattha tree, the Bandha jota, the bed of the Śrgala jota (canal or stream), the stone planted under the vana-mandara tree, the Simā jotika, a mango tree at Paṅktāpollā, rocks including one placed at Tendrātaka, the bed of the Gangeṭi jota

117 The term maṇḍapa may refer to an open hall or temporary shed (set up on festive occasions), a pavilion, tent, or temple (*Mon. Will.*, p. 775). In architectural terms, a maṇḍapa is a hall, usually the one in front of the shrine of a temple (*Dehejia, Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, p. 207). According to V. S. Pathak (*Smārta Religious Tradition*, p. 50), certain icons give the meaning of maṇḍapa as "a shelter for persons in general".

118 The deity was apparently named after Pulindasena, at whose request the grant was made.

119 On the dānapati, see *supra*, n. 72.

120 Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 13.

121 *ibid*.

(identified with Gaṅgeijoḍa in Hindol<sup>122</sup>). The terms of the grant were the same as those of the Terundia plate referred to above.

Two of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions -- the two sets of Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16) -- record endowments to a certain Śaiva temple establishment. The grants in question were made by the Bhauma-Kara queen at the request of Śaśilekhā, described as the moon of the Vrāgaḍi family of the Virāṭa lineage and wife of mahāmaṇḍalādhipatī Maṅgaleśvara.<sup>123</sup> The endowment in the first case consisted of Koṭṭapurā grāma attached to Tamāla-khaṇḍa viśaya (Tamālā being tentatively identified with Tamluk in Medinipur district<sup>124</sup>) along the Nanneśvara tala-pāṭaka. The land granted by the second inscription was Utthukākṣaṇḍa-kṣetraṁ (Utthukā khaṇḍa-kṣetraṁ ?) attached to Dakṣiṇakhaṇḍa viśaya (tentatively identified with Dakinmal pargana in Contai subdivision<sup>125</sup>). The boundaries of the gift land are specified in the inscriptions. In the former inscription (no. 15), they included a śākhoṭa tree, various rocks, a goherya,<sup>126</sup> a nyagrodha tree, half the bed of a joṭa, Koṭṭapura ādhāra,<sup>127</sup> Naraka ādhāra, and a bilva tree. In the latter inscription (no. 16) the boundaries included the embankment (ālī) of the field (ksetra), the western embankment of Ganeśvara khātaka,<sup>128</sup> a rock, a śākhoṭaka tree, etc.. The terms of the grant were similar to those of the Terundia plate. One share of the income of the land was assigned for the perpetual offering of snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal-paste), puṣpa (flowers), dipa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food for the deity), balī (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship), etc for the deity Umā-Maheśvara bhāṭṭāraka in the temple built by Śaśilekhā in honour of her late father and named Nanneśvara after him. This share was also for the repairs of the temple, and for providing food, clothing, and medicines for the mahāvrata-dhārīn tapasvins. The second share was for providing food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas. The third share was for the maintenance of the servants, and the fourth for the maintenance of the family of the dānapatī. The term 'Mahāvrata' appears in various literary sources as an alternative for both the Kāpālīka and Kālāmukha sects, as the mahāvrata penance is an important feature of both

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<sup>122</sup> *ibid*

<sup>123</sup> The title 'mahāmaṇḍalādhipatī' may signify the governor of the territorial division known as the mandala, or a feudatory who had some subordinate chiefs under him (see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp 179-80)

<sup>124</sup> De, "Two Plates of Tribhuvanamahadevi From Baud," p. 215

<sup>125</sup> *ibid*

<sup>126</sup> The meaning of this word is not certain. Perhaps it has something to do with 'goḥa' (from the root 'guh'), which, according to *Mon Will*, p. 369 means a hiding place, lair, or a secret place for hiding refuse or filth.

<sup>127</sup> Ādhāra could mean a dam, pond, reservoir, etc (*Mon Will*, p. 139)

<sup>128</sup> According to *Mon Will* (p. 337) the meanings of 'khātaka' include a ditch or a moat. According to Sircar's *Epigraphical Glossary* (p. 156), 'khātaka' probably means a canal, and carries the same meaning as the Bengali 'khāi.'

of these Śaiva sects.<sup>129</sup> On the basis of the reference to the Śaiva ascetics as mahāvratadhārins, it may be suggested that the establishment mentioned in the two Baud sets of Tribhuvanamahādevī was affiliated to one of these two Śaiva sects

The Cāmuṇḍā image inscription of Vatsadevī (no. 1) records the installation of an image of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā, apparently in a temple in Jajpur, by the queen Vatsadevī. Vatsadevī is not known from any other source; she was probably the wife of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings.

The Hamseśvara temple inscription (no. 3) of Mādhavīdevī, probably a wife of Śubhākara (I), records the building by the queen of a temple of the god Bhava (Śiva) under the name Mādhaveśvara. The deity was probably in the liṅgam form and seems to have been named after the queen. The inscription is fragmentary and the purport cannot be reconstructed in its entirety. Verse 4 of the inscription compares the temple with Śiva's abode on mount Kailāśa, and refers to the appointment of a Śaiva ācārya for conducting the worship of the god. Verse 5 refers to a vāpī (tank) that must have been excavated near the temple; this could be the almost dried-up tank on the banks of which the Hamseśvara temple stands. Verse 6 speaks of a haṭṭa (market or fair), that seems to have been established or organized in the locality; it is possible that the income from it was assigned to the temple. Verses 7 and 8 refer to someone who did something in connection with the establishment in question after the queen had died.

The Dhauli inscription of the time of Śāntikara (no. 7) records the construction of a maṭha of Āghyaka-varāṭi (?) by a private individual.

### **Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century**

North and Central Orissa

#### The early Bhaṇjas of Khinjalī-maṇḍala

The Patna Museum plates of the time of the early Bhaṇja king Raṇabhaṇja (no. 6) record an endowment made by śrī Vijyā (Vijayā ?), daughter of rāṇaka śrī Niyama (who has been identified with the Kadamba ruler Niyārṇava); Vijyā may have been a wife of the Bhaṇja king Raṇabhaṇja. The beneficiary of the grant was the deity Vijaesara (Vijayeśvara), evidently Śiva in the liṅga form, named after Vijyā. The endowment consisted of Vā(Bā)hīravāḍā grāma attached to Dakṣi(kṣi)na-palī, on the banks of the Mahānadī river. The grant gave the donee the right to any hidden treasures and deposits found on the land (nidhy-upanidhi-sahita).

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<sup>129</sup> Lorenzen, The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, pp. 10, 73, 77f..

### The later Bhañjas of Khinjalī-maṇḍala

The Orissa Museum plates of the later Bhañja king Neṭṭabhañja (no. 9) record the grant of part of Gundapātaka village to a merchant named Ivadataka of the Kāśyapa gotra, belonging to Tribhuvanapura in Varendri (in Bengal). Line 38 of the inscription may refer to an additional grant of land in the same village to the deity Puruṣottama.<sup>130</sup>

### The Baripada stone inscriptions

The beneficiaries of at least two of the Baripada stone inscriptions were deities, although the careless engraving and the damaged nature of the epigraphs makes the reading of the relevant portions problematic. According to D. C. Sircar's reading of the inscription of Dhruvarāja, the grant in question was made for the bali (offerings to all creatures) and naivedya (food offerings) for a deity whose name is not mentioned in the text, probably because the inscription was exhibited in the shrine of the deity concerned.<sup>131</sup> As the stone bearing the inscription seems to have belonged to the temple of Bhīmā or Bhīmeśvarī in the forest adjoining Pedagadhī village, Sircar suggests that the deity to whom Dhruvarāja's grant refers may have been this very goddess.<sup>132</sup> The endowment consisted of Va[na]grāma, Arana(na)padā, and Bharāḍī[hu], constituted into an agrahāra. According to Rajaguru, however, this inscription records a grant made by a ruler named Dhruvarāja deva for the purpose of the bali and naivedya of the goddess Bharāḍī of Arachupadā; he reads no place-names in the text.<sup>133</sup>

The stone bearing the inscription of Dhruvarāja also bears two other inscriptions. According to Sircar's reading, one of these inscriptions appears to record a grant of land by Kumāravarmarāja. Sircar tentatively reads the names of the two gift-villages as Duśākhī in Dūga..rayeśa and Daṭṭā in Loṣṭhaja .rya.<sup>134</sup> According to Rajaguru's reading, however, this inscription records a grant made by Kumāra Dharmarāja alias Durgārya in favour of the deity Pinākīpati<sup>135</sup> for the fulfillment of his (the donor's) desires.

The third Baripada inscription seems to record a grant made by a Bhañja king (whose name is indistinct)<sup>136</sup> in favour of the goddess Durgā (Rajaguru reads the name of the deity as Līleśabhadrā Durgā<sup>137</sup>). Sircar suggests that this goddess may be the same as

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<sup>130</sup> Panigrahi, "Orissa Museum Plates of Neṭṭabhañja," p. 16. According to Panigrahi's reading of line 25 of the inscription, the land gifted to the merchant Ivata was part of the king's 'svadeśa,' i.e. personal domain. The reliability of this reading may be questioned.

<sup>131</sup> Sircar, "Three Inscriptions in Baripada Museum," p. 83.

<sup>132</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>133</sup> Rajaguru, "Three Stone Inscriptions of the Baripada Museum with plates," p. 179.

<sup>134</sup> Sircar, "Three Inscriptions in Baripada Museum," p. 83.

<sup>135</sup> Pinākī is one of the names of Śiva.

<sup>136</sup> Rajaguru ("Three Stone Inscriptions of the Baripada Museum with plates," p. 179) reads the name of the king as Śaṭṭabhañja.

<sup>137</sup> *ibid*.



the modern Bhīmā of Pedagadhi, and that the endowment consisted of three localities named Toler[n]ā(rṇā), Bhu[j]ā, and Rai.....<sup>138</sup> According to Rajaguru's reading, the gift land lay on the border of Maḍārdā viṣaya<sup>139</sup>

### The Somavarṇīs

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakeśari (no 27) records the erection of a temple dedicated to the deity Brahmeśvara in the liṅga form, along with two cāruśālā temples, at a place called Siddha-tīrtha at Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) by Kolāvati, the mother of the king. Some beautiful maidens were also dedicated to lord Śiva by her. This seems to be a reference to devadāsīs. It may be pointed out that female musicians and dancers in fact occupy a prominent position in the sculptural programme of the Brahmeśvara temple.<sup>140</sup>

The beneficiary of the Lingarāja temple inscription of Viravarakeśari (no 33) was the god Kṛttivāsa, styled Siddha-Lambodara. The grant was made in order to provide for the requirements for the god's autumnal worship every year. The endowment consisted of sixty-five units of land (pañc-ṣaṣṭi bhūmi)<sup>141</sup> in Citra and [Gaṇṇi] villages in Cakralambotaviṣaya.

The Sonapur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (no 7) record a grant made by this king to the Kamalavana merchants' association (śrī-Kamalavana-vanik-sthāna) which hailed from Khadirapadra and resided in or had its base at Suvarṇanapura. The merchants' association gave over the village, having registered it in a deed to the temples (deva-kula) of śrī Keśava and śrī Āditya bhattāraka, for the performance of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), and for the repair of wear and tear to the temple. The land in question was Gottaikelā grāma attached to Luputurā-khaṇḍa in Kosala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). Gottaikelā has been identified with Gotarkela,

<sup>138</sup> Sircar, "Three Inscriptions in Baripada Museum," p. 83

<sup>139</sup> Rajaguru, "Three Stone Inscriptions of Baripada Museum with plates," p. 179

<sup>140</sup> Donaldson, Hindu Temple Art of Orissa, p. 325. According to Donaldson (ibid., pp. 325-26), before the Brahmeśvara temple, except for a few instances in the Mukteśvara temple, scenes of music and dance focused almost exclusively on Śiva -- depicting him in his aspects of Ardhanārīśvara, Natarāja, and Vinādhara-mūrti, or as Hara serenading Pārvatī, or as Virabhadra accompanying the Saptamātrikās -- or in occasional images of Sarasvatī or Gaṇeśa. The Brahmeśvara temple, on the other hand, depicts female figures holding or playing musical instruments such as the vinā and the flute. Female musicians and female dancers also make their appearance for the first time on the balusters filling the gavākṣa windows (ibid., p. 326). According to Donaldson (ibid.), while the Brahmeśvara temple inscription does not indicate whether the women dedicated to the deity danced before the latter, the image on the gavākṣa-mandana of the jagamohana which depicts a female dancer holding a pīḍha roof with her raised left hand suggests that this was the case, the dancing probably taking place within the jagamohana.

<sup>141</sup> The name of the unit is not specified.

about three miles from Sonepur town.<sup>142</sup> Luputura has been identified by B. C. Mazumdar with Nuptara in the ex-Sonepur state<sup>143</sup> and tentatively by Hira Lal with Lepia, six miles south-east of Bolangir.<sup>144</sup> The land was given along with hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi s-opanidhi), along with all the taxes known as the uparikara or along with the taxes known as the uparikara and all other taxes (sarv-oparikara-kar-ādāna-sameta), along with mango and madhūka trees (s-āmra-madhūka) together with pits and barren spots (sa-gartt-oṣara), and along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala). It was to be free from all obstructions (sarva-bādhā-vivarjita). The endowment was declared to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candra-tārak-ārka-kṣiti-samakāl-opabhog-ārtham) and the residents were instructed to make over to the beneficiary dues such as the bhoga, bhāga, and hiraṇya.

#### The imperial Gaṅgas and their feudatories

The beneficiaries of the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta (no. 53) were five hundred Brāhmaṇas. The endowment consisted of Tāmaraceru grāma along with Cikhali-vāṭaka (i.e. the hamlet of Cikhali).<sup>145</sup> The inscription also indicates that two hundred units of land yielding two hundred murakas (murajas) of grain or rice (dhānya) were given to the deity Koṭīśvaradeva, for balī (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), dīpa (lamps), pūjā (worship), etc.. The resident Brāhmaṇas were instructed to effect immediately any repairs that were necessary in the temple. According to Sten Konow, Koṭīśvara was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaraceru.<sup>146</sup> The endowment was said to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam yāvat) It was gifted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala) and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjita). The land gifted to the deity Koṭīśvara is said to have been given in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-paryyanta) and was to be free from hindrances (nir-virodha)

The Viśakhapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga (no. 61) record a royal endowment to the deity Rājaraṇeśvara residing in Reṅgujeḍ grāma, for the performance of balī (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerins to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity) and utsava (the celebration of festivals). The endowment consisted of Cākivāḍa grāma in Saṁvā visaya. The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam yāvat), along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjita).

<sup>142</sup> Chhabra, "Sonepur Plates of Maha-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamejaya; The Year 17," p. 250 Chhabra quotes a Mr Sircar, at that time the Secretary of Sonepur state, on this point

<sup>143</sup> Mazumdar, "Three Copper-plate Records of Sonpur," p. 101.

<sup>144</sup> Hira Lal, "The Sirpur Stone Inscription of the Time of Mahasivagupta," p. 201.

<sup>145</sup> It may be noted that Tāmaraceru was the name of the village granted to three hundred Brāhmaṇas in the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, as well as to certain Brāhmaṇas in the Chicacole plates of Indravarma (Gaṅga year 128).

<sup>146</sup> Konow, "Madras Museum Plates of Vajrahasta III. Saka-Samvat 984," p. 95, n. 2.

The Murupaka plates of Coḍagaṅga (no. 63) record a royal endowment of land to provide for the performance of pūjā (worship), nṛtya (dance), gīta (singing), and vādyā (music) for the deity Narendreśvara, and for the repair of the vimāna (the structure surmounting the shrine) of the temple. The protection of the temple (deva-sthāna) was entrusted to five Brāhmaṇas in the village: Cāmenaśarmman, son of Dārapaśarmman, and belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra; Remana, son of Dāmodara; Nāvana, son of Prolaya (of the Abhya kula ?); Ayitana, son of Pinnapi; and Gomana, son of Bōleka. These five were probably priests of the temple. The endowment consisted of Murupāka grāma in Erada viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift village included the following land-marks: a rock, Gurmuru vāsaka (identified with Gulumuru village in Patapatam taluk of Srikakulam district<sup>147</sup>) at the trikūṭa of the boundaries of Murupāka and Napitavāṇavara, a rock at the trikūṭa of Murupāka and Lovanavara villages; various other rocks; groups of tintrini trees, various ant-hills; a rock at the trikūṭa of Murupāka, Leñjarahā, and Śrīmastaka villages,<sup>148</sup> a row of forest trees. The terms of the grant were the same as those of the above-mentioned inscription (no. 61).

The Sellada plates of Codagaṅga (no. 64) state that the mādara-manavarttika<sup>149</sup> of the endowment was given to Komaracandra, son of Nanniponga, and grandson of Vallapoṅgu, a resident of Cā(Ca)talā grāma. The grant was for providing for the performance of pūjā (worship), naivedya (food for the deity), dipa (lamps), etc. for a deity who appears to have been a goddess (bhagavatī) established in the village (probably Sellada), and also for the repair of dilapidation in the temple. The land gifted was Sellada grāma (identified with Sailada village in the old Parlakimedi Zamindari<sup>150</sup>) in Rūpavarttani viṣaya. The terms of the grant were the same as those of inscription no. 61.

The Bhubaneswar inscription of Codaganga (no. 67), which was engraved on the east wall of the Lingarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, is fragmentary and therefore difficult to reconstruct. According to Sircar's reading, it appears to record the grant of a perpetual lamp, containing one hundred wicks and fed by twenty-four karankas of oil in favour of the god Kīrtivāsa (Kṛttivāsa or Śiva worshipped in the Lingarāja temple)<sup>151</sup>. The lamp seems to have been placed in a structure constructed in the Lingarāja temple compound by Coḍagaṅga, described in the inscription as one devoted to the worship of Śiva. The

<sup>147</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 3, pt. 1 32, n. 2

<sup>148</sup> It may be noted that trikūṭa here refers to three villages.

<sup>149</sup> The meaning of the term 'mādara-manavarttika' is not clear. G. S. Gai ("Boddapadu Plates of Vajrahasta (III), Śaka 982," p. 43) suggests that it could mean maintenance, support, or allowance.

<sup>150</sup> Rajaguru, *IO*, 3, pt. 1 33, n. 1

<sup>151</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Bhubaneswar Inscriptions of Anantavarman Chodaganga," *EL*, 30, pt. 1 (January 1953) 31-32; inscription no. 1. Sircar explains (*ibid.* p. 31) that a karanka is a small pot usually made of coconut-shell, and is sometimes used to measure liquids.

inscription also refers to a devakarmin (priest ?) whose name begins with śrī-Rāma...; his connection with the grant is not clear. (The name Gautama occurs in line 8; it is not certain whether it refers to the name of a person or his gotra). K. C. Panigrahi's interpretation of this inscription is quite different; according to him, in addition to recording the provision of twenty-four kucāṅgas of oil for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the shrine of the deity Kīrtivāsa, it also records the grant of a village, perhaps named Deva[dha\*]rmaśrī, by Coḍagaṅgadeva for the purpose of maintaining the lamp <sup>152</sup>

The Jagannātha temple inscription of Coḍagaṅga (no. 70) seems to record the grant of Malada village for the provision for the burning of twenty perpetual lamps in the temple of Puruṣottama. In addition, an amount of nine māḍhas (a type of coin) were donated to maintain the cows for the supply of ghee for the temple. This is the first stone inscription of Coḍagaṅga's to be found in the precincts of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

The Boddapadu plates of Vajrahasta (no. 51) record a grant of land made over to the deity Jaleśvara as a bhoga (an object of enjoyment). The person responsible for the grant seems to have been someone called Erayama. The inscription states that the māḍara-manavarttika<sup>153</sup> was given to Erayama, son of Māvaya and his wife Kamcapā, grandson of Erayama of a Vaiśya family ("Vesyā-gotr-otpannaḥ"). It seems that Erayama paid some money and received Avareṃga village from the king as māḍara-manavarttika for the creation of a bhoga (an object of enjoyment) for the god Jaleśvara. Lines 52-53 of the inscription state that a manavarttikā in the same village was given by Erayama to the mahākṣaśālīn Vallemoja, a metal-worker (suvarṇa-loha-kārin), whose name appears at the end of the inscription as the engraver of the plates. The gift village, Avareṃga, is said to have been situated in Koluvarttani viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift land are specified and included the following land-marks: nimba trees, ant-hills, rows of forest-trees, tinnṛīka trees, trikūṣas, trenches including the Arjuna trench, an embankment (setu), and an arjuna tree. Avareṃga has been identified with modern Avalingi, one mile east of Boddapadu, the find-spot of the plates, while Koluvarttani may be identified with the whole or part of Srikakulam taluk <sup>154</sup> The land was given in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam yāvat) along with land and water (sa-jala-sthala), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjitam).

Several inscriptions belonging to the reigns of imperial Ganga kings record the provision of perpetual lamps at temples by members of the royal family. Thus, the Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramāḍi (no. 73) records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the god Kedāreśvara by rājan Pramāḍi, the anuja (younger brother) of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga.

<sup>152</sup> Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, "Three Temple Inscriptions From Bhubaneswar," OHRJ 1, no. 2 (1952): 7.

<sup>153</sup> This may mean maintenance, support, or allowance.

<sup>154</sup> Gai, "Boddapadu Plates of Vajrahasta (III), Saka 982," p. 43.

The Mukteśvara temple inscription (no. 74) records the gift of a perpetual lamp, evidently for the deity in the Mukteśvara temple, by Pracarī Mahādevī, one of Coḍagaṅga's queens. A fragmentary inscription at Bhubaneswar (no. 75) records that Pramāḍi's son gifted a perpetual lamp to the god Kedāreśvara a few years after the date of Pramāḍi's own gift

The Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati (who seems to have been a commander-in-chief of Rājarāja's forces) (no. 56) records the setting up of a dancing-hall (nāṭya-śālā) by Vanapati in front of the temple of Durgā in the town of Dirghāsī, and also the grant of a perpetual lamp for the same goddess. The Telugu portion of the inscription refers to the building of the maṇḍapa (hall) in front of the temple of Bhagavatī (Durgā) at Dirghāsī and the grant of the perpetual lamp. It adds that Padmāvatī, the lotus-eyed wife of Vanapati, joyfully placed a lamp on the other side, to last as long as the earth, the sun, and the moon. The inscription concludes with an exhortation that Mahiṣamathanī (Mahiṣamardīnī, i.e. Durgā), described as the embodiment of the sky, the earth, the moon, the water, the fire, and the air, grant the donees the fruits of iṣṭā-pūrtā.<sup>155</sup>

The Alagum inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga (no. 71) records the purchase and subsequent gift by Kāmāndī (perhaps a governor of a territorial unit) of a hala of land styled Kapāleśvara in Alagumma village (identified with Alagum, the find-spot of the inscription<sup>156</sup>) in favour of the maṭha of the deity Garteśvara. This was partly to provide for an ascetic named Bhij or Abhij, possibly living in the matha, three pravartas of paddy being allotted for the provision of the naivedya (food offerings) for the god Garteśvara. Further, a sum of one hundred cūrṇis and five purāṇas was deposited with the local adhikārins (perhaps the superintendents of the temple), who are described as maintaining the palli-deva (the village deity, perhaps referring to Garteśvara), for providing a perpetual lamp in the temple of Garteśvara.

The inscriptions of the reigns of the imperial Ganga kings include a series of records of private donations to temples. Thus, the Gara stone inscription of the time of Devendravarman (no. 59) records the gift of fifty cows by Peddallu Gokana nāyaka on the

<sup>155</sup> According to Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra* 2, pt 2 843), in the *Rg Veda*, the term 'iṣṭā-pūrtā' signifies the cumulative spiritual merit accruing to man due to his performance of sacrifices and charitable acts. Kane (*ibid*, p. 844) cites *Aparārka* who quotes the *Mahābhārata's* definition of iṣṭā and pūrtā. Here, iṣṭā is said to consist in that which is offered in the single (i.e. grhya) fire or in the three śrauta fires, and also in gifts made inside the vedī in the śrauta rituals, while pūrtā includes the dedication of deep wells (vāpī), oblong large wells (kūpa), tanks (taḍāga), temples (dev-āyatana), the distribution of food, and the maintaining of public gardens. *Aparārka* also quotes *Narada*, who describes iṣṭā as consisting in honouring a guest and performing the vaiśvadeva, and pūrtā in the dedication of tanks, wells, temples, places for the distribution of food, and gardens, and gifts made at the time of eclipses, or on the sun's passage to a new zodiacal sign, or on the twelfth day of a month.

<sup>156</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Alagum Inscription of Anantavarman, Regnal Year 62," p. 47.

occasion of the Uttarāyana for the establishing of a perpetual lamp to the god Nārāyaṇadeva at Gāra, in the seventh year of the reign of Devendravarman. The stone inscription in the Rāmacaṇḍī temple at Tekkali records the installation of an image of Rāmacaṇḍī at Sanyāsi-tīrtha in Vijayapuri in the reign of Devendravarman, this appears to be a private inscription. The Puri inscription of the time of Coḍaganga (no 66) gives the details of certain private investments (of gold) made with merchants for the provision of a 'chāyā-dīpa' meant to be a perpetual lamp to burnt before the deity Mārkaṇḍeśvara (the donors include three pujāris -- priests -- of this and other gods).

### Summary

The total number of royal grants to Jainas or Jaina establishments during the entire period under review (the fourth to the mid-twelfth century) is only one (the Banpur plates of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta). the grant in question seems to have actually been made by the king's wife or mother. In addition to this, there is the record of the installation by the Somavaṃśī king Udyotakeśari of Jaina images in the Khaṇḍagiri caves. The number of Buddhist establishments that benefited from royal endowments in Orissa between the fourth and mid-twelfth century do not number more than five (two in Period I, two in Period II, and one in Period III). Of these, the grant recorded in the Mallar plates (no 10) of Pāṇḍuvaṃśī Mahāśivagupta was made at the request of the king's uncle and that recorded in the two sets of Talcher plates (nos 13, 14) of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara at the request of a feudatory -- rāṇaka Vinītatunga. Thus, notwithstanding the large number of Buddhist and Jaina sites in Orissa, few display a connection with royal patronage.

In comparison with the large number of land grants made by Orissan kings to Brāhmaṇas during the period from the fourth to the mid-twelfth century, the number of royal grants (specifically grants by kings, not by members of the royal family) to deities and temples during this period are very few. In Period I of the chronological scheme adopted in this study (fourth to seventh century), the total number of royal grants to deities/temples is six.<sup>157</sup> Of these, the deity Nārāyaṇa was the beneficiary in the Narasingapalli plates of the Gaṅga king Hastivarman, Viṣṇu in the Podagarh stone inscription of the Nala king Skandavarman, Śiva styled as Īśāneśvara in the Lodhia plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī king Mahāśivagupta, Rāmeśvara in the Santa-Bomvalli plates of the

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<sup>157</sup> Two inscriptions of Period I -- the Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhaṇḍa and the Rajim stone inscription of the Nala king Viṣṇatunga -- record the building of (not grants to) temples by kings, the former probably of a Śaiva temple and the latter of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. It may be noted that the Podagarh inscription of Skandavarman records the building of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu as well as an endowment made in favour of the temple establishment. These references to the actual building of temples by kings are noteworthy.

Gaṅga king Indravarman, and the temple-maṭha establishment of Maṇināgeśvara in the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha and Bhānudatta. Two of the grants were in favour of Vaiṣṇava deities while three appear to have been made in favour of Śiva.<sup>158</sup> It may be noted that four of these five grants were made by kings at the request of certain individuals: the Narasingapalli grant of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Hastivarman (no. 3) at the request of a bhogika named Buddha-māñci, the Santa-Bommali grant of Indravarman of the same dynasty (no. 6) at the request of the talavaradeva-bhogika (or talavara-devabhogika), and the Lodhia grant of Pāṇḍuvarṇśi Mahāśivagupta (no. 15) at the request of Śulapāṇi, a disciple of a Śaiva ācārya. The actual donors of the grant recorded in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha were certain viṣaya-level officials. The evidence suggests a degree of initiative and influence of land-holders, feudatories, administrative functionaries, and private individuals in the phenomenon of royal endowments to temples during Period I.

In Period II (seventh to tenth century), the total number of grants made by kings to deities/temples is seven. The beneficiaries were as follows: the deities Mādhava and Svayambhūkeśvara in the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (the temples were apparently constructed at the initiative of the king's daughter-in-law); the deity Dharmēśvara in the Viśakhapatnam plates of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman; Vaidyanātha in the Hindol plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva; an establishment of Umā-Māheśvara in the two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī; an unnamed village-god (grāma-deva) in the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga king Satyavarman; and Guṇḍeśvara in the Galavalli plates of the Gaṅga king Manujendravarman. The break-up of the beneficiaries is as follows: one grant to a Vaiṣṇava deity in conjunction with Śiva, five grants to Śaiva temples, and one grant in favour of a village deity. Of these seven grants made by kings during this period, five were made at the request of certain individuals: the Viśakhapatnam grant of Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga Devendravarman (no. 21) at the request of the king's uncle, Dharmakhedi; the Terundia grant of Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara (no. 8) at the request of one of the king's wives; the Hindol grant of Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara (no. 9) at the request of a person named Pulindasena; and the two sets of Baud grants of Bhauma-Kara Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16) at the request of a wife of a mahāmaṇḍalādhipati. The Pattali plates of Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga Rājendravarman (no. 29) indicates the initiative of the heir apparent and the queen in making the grant. The evidence suggests the influence and initiative of members of the royal family and of the families of feudatories in the phenomenon of royal endowments to temples during Period II.

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<sup>158</sup> The 'īśvara' suffix in the name usually indicates that the deity in question was Śiva in the līṅga form.

The number of endowments made by kings to deities/temples in Period III (tenth to twelfth century) is nine. Of these, the Liṅgarāja temple inscription of the Somavarṁśi king Viravarakeśari records a royal grant in favour of the deity Kṛttivāsa (Śiva) styled Siddha-Lambodara, the Madras Museum plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta in favour of the deity Koṭṣivaradeva, the Visakhapatnam plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga in favour of the deity Rājarājeśvara, the Murupaka plates of Coḍagaṅga in favour of the deity Narendreśvara, the Bhubaneswar inscription of Coḍagaṅga in favour of the deity Kṛttivāsa, the Jagannātha temple inscription of the imperial Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga in favour of the temple of Puruṣottama at Puri, the Baripada inscription of Dhruvarāja in favour of an unnamed deity (perhaps the goddess Bhīmā or Bhīmeśvari), the Baripada inscription of the Bhañja king in favour of the goddess Durgā, and the Sellada plates of Coḍagaṅga in favour of an unnamed village goddess. -- The break-up is as follows: one grant to a Vaiṣṇava temple, five to Śaiva temples, and three in favour of goddesses. None of these royal grants are said to have been made at any person's request, and this seems to indicate an increase in Period III in the direct initiative and involvement of the king in making grants in favour of temples. It may also be noted that of the nine royal grants of this period, five are clustered towards the end of the period under review and belong to the reign of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. Two of the temple endowed by Coḍagaṅga were situated in Bhubaneswar, close to the new political centre of the Ganga empire.

The endowments made by kings in favour of deities/temples in Period I consisted of pieces of land within villages as well as entire single villages. In Period II, the grants were of whole villages, in many cases several of them. In Period III, a few of the grants consisted of pieces of land within villages, but most of them were of entire villages. In addition to the endowment of land, there is the reference in the Jagannātha temple inscription of Coḍagaṅga to the gift of money (nine māḍhas) in favour of a temple establishment. The terms of the grants to temples were similar to those associated with grants to Brāhmaṇas.

Apart from endowments made to deities/temples by kings, some inscriptions record temple grants made by feudatories/subordinates of these kings and certain prominent functionaries. Such inscriptions usually cite the name and genealogy of the overlord or the ruling authority. For instance, in Period I, the Senakapat inscription of the time of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśi king Śivagupta Bālārjuna records an endowment of land to a Śaiva temple establishment by Durgarakṣita, a subordinate of the king. In Period III, two inscriptions fall into this category: the Dirghasi inscription records the setting up of a dancing-hall in front of a temple of Durgā and the endowment of two perpetual lamps in favour of the same deity by Vanapati (who seems to have been a commander-in-chief of the forces of the imperial Gaṅga king Rājarāja) and his wife; the Alagum inscription records the purchase



and subsequent gift of a piece of land in favour of a maṭha of the god Garteśvara by Kāmāṇḍi, possibly the governor of a territorial unit under the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. This inscription also records a monetary investment made by Kāmāṇḍi for the provision of a perpetual lamp for the deity.

A number of inscriptions record grants made in favour of deities/temples by members of the royal family. In Period I, there is only one example of such a grant -- the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta, which records an endowment in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment by Vāsaṭā, the king's mother. In Period II, there are two inscriptions recording grants made in favour of deities/temples by members of the royal family. The first is the Pattali grant, made in favour of a goddess named Kañcipoṭṭi by the crown-prince (yuvarāja) Rājendravarman; the endorsement at the end of the inscription records an additional grant by Lokamahādevī, the mother of the prince. The second is the Hamseśvara temple inscription of Mādhavīdevī, probably a wife of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara, which records the building of and benefactions (not including the grant of land) made in favour of a temple of Mādhaveśvara. Reference may also be made to the Cāmuṇḍā image inscription which records the installation of an image of Cāmuṇḍā, apparently in a temple at Jajpur, probably by a Bhauma-Kara queen Vatsadevī. In Period III, the number of benefactions made by members of the royal family to deities/temples increase. The Patna Museum plates of the time of Raṇabhañja, one of the early Bhañja kings of Kṣiṇjali-maṇḍala, record a grant to the deity Vijayeśvara by the daughter of a Kadamba king and possibly a wife of Raṇabhañja. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of the Somavarṁśī king Udyotakeśarī records the construction of the Brahmeśvara temple by Koḷāvatī, the mother of the king (this is not a grant). Among the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅgas, a Bhubaneswar inscription records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the god Kedāreśvara by Pramāḍi, the younger brother of Coḍagaṅga, the Mukteśvara temple inscription the gift of a perpetual lamp for the deity in the Mukteśvara temple by Pracarī-mahādevī, one of Coḍagaṅga's queens, and the fragmentary Bhubaneswar inscription the grant of a perpetual lamp for the god Kedāreśvara by the son of Pramāḍi.<sup>159</sup>

It may be noted in passing that private endowments to temple establishments usually consisted of the provision of flowers or perpetual lamps for the deity. Certain inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the imperial Gaṅgas record private grants of cows as well as monetary investments to provide for perpetual lamps for deities. There are two instances, however, of private individuals obtaining land, in one case apparently through gift, in the other through purchase, in order to grant it to a religious establishment; both

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<sup>159</sup> This list is by no means complete; it does not include the large number of Telugu inscriptions recording benefactions made in favour of temple establishments in Andhra Pradesh by members of the royal family during the reigns of the imperial Gaṅga kings.

instances come from Period III. The Sonepur plates of the Somavamśi king Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya record the grant of a village by the king to the Kamalavana merchants' association, which in turn made over the land to the temples of the deities Keśava and Āditya. The Boddavadu plates of the imperial Ganga Vajrahasta seem to indicate that an individual named Erarnaya bought a certain village from the king and converted it into a bhoga (an object of enjoyment) for the god Jaleśvara.

Some of the inscriptions provide a glimpse of the activities and personnel associated with temple establishments. The conventional references that occur are to the ceremonial performance of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and sattra (charitable feeding), and the provision of naivedya (food offerings for the deity), dipa (lamps), and pūjā (worship), at the shrine of the deity. The Lodhia plates of the Pānduvamśi king Mahāśivagupta refer to dancing and music at the Śaiva temple which benefited from this grant. The Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna refer to a Śaiva ascetic as the custodian of the temple concerned, and also refers to the details of the activities of the ascetics associated with the temple. The Hindol plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva refers to the offering of snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal-paste), puṣpa (flowers), dipa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship) to the deity Vaidyanatha, it also refers to servants employed in the temple, Śaiva ascetics (Śaiva ācārya tapasvins), and to the dānapati, all of whom were provided for by the grant. The two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī refer to offerings of snapana (ablutions), gandha (sandal paste), puspa (flowers), dipa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food offerings for the deity), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), pūjā (worship) etc. to the deity Umā-Maheśvara; they also refer to as maha-vrata-dharm ascetics associated with the temple, as also to Brāhmanas, servants, and the danapati, all of whom were provide for by the grants. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the Somavamśi king Udyotakeśarī appears to refer to devadāsīs associated with the temple of the deity Brahmeśvara (Śiva in the linga form). The Murupaka plates of the imperial Ganga king Anantavarman Codagaṅga speak of the performance of pūjā (worship), nṛtya (dancing), gīta (singing), and vādyā (music) at the shrine of the deity Narendreśvara. The references in the temple context to bali, caru, and sattra are noteworthy. The process whereby these ceremonials, which constitute three of the five daily sacrifices or pañca-mahāyajñas enjoined on the twice-born, moved into the temple context (also being referred to in relation to Buddhist and Jaina establishments) is not clear. Although the terms bali, caru and sattra have been defined throughout the course of this study according to their connotations in the pañca-mahāyajña context, it is possible that they had a different meaning in the temple context, although what this may have been is far from clear.

The references to mathas in the inscriptions may be noted, as mathas must have formed important centres for the dissemination of sectarian religion. In the inscriptions of Period I, there are the references in the Kanas plates of Lokaviṣṭha and Bhānudatta to the maṭha of Manināgeśvara at Caikāmbaka or Ekāmbaka, with which were associated Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaniya school of the Yajur Veda. In the former case, the actual donors were certain viṣaya-level officials who obtained permission to make the gift from the king, while in the second case the donor was the king himself. Among the inscriptions of Period II, the Terundia plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara records the grant of land to certain Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of maṭhas and maṇḍapas in their native village of Taramaṇḍapa, the Dhaulī inscription of the time of the Bhauma-Kara king Śāntikara records the construction of a maṭha of Āghyaka-varāṇ by a private individual, and the Sudava plates of the Ganga king Devendravarman record a grant made by the king to his guru, who in turn made over half the land to a deity named Yāgeśvara and to his own disciples and his disciples' disciples, indicating some maṭha-type establishment. Among the inscriptions of Period III, the Alagum inscription of the time of the imperial Ganga king Coḍagaṅga record a grant by Kāmāṇḍī, perhaps a governor of a territorial unit, in favour of a matha of the deity Garteśvara -- Thus, of the inscriptions recording the establishment of or grants to mathas, two record the direct grant of by a king to a matha establishment, one records a grant to a matha by viṣaya-level officials, one is a grant made by a person who was perhaps a governor, and one records the private establishment of a matha.

Some of the inscriptions associate Brāhmaṇas with the temple establishments that were the beneficiaries of endowments; some of these Brāhmaṇas must have performed priestly functions. In this context, reference may be made to following inscriptions: the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Ganga king Indravarman, wherein the donees are the deities Mādhava and Svayambhūkeśvara as well as certain Brāhmaṇas who are named in the inscription (Period I); the Viśakhapatnam plates of the time of the Ganga king Devendravarman, wherein the vipra Somācārya is described as the superintendent of the shrine of the deity Dharmēśvara (Period II); the Galavallī plates of the Gaṅga Manujendravarman, wherein the gift to the deity Guṇḍeśvara is said to have been received by Sāmaveda-bhagavanta (Period II), the Terundia plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara which refers to the grant of land to certain Brāhmaṇas for the upkeep of maṭhas and maṇḍapas (temples) in their native village, the two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribuvanamahādevī, which assign a portion of the income of the gift land for providing food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas, the Madras Museum plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta, which record a grant to the deity Koṭīśvara and instruct the resident Brāhmaṇas to immediately effect any repairs that may have been needed in the temple; and the Murupaka plates of the imperial Ganga king Coḍagaṅga, which refer to the protection of the endowment to the deity Narendreśvara (the deva-sthāna) being entrusted to five

Brāhmaṇas in the village. Individuals associated with the temple establishments are not in all cases, however, clearly Brāhmaṇas: this is the case in the Bangalore plates of the Ganga king Devendravarman (no. 25), the Chicacole plates of the same king (no. 26), the Chicacole plates of the Ganga king Satyavarman (no. 32), and the Hamseśvara temple inscription of the Bhauma-Kara queen Mādhavīdevī (no. 3)

## Conclusions

The earliest indigenous kingdoms of Orissa arose as a consequence of internal developments on the political, economic and social fronts as well as the impetus of several phases of rule under metropolitan states -- the Maurya, Kusāṇa, and Gupta. While there is evidence of secondary state formation in Orissa in the early centuries of the Christian era (the kingdoms of Khāravela and mahārāja Gana), state formation in the post-fourth century period was more intense and sustained. It is difficult to reconstruct on the basis of the available epigraphic evidence the details of the processes of internal change which made possible the transition to statehood and the political integration of kingdoms. However, epigraphic evidence suggests that royal grants, more specifically, grants to Brāhmaṇas, which were an important component of royal policy throughout the period under review (300-1147 C.E.), played a major role in these processes in this part of the Indian subcontinent.

While the geographical distribution of the early kingdoms was quite dispersed, there seem to have been certain areas of concentrated development around the river valleys and deltas -- those of the Vaitarani, Brahmani, Mahanadi, Rishikulya, Vamsadhara, Nagavali, and their tributaries. Political development in the interior highland regions occurred later than in the deltaic and riverine tracts, and was particularly noticeable after the ninth-tenth century. The agricultural resource potential of the riverine tracts was no doubt an important factor in their early political development. Control over these tracts was probably also an important factor in the dynamics of lineage movement, forming an impetus to conquest. The evidence confirms Kulke's suggestion that the riverine tracts constituted important nuclear areas of sub-regional power in the early phases of state formation, some of these areas becoming, in the later period, the bases of regional kingdoms in Orissa.<sup>1</sup> Kulke views these nuclear areas as playing an important role in the process of political development and

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<sup>1</sup> Kulke, "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms," pp 126-27. As pointed out in the Introduction, the idea of 'nuclear areas' has been used by Burton Stein in relation to agrarian integration in South India ("Integration of the Agrarian System of South India," pp 175-216). According to Stein, during the Pallava and Cōla period, the nuclear areas ("localities comprising a set of natural and social elements which represented the most advanced level of early South Indian life") were situated in the relatively densely populated drainage basins of the major rivers or in those areas where access to other forms of irrigation made the production of a regular food surplus possible. Within such areas, integration was achieved through the institutions of the brahmadeya and the periyāṇāḍu (the assembly of the territorial unit known as the nāḍu) (ibid). Stein sets forth the following characteristics of the nuclear areas: they were fundamentally independent and self-governing, they formed relatively autonomous economic units, they were, socially and culturally, centres of Hindu civilization (ibid, pp 185-88).

as constituting centres of integration of tribal culture, which was particularly strong (and is so even today) in Orissa <sup>2</sup>

The epigraphic sources do not provide much in the way of direct evidence concerning the tribal element in the history of ancient and early medieval Orissa. The names of certain dynasties which seem to suggest tribal origins, the reference in the Korni and Vizagapatam plates (nos. 65 and 68) of the imperial Ganga king Anantavarman Codaganga to the defeat of Śabaraditya -- probably a chief of the Śavara tribe -- by Kamarnava, and the references to autochthonous deities such as Stambhesvarī are the few such pieces of evidence. And yet, it is likely that the interaction between tribal and state-society was one of the important elements in the political history of this period. Kulke's analysis of the structure of the medieval kingdoms of Orissa places a great deal of emphasis on the relationship between the 'Hindu rājas' of the nuclear areas, some of whom were themselves descendants of tribal chieftains and the tribal peoples who surrounded the nuclear area and on whose support and cooperation the rājas depended. According to Kulke, while the element of tension was not absent in this relationship, it was for the most part peaceful, and was characterized, not by sustained displacement, but by "a continuous process of indoctrination and partial integration" <sup>3</sup> Tribal integration into the network of the 'Hinduized' kingdoms, according to Kulke, was effected through and reflected in the gradual absorption of tribal groups into the caste system, their integration into court militia, and the acceptance and patronage of the dominant autochthonous deities of their area by kings <sup>4</sup> The most dramatic instance of the royal patronage of an autochthonous deity, reflecting the complex process of religious synthesis (and, hence, also indirectly the political and social processes) underway in Orissa is the royal patronage of the Jagannātha cult <sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Kulke differs herein from Stein, who sees the relationship between the nuclear centres and the upland forests inhabited by tribal peoples as basically one of opposition, and sees the former as constantly encroaching on the latter (ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Kulke "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms," p. 128

<sup>4</sup> ibid., pp. 128-31. Kulke cites, in this context, the instances of royal patronage of the deities Manināgeśvarī, Gokarnasvāmin, and Stambhesvarī. It may be pointed out that the reference to the ambikā (mother) Manināgeśvara (not Manināgeśvarī) occurs in Rajaguru's reading of the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha and Bhānudatta, the inscriptions in question. Sircar reads the name of the deity as Manināgesvara, and sees no reference to 'ambikā' in the text. As for Gokarnasvāmin, it remains to be demonstrated beyond doubt that he was, as Kulke suggests, a deity of the Śavara tribe. The instance of Stambhesvarī can be accepted as illustrating Kulke's point regarding royal patronage of autochthonous deities.

<sup>5</sup> The tribal origins of Jagannātha are evident from the legend connecting his being originally worshipped by the Śabara chief Viśvāvasu, the iconography of the Jagannātha figure, as also the important position occupied by the Daita priests (supposedly descendants of the original tribal worshippers) in the minutiae of temple ritual (See A. Eschmann, "The Vaiṣṇava Typology of Hinduization and the Origin of Jagannātha," in The Cult of

The political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa was marked by incessant changes corresponding to the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the various ruling lineages. These changes were reflected in kaleidoscopic patterns of chieftaincies and kingdoms, some in the process of moving from the former to the latter stage.<sup>6</sup> The spatial mobility of ruling lineages, some of which came from outside Orissa, was paralleled by the changing geographical foci of kingdoms.<sup>7</sup> The political equilibrium in various parts of Orissa was often unstable for much of the period under review, with a few dynasties such as the Śailodbhavas, Bhauma-Karas, Somavamśis, and imperial Gangas succeeding in carving out larger and more long-lived kingdoms.

The definition and redefinition of power relations in ancient and early medieval Orissa was reflected in royal titles. Some of these embodied territorial claims and reflect the contest for territory. Others reflect relations of paramountcy or subordination, which apparently formed an important component of inter-lineage relations. The ideal of political paramountcy was expressed in the assumption of titles such as mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara, and parama-bhattāraka, as also in the claim of commanding the obeisance of the multitude of samantas (subordinate or feudatory rulers). Royal power was defined and often redefined in the inscriptions in relation to prevailing - and changing -- hierarchies of political power and status.

The idiom of paramountcy versus subordination in which political status was expressed, as also the details of the political history of ancient and medieval Orissa, appear to confirm the hypothesis put forward by B. D. Chattopadhyaya that the dominant mode in

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Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, eds. Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, pp. 99-100. On the Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, and Śākta components in the Jagannātha cult, see Eschmann, *ibid.*; Eschmann, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa: The Śākta and Śaiva Typology," pp. 79-98; H. von Stietencron, "The Śaiva Component in the Early Evolution of Jagannātha," in The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, pp. 119-124; A. Eschmann, H. Kulke, and G. C. Tripathi, "The Formation of the Jagannātha Triad," in The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, pp. 169-98.

<sup>6</sup> As indicated in the Introduction, the line between chieftaincy and early monarchical state is often fluid and difficult to draw. Service's definition of the chiefdom stage may provisionally be accepted as characterizing chieftaincies, with reservations, however, regarding the theocratic nature of political organization. Even so, it is difficult, in the absence of detailed studies of the technical terms relating to administrative and fiscal structure mentioned in the inscriptions, to clearly identify the diagnostic markers of these stages in the Orissan context.

<sup>7</sup> As pointed out by J. C. Heesterman, the classical Indian theory precludes the idea of a clearly defined, closed and internally coherent territorial state ("Power and Authority in Indian Tradition," in Tradition and Politics in South Asia, ed. R. J. Moore (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1979), pp. 66-67). He highlights the fact that the inclusion of the ally (as one of the seven limbs of the state) indicates the openness of the state, and also that there is no term among the seven elements referring to the territory as a separate item. Instead, we have the term 'janapada' or 'rāṣṭra,' which refers to the people-cum-territory.

the formation of polities in early medieval India was the encapsulating of existing power bases by lineages.<sup>8</sup> Chattopadhyaya further suggests that the pooling of military resources and perhaps other forms of support enabled a particular lineage to rise from the position of a local to that of a supra-local power, that this involved a circulation or redistribution of resources as well as the elaboration of a system of ranking, reflected in the samanta becoming an important element in the political structure.<sup>9</sup> This reveals one of the important bases of integration at the political level. According to Chattopadhyaya, if ranking is accepted as the basis of the political structures of early medieval India, the potential sources of tension at the political level -- among the rank-holders and between the rank-holders and the overlord -- become evident.<sup>10</sup>

The political flux that characterized the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa was paralleled by the formulation of claims to legitimacy and prestige. Such claims formed an integral part of the process of political development and played an especially important role in the context of polities emerging from the stage of tribal chieftaincies into statehood through a process of brahmanization,<sup>11</sup> as also when a

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<sup>8</sup> B. D. Chattopadhyaya "Political Processes and Structures of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of Perspective," p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Chattopadhyaya describes the samanta system as "the key-note of early medieval polity" (ibid.). He suggests that the early medieval period, which saw geographical expansion of state society and the integration of the samantas into the political structure, marked a change from the early Gupta phase when the policy towards defeated and subordinate rulers was in the words of the Allahabad pillar inscription 'grahana-moksa' 'capture and release'. It may be noted here that an analysis of the fiscal terms, official designations and titles that occur in the inscriptions of Orissa would add greatly to our understanding of the structure of the ancient and early medieval kingdoms. While these fiscal terms, official designations, and titles have been listed in appendices attached to this work, a detailed investigation into their meaning and significance lies beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>10</sup> ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>11</sup> The terms Sanskritization, brahmanization, and Hinduization have been variously used to describe a whole range of complex phenomena of political, social and religious change such as being discussed here. The concept of Sanskritization was first elaborated by M. N. Srinivas in his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952). Here, Srinivas asserts that the structural basis of Hinduism is the caste system, and that this hierarchical system with the Brahmanas and untouchables at the two ends of the pole represents a fusion of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit systems of ritual and beliefs (ibid., p. 212). He points out that social mobility was always possible within the caste system, especially among those groups who occupied a middle position in the hierarchy. It was possible for a caste group to enhance its standing in the local caste hierarchy by adopting various elements from the repertoire of customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmanas. The propensity of lower caste groups to imitate the higher ones, according to Srinivas, played a pivotal role in the diffusion of Sanskrit ritual and customs, and in the creation of a degree of pan-Indian cultural uniformity (ibid., p. 30). Srinivas prefers to call this process Sanskritization rather than brahmanization, as certain Vedic rites are confined to Brahmanas and the other 'twice-born' varnas (ibid.). The terms Sanskritization, brahmanization and Hinduization all have their limitations, but their utility lies in their highlighting important processes of social change, especially relating to upward mobility within the caste system. Hermann Kulke has recently introduced another concept -- that of ksatriyization. In its



particular lineage, being a recent migrant into the region, had no roots in the area over which it had established or was attempting to establish its control. Royal genealogies and origin myths drawing on brahmanical and autochthonous traditions were an important part of the process of legitimation, particularly from the seventh century onwards.<sup>12</sup> The genealogies compared kings with legendary heroes and deities, frequently presenting them as countering the evils of the Kali age. The king as performer of the great Śrauta sacrifices appears only in the Śailodbhava inscriptions. The evidence of the land-grant charters indicates that *dāna* (ritual giving), an activity much eulogized in the normative literature, was in fact an important component of royal policy during the entire period under review.

Epigraphic evidence gives an added historical dimension to what the normative literature has to say about the relationship of king and deity. From about the fifth century, the assumption of sectarian titles by kings became prevalent in Orissa. Some kings were inclusive in the presentation of their sectarian affiliations, while others claimed to be worshippers of a particular deity -- usually Śiva or Viṣṇu. The exclusive association of a dynasty with a particular deity was a significant development in the relationship of kingship with sectarianism; such an exclusive association, in all cases Śaiva, was claimed by the Śailodbhavas, Ādi-Bhaṇjas, Śulkaś, Tuṅgas, Somavarṇśis, Gangas of Śvetaka and Kalinganagara, and the imperial Gangas up to the time of Anantavarman Codaganga. While, on the one hand, such consistency in sectarian affiliation marks a significant development in the ideology of kingship, note may also be made of the fact that shifts in the sectarian affiliations of the Nalas and the imperial Gangas coincided with and seem to have been related to certain decisive political events.

It is quite likely that, as the sacerdotal elite and by virtue of their being associated with the administration of kingdom in various capacities,<sup>13</sup> Brāhmanas played an important role in the fashioning and systematization of prestige claims through the composition of royal *prasastis*. Direct evidence of Brāhmana composers of *prasastis* in the inscriptions examined for this study is, unfortunately, scanty. The names of the composers of the *prasasti* are not usually specified in the inscriptions, and in the few cases that they are, the

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functional sense, Kshatriyization could be called social change 'from above,' initiated in tribal areas by the Kshatriyas i.e. zamindars, chiefs or rajas to strengthen their claims to legitimacy in the society and to broaden the basis of their economic and political power" ("Kshatriyization and Social Change: A Study in Orissa Setting," in *Aspects of Changing India: Studies in Honour of Prof. G. S. Ghurye*, ed. S. Devadas Pillai, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1976, p. 401).

<sup>12</sup> It may be noted that the use of the gotra by certain rulers may indicate (but not necessarily so) that they were Brāhmanas.

<sup>13</sup> There are numerous instances in the inscriptions of the association of Brāhmanas with the administration of ancient and early medieval Orissa. The epithets and name suffixes of several functionaries betray their Brāhmana status.

social status of the individual is not indicated. Some clues are provided by the names themselves, particularly the name-suffixes, as also prefixes and epithets. The composer of the praśasti of the Chicacole plates (no. 10) of the Kalinganagara king Indravarman was the rahasika (privy councillor) Śankaradeva, son of amātya (minister) Devacandra. 'Deva' and 'candra' occur frequently in the inscriptions as Brāhmana name suffixes, hence, the composer of the praśasti may have been a Brahmana. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Kolāvatī, mother of Somavamśi king Udyotakeśarī, was composed by bhatta Puruṣottama, the best of poets (kavi-vara), learned in the Veda, vyākaraṇa (grammar), artha-śāstra (the science of politics), kavita (poetry), tarka (logic), and other branches of knowledge. 'Bhatta' is a common Brāhmana epithet. The composer of the Korni plates (no. 65) of the imperial Ganga king Anantavarman Codaganga was śasan-adhikarī (an officer in charge of royal grants or their issue) Jātavedi bhatta, apparently also a Brahmana. On the other hand, two of the Nandodbhava grants (the Tamra and Daspalla plates of Devānandadeva) were composed by the sandhivigrahin (minister for peace and war) Yaśodatta, who was also the recipient of the latter grant and described therein as a Kāyastha and a virtuous householder. This suggests that the composition of royal praśastis was not exclusively a Brāhmana preserve.

The period of the formation and proliferation of kingdoms all over Orissa was a period of royal grants to Brāhmanas and religious establishments, phenomena that seem to have had more than a casual connection. Between the fourth and the mid-twelfth century, Brāhmanas, Brāhmana settlements, and, to a lesser extent, royally-endowed temple establishments had an important integrative function, political as well as cultural. It may be noted that while throughout the period under review, kings played the dominant role in making pious grants, the inscriptions indicate the participation of certain other groups in the process as well. In the inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century) there is some evidence of the initiative and influence of land-holders, feudatories, administrative functionaries, members of the royal family, and private individuals. In Period II (seventh to tenth century), there is evidence of the initiative and influence of members of the royal family, the families of feudatories, and private individuals. In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), there are instances of endowments made by feudatories, members of the royal family, and, in a few cases, by private individuals. Private endowments were often in favour of temples rather than Brāhmanas, and usually consisted -- as did many grants by members of the royal family -- of provisions for flowers or perpetual lamps for the deity. The inscriptions do, however, suggest a role for a variety of groups in the making of pious endowments, even if the final document recording the grant was issued in the name of the king.

While the inscriptions reveal a certain amount of vocational differentiation among the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal grants -- including Brāhmaṇas associated with the court in various capacities and those associated with temple establishments -- Vedic learning seems to have been a matter of consistent importance throughout the period under review. The Brāhmaṇas are, further, frequently described as conforming to the Dharmaśāstra ideal as performers of the six acts -- adhyāyana (study), adhyāpana (teaching), yajana (sacrificing), yājana (conducting sacrifices for others), dāna (offering gifts), and pratigraha (receiving gifts).

The description of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries in the inscriptions indicates that gotra was an important basis of Brāhmaṇa identity throughout the period under review. The additional specification of pravara and anupravara come to the forefront after about the seventh century. The Vedic school to which a Brāhmaṇa belonged was another important basis of Brāhmaṇa identity. It may be noted that Yajur Vedī Brāhmaṇas, particularly those affiliated to the Vājasaneyā school, were especially favoured by royal grants. At the other end of the spectrum were the Atharva Vedī Brāhmaṇas, who benefited from only one grant during the entire period under review. The reasons for the lack of royal patronage to Brāhmaṇas of the Atharva Veda, a Veda regarded with disfavour by some sections of brahmanical orthodoxy, are easier to perceive than the reasons for the special favours bestowed on Yajur Vedī Brāhmaṇas. According to Citrarekha Gupta, the reason for the popularity of the Yajur Veda in attracting students and royal patronage was that it was associated with the karmakāṇḍa (the part of śruti dealing with ceremonial acts and sacrificial rites).<sup>14</sup> Swati Dutta suggests that the systematic and orderly character of the Śukla Yajur Veda (of which the Vājasaneyā was a school) was responsible for its attracting a larger number of students, and hence greater royal patronage, than the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda.<sup>15</sup>

The favour shown to the Yajur Vedīs may, indeed, have been a result of their ritual expertise. However, the fact that this favour was not accompanied by an exaltation in the royal praśasti of the king as performer of Vedic sacrifices, may appear to be incongruous. It is difficult to explain this feature. It may be speculated that the Yajur Vedīs were, in fact, moving away from ritual specialization to the more lucrative vocation of land-holder, and were responsible for the positing of dāna as the important basis of royal legitimation and status. Or, on the other hand, the virtual absence of king as performer of sacrifice in the royal praśasti may have been a consequence of something else: perhaps the large representation of the Yajur Vedīs among the beneficiaries of royal grants was not paralleled

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<sup>14</sup> Citrarekha Gupta, The Brahmanas of India: A Study Based on Inscriptions, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Swati Dutta, Migrant Brāhmaṇas in Northern India, p. 158.

by their being closely associated in significant numbers with the court circle. At any rate, the Yajur Vedīs seem to have represented a more numerous and/or a more spatially mobile section of the Brāhmaṇa community, with greater enterprise in seeking out royal patronage and the material benefits it could confer.

The tenth to the mid-twelfth century witnessed the influx into Orissa of Brāhmaṇas from other parts of India, particularly the north and east. This was probably the reason why the specification of native place and place of residence, which occurs in a few inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century) and Period II (seventh to tenth century), becomes more marked in Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century). Some of the Brāhmaṇa migrants came from established centres of brahmanical learning such as Ṭakārī, Śrāvastī, Kolāṇca, and Hastipada. Belonging to such centres must have been an important qualification in the quest for royal patronage, and the specification of native place (mūla-sthāna) was no doubt of particular value when a Brāhmaṇa could claim such a distinctive connection. Certain inscriptions indicate that the Brāhmaṇas had migrated from brahmadeya settlements in various parts of northern India and had been settled in Orissa for some time before they were granted land. How long a period of time this process covered is not known.

Swati Dutta's study of brahmanical migrations in northern India demonstrates that during the period 475-1030 C.E., Brāhmaṇa migrants made their way into Maharashtra, Bengal, and Madhya Pradesh, but the largest number migrated to Orissa.<sup>16</sup> Dutta points out that epigraphic evidence indicates that the migration of Brāhmaṇas was a phenomenon which became more frequent after the eighth century, and suggests that the political situation in northern India may have been responsible for this.<sup>17</sup> In Bengal, this was the period of the decline of the Pāla empire, marked by the inroads of the Paramāras, Kalacuris, Candellas, Kambojas, and Somavamśīs. In the Gangetic valley, this was the period of the conflict between the Pālas, Gurjara-Pratihāras, and Rāṣṭrakūtas. In the first quarter of the eleventh century, the numerous invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni destabilized the political situation in northern India.<sup>18</sup> As a result of the political instability that characterized much of northern India in the early medieval period, Dutta argues, Brāhmaṇas left their homes

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<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>17</sup> Going back a few centuries, the dislocation caused by the Hūna invasions in the fifth century, which played an important role in the collapse of the Gupta empire, may be cited as a factor creating political and social disturbances that may have led to the earlier brahmanical migrations. Romila Thapar has highlighted the impact of foreign invasions and migrations on elite groups in general ("Social Mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite Groups," in *Indian Society: Historical Probings -- In Memory of D. D. Kosambi*, ed. P. S. Sharma and Vivekanand Jha, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1974, p. 97).

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 225.

and often travelled far afield in search of a greater degree of security and a better livelihood.<sup>19</sup> While demographic details and land-man ratios are not forthcoming for the period that forms the subject of this study, the direction of brahmanical migrations -- away from the no doubt more densely populated Gangetic valley, and into the agriculturally less developed peripheral areas -- is suggestive of another probable impetus to migration, that of pressure on land. The readiness of kings to bestow tax-free grants of land in favour of Brāhmaṇas provided an ideal opportunity for the enterprising Brāhmaṇa.<sup>20</sup>

While the Brāhmaṇa of the inscriptions conforms in some ways (viz. Vedic learning, the six acts) to the Brāhmaṇa of the normative texts, the inscriptions highlight him in a new role -- that of land-holder. Notwithstanding the śāstric injunctions concerning the desirability of the Brāhmaṇa's remaining aloof from worldly affairs and wealth and even the king, inscriptional evidence indicates that during the period under review, Brāhmaṇas did not hesitate to accept gifts of land from kings, often accumulating large landed estates in the process. The result was the emergence of Brāhmaṇas as a landed élite, with no doubt considerable influence over village culture, especially religious and social values. This was also a period which witnessed the proliferation and increasing popularity of sectarian temple worship. One question that arises concerns the relationship between the śāsana Brāhmaṇas (those who were endowed with land by kings) and sectarian movements. There is, in fact, little evidence of the sectarian affiliations of the Brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions, which focus instead on their Vedic learning. The details of the Brāhmaṇas and temple establishments patronized by kings yields some, but not a great deal of, evidence of the association of Brāhmaṇas with temples. There is some evidence of non-Brāhmaṇas associated with temples, probably in a priestly capacity. Either the śāsana Brāhmaṇas were not associated in a big way with sectarianism and temple-based religion,<sup>21</sup> or the inscriptions just do not choose to highlight this aspect of their activities (an association with temples not being considered with favour in the orthodox tradition), focusing instead on the traditionally more prestigious image of the Brāhmaṇa as a Vedic scholar.

The inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa yield little evidence of the royal patronage of Buddhist or Jaina religious establishments. There is not much epigraphic evidence of the building or the patronage of temple establishments by kings either. Of the twenty-one grants of land made by kings and members of the royal family to temples

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid*

<sup>20</sup> It may be noted that brahmanical migrations may have played an important role in the proliferation of certain pan-Indian elements in the imaging of kingly power in the *prāśastis*.

<sup>21</sup> This does not preclude the possibility of other Brāhmaṇa groups being involved in the popularization of temple-based religion.

during the period under review, thirteen were in favour of Śaiva temples, three in favour of Vaiṣṇava temples, one in favour of a temple which combined the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu, one in favour of a village deity, and three in favour of goddesses. The majority of temple endowments were, thus, in favour of Śaiva establishments

The comparatively small number of royal grants in favour of temples may seem incongruous with the fact that sectarian associations were of consistent importance in the imaging of kingship in the *praśasti*. The paucity of epigraphic evidence crediting kings with building specific temples and the apparent independence of the development of the Orissan temple from royal patronage has been noted and explained in various ways by scholars of Orissan architecture. According to Panigrahi, it most likely indicates "that such temples were considered as state property rather than the property of the kings during whose reigns they were built."<sup>22</sup> Donaldson agrees with Panigrahi's suggestion.<sup>23</sup> Dehejia has a different explanation. She suggests that royal patronage was not the *raison d'être* for the evolution of the Orissan temple, which displays a continuous development of a strong architectural tradition apparently not affected by political vicissitudes.<sup>24</sup> She suggests that patronage was no doubt crucial to the building and maintenance of temples, but that this patronage may have come for the most part not from kings but from the nobility and wealthy classes.<sup>25</sup> What seems apparent is that until after the building of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri in the mid-twelfth century by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, the concept of the royally-endowed temple establishment did not have a significant place in the ideology of kingship in Orissa. Further, the evidently small degree of royal involvement and the inscriptions recording private endowments to temples (these usually took the form of monetary investments for the provision of flowers, lamps, and so forth for the temple, and not gifts of land) suggest that the intensive temple building activity that occurred in Orissa from the sixth century onwards and the patronage of these temples was not a royal preserve, but perhaps the result of the activities of élite groups such as merchants, military chiefs, and nobles. Another possible explanation of the paucity of epigraphic evidence of royal grants to temples is that it was only towards the end of the period under review that the organization of temple worship and liturgy became elaborate and impressive enough for kings to seek to enhance their status by identifying themselves closely with temple establishments. Further, that the timing of royal temple-building and patronage was also influenced by competition with political rivals is indicated by the fact that the building of the Puruṣottama-Jagannātha

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<sup>22</sup> Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 254.

<sup>23</sup> Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, p. 6

<sup>24</sup> Dehejia, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, p. 173.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

temple by Anantavarman Codaganga in the mid-twelfth century seems to have been this king's challenge to the monumental Bṛhadeśvara temple at Tanjore built by his Cōla rivals.

The evidence of the royal land grants indicates the emergence of Brāhmaṇas as an important landed class with special privileges in the post-fourth century period.<sup>26</sup> Some of the Brāhmaṇas were the beneficiaries of more than one grant of land and accumulated large landed estates. In almost all cases of royal grants, whether to Brāhmaṇas or to religious establishments, the endowments were made in perpetuity, and, thus, were presumably hereditary.<sup>27</sup> The majority (not all) of the land grants gave the gifted land a tax-exempt status. What this meant was that from the time of the grant, the land or village or villages in question were considered tax-free from the state's point of view, and that the dues to which the state may have been hitherto or potentially entitled were to be paid by the inhabitants to the beneficiaries of the grant. The evidence from Orissa, however, indicates that not all

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<sup>26</sup> It may be mentioned here that the grant of land by kings has been used by some scholars as an argument for the royal ownership of land in ancient India. As a matter of fact, evidence can be cited from literary as well as epigraphical sources in order to support the theories of the corporate, royal, and private ownership of land. The apparent contradictory nature of the evidence can be explained if the following things are kept in mind that the ancient and early medieval Indian concepts of ownership and property were not identical with modern western ones, that what should be sought for in the Indian context are a hierarchy of rights in land rather than exclusive absolute rights of ownership, that there existed a variety of tenures, and that there were bound to be variations in these from region to region. One of the arguments for the royal ownership is that the king could only give that which was his, and that the fact that kings throughout the ancient and early medieval period made grants of land, mainly to Brāhmaṇas and temples, is evidence that land belonged to the king. It may be countered that while such grants are indicative that some land (i.e. the land made the object of gifts) belonged to the king, it does not necessarily indicate that all land was his. The matter cannot however be dismissed so easily without raising another contentious and related issue: what was the nature of the rights bestowed on the beneficiaries of royal land grants; did these simply amount to revenue rights or did they involve more comprehensive rights of ownership? That the king was not the absolute owner of all land is also indicated by the evidence of the purchase of land by kings for the purpose of pious donation -- in Orissa, an instance of this is provided by the Utlam plates of the Kalinganagara Gaṅga king Hastivarman (no. 4), which refer to the king purchasing land from the residents of an agrahāra for the purpose of donation. An important piece of evidence comes from the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavalā. The inscription is not dated, but the plates have been assigned on palaeographic grounds to a period not later than the tenth century C.E. The Madras Museum plates are a *kṛaya-śāśana*, a sale deed. They record the details of a series of transactions involving Taḍesva(śva)ra village in Khindarasimgha(śṛṅga) in Gomunḍa (or Momunḍa) maṇḍala in the kingdom of a king named Narendradhavalā. Taking into account the sum of the literary as well as epigraphic evidence on the matter of ownership of land, the following conclusions may be reached: from the Gupta period, the king was considered the lord of the land, though not perhaps the 'owner' of the land in the modern sense, that private property in land existed, under the umbrella of a somewhat vague or largely theoretical notion of ultimate royal control over the land, that the king's rights in the soil did not preclude the rights of private individuals.

<sup>27</sup> The hereditary nature of the grant is, in some cases, specifically stated. There are a few instances, however, of a particular village being re-granted to someone else.

pious endowments were tax-free, and there are several instances of kara-śāsanas or grants which entailed the payment to the state of an annual revenue

While revenue rights were an important right -- perhaps the most important single right -- bestowed on most of the brahmadeyas and devadeyas -- it was not the only one. The royal charters usually grant the land along with a series of more general privileges, the comprehensive nature of which was indicated in some inscriptions by the statement that the land had been granted according to the 'bhūmicchidra-nyāya' or the 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya.' While the nature of the exemptions and privileges attached to royally-gifted land varied from dynasty to dynasty, they do seem to amount to the transfer of rather comprehensive rights over the land to the beneficiaries. The term 'sa-daś-āparādha' in several Pāṇḍuvarṁśī and Somavarṁśī grants suggests that in these cases, the beneficiaries may have been vested with judicial rights as well. The inhabitants of the granted villages are often instructed in the royal charters to obey the donees and live happily, rendering to them the appropriate dues. From about the ninth century, certain inscriptions state that the land was granted along with control over outposts in the village, landing or bathing places, and ferries (sa-kheṭa-ghatta-nadī-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka) as also along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-prakṛtika). The first of these stipulations indicates the enlargement of the scope of the donees' revenue rights. It is a matter of controversy whether the second one meant that the beneficiaries were given some sort of rights over the person, activities, and movements of certain groups residing in the village (it may be noted that the cultivators are not mentioned specifically in this regard), or whether this simply refers to the right to collect revenue from them. If the former interpretation is accepted, it reflects a significant enlargement of the nature of extra-revenue rights granted to the beneficiaries of royal grants.

In Orissa, the state rarely reserved any rights over the land gifted by it to Brāhmaṇas or religious establishments. The only restriction sometimes imposed on the beneficiaries was that they did not have the right to alienate the land. The inalienability of the gifted land was indicated by certain technical terms. The land is sometimes stated to have been granted according to the 'akṣaya-nīvi-dharma,' which refers to the law of the inalienability of permanent endowments. Then again, in several inscriptions, the land is said to be 'a-lekhanī-praveśatayā,' which seems to mean that it could not be made the subject of another document, i.e. could not be alienated. Thus, while the rights bestowed on the recipients of royal grants seem to have amounted to more than usufructory rights, they also seem to fall short of fully-fledged ownership, as the donees did not always have the right to dispose of the land granted to them. The terms of the grants seem to suggest that royal grants created a landed élite whose position lay somewhere in between that of landlord and



land-owner, with rather comprehensive, but not absolute, rights over the land, its revenue, and in some cases, perhaps even over its inhabitants

One of the questions that may be posed in relation to the rights bestowed on the brahmadeyas and devadeyas is: whose rights were being transferred to the beneficiaries? Many of the inscriptions refer to the grant to the donees of rights over treasure trove and hidden deposits and forests, and there is one reference to the grant of the right to heirless property (the Bonda plates of the Pānduvamśī king). The position of the normative texts on these particular issues may help elucidate the situation. That the king had a major claim to treasure trove and hidden deposits found on the land is indicated in the normative literature. The texts differ somewhat in the proportion of the treasure to be assigned to the various individuals involved. Gautama and Vasiṣṭha suggest that the one-sixth of the treasure-trove was to go to the finder and five-sixths to the king, except when the treasure was discovered by a Brahmana, in which case, the Brāhmaṇa had a right to keep all of it.<sup>28</sup> The Arthaśāstra assigns to the finder of treasure trove a one-sixth share and to the state a five-sixth share, but makes an exception in the case of large treasures valued at over 1,000,000 (paṇas), which were to go to the state in their entirety.<sup>29</sup> According to Manu, when a person successfully proved his claim to a treasure, he had a right to a portion of it, one-sixth or one-half going to the king, treasure found by a learned Brāhmaṇa belonged entirely to the Brāhmaṇa, of a treasure found by the king, one-half was to be distributed among the Brahmanas, and the other half was to go into the king's treasury.<sup>30</sup> According to Nārada, the finder of treasure trove should make it over to the king, for all treasures, except those found by Brahmanas, belonged to the king.<sup>31</sup> The Arthaśāstra suggests that forests comprised an important source of royal income, and were under the jurisdiction of a royal officer known as the kupyādhyakṣa (superintendent of forest produce).<sup>32</sup> The Viṣṇu Smṛti suggests that the king appoint capable officers to supervise forest having elephants.<sup>33</sup> The Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstras suggest that, theoretically at least, the king had the right

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<sup>28</sup> Gautama Dharmaśāstra 10 43-45; Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra 3. 13-14. Cited by Jha, Revenue System, p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> Arthaśāstra 4 1 Cited by Jha, Revenue System, pp. 94-95.

<sup>30</sup> Manu Smṛti 8 35-36. Cited by Jha, Revenue System, pp. 95-96.

<sup>31</sup> Nārada Smṛti 7 6 Cited by Jha, Revenue System, pp. 97-98.

<sup>32</sup> Arthaśāstra 2. 3, 17 Cited by Jha, Revenue System, p. 115

<sup>33</sup> Viṣṇu Smṛti 3 16 Cited by Jha, Revenue System, p. 115 Jha points out that the other law-givers are silent on the issue of the king's rights and control over forests and their produce.

to escheat heirless property; the texts usually make an exception in the case of the property of Brāhmaṇas, which was supposed to be distributed among other Brāhmaṇas.<sup>34</sup>

The evidence of the literary sources suggests that the grant of rights to beneficiaries of royal grants over items such as treasure trove, forests, and heirless property, affected the claims of the king and constituted a renunciation by the state of potential, if not actual, sources of income. The grant of control over water resources, trees, forests, and habitation area would presumably also have affected the de facto rights of the inhabitants of the villages. The possible grant of judicial rights or at least the right to realize fines for the commission of certain offences would have affected the theoretical rights of the king, and probably also that of local decision-making bodies, formal or informal, where these existed. It may be noted that the brahmadeya and devadeya settlements were generally declared to be free from royal intervention. It may also be mentioned that among the inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa, the Pānduvamśī and Somavamśī grants refer to the maximum number of tax-exemptions/privileges granted to the beneficiaries of the grants. It is not clear how precisely the numerical variation in the number of fiscal exemptions/privileges is to be interpreted -- whether it means a larger number of rights granted to the donees or whether it reflects an increase in the number of taxes imposed by the state, or both.

While the epigraphic evidence gives us information concerning a certain type of village settlement -- the brahmadeya or devadeya, this was, of course, not the only or the typical or most numerous type of settlement. One of the important questions that arises concerns the relationship of brahmadeyas and devadeyas to non-brahmadeya/devadeya settlements. It is, unfortunately, not possible to ascertain the numerical ratio of these, and the epigraphic evidence from Orissa has little to say about this matter. What the epigraphic evidence does indicate are the existence of a multiplicity of land tenures. Sircar points out that from the king's point of view, land could be classified into the following categories: state land; land occupied by tenants who paid the king's dues according to agreed rates, and land in more or less uninhabited and uncultivated areas over which state control varied.<sup>35</sup> (To these categories may be added the brahmadeyas and devadeyas, over which the state had minimal jurisdiction.) Each of these categories, Sircar continues, could be further subdivided. For instance, state land could be of the following kinds: land attached to the king personally; fiefs allotted to members of the royal family, administrative officers,

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<sup>34</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 3. 5, *Gautama Dharmaśāstra* 28. 41-42, *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra* 16, 83-97, *Viṣṇu Dharmaśāstra* 17. 13-14, *Manu Smṛti* 9. 188-89, *Kātyāyanasmṛtiśāroddhāna*, verse 931. Cited by Jha, *Revenue System*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>35</sup> Sircar, *Landlordism and Tenancy*, p. 3.

subordinates, etc; state farms; land cultivated by ārdhikas or sharecroppers; and uncultivated and waste land<sup>36</sup>

One of the fundamental questions that arises in the context of the royal grants to Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments concerns the rationale of a phenomenon which apparently indicates state involvement in a process in which it was the loser. That this was not so is suggested by D C Sircar, according to whom, royal land grant charters often camouflage the identity of the persons making grants, and also the nature of the exchange involved<sup>37</sup> He suggests that when a governor or vassal ruler wanted to create a tax-free endowment, he applied to the king and paid a certain sum of money for the land in question (usually land that lay within their fief or domain).<sup>38</sup> In terms of the religious merit that would accrue to the various parties concerned, according to the tradition regarding this matter, five-sixths would go to the purchaser, and one-sixth to the king.<sup>39</sup> According to Sircar, while the inscriptions do not directly state that the land in question was bought for a sum (representing either the actual monetary value of the land or just a nominal sum), this was in fact the case when an inscription stated that a grant of land had been made by a particular king at the request of a subordinate ruler.<sup>40</sup> The name of the actual donors also appeared in endorsements at the end of the inscriptions, without specifying their connection with the grant. According to Sircar, therefore, several tax-free grants avowedly made by kings were actually the donations of individuals who appear as having 'requested' that the grant be made, or in shadowy references relegated to the last few lines of the inscriptions, or are not given the courtesy of any sort of mention whatsoever in the inscriptions. The *raison d'être* for this curious situation, he suggests, was the reluctance on the part of the state to admit to the monetary transaction that lay behind the grant.<sup>41</sup> Sircar's hypothesis has important implications for the question of who was giving, buying, and selling land in ancient and early medieval times, and for the rationale of royal land grants. This is also the case with his suggestion that the series of kara-śāsanas (which have only been found in

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid*

<sup>37</sup> Sircar, *Landlordism and Tenancy*, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> While the terms 'fief' and 'domain' are sometimes used for convenience, it should be pointed out that they are theoretically-loaded terms, being derived from the terminology of European feudalism. It is curious that Sircar, who argues vigorously against the proponents of Indian feudalism, uses them so casually.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid*

<sup>40</sup> Several inscriptions from Orissa and other regions as well refer to the 'vijñāpti,' the person at whose request the grant was made.

<sup>41</sup> Sircar, *Landlordism and Tenancy*, p. 8. According to Sircar ("Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1952: 9-10), the desirability of presenting the sale of land as a gift is put forward by Vijñāneśvara in the *Mitākṣarā* in the course of his comments on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* 2. 114.

Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and in one inscription of Bengal) -- the revenue-paying grants of land -- in fact reflect money transactions over land between the state and certain individuals, and the presentation of these transactions as gifts.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from the indications that royal grants of land to Brāhmanas and religious establishments were not always financially disinterested acts on the part of the state, the rationale of royal grants can be sought in other areas as well. Kulke has countered the arguments that the state's grant of revenue rights to the beneficiaries of royal grants constituted a decrease in the state's revenue yield and rights in general by suggesting that the state may not, in fact, have been in a position to exercise the rights it "transferred" to the donees.<sup>43</sup> Particularly in a situation of newly-established or uncertain political power, the brahmadeyas and devadeyas (which, in the period and area that form the subject of this study, were less numerous and significant than the brahmadeyas) were one of the ways in which land was integrated into political territory. Royal decree created a privileged landed class, linked to the dynasty through ties of allegiance, loyalty, and gratitude. The brahmadeya settlements were often situated in the proximity of political centres, and thus, in a sense helped define the core of the territory over which a particular king exercised power. This was done so with particularly dramatic effect when the settlement was one made over to several hundred Brāhmanas (for instance in the case of several imperial Ganga grants). Those situated on the peripheries played a role in the cultural and political integration of the tribes. They may also have played a role in the introduction of plough agriculture in the tribal areas.<sup>44</sup> It is possible that in certain cases where the donees were given rights over the forests adjoining the village settlements the royal grants led to an extension of the margin of cultivation, although it must be pointed out there is little in the inscriptions to suggest that the land granted to Brāhmanas and temples was in general fallow land.

Of course, brahmadeyas and devadeyas were not the only integrative factors at work in ancient and early medieval Orissa. Integration was also at work at the religious level, in the synthesis of brahmanical and autochthonous deities by the sectarians, and through the gradual elaboration of a pan-Indian network of tīrthas (places of pilgrimage); and at the economic level, through the networks established by internal and external trade. The instability that characterized many of the kingdoms of ancient and early medieval

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<sup>42</sup> D. C. Sircar, "Some Kara-Śāsanas of Ancient Orissa," pp. 4-10.

<sup>43</sup> Kulke, "Fragmentation and Segmentation Versus Integration? Reflections on the Concepts of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History," p. 247.

<sup>44</sup> In the context of Brāhmanas as introducers of plough agriculture, G. Pfeffer, refers to the group of Orissa Brāhmanas known as the Balarāmagosṭhī ('kinsmen of Lord Balabhadra,' patron deity of plough-farmers) Brāhmanas, who probably played such a role ("Puri's Vedic Brahmins: Continuity and Change in their Traditional Institutions," in *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, eds. Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, p. 425).

Orissa suggests that integration at the political level, achieved through the capture of existing power bases, the establishment of a hierarchy of inter-lineage relations and ranks, and royal grants of land, mainly to Brāhmaṇas, was not always entirely successful. During the reigns of the imperial Gaṅga kings, the preponderance of Brāhmaṇa grants receded, grants by kings and members of the royal family in favour of temples, as also secular grants to nāyakas (military chiefs) came to the fore. This suggests that the rule of the imperial Gaṅgas saw a change in the bases of political integration; the expansion and longevity of the Gaṅga empire can be seen as related to this change.

The evidence presented in this study can be brought to bear more readily on the Indian feudalism hypothesis than that of the segmentary state, as the former is based to a large extent on the evidence of land grants. As already suggested, even if he was so in some ways, the king was not in all respects the loser in the process, and that these grants need not be interpreted in the final analysis, as has been done by the proponents of Indian feudalism, as indicative of the fragmentation of political authority. Instead, they may be seen as reflecting the forging of ties of alliance between kings and Brāhmaṇas in ancient and early medieval Orissa, the patronage of the king materially benefitting the Brāhmaṇa, and the allegiance of the Brāhmaṇa buttressing the power and prestige of the king. An investigation into the details of the administrative organization of the ancient and early medieval kingdoms of Orissa remains a desideratum. Supplemented by the findings of this study, such an investigation would help further elucidate the nature of the political and economic order in ancient and early medieval Orissa.

## Appendix I

### List of Inscriptions<sup>1</sup>

#### **Period I: The fourth to the seventh century**

##### Śatrudamana

1. Pedda-Dugam plates of Śatrubhañja. D. C. Sircar, EI 31, pt. 2: 89-93; V. Bhanumurty, JAHRS 21: 159 ff..

##### Viśākhavarman

1. Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman. G. Ramdas, EI 21: 23-25; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, JBORS 14: 282-84.

##### The Pitr̥bhaktas

1. Baranga plates of Umavarman. Saratchandra Behara, OHRJ 6, pts. 2 & 3 106-09
2. Tekkali plates of Umavarman. M Venkataramayya, EI 27: 298-302, Gopinath Harichandra Jagadeb, JAHRS 6: 53-54.
3. Dhavalapeta plates of Umavarman. R. K. Ghoshal, EI 26: 132-35, Manda Narasimham, JAHRS 10. 143-44
4. Bṛhatprosthā plates of Umavarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 12. 4-6
5. Temburu plates of Umavarman. G. S Gai, EI 37: 337-40.
6. Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman R K. Ghoshal, EI 27: 33-36.
- 7 Komartu plates of Caṇḍavarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 4: 142-45
8. Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman J. F Fleet, IA 13: 48-50.
9. Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. Saratchandra Behara OHRJ, 6, pt 2 109-14.

##### The Mātharas

1. Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 12: 1-3.
2. Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman. D. C. Sircar, EI 30. 112-18

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<sup>1</sup> The references cited here refer to the original publishing and editing of the text of a particular inscription. Reference to the volumes of Inscriptions of Orissa are given only when the inscription in question has been freshly edited by the editors of these volumes or if the original published version is not easily accessible. It may be added that in cases where more than one version of the text of an inscription is cited in this list, the version cited first is the one that has been used in this study as the authoritative version.

- 3 Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman. R. Subrahmanyam, EI 28, pt. 4: 175-79.
4. Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman. M. Venkataramayya, EI 28, pt. 5: 226-35.

#### The Vāsisthas

1. Siripuram plates of Anantavarman. S. V. Srinivasa Rao, EI 24: 47-52.
- 2 Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman. R. C. Majumdar, EI 23: 56-61; M. Narasimham, JAHRS, 7, pts. 2 & 3. 153-60.

#### The Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara (I)

1. Jirjingi plates of Indravarman. R. K. Ghoshal, EI 25: 281-88; R. Subbarao, QJAHS 3, pt. 1. 49-53
2. Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman. M. Somasekhara Sarma, EI 27: 216-22.
- 3 Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman. R. C. Majumdar, EI 23: 62-67
- 4 Urlam plates of Hastivarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 17: 330-34
- 5 Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 3: 127-30
- 6 Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman. R. K. Ghoshal, EI 25: 194-98; Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, JAHS 4, pts. 1 & 2: 21-24
7. Tirlingi copper plate. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, QJAHS 3, pt. 1. 54-57.
8. Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman. J. F. Fleet, IA 16: 131-34
- 9 Andhavaram plates of Indravarman. R. Subrahmanyam, EI 30, pt. 1: 37-42.
10. Chicacole plates of Indravarman. J. F. Fleet, IA 13: 119-22.
- 11 Chicacole plates of Indravarman. J. F. Fleet, IA 13: 122-24.
- 12 Purle plates of Indravarman. G. Ramadas, EI 14: 360-63.
13. Tekkali plates of Indravarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 18: 307-11.

#### Prthivī-mahārāja

1. Tāndivāda plates of Prthivī-mahārāja. R. S. Panchamukhi, EI 23: 88-89; N. Venkataramanayya, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras 9: 188-94.
2. Parlakimedi plates of Prthivī-mahārāja. S. N. Rajaguru, IO, 1, pt. 2: 54-56

#### Charamparāja

- 1 Khandipada Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, IO, 2: 323-29.

#### Śatrubhaṇja

- 1 Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhaṇja. Anirudha Das, OHRJ 13, no. 2: 1-8.

### Diśābhāñja

1. Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhāñja. T. N. Ramachandran, Artibus Asiae 14 1/2: 5-25; D. C. Sircar, EI 25, pt. 1: 47-50.

### Gopacandra

1. Jayarampur plate of the time of Gopacandra. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, OHRJ 11, no. 4: 206-229.

### The Vighrahas

1. Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha. D. C. Sircar, EI 28, pt. 2: 79-85; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, OHRJ 1, no. 1: 66-69.
2. Kanas plate of Lokavigraha. D. C. Sircar, EI 28, 329-31; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, JKHRS 3: 261

### The Mudgalas/Mānas and their feudatories

1. Erbhang plate of Śambhuyaśas. S. N. Rajaguru, OHRJ 12: 113-22.
2. Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas. N. G. Majumdar, EI 23: 201-02.
3. Patiakella grant of Śivarāja. R. D. Banerji, EI 1907-08: 285-88.

### Śubhakīrti

1. Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti. R. C. Majumdar, JRASBL 11: 9.

### The Dattas

1. Midnapore plate of Somadatta. R. C. Majumdar, JRASBL 11: 7-8.
2. Soro plate of Somadatta. N. G. Majumdar, EI 23: 202.
3. Soro plate of Somadatta. N. G. Majumdar, EI 23: 202-03.
4. Soro plate of Bhānudatta. N. G. Majumdar, EI 23: 203.
5. Kanas plate of Bhānudatta. D. C. Sircar, EI 28: 332-34; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 2, no. 1: 31-46
6. Balasore plate of Bhānu. Haridas Mitra, IHQ 11, no. 4: 611-26; R. K. Ghoshal, EI 26: 239-40.

### The Nalas

1. Kesaribeda plate of Arthapati. D. C. Sircar, EI 28, pt. 1: 12-17; G. Ramadas, Journal of the Bihar Research Society 34: 33-42.



2. Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman. Y. R. Gupte, EI 19: 100-104.
3. Podagadh stone inscription of Skandavarman. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, EI 21: 153-57.
4. Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga. V. V. Mirashi, EI 26: 49-58.

#### Tuṣṭikāra

1. Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikāra. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 7: 274-78; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, JKHRS 2: 107 ff..

#### The Śarabhapurīyas

1. Pipardula plates of Narendra. Dines Chandra Sircar and L. P. Pāṇḍeya-Śarmā, IHQ 19: 139-46.
2. Kurud plates of Narendra. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, EI 31: 263-66.
3. Arang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. J. F. Fleet, CII, 3: 191-95.
4. Khariar plates of Mahā-Sudeva. Sten Konow, EI 9: 170-73.
5. Sirpur plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. S. L. Katare, EI 31: 103-08; L.P. Pandeya, IHQ 10: 100-103.
6. Kuvatal plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. A. N. Lahiri. EI 31: 314-16; L. P. Pandeya Sarma, IHQ 21: 294-95.
7. Arang plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. L. P. Pandeya, EI 23: 18-22.
8. Sarangarh plates of Mahā-Sudeva. Hira Lal, EI 9: 281-85.
9. Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. J. F. Fleet, CII, 3: 196-200.
10. Thakurdiya plates of Mahā-Pravararāja. V. V. Mirashi, EI 22: 15-23.

#### The Pāṇḍuvarṇśīs

1. Malga plates of Indrarāja. D. C. Sircar and S. Sankaranarayanan, EI 33, pt. 4: 209-14.
2. Bamhani plates of Bharatabala. B. Ch. Chhabra, EI 27: 132-45.
3. Bonda plates of Tīvara. D. C. Sircar, EI 34, pt. 3: 111-16.
4. Rajim copper-plate inscription of Tīvaradeva. John Faithfull Fleet, CII 3: 291-99.
5. Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva. E. Hultzsch, EI 7: 102-07.
6. Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja. Bal Chandra Jain, EI 31, pt. 5: 219-22.
7. Sirpur inscription of the time of Bālārjuna. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, EI 31, pt. 5: 197-98.
8. Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. M. G. Dikshit and D. C. Sircar, EI 31, pt. 1: 31-36.
9. Bardula plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. P. B. Desai, EI 27: 287-91.
10. Mallar plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. V. V. Mirashi and L. P. Pandeya, EI 23: 113-22.

11. Sirpur Gandheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of Somavaṃśī Mahā-Śivagupta. Sant Lal Katare, IHQ 33: 229-34. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, 2d ed. (Nagpur: Government Printing, C. P., 1932), pp. 97-99.
12. Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta. F. Kielhorn, IA 18: 179-81.
13. Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahā-Śivagupta, EI 11: 184-201.
14. Bonda plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. V. V. Mirashi and L. P. Pandeya, EI 35: 60-65.
15. Lodhia plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. L. P. Pandeya, EI 27: 319-25.

## Period II: The seventh to the tenth century

### The Śailodbhavas

1. Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja. E. Hultzsch, EI 6: 143-46.
2. Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja. Ganga Mohan Laskar, JASB 73, pt. 1, no. 3: 282-86.
3. Buguda plates of Mādhavarman. F. Kielhorn, EI 3: 41-46.
4. Purushottampur plates of Mādhavarman Sainyabhīta. D. C. Sircar, EI 30: 264-69; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 2, nos. 3 & 4: 20-24..
5. Puri plates of Mādhavarman Sainyabhīta. R. G. Basak, EI 23: 122-31.
6. Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavarman. N. G. Majumdar, EI 24: 148-53; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 2, nos. 3 & 4: 17-19, 23-24..
7. Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja. D. C. Sircar, EI 29: 33-38; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, JKHRS 2, pt. 1: 59ff...
8. Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. R. D. Banerji, EI 11: 281-87.
9. Ranapur plates of Dharmarāja. S. N. Rajaguru, IO, 1, pt. 2: 218-22
10. Nivina plates of Dharmarāja. N. P. Chakravarti, EI 21: 34-41.
11. Chandeshwar plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 7: 269-73; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, JKHRS 2, no. 1: 65 ff..
12. Banpur plates of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta. D. C. Sircar, EI 29: 38-43.
13. Kondedda plates of Dharmarāja. Y. R. Gupte, EI 19: 265-71.
14. Puri plates of Dharmarāja. S. N. Rajaguru, JBORS 16, pt. 2: 176-88.
15. Tekkali plates of Madhyamarāja. Haraprasad Sastri, JBORS 4, pt. 1: 162-67; Gopabandhu Vidyabhushana, Prāchī 3, pt. 2: 79-91..
16. Two incomplete plates of palimpsests from Dharakota. S. N. Rajaguru, IO, 1, pt. 2: 248-53.

### Nettabhañja

1. Baud plates of Nettabhañja. Binayak Misra, JBORS 17, pt. 1: 104-18.

2. Russellkonda plates of Netṭabhañja. D. C. Sircar, EI 28: 258-63; S. N. Rajaguru, OHRJ 1, no. 4: 265-70.

#### The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

1. Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman. Tarini Charan Rath, EI 15: 275-78.
2. Kama-Nalinakshapur plates of Sāmantavarman. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 7, pt. 2: 86-90.
3. Pherava plates of Sāmantavarman. R. C. Majumdar, EI 27: 108-15; M. S. Sharma, Journal of Oriental Research 11: 55 ff..
4. Ganjam plates of Jayavarmadeva. S. N. Chakravarti, EI 23: 267-69.
5. Ganjam plates of Jayavarmadeva. S. N. Chakravarti, EI 23: 261-63.
6. Kama-Nalinakshapur plates of Jayavarman. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 7, pt. 2: 83-86.
7. Ganjam plates of Jayavarman. Binayak Misra, IHQ 12: 489-93.
8. Ganjam plates of the time of Bhūpendravarmadeva. S. N. Chakravarti, EI 23: 265-67.
9. Svalpa-Velura grant of Anantavarman. B. Ch. Chhabra, EI 24, pt. 3: 129-37.
10. Ganjam plates of Prthivivarmadeva. F. Kielhorn, EI 4: 198-201.
11. Indian Museum plates of Indravarman. C. C. Das Gupta, EI 26: 165-71.
12. Vishmagiri plates of Indravarman. Tarini Charan Rath, EI 19: 134-37; R. Subbarao, QJAHS 3, pts. 2, 3, & 4: 183-87.
13. Gautami plates of Indravarman. Kunja Govinda Goswami, EI 24: 180-83.
14. Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman. P. N. Bhattacharyya, EI 23: 78-80.
15. Ganjam plates of Dāṇārṇavadeva. S. N. Chakravarti, EI 23: 263-65.

#### The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (II)

14. Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 3: 130-34.
15. Sudava plates of Devendravarman. R. K. Ghoshal, EI 26: 62-65; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, QJAHS 2, pts. 3 & 4: 275-76.
16. Trilingi inscription of Devendravarman. R. K. Ghoshal, IHQ 20: 232-36; L. H. Jagadeb Rajabhadur, IHQ 11: 300-03.
17. Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman. G. Ramadas Pantulu, EI 13: 212-16.
18. Sudava plates of Anantavarman. R. K. Ghoshal, EI 26: 65-68; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, QJAHS 2, pts. 3 & 4: 273-75.
19. Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman. R. Subrahmanyam, EI 31, pt. 5: 199-202.
20. Santha Bomvali plates of Nandavarman. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, QJAHS 2, pts. 3 & 4: 185-89.

21. Vishakhapatnam plates of Devendravarman. J. F. Fleet, IA 18: 143-46.
22. Alamanda plates of Anantavarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 3: 17-21.
23. Jayapur plates of Rājendravarman. S. N. Rajaguru, IO 2: 107-08 (details of contents not given).
24. Shalantri/Musinaka plates of Devendravarman. V. V. Mirashi, EI 30, pt. 1: 23-28; Manda Narasimham, JAHS 18, pts. 1-4: 115-22.
25. Bangalore plates of Devendravarman. Lewis Rice, Epigraphia Carnatica 9: 140.
26. Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. Dines Chandra Sircar, JASBL 18, no. 1: 17-20; C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, JAHS 8, pts. 2 & 3: 185-87, 192-93.
27. Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman. B. Ch. Chhabra, EI 23: 73-78
28. Tekkali plates of Devendravarman. E. Hultzsch, EI 18: 311-13.
29. Pattali plates of yuvarāja Rājendravarman. D. C. Sircar, EI 32, pt. 5: 201-06; Manda Narasimham, Bhārati (Telugu journal), June 1954, pp. 574 ff..
30. Plates of Rājendravarman. MER, 1918, copper plate no. 13, pp. 137-38 (summary of inscription).
31. Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. J. F. Fleet, IA 13: 273-76.
32. Chicacole plates of Satyavarman. J. F. Fleet, IA 14: 10-12.
33. Tekkali plates of Anantavarman. R. K. Ghoshal, EI 26: 174-77.
34. Parlakimedi plates of the time of Vajrahasta. F. Kielhorn, EI 3: 220-24.
35. Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta. P. Banerjee, EI 31, pt. 7: 317-22; Satyanarayana Rajguru, Journal of the Bihar Research Society 35, pts. 1 & 2: 10-27.
36. Nirakarapur plates of Udayakhedi. Satyanarayana Rajguru, Journal of the Bihar Research Society 35, pts. 1 & 2: 1-10.
37. Galavalli plates of Manujendra varman. D. C. Sircar, EI 31, pt. 4: 187-91; N. Ramesan, JAHS 20, pts. 1-4: 161-70.
38. Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman. Dines Chandra Sircar, JASL 18, no. 2: 77-81; R. Subba Rao, QJAHS 2, pt. 2: 146-64; K. Sambamurti, Journal of the Telugu Academy (Telugu), 1927.
39. Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman. G. S. Gai, EI 34, pt. 4: 189-92; M. Somasekhara Sarma, Bhārati (Telugu) 14, pt. 2: 67 ff..
40. Chicacole plates of Anantavarman. Dines Chandra Sircar, JASL 18, no. 1: 47-51; C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, JAHS 8, pts. 2 & 3: 193-94.

#### The Bhauma-Karas

1. Cāmuṇḍā image inscription of Vatsadevi. Dines Chandra Sircar, EI 28, pt. 4: 184-85

2. Neulpur plate of Śubhākara. R. D. Banerji, EI 15: 1-8; Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 1-7.
3. Hamseśvara temple inscription. Dines Chandra Sircar, EI 28, pt. 4: 180-83.
4. Khadipada image inscription of the time of Śubhākara. A. Ghosh, EI 26: 1941-42; S. C. De, PIHC, 1949, pp. 66-74.
5. Chaurasi plate of Śivakaradeva. Narayana Tripathi, JBORS 14, pt. 2: 292-306.
6. Gaṇeśagumpha inscription of Śāntikara's time. R. D. Banerji, EI 13: 159-67; Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 10.
7. Dhauri cave inscription of Śāntikara. R. D. Banerji, EI 19: 263-64; Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 11.
8. Terundia plate of Śubhākara. D. C. Sircar, EI 28: 211-16.
9. Hindol plate of Śubhākara. Binayak Misra, JBORS 16, pt. 1: 69-83; Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 12-20..
10. Dharakota plate of Śubhākara. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, JAHS 4, pts. 3 & 4: 189-94; Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 21-22..
11. Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī. Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 23-31; Hara Prasad Sastri, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 419-27.
12. Talcher plate of Śubhākara; year 141. Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 32-39.
13. Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva; year 149. Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 40-50.
14. Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva; year 149. Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 51.
15. Baud plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī. S. C. De, EI 29, pt. 7: 216-19.
16. Baud plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī. S. C. De, EI 29, pt. 7: 219.
17. Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. F. Kielhorn, EI 6: 133-40; Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 57-58.
18. Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. F. Kielhorn, EI 6: 140-42; Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 59.
19. Santiragrama plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. D. C. Sircar, EI 29, pts. 3-4: 79-89.
20. Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. H. Panday, JBORS 5, pt. 4: 564-81.
21. Ambapua plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. Copper plate no. 22 of the ARIE for 1950-51, Appendix A, p. 8.
22. Ambagaon plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. Unpublished; referred to by Umakanta Subuddhi, The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, p. 24, n. 24.

23. Arual plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. Unpublished; referred to by Umakanta Subuddhi, The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, p. 25, n. 18.
24. Grant of Vakulamahādevī. P. R. Srinivasan, EI 36: 307-12.
25. Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī. Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 52-56; Priyatosh Banerjee, JASBL 17, no. 3: 245-50..
26. Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī. Ghanashyam Das and Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, IHQ 21: 213-22.
27. Angul plate of Śāntikaradeva (?). A. Das, OHRJ 13, no. 4: 1-4.

### Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century

#### The early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

1. Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja. B. C. Mazumdar, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 429-35
2. Sonpur plates of Śatrubhañja. B. C. Mazumdar, EI 11: 98-104.
3. Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja. B. C. Mazumdar, JBORS 6, pt. 4. 481-86.
4. Orissa Museum plates of Raṇabhañjadeva. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, OHRJ 11, no. 3: 155-59.
5. Binka plates of Raṇabhañjadeva. B. C. Mazumdar, JBORS 2, pt. 2. 167-77, Adrish Chandra Banerji, ABORI 14, pts. 1-2: 134-41.
6. Patna museum plates of Raṇabhañja. R. D. Banerji, EI 20. 100-04.
7. Daspalla plates of Raṇabhañja Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, JBORS 6, pt. 2: 266-79.
8. Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, year 26. R. D. Banerji, EI 12: 325-28
9. Baudh undated plates of Raṇabhañjadeva. A. C. Banerji, JBORS 20, pt. 1: 147-52.
10. Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, year 54. R. D. Banerji, EI 12: 322-25.
11. Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, year 58. Adris Banerji, IHQ 10, no. 3: 473-77.

#### The later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

1. Gumsur plates of Neṭṭabhañja. James Princep, JASB 6: 667-71.
2. Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañjadeva. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, EI 18: 293-95
3. Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, EI 18: 295-96.
4. Komanda plates of Neṭṭabhañja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, EI 24: 172-75.
5. Pettasara plates of Neṭṭabhañja. C. C. Das Gupta, EI 27: 337-40; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, JKHRS 1, no. 4: 285 ff..
6. Plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa. D. C. Sircar and P. Acharya, EI 28, pt. 6: 272-83.
7. Orissa plates of Vidyādharaḥhañjadeva. F. Kielhorn, EI 9: 271-77; Rajendralal Mitra, JASB 56, no. 3: 154-60.

8. Ganjam plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇja. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, EI 18: 296-98.
9. Orissa Museum plates of Neṭṭaḥaṇja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, OHRJ 11, no. 1: 9-16; P. R. Srinivasan, EI 37: 257.
10. Daspalla plates of Neṭṭaḥaṇja. Binayak Misra, JBORS 6, pt. 2: 274-79.
11. Daspalla plates of Śatrubhaṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa. D. C. Sircar, EI 24, pt. 6: 189-94; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 1, no. 3: 208-13.
12. Ganjam plates of Śatrubhaṇja. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 4, nos. 3 & 4: 67-76.
13. Plates of Neṭṭaḥaṇja Tribhuvanakalaśa. D. C. Sircar and P. Acharya, EI 28, pt. 6: 278-83.
14. Jangalāpadu plates of Śatrubhaṇjadeva. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 6: 250-54.; R. D. Banerji, JBORS 18, no. 3: 387-90; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, JKHRS 1, no. 2: 181 ff..

#### The Baripada stone inscriptions

1. Baripada stone inscription of Dhruvarāja. D. C. Sircar, EI 33, pt. 2: 85 (inscription no. 1); Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 1, no. 2: 179 (inscription no. 3).
2. Baripada stone inscription of Kumāravarmarāja. D. C. Sircar, EI 33, pt. 2: 85 (inscription no. 2); Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 1, no. 2: 179 (inscription no. 1).
3. Baripada stone inscription of a Bhaṇja king. D. C. Sircar, EI 33, pt. 2: 86 (inscription no. 3); Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 1, no. 2: 179 (inscription no. 2).

#### The Ādi-Bhaṇjas

1. Adipur plate of Narendrabhaṇja. R. C. Majumdar, EI 25: 147-57.
2. Adipur plate of Narendrabhaṇja. R. C. Majumdar, EI 25: 157-61.
3. Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhaṇja. Babu Pratapachandra Ghosh, JASB 40, no. 3, pt. 1: 165-67.
4. Bamanghati plate of Rājabhaṇja. Babu Pratapachandra Ghosh, JASB 40, no. 3, pt. 1: 168-69.
5. Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhaṇjadeva. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 6: 220-25.
6. Ukhunda plate of Pṛthvībhaṇja. Binayak Misra, IHQ 13, no. 3: 427-29.
7. Keśari plate of Śatrubhaṇja. R. C. Majumdar, EI 25: 161-64; Binayak Misra, IHQ 13, no. 3: 429-30.
8. Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhaṇja. Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS 4, pt. 2: 172-77.
9. Adipur plate of Durjayabhaṇja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, EI 25: 172-73.

#### Nettabhañja of the Jurādā grant

1. Jurādā grant of Nettabhañjadeva. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, EI 24, pt. 1: 15-20; Lakshminarayan Harichandra Jagadeb, JAHS 7, pt. 2: 109-14.

#### The Bhañjas of Baudh

1. Baud plates of Salonabhañja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, EI 26: 276-79.
2. Baud plates of Kanakabhañja. Satyanarayan Rajaguru and Snigdha Tripathy, OHRJ 16, no. 3: 14-30; B. C. Mazumdar, JBORS 2, pt. 3: 356-74; R. D. Banerji, JBORS 14, pt. 1: 114-26; Charu Chandra Dasgupta, IHQ 9: 751-69.

#### The Bhañjas of Kolāda

1. Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañjadeva. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, EI 18: 298-99.
2. Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadeva. Tarini Charan Rath, EI 19: 41-45.

#### Udayavarāha

1. Bonai plate of Udayavarāha. Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS 6: 241-45.

#### Narendradhavalā

1. The Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavalā. Dines Chandra Sircar, EI 28, pts. 1-2: 44-50.

#### The Śulkīs

1. Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 396-400; A. Banerji-Sastri, JASB, N.S. 27: 319-22.
2. Grant of Raṇastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, JBORS 2, pt. 2: 168-71.
3. Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha. R. D. Banerji, EI 12: 156-59; Babu Nagendra Vasu, The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja 1: 157 ff.; Journal of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad 18, pt. 1: 59 ff..
4. Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 405-09.
5. Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 409-12.
6. Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 412-17; A. Banerji-Sastri, JASB, N.S. 27: 322-25.
7. Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 400-05.
8. Hindol plate of Kulastambha. D. C. Sircar and P. Acharya, EI 28, pt. 3: 107-14.
9. Puri plate of Kulastambha. Babu Man Mohan Chakravarti, JASB 64, pt. 1: 125-27.



10. Puri plate of Kulastambha. D. C. Sircar, EI 29, pt. 6: 164-69; Babu Man Mohan Chakravarti, JASB 64, pt. 1: 123-27.

#### The Tuṅgas

1. Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga. D. C. Sircar, EI 34, pt. 2: 93-96; N. K. Sahu, OHRJ 7, no. 1: 66-70.
2. Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga. D. C. Sircar, EI 34, pt. 2: 96-100; R. D. Banerji, JPASB, N.S. 12: 291-95.
3. Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga. D. C. Sircar, EI 34, pt. 2: 100-04; Nilmani Chakravarti, JPASB 5, no. 9: 347-50.
4. Bonai plate of Vinīṭatuṅga. Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS 6, pt. 2: 236-40.
5. Khargaprasada plate of Vinīṭatuṅga. A. K. Rath, OHRJ 11, no. 4: 242-54.

#### Jayasimha

1. Dhenkanal plate of Jayasimha. Hara Prasad Shastri, JBORS 2, pt. 4: 417-19; Binayak Misra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, pp. 23-26.

#### The Nandodbhavas

1. Baripada Museum plate of Devānandadeva. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, EI 26: 74-82.
2. Jurerpur plate of Devānandadeva. Dines Chandra Sircar, EI 27: 325-30.
3. Narsingpur plate of Devānandadeva. Dines Chandra Sircar, EI 27: 331-34.
4. Tamra plate of Devānandadeva. Satyanarayan Rajguru, OHRJ 15, nos. 1 & 2: 115-20.
5. Daspalla plate of Devānandadeva. D. C. Sircar, EI 24, pt. 6: 183-89.
6. Jayapura or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva. Narayana Tripathi, JBORS 16, pts. 3 & 4: 457-72; A. Banerji-Sastri, JBORS 15: 87-100.

#### Vīra-Pracandadeva

1. Hindol plate of Vīra-Pracandadeva. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, OHRJ 12, no. 1: 4-8.

#### The Somavarṁśīs

1. Vakrantentalī plates of Mahābhavagupta I. B. C. Mazumdar, EI 11: 93-95.
2. Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. D. C. Sircar and P. C. Rath, IHQ 20: 238-244.
3. Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta; year 6. Pratapachandra Ghosha, JASB 46: 173-78; J. F. Fleet, EI 3: 340-44..

4. Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta; year 6. Ganga Mohan Laskar, JASB, N.S. 1: 4-6, 12-13.
5. Nagpur Museum plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. E. Hultzsch, EI 8: 138-43
6. Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya; year 17. S. N. Rajaguru and M. P. Dash, OHRJ 11, no. 3: 192-97.
7. Sonapur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya; year 17. B. Ch. Chhabra, EI 23: 248-55
8. Kapāleśvara plates of Mahābhavagupta ; year 31. Babu Rangalala Banerjea, IA 5: 55-58; J. F. Fleet, EI 3: 345-51 (inscription 'B').
9. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta ; year 31. J. F. Fleet, EI 3: 345-51 (inscription 'C').
10. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta ; year 31. Rajendrala Mitra, JPASB 51, pt. 1: 9-14, J. F. Fleet, EI 3: 345-51 (inscription 'D').
11. Kalibhāna plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. D. C. Sircar and P. C. Rath, IIQ 20: 245-50.
12. Orissa State Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. S. N. Rajaguru, IO, 4: 159-66
13. Balangir plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 8. D. C. Sircar, JASBL 19: 117-24, Ganga Mohan Laskar, JASB, N.S. 1: 6-7; 14-16.
14. Cuttack plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti; year 9. Babu Rangalala Banerjea, JASB 46, no. 2, pt. 1: 149-57; J. F. Fleet, EI 3: 351-55..
15. Nibinnā plates of Mahāśivagupta. B. C. Mazumdar, EI 11: 95-98
16. Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta; year 24. Ganga Mohan Laskar, JASB, N.S. 1: 7-8; 16-18.
17. Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta; year 28. Ganga Mohan Laskar, JASB, N.S. 1: 8-12, 19-23.
18. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha. J. F. Fleet, EI 3: 355-59.
19. Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavaguptarāja. L. P. Pandeya, EI 22: 135-38.
20. Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha. Shushil Chandra De, OHRJ 12: 60-70.
21. Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. S. N. Rajaguru, IO, 4: 218-24, B. C. Mazumdar, JBORS 2, no. 1: 45-59.
22. Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV Binayak Misra, JBORS 17: 1-24.
23. Lalatendu-kesari cave inscription of Udyotakeśarī. R. D. Banerji, EI 13: 166-67.
24. Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta; year 13 F. Kielhorn, EI 4: 254-59.
25. Navamuni cave inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī. R. D. Banerji, EI 13: 165-66.
26. Second inscription in the Navamuni cave. R. D. Banerji, EI 13: 166.

27. Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription of the time of Udyotakeśari. S. N. Rajaguru, IO 4: 244-52; J. Princep, JASB 7: 557-62; P. Acharya, JRASBL 13: 63-74.
28. Ratnagiri plates of Kaṇṇa. Debala Mitra, EI 33, pt. 6: 263-68; D. C. Sircar, EI 33, pt. 6: 269-74; Narayana Tripathi, JBORS 16, pt. 2: 206-10.
29. Sūrya image inscription of Kaṇṇarāja. S. N. Rajaguru, IO 4: 265-67.
30. Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva. D. C. Sircar, EI 28, pt. 7: 322-26; B. C. Mazumdar, EI 12: 237-42.
31. Stray plate found at Sonapur. D. C. Sircar, EI 28, pt. 7: 326-28.
32. Fragmentary stone inscription of Raṇakesarin at Govindapur. Binayak Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 74 (facsimile and note; no text).
33. Inscription of Viravarakesarin in the Liṅgarāja temple. Dines Chandra Sircar and Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, Indian Culture 3, no. 1: 122-25; Suryanarayan Das, OHRJ 1, no. 4: 301 ff.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (III): the imperial Gaṅgas

41. Andhavaram plates of Vajrahasta. R. Subrahmanyam, EI 31, pt. 5: 202-04.
42. Ponduru plates of Vajrahasta. Manda Narasimham, JAHRS 9, pt. 3: 23-30.
43. Simhipura plates of Kadamba king Dharmakhedi. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, JAHRS 3, pts. 2, 3, & 4: 171-80.
44. Chicacole plates of Madhu-Kāvārṇavadeva. G. Ramadas, JBORS 18: 272-95; C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, JAHRS 8, pts. 2 & 3: 168-70, 180-82.
45. Mandasa plates of Anantavarman. G. Ramadas, JBORS 17, pts. 2-3: 175-88.
46. Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta. Sten Konow, EI 11: 147-53.
47. Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta. C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, JAHRS 8, pts. 2 & 3: 163-66, 171-76.
48. Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta. G. V. Ramamurti, EI 4: 183-93.
49. Arasavalli plates of Vajrahasta. G. S. Gai, EI 32, pt. 7: 310-16; Manda Narasimham, Bhārati (Telugu), May 1954, pp. 449 ff..
50. Chikkalavalasa plates of Vajrahasta. D. C. Sircar, EI 23, pt. 3: 141-46; Somasekhara Sarma, Bhārati (Telugu) 2, no. 1: 138 ff..
51. Boddapadu plates of Vajrahasta. G. S. Gai, EI 34, pt. 1: 42-44; M. Somasekhara, Bhārati (Telugu) 3, no. 5: 83 ff..
52. Peddabamiddi plates of Vajrahasta. R. C. Majumdar, EI 31, pt. 7: 305-08.
53. Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta. Sten Konow, EI 9: 94-98.
54. Madagrama plates of Devendravarman and Bhīmakhedi. R. C. Majumdar, EI 31, pts. 1-2: 45-52.

55. Ganjam plates of Vajrahasta. R. C. Majumdar, EI 22:67-73.
56. Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati. G. V. Ramamurti, EI 4: 314-18.
57. Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I Devendravarman. D. C. Sircar, EI 31: 191-96; N Ramesan, JAHRS 20: 171-76.
58. Chicacole plates of Rājarāja I. C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, JAHRS 8, pts. 2 & 3: 166-68, 176-80.
59. Stone inscription of Devendravarman at Gara. B. V. Krishanrao, JAHRS 12, pt. 2: 112 (summary of inscription).
60. Stone inscription in Ramachandi temple at Tekkali. Lakshminarayana Harishchandana Jagadeb Rajah Bahadur, JAHRS 11, pts. 1 & 2: 16-18.
61. Vizagapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga; Śaka 1003. J. F. Fleet, IA 17: 161-65.
62. Kornī plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. G. V. Sitapati, QJAHRS 1, pt. 1: 40-48, Satyanarayan Rajaguru, IO 3, pt. 1: 28.
63. Murupaka plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, IO 3, pt. 1: 32.
64. Sellada plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, JAHRS 8, pts. 2 & 3: 183-85, 191-92.
65. Kornī plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. G. V. Sitapati, QJAHRS 1, no. 3: 106-24; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, IO 3, pt. 1: 64; G. V. Sitapati, Bhārati (Telugu) 2: 101-20.
66. Puri inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga. D. C. Sircar, EI 33, pt. 4: 181-85.
67. Bhubaneswar inscription of Coḍagaṅga. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 1: 31-32; K. C. Panigrahi, OHRJ 1, no. 2: 1-7.
68. Palamgara grant of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. D. D. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 3: 93 (some remarks on it).
69. Vizagapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga; Śaka 1040. J. F. Fleet, IA 17: 165-72.
70. Vizagapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga; Śaka 1057. J. F. Fleet, IA 17: 172-76.
71. Jagannath temple inscription of Coḍagaṅgadeva. Arjun Joshi, OHRJ 9, nos. 3 & 4: 47-50.
72. Alagum inscription of Anantavarman; year 62. D. C. Sircar, EI 29, pt. 2: 44-48.
73. Bhubaneswar inscription of Coḍagaṅga; year 62. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 1: 32.
74. Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramāḍi; Śaka 1064. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 3: 90-94; K. C. Panigrahi, OHRJ 1, no. 2: 7-8.
75. Mukteśvara temple inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga. Arjun Joshi, OHRJ 10, nos. 1 & 2: 14-16.
76. Fragmentary Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 1: 30, n. 1 (reference to the inscription).

77. Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramāḍi's son, Coḍagaṅga. D. C. Sircar, EI 30, pt. 3: 92  
(reference to the first three lines of the inscription)

**Appendix II**  
**Official Designations and titles in the Inscriptions of Ancient and Early**  
**Medieval Orissa**<sup>1</sup>

**Period I: The fourth to the seventh century**

**Mahārāja Śatrudamana**

--

**Viśākhavarman, the Pitrbhaktas, Mātharas, and Vāsisthas**

bhojaka, kumārāmātya, mahābalādhikṛta, daṇḍanetr, deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta, amātya, daṇḍanāyaka, talavara, bhogika, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahāpratihāra.

**The Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara. Indravarman I - Indravarman II (inscn. no. 1-13)**

bhogika, talavara, deva-bhogika, mahāmahattara, sāndhivigrahika, amātya, sarvādhikṛta, hastādhyakṣa, raṣasika.

**Prthivī-mahārāja**

--

**Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates**

śrī-sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājanaka, rājaputra, daṇḍanāyaka, kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka, vyavahārin, and the karaṇa, bhogī.

**Mahārāja Śatrubhaṇja**

--

**Mahārāja Dīśābhaṇja**

--

**Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra**

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<sup>1</sup> The designations and titles enumerated here are those that appear in the list of persons informed of the royal grant, as well as the designations of the various individuals associated with the drawing up of the charter (the writer, messenger, etc.). In some cases, a particular individual bore more than one designation or title. It may be noted that, addition to the terms that appear in this table, most of the copper plate grants are addressed to the inhabitants of the land gifted (the term kuṭumbin or householder appears very often in this context) and the Brāhmaṇas. The spellings of the terms have in most cases been standardized. An exception has been made where a term is unfamiliar and its meaning uncertain, in which case the term is followed by a question-mark in parenthesis (?). The terms are enumerated in the order in which they appear in the inscriptions.

kumārāmātya, rājanaka, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, mahāmahattara, bhogin, vyavahārin, viṣay-  
ādhikaraṇa, mahattara, karaṇika, pustapāla. kāyastha.

#### The Vīgrahas

sāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka, daṇḍapāsika, sthānāntarika, vyavahārin, vaisayika, mahāsāmanta, vaiśvāsika, viṣayapati, aṁsabrhadbhogika.

#### The Mudgalas/Mānas

mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati tadāyuktaka, daṇḍapāsika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahāmahattara, kūṭakola, sāmanta-rāja, rājasthānīya, uparika, bṛhadbhogika, mahāsandhivīgrahika, peḍapālaka, mahattara.

#### Feudatories of Śaśāṅka; Śubhakīrti and the Dattas

the Tāvira adhikaraṇa which was composed of or included Brāhmaṇas among its members, amātya mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, daṇḍapāsika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, viṣaya-mahāmahattara, mahāmahattara, kūṭakola, pustapāla, viṣaya-niyukta, bṛhadbhogika, sāndhivīgrahika, mahattaraka, peḍapālaka.

#### The Nalas

śīrṣaka of the donated village, samāhartṛ, rahasyādhikṛta, rahasi-niyuktaka, senāpati.

#### Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra

rāhasika

#### The Śarabhapūtrīyas

bhogapati, sarvādhikārādhikṛta, mahāsāmanta.

#### The Pānduvamśīs

grāmakūṭa, droṇāgika/ droṇāgraka (drāṅgika ?), gaṇḍakānāyaka (daṇḍanāyaka ?), devavārika, nāyaka, gaṇḍaka, samāhartṛ, sannidhātṛ, karaṇas, rājaputra, rāhasika, pradhāna

### **Period II. The seventh to the tenth century**

#### The Śailodbhavas

kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka/tadāniyuktaka/tadāvinīyuktaka, śrī-sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, daṇḍanāyaka, viṣayapati, karaṇa, rājanaka, antaraṅga,

## Period II. The seventh to the tenth century

### The Śailodbhavas

kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka/tadāniyuktaka/tadāvinīyuktaka, śrī-sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, daṇḍanāyaka, viṣayapati, karaṇa, rājanaka, antaraṅga, vaiśvāsika, pattaḷaka, daṇḍapāsika, rājasthāniya, vaiṣayika, vyavahārin, cāṭas and bhaṭas, pratihāra/pratihārin, saciva, pañca-karaṇ-oparika, vaiśvāsika, bhogī, bṛhadbhogī, sāndhivigrahin/sāndhivigrahika, peṭapāla/peṭāpāla.

### Nettabhañja

śrī-sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, rājan, rājanaka, rājaputra, antaraṅga, kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka, bhogika.

### The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

vyavahārin, karaṇa, sāmanta, śrīsāmanta, mahāsāmanta, rājanaka, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, daṇḍanāyaka, viṣayapati, grāmapati, vyavahārin, karaṇa, pradhānapuruṣa, rāṣṭrakūṭa, bhogī/bhogika, antaraṅga, bahiraṅga, daṇḍapāsika, sāmavājika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahāsandhivigrahin, sandhivigrahin, mahāpratihāra, mahādevī, yuvarāja, dharmmādhikaraṇa, mahattara, pratihāra.

### The Gaṅgas of Kalīṅganagara: (inscns. no. 14-40)

bhogika, bārika (?), pālaka of the gift village, rāṣṭrakūṭa, karaṇa, mahāmahattara, purohita, mahattara, mantrin, mahāmantrin, rahasya, mahāsandhivigrahin, śrī-sāmanta, amātya (?), sandhivigrahin, cāṭas and bhaṭas, daṇḍapāsika, kāyastha.

### The Bhauma-Karas

mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, antaraṅga, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, daṇḍapāsika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahāmahattara, bṛhadbhogika/bṛhadbhogin, pustapāla, koṭapāla, kūṭakola, rājanaka/pradhāna, sāmanta, sāmavājīn, rājasatka, balahita, sāmanta, mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta / mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta, bhogī, peṭapāla/peṭāpāla/peḍāpāla mahāsandhivigrahin, mahāpratihāra.

## Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century

### The Bhañjas of Kṣiṇjali-maṇḍala

rājan, rājanaka, antaraṅga, kumārāmātya, mahāsāmanta, mātrīn (probably mantrin), daṇḍapāsika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, sandhivigrahin/sandhivigrahin, rājaputra, viṣayapati, vyavahārin, karaṇas, sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, śrīsāmanta, bhogī, valgulīn/vāgulika, mantrin, pratihāra/pratihāra, mahāpratihāra, pañca-karaṇ-ādhikṛta.



The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-kotta

mahādevī, yuvarāja, sandhivigrahin, mudrahasta, pratihāra, pura-śreṣṭhin, mahāsāmanta.

Nettabhañja of the Jurādā plates

sāmanta, sāmavāji, mahādevī, yuvarāja, pātra, akṣapaṭalī, pratihāra, vāguni.

The Bhañjas of Baud

--

The Bhañjas of Kolāda

sāmanta, sandhivigrahin, pātra, amātya, khaṇḍapāla, rājaputra, yuvarāja, akṣapaṭalin, pratihāra, rāṇaka, vyavahārin.

Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate

rājanaka, rājaputra, mahāsāmanta, kumārāmātya, uparika, sandhivigrahika, tadāyuktaka, dāṇḍapāśika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas.

Narendradhavalā of the Madras Museum Plates

rāṇaka, rājaputra, mahāsāmanta.

The Śulkis

sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājanaka, rājaputra, rājñī, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, sāmavāji, niyuktaka, dāṇḍapāśika, sthānāntarika, antaraṅga, nagarana, pustapālaka, kaṇṭhakāla, bhogī, sādhy-ādhikaraṇa, karaṇa, cāṭas and bhaṭas, kāyastha, mahāsandhivigrahika, balabhita (?).

The Tuṅgas

rājanaka, rājaputra, rājasthāniya, sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, vyavahārin, sāmavājin, kumārāmātya, uparika, dāṇḍapāśika, sthānāntarika.

Jayasimhadeva

rājaputra, antaraṅga, vyavahārin, karaṇa, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahābhogin.

The Nandodbhavas

rājanaka, rājaputra, sāmanta, adhikārin, karaṇas, cāṭas and bhaṭas, sandhivigrahin/sandhivigrahika.

Vira-Pracandadeva

The Nandodbhavas

rājanaka, rājaputra, sāmanta, adhikārin, karaṇas, cāṭas and bhaṭas, sandhivigrahin/sandhivigrahika.

Vīra-Pracandadeva

niyuktaka, daṇḍapāśika, sāmanta, mahattara, sāmavājī, bhogī, pustapālaka, karaṇa.

The Somavamśīs

samāhartṛ, sannidhātṛ, dāṇḍapāśika, piśuna, vetrika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, rāṇaka, rājaputra, niyuktaka, ādhikārika, talahita (?), sāmanta, āśika (?), bhogin, talavargin, sāmavājīn, maṇḍalādhipati, viṣayapati, khaṇḍapati, avarodhajana, rājñī, bhogī-rūpa, kāyastha, mahāsandhivigrahin, rāṇaka, mahākṣapaṭalin/ mahākṣapaṭalika/mahākṣapaṭalādhyakṣa, mantrin, sandhivigrahin, nāyaka, mahattama, mahāmahattama.

The Imperial Gaṅgas: (no. 41-77)

pācāgrā prakṛti-ramātya (?), pañcapātra, sāmavājī, rāṣṭrakūṭa, viṣaya-pradhāna, rāṇaka, rājaputra, viṣayapati, sandhivigrahin, sāmanta, amātya, śāsanika, kāyastha, mahākāyastha, mudrāhastha, pasāpālaka, śrī-karaṇa, purohita, yuvarāja, dauvārika, kārṇkī, śāsan-ādhikārī, mahāmātya.

### Appendix III

#### Fiscal Terms in the Inscriptions of Ancient and Early Medieval Orissa<sup>1</sup>

##### **Period I: The fourth to the seventh century**

###### Mahārāja Śatrudamana

pratyāya, meya.

###### Viśākhavarman, the Pitrbhaktas, Mātharas, and Vāsisthas

kara-bhara, meyavarim (?), meya, hiraṇya, vāṇa (?).

###### The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: (inscriptions no. 1-13)

kara, bhara, bhāga, bhoga..

###### Prthivī-mahārāja

kara.

###### Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates

kara (in the term a-karīkṛtya).

###### Mahārāja Śatrubhaṇja

--

###### Mahārāja Diśabhaṇja

--

###### Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra

--

###### The Vighrahas

kara, uparikara.

###### The Mudgalas/Mānas

parikara/uparikara.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of these terms -- e. g. kara -- appear to be terms for taxes in general, while others refer to specific dues. The terms are enumerated here in the order in which they appear in the inscriptions

Feudatories of Śaśāṅka; Śubhakīrti and the Dattas

--

The Nalas

kara, hiraṇya, śulka, pratyāya.

Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra

--

The Śarabhapurīyas

meṃya, hiraṇya, pratyāya, bhoga, bhāga, kara.

The Pārḍuvarṃśīs

odraṅga, parikara/uparikara, bhāga, bhoga, kara, dāradraṇaka. Some of the endowments are said to be cora-daṇḍa-varjita and sa-daś-āparādha: these may have some fiscal implications.

**Period II: The seventh to the tenth century**

The Śailodbhavas

kara (in a-karīkṛtya).

Nettabhañja

kara.

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

kara, bhara.

The Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara II: (inscriptions no. 14-40)

kara, bhara, bhāga, bhoga, pratyāya.

The Bhauma-Karas

uparikara and kara (as in a-karatvena).

**Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century**

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

kara (in a-karatvena).

The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries

--

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-kotta

kara ( in a-karatvena ).

Nettabhañja of the Jurādā plates

rājakīya pratyāya, kara, khaṇḍapāla, muṇḍamola.

The Bhañjas of Baud

--

The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

kara (in a-karatvena ) bhāga, bhoga, hiraṇya, pratyāya..

Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate

--

Narendradhavalā of the Madras Museum Plates

--

The Śulkīs

kara ( in a-karatvena), ṭṭṇ-odaka (in the Talcher plate of Kulastambha, a kara-śāsana ),  
parikara/uparikara.

The Tuṅgas

ṭṭṇ-odaka, parikara.

Jayasimhadeva

--

The Nandodbhavas

--

Vira-Pracandadeva

--

The Somavarmśis

uparikara, kara, bhoga, bhāga, hiranya, nikara, hastidaṇḍa, varavalāvanda/vara-balivardā, coṭāla/ciṭṭola, andhāruvā/andhāruā, pratyandhāruvā/pratyandhāruā, adattā, padāti-jīva/jīvya, ahidaṇḍa, antarābaḍḍi/antarāvaddi, rintakāvaddi, vasāvakī, viṣayālī, vandhadaṇḍa, vijaya-vandāpanā, mārggaṇika, hala-daṇḍa, suvarṇṇadaṇḍa, śāsan-ārdhika, cara-balivarda, ātura-vaddi, go-gauḍa, vartmadaṇḍa, khaṇḍapāla, and tṛṇ-odaka.

The terms 'sa-daś-āparādha' and 'sa-pratihāra' seem to have some fiscal connotations too

The imperial Gaṅgas: (inscriptions no. 41-77)

kara, bhāga, bhoga.

**Appendix IV**  
**Administrative Levels in the Kingdoms of Ancient and Early Medieval**  
**Orissa:<sup>1</sup>**

**Period I: The fourth to the seventh century**

**Mahārāja Śatrudamana**

grāma/vāṭaka

**Viśākhavarman, the Pitrbhaktas, Mātharas, and Vāsisthas**

grāma/grāmaka, pāriśva,<sup>2</sup> viṣaya, bhoga, madamba, pañcālī.

**The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: (inscriptions no. 1-13)**

grāma, bhoga, pañcālī, viṣaya., rāṣṭra.

**Prthivī-mahārāja**

grāma, viṣaya.

**Śrī-Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates**

grāma, viṣaya.

**Mahārāja Śatrubhaṇja**

--

**Mahārāja Diśābhaṇja**

--

**Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra**

vithi.

**The Vighrahas**

grāma, viṣaya.

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<sup>1</sup> The terms are enumerated in the order in which they occur in the inscriptions; this is, in most part, in ascending order of size.

<sup>2</sup> It is not certain whether pāriśva (= pārśva?) should be interpreted as a type of territorial unit. (See Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, p. 379, f.n. 379 for occurrence of the term 'pārśva' elsewhere, and Sircar's view that it should not be considered a type of territorial unit.)

The Mudgalas/Mānas  
grāma/vāṭaka, viṣaya.

Feudatories of Śaśāṅka; Śubhakīrti and the Dattas  
grāma, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Nalas  
grāma, viṣaya.

Mahārāja Tustikāra  
vāṭaka.

The Śarabhapurīyas  
grāma, bhoga, āhāra, bhukti.

The Pānduvarṁśīs  
grāma/grāmaka/pāṭaka, rāṣṭra, viṣaya, bhukti, bhoga.

**Period II: The seventh to the tenth century**

The Śailodbhavas  
grāma/pāṭaka, bhukti, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

Nettabhañja  
grāma, viṣaya.

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka  
grāma, viṣaya, {Koṅgoda maṇḍala}.

The Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara: (inscriptions no. 14-40)  
grāma, bhoga, viṣaya, maṭamba, bhukti.

The Bhauma-Karas  
grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, bhukti, maṇḍala.



**Period III: The tenth to the mid-twelfth century**

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries

grāma, viṣaya (?).

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khiñjiṅga-kotta

grāma, maṇḍala, bhoga, viṣaya, khaṇḍa.

Nettabhañja of the Jurādā plates

grāma, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Bhañjas of Baud

grāma/pāṭaka, viṣaya, khaṇḍaka.

The Bhañjas of Kolāda

grāma, viṣaya.

Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate

grāma, viṣaya.

Narendradhavalā of the Madras Museum Plates

grāma, maṇḍala.

The Śulkīs

grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Tuṅgas

grāma, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

Jayasimhadeva

grāma, viṣaya.

The Nandodbhavas

grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

Vīra-Pracāṇḍadeva

viṣaya.

The Somavarṁśis

grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, bhukti, maṇḍala.

The Imperial Gaṅgas: (inscriptions no. 41-77)

grāma/vāṭaka/palli, viṣaya, bhoga.

Appendix V

Table showing the number of Brāhmaṇa recipients of royal grants  
belonging to the various gotras

Gotra	Period I	Period II	Period III
Agasti	--	--	1
Ātreya	15	1	300
Aupamanya	1	--	1
Autathya	--	--	3
Bhāradvāja	9	20	12
Bārhaspatya	--	--	1
Bhārgava	1	--	--
Dakṣa	--	1	--
Dālbhya	--	--	1
Devarāta	1	--	--
Dhāriṇi	1	--	--
Gārgya	1	--	3
Gautama	2	1	4
Hārīta	--	1	1
Jātukarṇya	--	2	1
Kāmakāyana	1	1	--
Kāṇva	--	--	1
Kapiṣṭhala	--	--	1
Kāśyapa	4	3	14
Kātyāyana	4	1	--
Kauṇḍinya	4	4	3
Kauśika	13	5	13
Kautsa	5	--	1
Kṛṣṇātreya	--	--	4
Kumārahārīta	--	--	2
Lohita	--	--	2
Māṅgalya	--	1	--
Maudgalya	--	1	2
Parāśara	12	4	8
Śāṇḍilya	2	3	2

Sāvarṇa	9	--	--
Udavāhi	--	1	--
Ūlūka	--	--	1
Vaiśvāmītra	--	1	1
Vatsa	19	10	20
Vāsiṣṭha	1	1	2
Viṣṇuvṛddha	2	--	--

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