

**CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IDENTITIES IN
EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA: A CASE STUDY OF
THE VĀKĀTAKAS AND KALACURIS**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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2002



Date: 22-07-2002

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "**CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IDENTITIES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE VĀKĀTAKAS AND KALACURIS**" submitted by **SHATARUPA BHATTACHARYA** is in partial fulfilment of the **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** degree of the University. The work presented is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree to this or any other University to the best of our knowledge.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Dedicated

to

Mai & Babai

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost I would like to thank my Supervisor Dr. Kumkum Roy for her guidance and support. I am indebted to her for the patience with which she corrected my handwritten drafts.

My sincere gratitude to the staffs of CHS Library, Central Library (JNU), National Archives. I am grateful to Mr. Naradeva Sharma of Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) Library for his help.

I thank to Arti, Shivali, Deepika and all my friends who helped and supported me especially Shashi & Sima, discussions with them was a great help to me. Rajadada & Sushmita, helped in typing my rough draft, I indebted to all of them for their support.

Last but not least I thank my parents to whom this dissertation is dedicated. To my Sisters, Mana, Papadidi and ofcourse my Jijajee Sanjay for being so supportive. Mrinalini, Tathagat & Mritika helped me in their own special ways. I thank them all.

*Indebted
Shatarupa*

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CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

Attempts have been made to understand gender relations in studies in history. With the developemnt of regional studies the process has gained an impetus. Regional studies being more focused play an important role in understanding gender relations.

I will attempt to look at gender relations in Central India during the early medieval period. This period has been described as one which experiences manifold changes, but these have not being examined from the point of view of gender. My aim will be to look into changes in gender relations, studying the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas [4th–6th century A.D.] and the Kalacuris [9th–12th century A.D.].

Epigraphical records of both the dynasties are used as a source material to study gender relations. It's important to mention that the epigraphical records are those issued by the kings, queens, their officers and feudatories, therefore these are restricted to the ruling elites.

The distribution of the inscriptions of the Vakaṭakas covers present day Maharashtra. Most of the inscriptions are found in northern Maharashtra. Three principal river systems, the Tapi, Godavari and Krishna drain the entire region. Except the Tapi, which drains into the Arabian Sea, the rest of the rivers flows into the Bay of Bengal. The temperature conditions do not change significantly. The region is characterized by black cotton soil or regur.

The inscriptions of Kalacuris are found in the present Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh area. In Madhya Pradesh the Jabalpur region

has the maximum number of inscriptions. Narmada - Son are the major river system. Its subsidiaries like the Ken, Karnauti drains into Ganga. Climate is monsoonal in character. Soil of the region is sedentary and region around Narmada is alluvial.

In Chattisgarh a cluster of inscriptions are found in the region around Raipur. The Mahanadi forms the major river system. The climate is tropical rainy climate with dry winters. The plains have chiefly tropical red and yellow soils.

Any study of the early medieval period is incomplete without a discussion on the ongoing debate on its characterization. Thus the chapter is divided into four sections, the first deals with the debate. The second discusses the regional character of the Vākāṭaka and Kalacuri dynasties. The third attempts to outline gender history related to the present study. The last section deals with inscriptions as a source for the study of history.

I

The early medieval period is one of the most contested periods in Indian history. The term 'early medieval' as a phase in ancient Indian history, was used in the Indian History Congress in the 13th and 14th session [1950 & 1951]. The scheme of periodization followed in the Congress involved dividing the ancient India into two segments i.e. upto 711A.D. and 712-1206 A.D. The period 1206-1526 A.D. was called early medieval¹. This periodization was contested among scholars and attempts were made to look for the beginning of the early medieval period from 4th century A.D. This period had been characterized as a period of weak decentralized, fragmentary polity and as the harbinger of feudalism. According to R.S. Sharma between 4th and 7th century

¹ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, (2nd edition), 1998, p. 1, fn.- 1.

ancient Indian life was in a stage of fermentation and transformation.² It was seen as a period of continuity from ancient to medieval.

The medieval era, as Cynthia Talbot³ says, was a period of progressive change characterized by the extension of agrarian settlement, a rise in the number of religious institutions, an expansion of commercial activities and an evolution of political systems and network.

Various theories have been put forward to understand the early medieval period, of these three major contesting theories are the feudal model, segmentary state model and integrative model. The feudal model was propounded by R.S. Sharma and others. As suggested by R.S. Sharma⁴, the political essence of feudalism lay in the organization 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 tiller who had to pay rent in kind and labor to them. The system was based on the self-sufficient economy in which things were mainly produced for the local use of the peasants and their lords and not for the market. The most striking development was the practice of land grants to brāhmanas from the 1st century A.D. From the Gupta period onwards, villages were given to the donee/s together with the fields and its inhabitants, along with fiscal, administrative and judicial rights and exemptions from royal interference. There was a decline in commodity production, urban centers and foreign trade resulting in the growth of a self-sufficient economy in which metallic

² Sharma, R.S., *Early Medieval Indian Society. A Study in Feudalisation*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2001, p.- 43.

³ Talbot, Cynthia, *Pre colonial India in Practice*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001, p.- 2.

⁴ Sharma, R.S., *Indian Feudalism*, Macmillan India Ltd., (2nd edition), Delhi, 1980, p.-1.

currency became relatively scarce. All payments had to be made through assignments of land or revenues from it.

The segmentary state model looks at the state in the early medieval period as one, which has crossed the tribal stage and had not acquired the character of a strong state. Burton Stein worked out the model in the context of South India from the Pallava to Vijayanagara period. His study was based on A. Southall's model of segmentary state for an East African society, the Alur. The nādu was seen as the autonomous administrative unit. The region was divided into core and periphery. The Colas had undisputed political control only in the central 'core zone', whereas in intermediate and peripheral zones political control faded into ritual sovereignty. The characteristics of the model⁵ are first, territorial sovereignty is limited to the core area and restricted towards the periphery. Secondly, the center has a limited control over the administration of the peripheral area. Thirdly, there is a pyramidal repetition of the structures and functions of the central administration in the periphery. Fourthly, we see absence of absolute monopoly of legitimate force at the center. Lastly, the periphery is characterized by shifting allegiance.

The integrative model looks for acculturation and continuity. It takes away the epicentric view and gives weight age to regional polities. B. D. Chattopadhyaya regards political integration as a counterpoint to the decentralized polity of the feudal model and as a keynote of the early medieval period. The models of feudalism and the segmentary state restrict political change mainly to aspects of fragmentation and segmentation of political authority. The changes, according to

⁵ Stein, Burton, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, p.- 265.

Chattopadhyaya, are continuous⁶ They implied the transformation of the pre-state polities into state polities and thus integration of the local polities into structures that transcended the bounds of local polities. The development was based on a series of processes for example, extension of agrarian society through peasantization of tribal groups, improvement of trading network, expansion of caste society, emergence and spatial extending of ruling lineages by the process called kshatriyaization, increasing hinterland with a network of religious institutions patronized by royalty and land assignments to officials and attempts to centralize administrative functions particularly revenue collection⁷. These measures did not lead to full annexation but affected the structure of the state. Since the integration is never complete there are always tensions between creating a unified state and the tendency to assert independence.

One important feature of the early medieval period was the change in political structure. According to R.S. Sharma the early medieval period was characterized by political decentralization. The single ruling power over a large part of India in the earlier period disintegrated and smaller regional polities came up. The crystallization of the new polity was located only in the post-Gupta period. The emergence of landed intermediaries was seen as the hallmark of Indian feudal social formation and was linked to both disintegration and decentralization of state authority leading to major changes in the structures of agrarian relations. The landed beneficiaries were given powers of taxation and coercion, leading to the creation of new sources of authority or state power.⁸

⁶ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, (2nd edition), 1998, p. 34.

⁷ Kulke, Herman (ed.), *State in India, 1000-1700*, Oxford University press, Delhi, 1995, p.- 41.

⁸ Sharma, R.S., *Early Medieval Indian Society. A Study in Feudalisation*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2001, p.- 21.

As opposed to this B.D. Chattopadhyaya says that the change during this period may not be seen in terms of a collapse of the earlier historical social order. The most dominant pattern was the shaping of regional societies, which was a movement from within, following historical processes in regional contexts. This may explain the long-range stability of regional social structures and identities. The crucial agency of change, according to Chattopadhyaya, was the phenomenon of state formation at diverse territorial levels, from local through supra-local to regional and expanding into supra regional. It brought a measure of cohesion among local elements.⁹

Cynthia Talbot points out in, *Pre-colonial India in Practice*, that the polities that appear throughout the subcontinent during the Middle Ages were not the dispersed fragments of a previous, centralized government but new formations arising out of the extension of agrarian settlements and the resulting growth of population. The increasing numbers of political powers that figure in the historical records do not provide evidence for the usurpation of the royal power by a formally independent class but the emergence of new political elites among the evolving societies along the agrarian frontier.

Economic changes of the period were linked with the increase in land grants both in number as well as in terms of the detail of the grant. R.S. Sharma looks at the land grants as the marker of feudalism. Land grants were seen as one of the cause of decentralization.¹⁰ But B.D. Chattopadhyaya, in contrast, sees land grants as the method of consolidation. According to him land grants were methods of bringing newer areas under cultivation. By giving it to brāhmaṇas and other

⁹ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, (2nd edition), 1998, p. 35.

¹⁰ Sharma, R.S., *Early Medieval Indian Society. A Study in Feudalisation*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2001, p.- 5.

religious institutions allegiance was sought from that area and it was also a source of revenue in the future¹¹.

According to R.S. Sharma another feature associated with the period was the emergence of the self-sufficient village economy. He argues with the help of archaeological evidence that around the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. there was a decline in urban centers. There was decline in trade as well as in coinage. The mode of production which emerged as a result of land grants and decline of towns, both of which tie up with kali crisis, created a kind of self-sufficient economy¹². B.D. Chattopadhyaya argues on the basis of epigraphical materials that Prthūdaka (Pehoa), Tattānandapura (Ahar), Siyadoni (near Jhansi), and Gopa – gīrī (Gwalior) flourished as urban centers with extensive networks during the early medieval period.¹³ There was a continuation of local inland trade. It was also been pointed out that Gupta coinage traditions continued in various parts of the eastern, western and central India.

According to R.S. Sharma, peasantry during the early medieval period was subjected to immobility, forced labor and payment of revenue at exorbitantly high rates¹⁴. The subjection of the peasantry was linked with the rise in the landed intermediaries. States began to assign land revenues directly to the priests, military chiefs and administrators for their support and there was an increasing burden of rent in kind and cash. D.N. Jha¹⁵ says that in the post-Gupta period, the Pāla records specify only a few taxes but leave room for the grantees

¹¹ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *Making of the Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, (2nd edition), Delhi, 1998, p.- 193.

¹² Sharma, R.S., *Early Medieval Indian Society. A Study in Feudalisation*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2001, p.- 28.

¹³ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *Making of the Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, (2nd edition), Delhi, 1998, p.- 145.

¹⁴ Sharma, R.S., *Indian Feudalism*, Macmillan India Ltd., (2nd edition), Delhi, 1980, p.- 62.

¹⁵ Jha, D.N.(ed.), *Feudal Order*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2000, p.- 15.

to impose fresh taxes. They refer to 'samasta pratyaya' i.e. paying all dues to the donee.

B.D. Chattopadhyaya argues that the peasantry was not as oppressed and immobile as portrayed. He referred to the Kaivarttas who were a formidable community of cultivators who put up resistance against Pālas. Furthermore, there was mention of groups like Vardhakis (carpenters) as owning plots of cultivable land in the late-Gupta period or Carmakāras (leather workers) either owning plots of land or having received land from the King to provide services to a newly established temple¹⁶.

D.N. Jha sees the Kaivartta rebellion as a historical instance of conflict, which strengthens the impression that the feudal formation was marked by its own social contradictions, manifesting itself very clearly in the antagonism between the landed aristocracy and the peasantry¹⁷.

Social changes were seen in the coming up of new castes, which had been explained in the brahmanical texts, through the miscegeny of the four varnas. The brāhmanical texts see this change as the coming of the Kaliyuga. The Kaliyuga was believed to be congruous with actual historical time span because the texts use concrete social categories such as the state, human settlement, varnas to highlight an upheaval, which heralded a rupture with the past¹⁸.

R.S. Sharma in 'Kali Age: A period of social crisis' describes it as a period when there was a deviation from the established order of things. Kali was explained in terms of neglect of rituals and

¹⁶ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, (2nd edition), Delhi, 1998, p.- 25.

¹⁷ Jha, D.N.(ed.), *Feudal Order*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2000, p.- 21.

¹⁸ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, (2nd edition), Delhi, 1998, p.- 14.

predominance and influence of heretical sects and also of foreign non-brāhmana rulers¹⁹. It was also defined as non-performance of functions assigned to different social strata or varnas by Dharmasāstras. Kali crisis of late 3rd and 4th centuries acted as catalyst for feudalization of Indian society²⁰. This period was also seen as the period of gender reversal, when the women started marrying below their varna status and became adulterous. In that way, women were seen as one of the causes of this social crisis. However R.S. Sharma does not deal with this aspect of gender reversal in his article.

This period was also associated with varnaśaṅkara, oppressed peasantry, and large-scale migration, which led to social crisis. Land grants were seen as a way to solve the crisis. The large scale of grants with administrative rights to the donee/s lightened the king's responsibility of collecting revenue and maintaining law and order. B.N.S. Yadava associated social tensions and crisis with Kali age. He looked at the crisis in terms of urban decline. He referred to famines, insecurity caused by foreign invasion and internal disturbances, the emergence of petty principalities and landed estates, the phenomenon of a closed agrarian set-up, forced labor and over-taxation which sometimes compelled people to leave the cities and go to the rural areas. The decline of trade and commerce as well as shortage of money shows depression in the economy. All these factors along with sizeable ruling aristocracy and landed gentry led to the fragmentation of political authority²¹. Kulke²² says that kali yuga was nothing but a brāhmanical worldview. In this way the brāhmanas explained the changes taking place in the society. These changes led to the decline in the status of

¹⁹ Sharma, R.S., 'Kali Age: A Period of Social Crisis', in D.N. Jha (ed.), *Feudal Order...*, *ibid.*, p.- 62.

²⁰ Sharma, R.S., *Early Medieval Indian Society. A Study in Feudalisation*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2001, p.- 76

²¹ Yadava, B.N.S., 'Kali Age and Social Transition', in D.N. Jha (ed.), *Feudal Order...*, p.- 101.

²² Kulke, Hermann, *State in India, 1000-1700*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p.- 13.

the brāhmanas who took such a gloomy view of the changes taking place.

Varnaśāṅkara was seen as the marker of the crisis, it was explained in terms of caste proliferation. Thus, it was polluting the purity of varṇas and women were specifically condemned for miscegeny. Uma Chakravarti²³ sees a relationship between caste hierarchy and gender hierarchy. The purity of women was central in brāhmanical patriarchy because purity of castes was contingent upon them. Women were seen as gateway into the caste system. The proliferation of caste was alternatively seen as acculturation of the tribal into realm of brāhmanical society. As V. Jha²⁴ says that three categories of people combined to produce the phenomenon of mixed castes, later untouchables. Firstly, the less assimilated backward aboriginals, then the degraded artisans and finally the groups which through infringement of caste rules lost their varṇa status. Theoretically, the castes were subdivisions of the four varṇas or the result of miscegeny but in fact they had a different origin and were much more dynamic and spontaneous in their growth. Miscegeny explained in terms of varnaśāṅkara was an orthodox and idealist point of view of the dharmasāstras.

D.N. Jha²⁵ quotes epigraphic records which refer to kali yuga and the social crisis and refers the king as the remover of the kali or putting an end to the caste proliferation and in a way providing legitimization to the royal authority.

²³ Chakravarti, Uma, 'Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State', *Economic and Critical Weekly*, 1994, p. – 579.

²⁴ Jha, V.N., 'Varṇaśāṅkara in Dharmasastras: Theory and Practice', in K.M. Shrivastava (ed.), *Essays in Indian Art, Religion and Society*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1987, p. -

²⁵ Jha, D.N.(ed.), *Feudal Order*, Manmohan Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2000, p.- 9.

According to B.D. Chattopadhyaya the ideological dimensions of the society identified as early medieval were complex²⁶. Cult assimilation does not necessarily imply a harmonious syncretism, which R.S. Sharma sees in the context of tantricism. Chattopadhyaya says that it implies the formation of a structure, which combines heterogeneous beliefs and rituals into a whole, even while making specific elements dominant. The fact that brāhmaṇas came to control the major cults and cult centres was the mechanism, which transformed the character of the earlier local and tribal cult. The symbiosis which developed between royal power and perception of divinity as well as the nexus involving different social groups which operated around a major cult centre are illustrated by the cult of Purusottama – Jaganath at Puri in Orissa. All cults of a region function towards the integration of other local cults and became one of the recognizable symbols of the region. The religious and ideological expressions of a region in varied forms thus became enmeshed in the web of its polity, economy and society.

According to the exponents of the feudal model, the core ideology of the period was bhakti, which was feudal in content. It accentuated the relationship of loyalty and devotion, which were believed to be the hallmark of feudal ties. Tantricism was also seen as an important development, as it emerged prominently in princely courts.

R.S. Sharma traces the origin of tantricism with the acculturation of tribal areas and interaction between tribal cults and brāhmanical pantheons of gods through land grants²⁷. Tantricism arose in response to the socio-economic needs of the early medieval times. It had a larger

²⁶ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, (2nd edition), New Delhi, 1998, p. – 28.

²⁷ Sharma, R.S., 'Material Milieu of Tantricism', in D.N. Jha (ed.), *Feudal Social Formations in Early India*, Chanakya Publications, 1987, p. – 389.

social base as it included women and śūdras. Tantricism represented a religious attempt at social reconciliation and integration than accentuation of social conflict²⁸.

The early medieval period was characterized by the coming of the regional polity and prominence was given to the regional differentiations. I will attempt to study the two dynasties and try to look at the gender identities which the historiography of the period does not deal. I will explore the extent to which gender identities were regarded as significant in a specific regional context. This is an aspect that has been relatively neglected in the broad overview of the period by renowned scholars.

II

In the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D., Central India saw the emergence of a local power, which succeeded the Sātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas. From a minor ruling dynasty they became a major power by the 4th century A.D. The Vākāṭakas claimed to be brāhmins of visnuvrdhhi gōtra and their first king was Vindhyaśakti. The Purāṇas (Vāyu, Brahmānda, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas) refer to the Vākāṭakas as 'vaideśika nṛpa'²⁹. Pragiter takes them to be 'dynasties of Vidiśā'. But all of the dynasties mentioned were not linked with Vidiśā (in Madhya Pradesh) even remotely. According to A.M. Shastri, it probably meant 'kings of various regions'.

The place of origin of the Vākāṭakas is contested among scholars. K.P. Jayaswal traces their origin from Bijnaur-Bagāt a village in Bundelkhand. Altekar says that as Purāṇas mention Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the dynasty, as the ruler of Vidiśā, modern Bhilsa near

²⁸ Sharma, R.S., *Early Medieval Indian Society. A Study in Feudalisation*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2001, p. - 265.

²⁹ Shastri, A.M., 'Pūranas on Vākāṭakas', in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol.- 74, 1999, p. - 171.

Bhopal. Purikā mentioned as capital was connected with Vidarbha (modern Berar) and Aśmaka, by ancient geographers. Therefore, it was presumed that the nucleus of origin of the Vākātaka principality lay in the western – central province or Berar.

V.V. Mirashi³⁰ advocated a theory of a South Indian origin for the Vākātakas because of the mention of a *gahapati* (householder) named Vākātaka in a fragmentary inscription datable to about 3rd century A.D. engraved a column at Amarāvati in Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh. This view was not accepted as it was a personal name and not a clan name. The person was described as a simple householder and not as a ruler or high official. And Amarāvati was a famous Buddhist place where people from far and wide came and gave grants. A.M. Shastri³¹ says that Vindhyaśakti and his son and successor Pravira or Pravarasena I founded the dynasty and hailed from Vindhya region. K.V. Ramesh³² traced the origin of the Vākātakas in Akola district Basim. He says that the term was *Vākādu*, which was the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit word *Vākāṭa* which, in Dravidian mean 'a forest'.

Starting with A.S. Altekar and R.C. Majumdar's *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, quite a number of books deal with the political history of the Vākātakas. The *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* series edited by R.C. Majumdar in its volumes, *The Classical Age*, and *The Struggle for Empire* deals with the chronology and the military conquests of the rulers. S.R. Goyal³³ discusses the relationship of the Vākātakas with the Bharasivas and also the Guptas.

³⁰ Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (CII)*, Vol.-V, Ootacamund, 1963, p. – xvi.

³¹ Shastri, A.M., 'The Vākātakas: Original Home and Some Other Problems', in A.M. Shastri (ed.), *The Age of Vākātakas*, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, p.- 12.

³² Ramesh, K.V., 'On the Vākātakas and their Inscriptions', in A.M. Shastri (ed.), *The Age of Vākātakas*, ibid., p. – 29.

³³ Goyal, S.R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1967, pp. – 89-94, 237.

K.M.Shrimali³⁴ pointed out in the study of the economy of the Vākāṭakas that it was agrarian as there was no mention of trade in the inscriptions and also because of the absence of coins issued by dynasty. Further, excavations reveal that the flourishing urban centres of the Sātavāhanas declined during the Vākāṭaka rule. Shrimali regards the large number of land grants i.e. nearly 80% of the total grants, to be the main feature showing agrarian character of Vākāṭaka rule. According to him the two centuries of Vākāṭaka rule in parts of Central India and Northern Deccan with its non-monetary small-scale village and relatively declining urban economy presented a milieu in which the beginning of feudalism must have found its roots³⁵

R. Vajepayi³⁶ discusses the archaeology in the Vidarbha region and shows that urbanism which was in ascent in the period of the Sātavāhanas shows pulls of de-urbanization in the Vākāṭaka period. He argues that lack of trade and commerce, led to the growth of feudal tendencies and fragmentation of land and state power.

In keeping with the feudal model, R. Vajepayi³⁷ takes up the Chamvak land grant of Pravarasena II to show the social crisis with the rise of the brāhmanas as landed intermediaries. He focused on the condition of the grant dictated to the grantee and the tensions inherent in it. According to Sircar, the condition of the grant was that the grantee should wage war against the killers of brāhmanas, while Fleet, Kosambi and Mirashi hold that the condition specify that they do not wage war. This condition, according to Vajepayi, points to social tensions in the region. Vajepayi sees it as the factor, which contributed to the

³⁴ Shrimali, K.M., *Agrarian Structures in Central India and Northern India, A Study of the Vākāṭaka Inscriptions*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1987, p. – 6.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. – 30.

³⁶ Vajepayi, R., 'Opposite Pulls of De-urbanization & Semi-urbanization in Vidarbha in the Times of Vākāṭakas', in *Indian History Congress (IHC)*, 46th session, Amritsar, 1985 (1986), pp. – 147,154.

³⁷ Vajepayi, R., 'Socio - economic Tensions in the Bhojakata - Rajya of Vākāṭaka kingdom in the Times of Pravarasena II', *Indian History Congress*, 45th session, Annamalai Nagar, 1984 (1985), p. – 139.

transformation of the ancient economy and polity into the feudal system in the Vākāṭaka kingdom in the 5th century. It showed that the powerful feudatories and brāhamaṇa fief-holders as intermediaries between the state and the peasantry had given rise to a new class of landed aristocracy. This class had tremendous resources and it could create socio-economic tensions in rural areas³⁸.

From a minor power, the Kalacuris gained prominence after 5th century A.D. They established themselves in Central India. The Kalacuris, like other contemporary Rajput dynasties called themselves 'candravaṁsīs' and traced their descent from the Haihayas Sahasrārjuna, the son of Kārtavīrya. B.D. Chattopadhyaya says that the origin myth of a dynasty was also a way of claiming legitimization as was seen in the origin myth of the various Rajput dynasties³⁹. Thus for the Kalacuris claiming descent from the moon was a way of claiming legitimization and also a method of proving their long ancestry.

D.R. Bhandarkar talks of the foreign origin of the Kalacuris, refers to Viṣṇu Purāṇa and Harivaṁsa where Haihayas were said to have taken help of Śaka, Yavana, Pārade and Khaśa tribes, who were all foreigners, to defeat king Bāhu⁴⁰. R.K.Sharma and V.V. Mirashi do not accept this explanation of foreign origin. According to Mirashi simply because they have taken help from foreigners does not prove their foreign origin. Besides Kārtavīrya and Bāhu were characters of the vedic period when Śakas and Yavanas were not even known⁴¹

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. – 145.

³⁹ Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, (2nd edition), New Delhi, 1998, p. – 59.

⁴⁰ Asopa, J.N., *Origin of Rajputs*, Bhartiya Publishing House, Delhi, 1976, p. – 174.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 174.

Not much work has been done on the Kalacuris. D. C. Ganguli⁴² deals with the beginning of the Kalacuri dynasty and discusses the relationships of Kokalla I with other kings. Rahman Ali⁴³ deals with the chronology of the kings and their achievements in his book on art and architecture of the Kalacuris. R.D. Banerji⁴⁴ in *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* discusses the chronology of the kings and their military conquests. He also deals with their relationships with other kings especially the Rāstrakūtas. On their political history the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series volumes, the Classical Age, the Struggle for Empire and the Age of Imperial Unity, edited by R.C. Majumdar deal with the chronology and the military conquests of the rulers. S.K. Majumdar⁴⁵ characterizes the Kalacuris as a military state. By their military power they annexed a large number of territories and retained hold over them. Kalacuri inscriptions and copper plate grants mention a large number of military officials, which, according to him would characterize them as a military state. R.K. Sharma in his book 'Kalachuris and their times'⁴⁶ also deals with the kind of polity under them. The economy of the Kalacuris, like the Vākāṭakas, was based on agriculture. Some kind of internal trade is mentioned in inscriptions, as it talks about taxes to be paid for sale and purchase by the shops called withī (Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II). However, the evidence for trade in the inscriptions were not adequate enough to label it as a trading society. The Kalacuris issued coins as early as 6th

⁴² Ganguli, D.C., 'Early History of the Kalacuris of Cedi', *Indian Historical Quarterly* (IHQ), Vol.-13, 1937, p.- 482-487.

⁴³ Ali, Rahman, *Art and Architecture of the Kalacuris*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. – 1-12.

⁴⁴ Banerji, R.D., *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments*, in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. –23, Delhi, 1991.

⁴⁵ Majumdar, S.K., 'A Note on the Military Power and Organization of the Later Kalacuris of Tripuri', in *Indian History Congress*, Vol.-22, 1959.

⁴⁶ Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuris and their Times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. - 152.

century A.D., which included the gold coins of Gāṅgeyadēva and Jajjaladēva⁴⁷.

As will be seen that the issues that have been explored vis-à-vis these dynasties are genealogy, place of origin, details of chronology and in the case of Vākāṭakas the question of agrarian expansion. Gender relations have not been explored for either of the dynasties.

III

Turning to studies on gender in general, we find that more often than not women have been referred to as a uniform category. Studies of women have generally been restricted to the family, she was described as a wife, mother and daughter, in a way confined to the household. Her contribution to society was relegated to the background and her role was seen only in procreation.

Altekar⁴⁸ while tracing the position of women from Rgvedic to medieval times, does not distinguish women beyond the family. Vijay Nath⁴⁹ traces the position of women in the context of the changing nature of economy. She sees a decline in the position from vedic period with changing role in economic production. Saroj Gulati⁵⁰ in her book '*Women and society*' discusses the status of women as mother, daughter, wife and widow. She rejects the reason like foreign invasions, brāhmanical austerities, lack of education etc. to account for the decline in the position of women. She attempts to explain the decline in status of women through what she understands as the socio-economic

⁴⁷ Gupta, P.L., *Coins*, National Book Trust of India, Allahabad,

⁴⁸ Altekar, A.S., *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from Pre historic Times to Present Day*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1938.

⁴⁹ Nath, Vijay, 'Women as Property and their Right to Inherit Property upto the Gupta Period', *Indian Historical Review* (IHR), Vol.-20.

⁵⁰ Gulati, Saroj, *Women and Society: Northern India in 11th and 12th centuries*, Chanakya Publications, Delhi, 1985.

degeneration of the period. She deals mainly with textual sources and the use of inscriptions is limited.

In political history, the role of women is never given much attention. Her role is limited to queen, mother, wife and daughter of the king. Tripat Sharma⁵¹ says that the women of royal families play an important role in politics of the period. He gave examples of some queens who held prominent place in history like the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā. R.K. Sharma in '*Kalacuris and their times*'⁵² in the chapter on society discusses marriage and the status of women, suggesting that the eloquent titles with which women were described, showed their high position in the dynasty. He further says that in many land grants the queen was addressed, which again implies that she played an important role in the administration. This would show that she probably exercised some kind of power and control over resources, which is why she was informed about the grant.

Other insights can be drawn from the work of Cynthia Talbot⁵³, who takes up the case study of Rudrama-dēvī, the queen of the Kakatiya dynasty, who was referred to as a king in many of her inscriptions. She points to the fluidity in society, which made it possible for a woman to exercise power through adoption of masculine titles, attire and attributes. Her approach is very different from T. Sharma. She looks at the direct role played by women in the politics of the region, and tries to provide a structural and contextual explanation for the same.

In the sphere of economic history women have been discussed in the context of property regulations, especially the *strīdhana*. The law

⁵¹ Sharma, Tripat, *Women in Ancient India*, Ess Ess Publications, New Delhi, 1987, p. - 53.

⁵² Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuris and their Times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. - 81.

⁵³ Talbot, Cynthia, 'Rudrama-dēvī, the Female king, Gender and Political Authority in Medieval India', in David Shulman (ed.), *Syllables of the Sky*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p. – 399.

books of this period deal with the definition and the content of the *strīdhana*. It was the earliest recognized form of property of women, which was given to the bride at the time of marriage. It tended to be small in value and was movable. Cynthia Talbot⁵⁴ says women who acquired political prominence did have some kind of economic power. As daughters and wives of privileged men, high-born women enjoyed considerable social prestige. They also often had control over significant economic resources either in their own rights or as agents for their children. K.K. Shah⁵⁵ says that the property rights of women in theory did have some substance in reality when she happened to be a queen or women from aristocracy.

Uma Chakarvarti⁵⁶ deals with the relationship between caste hierarchy and gender hierarchy and points out the importance brāhmanical texts gave to the controlling of the female sexuality. Kaliyuga was defined in terms of women failing to perform their duties, which among other things led to miscegeny and thereby social crisis. Lower class men who were held to be a threat to upper caste purity had to be institutionally prevented from having sexual access to women of the higher caste. When the structure to prevent miscegeny failed, the entire edifice of the social order collapsed.

Methods of using inscriptions to study the gender relations are well developed in Leslie C. Orr's *Donors, Devotes and the Daughter of the God*⁵⁷. Her work is on temple women and the inscriptions of the Cola period are used. She compares the position of temple women with that of other women and also with the men associated to the

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. – 392.

⁵⁵ Shah, K.K., *Legal Rights of Women to the Landed Wealth, A Case Study of Candella Queens*, in Kiran Pawar (ed.), *Women in Indian History, Vision & Venture*, New Delhi, 1996, p.- 83.

⁵⁶ Chakravarti, Uma, 'Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1993, pp. – 579-580.

⁵⁷ Orr, Leslie C., *Donors, Devotees and Daughters of the God*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000.

temple. She studies the terms used for the temple women and links it with their status and the domestic activities. One such important group was the 'tevaratiyāl' who were employed in the temple and their donative capacities show their right over income and property. She looks at the grants as a method to acquire position, property and privilege.

Cynthia Talbot uses inscriptions to study the regional dynasty of Kakatiya of Warangal and studies them in the context of early medieval polity. She looks at the terminology used in the inscriptions for the social structure of the period. The social typology which was implicit in the names and titles borne by donors of religious endowments played an important role in understanding medieval social organization. Status was shown by the suffixes and prefixes used. Eminent persons often had an administrative title to indicate possession of an official position that preceded all other parts of the name.⁵⁸

Patronage to the temple was also viewed as a symptom and cause of dynamism of Andhra society, as a method of resource mobilization and distribution with the rise of the temple cult. There was extension of agriculture, most particularly intensive agrarian techniques involving irrigation. The patronage to temples became popular because of a multiplicity of social and political objectives, which could be achieved through this medium. She sees the cultural practice of religious gifting and inscriptions as strategies for consolidating social ties and articulating social identities.

The methodology of both the studies are helpful for the present study. The use of inscriptions and analysing terms used in a way forms an important method to understand gender relations.

⁵⁸ Talbot, Cynthia, *Pre colonial India in Practice*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001, p.-56.



IV

Epigraphical records are seen as a cultural practice of the early medieval period. The most notable feature of the 'age of inscriptions'⁵⁹ was the impulse to document religious gifts in a permanent form, as the gifts were recorded in stone as well as in copper plates to ensure their longevity. The majority of the inscriptions were religious endowments. Talbot correlates inscriptions with political changes and points out that in the case of Andhra, the period of political stability saw efflorescence of inscriptions⁶⁰. This could be seen in the eloquent titles and epithets used to describe the king and the dynasty.

Epigraphic records as a source for the study of history are significant, although problems, regarding their accuracy are pointed out by scholars. Inscriptions are of many types of which two prominent types are panegyric and donative⁶¹. Most of the inscriptions are a mixture of the various types. Mostly the records begin with the panegyric description of the king / donor and the dynasty followed by details of the grants along with the rights and exemptions. Then, the genealogy of the donee, along with his achievements is mentioned. It is then followed by the names of the officials / social groups to whom the grant is addressed and the scribe, executor etc. Finally, we find the date and the occasion of the grant accompanied by the seal of the king. While this is the general structure not all grants follow this pattern.

Inscriptions of the earlier period contained few details as compared to those of the early medieval period. With the help of the inscriptions a gendered study can be undertaken by comparing the records of the men with those of the women. By comparing the entire content of the records like the religious affiliation, grant, genealogy,

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. – 18.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. – 27.

⁶¹ Saloman, Richard, *Indian Epigraphy*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1998, p. – 110.



place of issue, titles etc. the relative status of women and men can be understood.

The aim of the present study is to understand the underlying gender relations in the Vākāṭaka and Kalacuri dynasties with the help of the inscriptions. The aim is to study the entire corpus and then compare the records of men and women in the dynasty as well as between the two dynasties. Attempts will be made to look at the changes over time in Central India.

I propose to study the different aspects of these grants in separate chapters. The first chapter deals with the dating method, language and script, similarities and dissimilarities focusing on the extent, if any, they are gendered. I suggest that these are the implicit markers of identities and thus may be significant. In chapter-2, I will focus on the genealogy of the donor/s, titles, seals and place of issue. I will examine in particular the points where women figure in the genealogy and the significance, if any, given to their lineage is noted. Similarly, titles used by the king and those attributed to them by their successors and also the titles associated with the queens are analyzed. These I suggest are more explicit markers of identity. The third chapter deals with the similarities and dissimilarities in the grant, exemptions, addresses, donee/s and other officials- *senāpatī*, executor, scribe etc. associated with the grant. I examine the way in which men and women used donations to claim social status. In the last chapter, I compare the evidence for religious beliefs and practices as noted from the invocations, deities mentioned and rituals etc.

CHAPTER - II

IMPLICIT IDENTITY MARKERS

Dating methods, language and script are the implicit identity markers in an inscription. Every region has its own characteristic method of dating as well as specific language and script used. By studying them, regional specifications can be ascertained. Through the study of these implicit aspects of the grants the gender identity could be ascertained. I am considering whether men and women use these markers in identical way or differently. Language and script sometimes shows the influences of the local dialect and marks the process of formation of the regional dialect.

I

There are many methods of dating like in regnal years of the contemporary ruling king or dynastic years such as the Gupta era, Kalacuri-Cedi era and also eras such as the Vikram era, Śaka era etc. It was generally noticed that dating in eras shows a claim to a long tradition and to continuity which could be interpreted as claim to status as a strong ruling dynasty. Emphasis was on continuity through the use of long traditions. Dating in dynastic eras show comparatively loose political structure. Dynastic era was regional in character. The emphasis was on the dynasty and not much on older traditions. Regnal years were considered more limited in nature and probably portrayed a minor ruling power. It did not portray continuity and was restricted to the ruling king. However, occasionally strong rulers like Asoka used regnal years. Using long eras were suggestive of claims to legitimacy and necessarily not a strong state. Dates also sometimes mention season or month. Dating in terms of season seems to have been a

regional feature while dating in months was a practice used throughout the subcontinent.

For the Vākāṭakas there are overall thirty-six (36) inscriptions of these four (4) are in fragmentary condition, therefore they are not considered for the present study. There are two branches of the Vākāṭakas, one with Nandivardhana-Padmapura-Pravarapura as capital (hereafter mentioned as the major branch). The other branch ruled from Vatsagulma. Of the total, twenty-eight (28) inscriptions belong to the major branch and eight (8) to the Vatsagulma branch. Of the eight (8), three (3) were the records of the grant by the feudatories of the Vatsgulma branch.

The Bahamani plates of Bharatabala, which was held to be a grant by the feudatory of Narendrasena¹ of the major branch is not counted. A.M. Shastri² says that after the discovery of the Mallār plates of Śūrabala alias Udīrnāvīra shows that the Bahamani plates were also issued by the same king and not by his father Bharatabala alias Indra as it was held earlier. In the inscription there was inadvertent omission of the prose portion introducing Śūrabala after the description of Bharatabala. So the word 'narendra' referred only to Śūrabala as the king and in no way, refer to Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena. Moreover, Śūrabala Udīrnāvīra and Narendrasena were separated chronologically and a relationship between the two was not possible. Hence the inscription was omitted.

Of the remaining thirty-three (33) inscriptions, twenty-three (23) record the donations by men. The distribution of the inscriptions³ is as follows:

¹ Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, CII, vol.-V, Ootacamund, 1963, p.- 83.

² Shastri, A.M., *Vākāṭakas: Sources and History*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, pp., 7-8.

³ For reference see Appendix – IA, column-I, III and IV.

TABLE – 2.1 DATING METHOD OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA MEN:

S.no.	King/ Feudatory/ Minister	Dynasty	Number of Inscription/s	Regnal years	Other
1.	Rudrasena I ⁴	Major	1	-	-
2.	Rudrasena II	Major	1	1	-
3.	Pravarasena II	Major	11	10	-
4.	Pr̥ithvisena II	Major	2	2	-
5.	Vindhyaśakti	Vatsagulma	1	1	-
6.	Devasena	Vatsagulma	3	2	1
7.	Harisena	Vatsagulma	1	1	-
8.	Varāhadeva	Minister of Harisena	2	-	-
9.	Ravisāmba	Feudatory of Harisena	1	-	-

Of the remaining nine (9) inscriptions, five (5) record the donation by women of which, Prabhāvatīguptā gave three (3) and one was by an unnamed queen of Pravarasena II. Another one i.e. the Ramtek⁵ inscription was probably given by daughter of Prabhāvatīguptā. This inscription was fragmentary and was given in the memory of

⁴ Mirashi holds that Deotak plates belonged to Rudrasena (I), (*CII*, vol. 5, p.- 1) but K.M. Shrivastava says that it could also belong to Rudrasena(II), (*Agrarian Structures in Central and Northern India*, 1987). For the present study it is counted as Rudrasena (I)'s inscription.

⁵ Mirashi calls it Ramtek, according to A.M. Shastri its Mansar plates and Hans T. Baker refers to it as Kevala Narasimha temple inscription.

Prabhāvatīgupta and identifies the deity to whom the grant was made as Prabhāvatīsvāmin.

TABLE - 2.2 DATING METHOD FOLLOWED VĀKĀṬAKAS BY WOMEN:

S.No.	QUEENS	Dynasty	Number of Inscription/s	Regnal years of king	Other
1.	Prabhāvatīguptā	Major	3	3	-
2.	Unnamed queen of Pravarasena II	Major	1	1	-
3.	Daughter of Prabhāvatīguptā	Major	1	-	-

Other four (4) inscriptions were given for the religious merit of the mother of the ruling king. Pravarasena II gives two such grants, while Pṛithvīsenā II gives one. Another one was given by Narendrarāja but it can not be ascertained whether he was the son and successor of Pravarasena II because of the fewer titles mentioned and the lack of prominence of the donor and his mother.

The Vākāṭaka inscriptions are generally dated with the mention of tithi, month or season along with regnal years. S.B. Dikshit⁶ says that the word 'tithi' denotes the 1/13th part of the lunar month. It could be translated in English as a 'lunar day'. There are seven (7)

⁶ Dikshit, S.B., 'The Methods of Calculating the Week Days of Hindu Tithis & Corresponding English Dates', in *Indian Antiquary* (IA), Vol.-16, 1887, p.- 114.

inscriptions, which are not dated. Such inscriptions are dated on the basis of the paleography. Nine (9) inscriptions are dated in terms of season i.e., summer (4), rainy (4) and hemanta (1). Its interesting to note that all the records of the Vatsagulma branch are dated in terms of season along with the four (4) records of the major branch. The major branch inscriptions fourteen (14) are dated in terms of month like, karttika (6), Jyēṣṭha (3), Vaiśakha (2), Āśvīna (1), Phalgunā (1), and Māgha (1). The Miregaon inscription of Pravarasena II, year 20, which record the donation of Prabhāvatīguptā was the sole instance of dating in month as well as in season i.e., Hemanta Pushyamāsa. The Hisse-Borālā inscription of Devasena is dated in Śaka years. The date of this inscription was of great importance as it referred to Śaka 380 corresponding to the year 3020 of a cyclic reckoning in astronomical terms and reference to the planetary position of the Great Bear (saptarsi) in Uttara nakṣatra. No other inscription uses this method of dating; it's the first instance⁷. It's the only known record of the Vākāṭakas to be dated in Śaka era. Both men and women of the Vākāṭakas followed the same dating pattern of mentioning the regnal year of the ruling king. Women also used the regnal year of the king. It shows that they derived their status from the king and did not have power to use their own regnal year, even when she was ruling as in the case of Prabhāvatīguptā.

The Kalacuris were divided into four royal lineages whose inscriptions were found. They were the Kalacuris of Tripurī, Saryupara, Ratnapur and Raipur. The inscriptions of the Kalacuris of Raipur belong to a period after 15th century A.D., therefore it is not considered for the present study. The inscriptions found began from 8^h century

⁷ Kolte, V.B., 'Hisse-Borālā Inscription of Vākāṭaka Dēvasena', in G.T. Deshpande, A.M. Shastri & V.W. Karambelkar (ed.), *Felicitation volume to V.V. Mirashi*, pp.-373,379.

Sircar, D.C., 'Date of Hisse-Borālā Inscription of Vākāṭaka Dēvasena', in *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol.-1, 1967.

A.D. (Saugor inscription of Śaṅkaraganadēva). There are sixty-eight (68) inscriptions of the Kalacuris. The distribution of the records⁸ is as follows:

TABLE - 2.3 DISTRIBUTION OF THE KALACURI INSCRIPTIONS:

Inscriptions	Tripuri	Saryupara	Ratnapur	Total
By Men	19	1	23	43
By Women	6	-	-	6
By Both	2	-	-	2
Fragmentary	10	1	6	17
Total	37	2	29	68

TABLE 2.4 DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTS BY KALACURI MEN:

S.no.	King/Feudatory/ Minister	Dynasty	Number of Inscription/s	Dynastic years	Other
1.	Śaṅkaraganadēva	Tripuri	2	-	-
2.	Lakshmanarāja II	Tripuri	1	-	-
3.	Kokalladeva	Tripuri	1	-	-
4.	Gāṅgēyadeva	Tripuri	1	1	-
5.	Karṇa	Tripuri	5	4	-
6.	Pr̥thvīdeva I	Ratnapur	2	2	-
7.	Yaśahkarna	Tripuri	1	1	-
8.	Sodhadēva	Saryupara	1	-	1
9.	Jajjalladeva I	Ratnapur	1	1	-

⁸ for reference see Appendix – IB, column-I, III, and IV.

S.no.	King/Feudatory/ Minister	Dynasty	Number of Inscription/s	Dynastic years	Other
10	Ratnadeva II	Ratnapur	3	2	
11.	Pr̥thvīdeva II	Ratnapur	10	9	1
13.	Gayakarṇa	Tripuri	2	1	-
14.	Narasim̥ha	Tripuri	2	1	-
15.	Jayasim̥ha	Tripuri	4	4	-
16.	Jajjalladeva II	Ratnapur	3	3	-
17.	Ratnadeva III	Ratnapur	1	1	-
18.	Vijayasim̥ha	Tripuri	3	2	1
19.	Pratapamalla	Ratnapur	2	2	-

Of the grant by women three (3), were given by queens and two (2), by other women. One inscription records donation for the religious merit of the donor's wife. All these grants belong to the Tripuri branch. The distribution table of the grants by women is as follows:

TABLE - 2.5 DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTS BY WOMEN:

S.no.	Inscription	King	Donor	Dynastic year	Other
1.	Saugor	Śaṅkaragaṇa	Kṛiṣṇādēvī of Loniya family	- (8 th century)	-
2.	Bilhari	Yuvarājadēva II	Nōhalā, wife of the king	- (10 th century)	-
3.	Sarnath	Karna	Māmakā, wife of Dharmēśvara	1058 A.D.	-
4.	Bhereghat	Narasim̥ha	Alhaṇadēvī, mother of the king	1155 A.D.	-

S.no.	Inscription	King	Donor	Dynastic year	Other
5.	Bhereghat Gauri- Śaṅkara temple	Vijayasimha	Gōsaladēvī, mother of the king	- (13 th century)	-
6.	Umariya plates	Vijayasimhadēva	For the religious merit of Mōkhā (wife of the donor)	1193 A.D.	-

The inscription of Karitalai mentions grant by king Lakshmaṅarāja II and his queen Rahādā along with some other officers. The Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa mentions donation of Vappulla and his wife Nayanāvati. These inscriptions are studied separately as joint donations.

The Kalacuri inscriptions were mostly dated in Kalacuri-Cedi era i.e. about 249-250 A.D. It was probably founded by Abhira king Īśvarasena as it commences from the date of his coronation. Kielhorn dates it as 247-248 A.D. According to Mirashi, of the various dates 249-250 A.D. is most suitable⁹. Kalacuris in their inscriptions gave details like, tithī, month as well as the dynastic year. We do not find any inscription dated in terms of season.

Of the records nine (9) inscriptions do not mention date. Twelve (12) mention only year of grant and remaining twenty-eight (28), mentions month like, Māgha (7), Bhādrapada (4), Āśvina (4), Kārttika (4), Phālguna (3), Śravana (2), Agrāna (1), Puaśha (1), and Śuchi (1). Three (3) inscriptions are dated in Vikram era. They are Alha-ghat inscription of Narasiṁhadēva and Rewa plates of Vijayasimhadēva of the Tripuri branch, and Ratnapur stone inscription of Pṛithvidēva II,

⁹ Mirashi, V.V., 'New Light on the Epoch of the Kalacuri Era', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, (IHQ), Vol.-25, (1949), p. - 83.

Year 1207¹⁰ of the Ratnapur branch. The Kōni stone inscription of Prīthvīdēva II, Year 900, mentions a solar eclipse in that year but no such thing happened.

By comparing the records of the two dynasties it could be noticed that both had distinct dating method. The Kalacuris used dynastic years while the Vākāṭakas used regnal years. The Vatsagulma branch dated only on terms of season while both the major branch of the Vākāṭakas and the Kalacuris dated in terms of month. It could be deduced that the Vatsagulma branch controlled a smaller region and was more influenced by local or regional methods. Others emphasized on long traditions and continuity. In terms of dating there was no difference in grants by men and women. Uniformity was seen in this context. Grants by women were dated in terms of month and regnal years in the records of the major branch of the Vākāṭakas and in the dynastic era of the king in the Kalacuri records. In the case of Kalacuri women three grants were dated in the dynastic year of the king while three do not give any date. Probably they did not have the status or position to use the dynastic year of the king.

II

This period saw efflorescence of Sanskrit as the language of inscriptions. Earlier inscriptions used Prakrit. Rudradaman's Junagadh inscription was the first long epigraphic text in virtually classical language and style. Sanskrit was in use earlier but was limited to literary works. It was during the Gupta period that Sanskrit was used as an administrative language in epigraphs. Use of Sanskrit was seen as a method of legitimization and continuation of brahmanical traditions. It was seen as a status symbol. Richard

¹⁰ Scholars are divided on its date. Kielhorn dates it to 1247 i.e. 1189-90 A.D., while Mirashi dates it to 1207 i.e. 1149-50 A.D.. For the present study Mirashi's dating is used.

Saloman¹¹ says that the gradual sanskritization of inscriptions reflects on the one hand, the formalization of inscriptions and on the other hand, the spread of Sanskrit into the administrative realm, which was fully accomplished under the Guptas and their contemporaries.

The Vākātakas used Sanskrit as the language of their inscriptions and the script they used was box-headed variety of southern alphabets. For the major branch, the inscription of Rudrasena I, was in Sanskrit. Of Pravarasena II's fourteen (14) records, only Pandhurna plates¹² contain some Prakrit words, for the rest of the record Sanskrit was used. The script used was the box-headed variety.

For the Vatsagulma branch, the inscriptions of Vindhyaśakti II i.e. the Basīm plates was partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit. It was interesting to note that the genealogical part with which the common people had not much to do was in Sanskrit while the rest, which was in the form of an address to the people was drafted in Prakrit. It could be seen as a stage when Sanskrit was taking over Prakrit. Another interesting point in this respect was that the Prakrit used had similarity with what is now known as Māhārashtṛī and also other dialect of Prakrit. It showed that the dialects were yet to be localized¹³. In terms of language there was no difference between men and women. Using same language for records would imply claim to similar status.

In terms of the scripts the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā holds interest as it contains an admixture of northern and southern alphabets. The northern variety predominates which was seen as an effect of the Gupta relationship. But A.M. Shastri¹⁴ says as Prabhāvatīguptā's other grants like the Riddhapur and Miregaon

¹¹ Saloman, Richard, Indian Epigraphy, Oxford University Press, New York, 1998, p. – 94.

¹² A.M. Shastri calls this grant as Tigaon inscription on the basis of the find spot, p. -32.

¹³ Shastri, A.M., Vākātakas: Sources and History, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, p. -39.

¹⁴ ibid., p. – 11.

inscriptions were in the box-headed variety, the choice of the script depended solely on the scribes. The ruling patron was only interested in getting their grants and other details properly recorded. In any case, it was important as it was only in the grant by a queen of north Indian origin that we find the use of the northern script. It does show that Prabhāvatīguptā wanted to create a separate identity for herself. Except Prabhāvatīguptā no other grants by women had variation in script.

The language used in the Kalacuri inscriptions was Sanskrit and the script was nāgari. Exception to this was the Banaras plates of Karṇa in which Prakrit was used in verse 12. The Chhoti-Deori inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa, also show influence of the local dialects. The Alha-ghat stone inscription and the Sarnath stone inscription had incorrect Sanskrit and showed the influence of the local dialects.

In the case of script all the inscriptions use nāgari except Chhoti-Deori and Sarnath inscriptions, which are in proto-nāgari script. The Chhoti-Deori inscriptions belonged to the 8th century A.D., one of the earliest Kalacuri records. The Paikore stone pillar inscription of Karṇa was written in proto-Bengali script of the northern Indian alphabets. It may be due to the influence of his claim over Vaṅga. The Sarnath inscription of Karṇa given by Māmaka, who belonged to elite family, used proto-nāgari probably shows that she did not have access to the script used by the ruling class.

In the matter of language and script the Vākāṭaka inscriptions show a period of transition from Prakrit to Sanskrit while the Kalacuris used only Sanskrit, which showed that Sanskrit had acquired high-status and was also the means of claiming legitimacy. There is uniformity in the use of language and script in the records of men as well as women in both the dynasties, except in the case of the Pooria grant of Prabhāvatīguptā. Men and women using the same method of

dating, language and script in records showed that probably they shared a common administrative culture. They used the same official method to record their grants. In this respect even the feudatories and ministers also followed the trend of the ruling class. This shows that the ruling elite shared a common culture. This uniformity shows a deviation from the Sanskrit plays where women were shown using only Prakrit, which was an non-elitist language. Therefore, the use of Sanskrit in the records of donations by women implied their access to the elite language.

CHAPTER – III

EXPLICIT MARKERS OF IDENTITY

Place of issue, titles, genealogy and seals may be identified as the explicit markers of identity used in the inscriptions. They mark out the power, position and status of the donor clearly, while dating method, language and script forms the implicit identity markers. All these characters are not equally explicit. For instance genealogy is more explicit as the position of the queen or the king mentioned shows her/his prominence in the dynasty. Titles, similarly, specifically mark out the status as well as power of the donor. Seals and place of issue are not as explicit as the other aspects of the inscriptions. Each of these elements of the inscriptions is analyzed in subsequent sections.

I

Generally the place from where the grant was issued was mentioned at the beginning of the record. It is usually the capital as in the case of the Vākātakas, or the victory camp i.e. '*jayaskandhavarṭas*' in some of the Kalacuri inscriptions.

The Vākāṭaka inscriptions, records the shift of the capital from east to west i.e. from Padmapura to Nandīvardhan and then to Pravarapura. Pravarapura was also called '*vaijeyika dharmasthāna*'. Mirashi¹ translates it as victorious place of worship, whereas A.M. Shastri² says, that this expression was never used in ancient times in the sense of a temple or place of worship. According to him, it denotes a court of justice viz. *dharmā* (justice) and *sthāna* (place). Thus, the site was a place of justice. Here '*vaijeyika*' (victorious) has been taken as

¹ Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*, CII, Vol.-5, Ootacamund, 1963, pp-11.

² Shastri, A.M., *Vākātakas: Sources and History*, Aryan Book International, New Delhi, 1997, pp- 4-5.

honorific without much significance. To record the grant given from this place would probably indicate that the court buildings were used for the purpose of declaring land grants.

TABLE -3.1 PLACE OF ISSUE MENTIONED:

GRANT BY	PADMAPUR	NANDIVARDHAN	PRAVARAPUR	MENTIONED AS ' <i>Vatjeyika</i> <i>Dharmasthāna</i> '
BY KING	2	2	9	14
BY QUEEN	-	1	1	-
BY FEUDATORY/ MINISTER	2 ³	-	3	-

The unfinished Mohalla plates of Pṛthvīsenā I⁴ was intended to be issued from Padmapura, which was probably the dynastic capital. Mirashi proposes to identify this with the modern village Padmapura, two miles from Āmagaon in the Bhandārā district. A.M. Shastri identifies it with Nāgpur-Wardhā region. The capital was Padmapura during the reign of Pṛthvīsenā I whose hold on the Vindhyan region and to the north of Narmadā was slackening due to the imperial designs of the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta. He was probably compelled to give this region under the care of his vassal Vyāghradeva two of whose records were found from Nachnā-ki-Talai and Ganj (Pannā district, Madhya Pradesh). The capital was then shifted to the Vidarbha region i.e. Padmapura, which was safe.

³ Nachnā-ki-Talai and Ganj inscriptions given by Vyaghrarāja (feudatory) are both fragmentary and are not used for the present study.

⁴ This record is fragmentary therefore not used for the present study.

Then again the capital was shifted to Nandivardhan (Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā) i.e. Nagardhan, near Nāgpur. This became the capital of the Vākāṭakas in the later years of Rudrasena II or during the regency of Prabhāvatīguptā. It remained the capital till the 11th reigning year of Pravarsena II as mentioned in the Belorā plates.

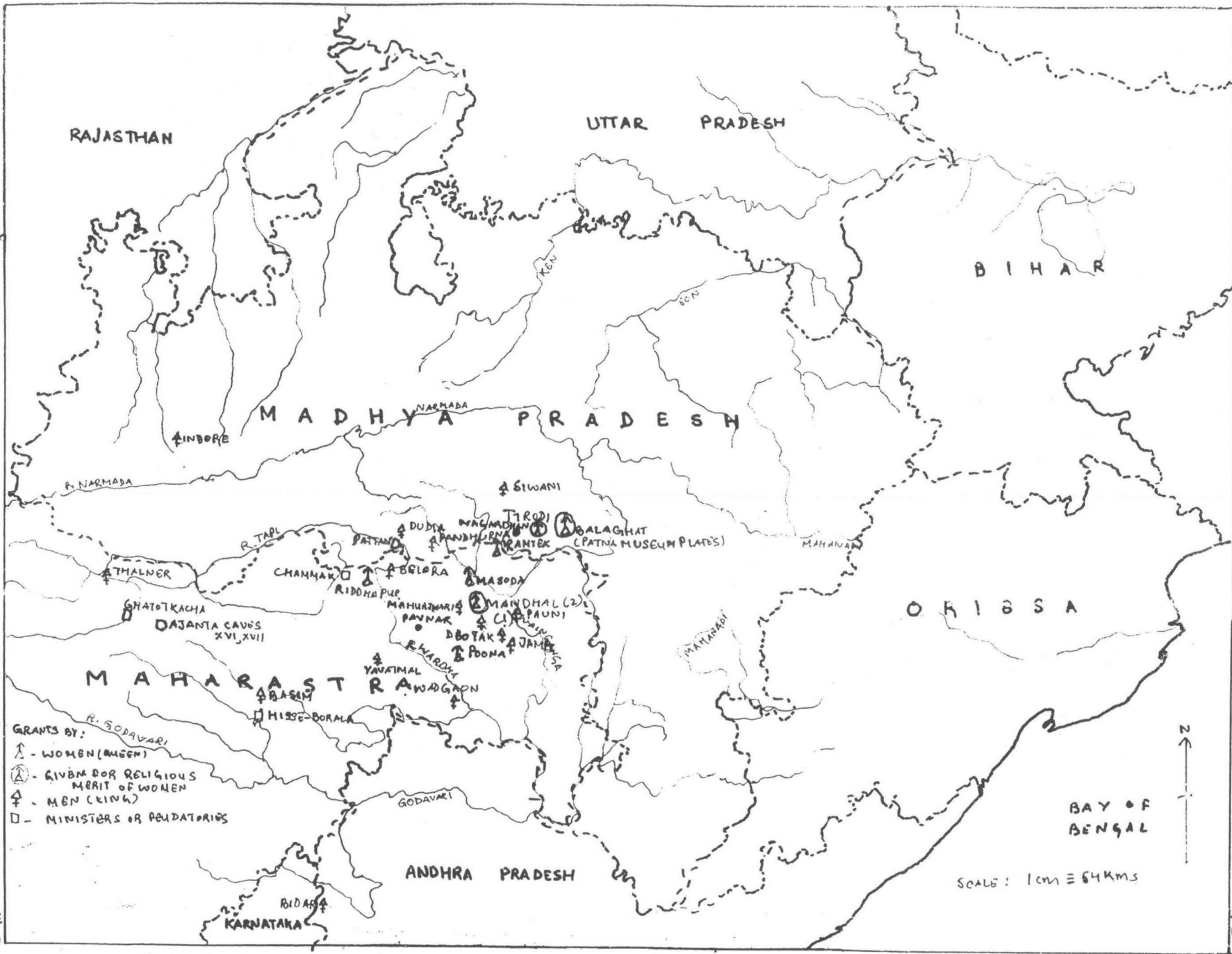
The Māndhal plates of Pravarasena II, year 16 and 17 mentions the capital as Pravrapura i.e. Pāvnār, near Wardhā. The reason for the shift of the capital between the 11th and the 16th year of the reign of Pravarasena II is not known. It was named Pravrapura after Pravarasena II, since it was during his reign that the capital was shifted. This could be seen as a process of legitimization. The method of naming the place on the name of the king could be seen as a method of claiming authority. Scholars have not been able to identify any precise reason for the shift to the west.

Of the thirty-two (32) inscriptions (leaving out the fragmentary records), five (5) do not mention the place of issue which includes two of the Vatsagulma branch i.e. Hisse-Borala plates of Devasena and Thalner plates of Harisena. In Māndhal plates of Rudrasena (II), Miregaon and Ramtek plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, it's probably lost. The two Ajanta caves inscriptions and the Ghatotkacha inscriptions of the Vatsagulma branch do not specify the place of issue, which, was obviously the Ajanta caves. It would imply that only the king had the power to mention the place of issue as '*vaijeyika dharmasthana*'. the queen and the ministers did not have the right to do so.

The geographical distribution of the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas as is seen in the map does not show any sharp differences in the grants by men and women. It can be seen that the grant by the feudatories were towards the west of present day Maharashtra and not in the cluster of grants near the present day border of Madhya

74°E
26°N

87°E
16°N



74°E
18°N

87°E
18°N

MAP-1 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF VĀKĀṬAKA INSCRIPTIONS

Pradesh. The cluster of grants was around the Wardha region, between the river Wardha and Wainganga. This area plain as compared to the area near the Ajanta caves⁵ from where the ministers and feudatories gave their grants. The Wardha region also had mineral deposits like coal, manganese, limestone, etc. this is also corroborated from the references to mines in the exemptions given in the grants. It would show that the border area was under the direct control of the royalty and the feudatories and the ministers do not have the right to donate there. The India Office plates by Devasena and the Miregaon plates of Prabhāvatīguptā could not be shown on the map, as the place could not be identified.

The Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, the Jāmb plates and the Bēlorā plates of Pravarasena II mentioned Nandivardhan as the place of issue. Pravarasena 'II' mentions it as the '*vaijeyika dharmasthāna*' but Prabhāvatīguptā does not use this term. It was probable that she could not exercise her power over the administrative centres even though she was reigning during the period of the Poonā grant. She could grant from Nandivardhan, which was the capital but could not call it as the '*vaijeyika dharmasthāna*'. Nine (9) inscriptions of Pravarasena II mention Pravarapura as the place of issue while two i.e. Siwani and Indore plates mentions only '*vaijeyika dharmasthāna*', which was probably Pravarapura. After Pravarasena II his successors do not mention Pravarapura as the place of issue.

After the Poonā grants Prabhāvatīguptā also issued grants from Riddhapur during the reign of Pravarasena II. the place of issue for this grant was the footprints of the lord of Ramgīrī i.e. Ramtēk. It was a religious place. In the Masoda plates, given by the unnamed queen of Pravarasena II, the place of issue was Pravarapura as in other records

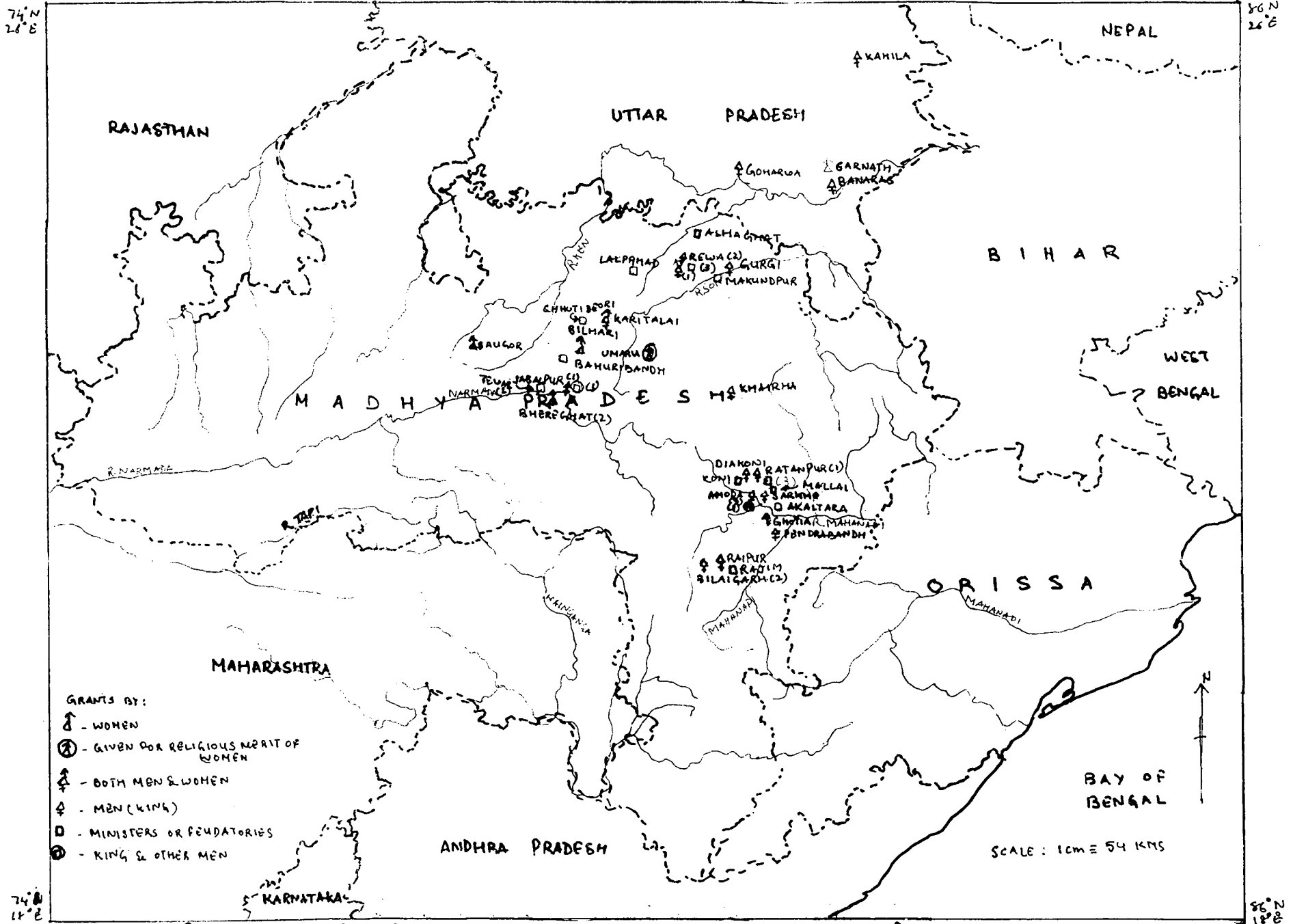
⁵ Singh, R.L., India. A Regional Geography, National Geographical Society of India, Varanasi, 1992, p.- 701.

of Pravarasena II. The Ramtēk inscription given by the daughter of Prabhāvatīguptā mentions the place of issue as Ramtēk.

Tirōdi plates of Pravarasena II mentions Narattangavarī i.e. Warī, Akōt tahsil, it was not called the '*vaijeyika dharmasthāna*'. Wadgaon plates mentions camp (vasaka) at Hiranyā i.e. Eraī as the place of issue and calls it as the '*vaijeyika dharmasthāna*'. Pandhurna plates mentions '*Pravarēśvara devakula*' as the *vaijeyika dharmasthāna*. Māndhal plates 'A' mentions Ramgīrī as the place of issue and set 'B' mentions Bennātasthāna as the *vaijeyika dharmasthāna*. The Mahurjhari plates of Pṛthvīsenā II mentioned *Pṛthvīsamudra* as the place of issue and were derived from his name. Of the Vatsagulma branch records, Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, India Office and Bidar plates of Devasena mention Vatsagulma i.e. Bāsim as the place of issue.

In the Kalacuri records, only two grants mention the place of issue. The Banaras plates of Karṇa grants from the victorious camp, '*jayaskandhavard*' at Prayag and the Goharwa plates mentions the victorious camp at *Karṇatītha*. Rest of the inscriptions does not mention any place of issue. The grants by women do not mention the place of issue.

The geographical distribution of the inscriptions of the Kalacuris doesnot shows any fixed pattern. The cluster of the grants by women and those given for the religious merits were around Jabalpur region as can be seen from the map. It was interesting to note that the grants are found around the Jabalpur and Ratanpur with only few inscriptions touching the present day Uttar Pradesh border. These clusters have grants by both men and women. The clustering would show that these two regions were more prominent during this period. The Jabalpur



MAP-2 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF KALACHURI INSCRIPTIONS

region was fertile with mineral deposits of coal, limestone, bauxite etc⁶. The Ratnapur region is known for rice cultivation along with mineral resources like iron, coal, bauxite etc⁷. Sheorinarayan and Kharod inscriptions could not be shown in the map because of the lack of information about the place.

Place of issue mentioned in the grants was an important method of showing control over the administration which women could not exercise. Although, Prabhāvatīguptā gave grant from the capital without mentioning it as *vaijeyika dharmasthāna* as done by Pravarasena II in his grants. But she does not call it as the administrative center. This shows that even during the period of her regency her power is restricted. In other records the place of issue was a religious center i.e. Ramtēk. In the case of the Kalacuris except two, the grants do not mention place of issue. The king gave both the grants from victorious camp. None of the grants by women mentions place of issue. This would show that they probably did not have the right to use administrative terms.

II

Titles are the epithets, which, the ruling king, queen and other officers and feudatories claim. More high sounding the title/s more is the power claimed by the person. For instance the title ascribed to the queen or claimed by her show her position in the dynasty. A queen from a strong and powerful lineage is generally mentioned with high sounding titles. Here I tabulate the titles used by the kings and the queens of both the dynasties.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. – 631.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. – 741.

TABLE – 3.2 COMPARISON OF TITLES USED BY MEN AND WOMEN:

VĀKĀṬAKA – MAJOR BRANCH

TITLE	USED BY NO. OF MEN	USED BY NO. OF WOMEN
Rājan	1	-
Mahārāja	2	-
Parama-mahēśvara- Mahārāja	1	-
Mahādevī	-	2
Agramahisī	-	1

VĀKĀṬAKA – VATSAGULMA BRANCH

TITLE	USED BY NO. OF MEN	USED BY NO. OF WOMEN
Rājan	1	-
Mahārāja	2	-
Dharma-Mahārāja	1	-

KALACURIS – TRIPURI

TITLE	USED BY NO. OF MEN	USED BY NO. OF WOMEN
Rāja	2	-
Nṛpa	3	-
Mahārāja/ Mahārājñī	2	1
Mahārājādhirāja	1	-
Paramabhaṭṭaraka- mahārājādhirāja- paramahēśvara	6	-
Mahārha-mahā- mahāttaka	1	-

TITLE	USED BY NO. OF MEN	USED BY NO. OF WOMEN
Trikalingādhipati	4	-
Cedirāja	1	-
Aśvapati	1	-
Gajapati	1	-
Samrat	1	-
Mahādevī	-	1

SARYUPARA

TITLE	USED BY NO. OF MEN	USED BY NO. OF WOMEN
Paramabhaṭṭaraka- mahārājādhirāja- paramahēśvara	1	-

RATNAPUR

TITLE	USED BY NO. OF MEN	USED BY NO. OF WOMEN
Rāja	1	-
Nṛpa	3	-
Narendra	1	-
Bhupati/	2	-
Bhuratnadeva		
Mahipala	1	-
Mahibhujo	1	-
Lord of Tumana	1	-

For the Vākāṭakas the queen does not share the title with the king and uses different titles like *Mahādēvī* and *Agramahisī*. Although Prabhāvatīguptā ruled as a regent for her minor son still she does not use titles equivalent to those of a king. This would imply that during this period women used only the derivative titles, which would imply that the queen derived power from the king.

Another feature about the titles was the wide range of titles used by the Kalacuris as compared to the Vākāṭakas. This would probably imply a sharper stratification. In the Kalacuri records it's seen that king claims many titles, for example, Karṇa uses the title of *Paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-mahēśvara*, *Trikalingādhīpati*, *Mahārāja*, *Cedirāja* and *Narādhīpam*. Prṥhvīdeva (II) uses the titles such as *Mahipala*, *Narendra*, *Bhupati*, *Bhuratnadeva*, *Mahipala* and *Narēvara*. Narasimhadeva uses titles like, *Nrpa*, *Paramabhattacharaka-mahārājādhirāja-mahēśvara*, *Trikalingādhīpati*, *Aśvapati*, *Narapati*, *Gajapati* and *Mahārājādhirāja* As can be seen except *Mahārāja* whose equivalent *Mahārājñī* was in use by the Kalacuris. For the other titles no such equivalent was found. Amongst Kalacuris Gosaladēvī uses the title of *Mahārājñī* in the Bhare-ghat Gauri Śankara inscription of Vijayasimha. Using equivalent title could be seen as sharing equal status. The absence of equivalent titles would suggest lesser power and status.

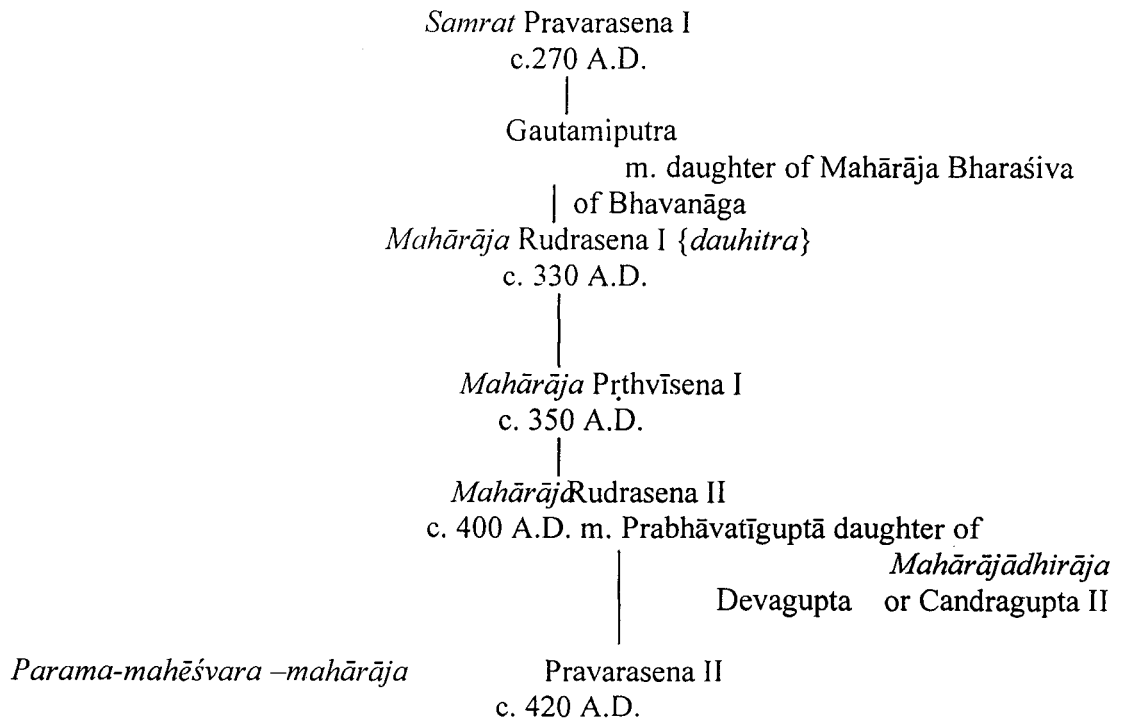
III

The genealogical part of an inscription generally praises the dynasty and informs about the conquests and achievements of the rulers of that dynasty. For the Vākāṭaka (major branch) the Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II (422 A.D.), was the first to record the genealogy and the same was recorded in other inscriptions of the branch. The mention of the queens, if at all, was in the sense of one through whom

the successor was born. The general term used in the context of women was 'utpana' i.e. produced from. Thus the identity of women was not always sharply delineated.

In the Vākāṭaka inscriptions the genealogical part is missing in only three (3) viz. Deotak, Māndhal plates of Rudrasena II and India office plates of Devasena. In Deotak it was not mentioned which would imply that mentioning of genealogy was not important to the ruler. About the Māndhal plates of Rudrasena II it was not known, as it was not mentioned in the source. In the India office plates of Devasena this portion was damaged. The rest of the inscriptions mention the line of rulers starting with Pravarasena I. He was described as *Samrat* while all other rulers use *Mahārāja* as their title. For the major branch the genealogy was –

{Jāmb plates of Pravarasena (II)}⁸



⁸ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, CII, vol.-5, Ootacamund, 1963, pp-12.

{Māndhal plates of Prthvīsenā } ⁹ (year 11)		<i>Mahārāja</i> Narendrasena c. 450 A.D. m. Majjhabhāṭṭarika, daughter of lord of Kuntala (<i>Kuntalādhipati</i>)
		<i>Mahārāja</i> Prthvīsenā II c. 470 A.D.

The Bharasīva and the Gupta alliances were mentioned in all the inscriptions. The lineage of the other queen i.e. Majjhabhāṭṭarika was not clearly specified. There was no title ascribed to her. This shows that the Vākāṭakas considered the Bharasīva and the Gupta alliances more important. The Masoda plates of Pravarasena II was given at the request of an unnamed queen (*bharyā Mahādēvi*) but details were missing.

In the case of genealogies of the Vākāṭakas, we do not have inscriptional evidences of Pravarasena I, to whom the title 'samrat' was used, and of Gautamiputra. It was noteworthy that Gautamiputra uses a matrilineal name and was bereft of any title. It can be said that real power started from Rudrasena I. Thus the marital alliance becomes significant. It's noteworthy that after the Gupta alliance Pravarasena II uses a superior title of *mahārājādhirāja* than used by his predecessors. Again the importance of the matrimonial alliance was highlighted. Next alliance was probably not as important as the other two as the no superior title was claimed by the successor. This would imply the importance of matrimonial alliances in the dynasty.

The use of matrilineal name would again suggest the importance of family of mother. As probably was the case of Gautamiputra.

⁹ Shrimali, K.M., Agrarian Structures in Central and Northern India. A case study of Vākāṭakas inscriptions, Munshiram Monoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1987.

According to D.C.Sircar¹⁰ matronymics denotes paternal gōtra of mother. But I.K. Sarma¹¹ says that it was a method of following brahmanical and Vedic religion and custom.

Gautamiputra was succeeded by Rudrasena I who was described as *dauhitra* and was ascribed the title of *Mahārāja*. The term *dauhitra* meant that the person inherits the property of his grandfather in the absence of any other heir. According to Trautmann Manu says that *dauhitra* was the *putrikā-putra* who inherits his grandfather's patrimony, but not of his own father, unless his father has no other son. But Hans Bakker¹² says that the kings were not disinheriting the son by marrying him to a brother-less maiden rather they arranged the marriage of that son with a *putrikā*, whom they had destined to be their own heir. The Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I inherited parts of the kingdom of his grandfather Pravarasena I as well as territories of the Bharasivas, a branch of the Nāga dynasty that ruled from Padmāvati.

The marriage of Prabhāvatīguptā with Rudrasena II was an important matrimonial alliance. Prabhāvatīguptā was the daughter of Candragupta II and Kūberanāgā of Nāgā dynasty. This marriage was sapinda because Rudrasena II was maternally linked with the Naga dynasty and also Prabhāvatīguptā's mother belonged to the Naga dynasty. This marriage alliance was against the *dharmasāstric* norms, as *sapinda* marriage was not permissible¹³. The alliance was also *pratiloma* in the terms of royal status as Rudrasena II was *Mahārāja* while Candragupta II was *Mahārājādhirāja*. Thus pratiloma alliances

¹⁰ Sircar, D.C., 'Gōtrāntara or change of a Women's Gōtra', in *Indian History Congress*, vol.-8, (1945), pp- 50-51.

¹¹ Sarma, I.K., 'Significance of Gōtra and Matronymics in some Early inscriptions', in *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (JESI)*, vol.- 8, (1981), p- 72.

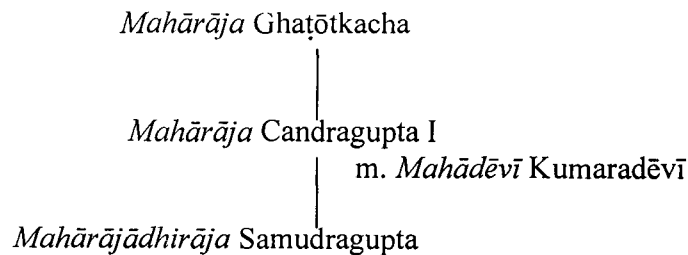
¹² Bakker, Hans T., *Vākāṭakas: An Essay in Hindu Iconology*, Egbert Forsten Groningen, Netherlands, 1997, p.- 9.

¹³ Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol.-2, Bhandarkar Institute of Oriental Studies, Pune, pp

were in practice, specially if it was politically important as probably in the case of Prabhāvatīguptā.

Prabhāvatīguptā's Poona plates and Riddhapur plates has a special place in terms that they in the genealogical part of the inscription refer to the Gupta lineage rather than to the Vākātakas. She grants to Vaisnava shrines whereas the Vākātakas were followers of Śiva. In the genealogy she uses superior title of *Mahārājādhirāja* for Candragupta II as well as Samudragupta while ascribing the title of *Mahārāja* for Rudrasena (II). She also specifies her gotra as *Dhārana* whereas the *gōtra* of the Vākātakas was Viṣṇuvṛddhi. According to the *dharmaśāstra* the *gōtra* of a women changes when she gets married. D.C. Sircar¹⁴ says that the gotra of a women changes if the marriage takes place in regular way¹⁵. Prabhāvatīguptā retained her paternal *gōtra* as well as her paternal cognomen. Similarly, her mother Kūberanāgā of Nāgā dynasty did not give up her paternal family name at marriage. Thus mentioning the matrilineal descent of the king appears to have continued by the Guptas¹⁶

Genealogy of the Guptas as given in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā¹⁷:

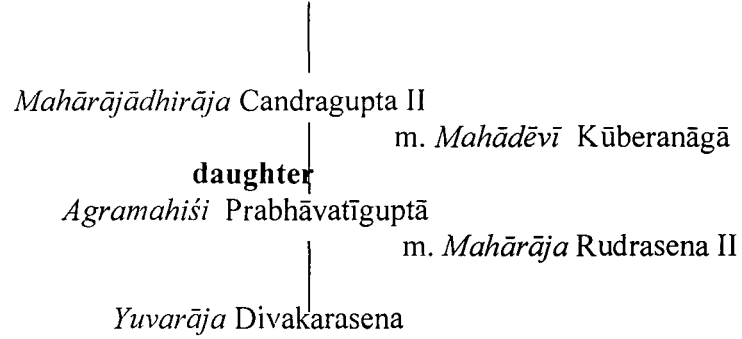


¹⁴ Sircar, D.C., 'Gōtrāntra or change of a Women's Gōtra', in *Indian History Congress*, vol.-8, (1945), pp- 48-52.

¹⁵ Of the eight forms of marriage viz. Brahma, Prājapatya, Ársa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Asura, Rāksasa and Paiśāca, the first four were considered as pure and advisable.

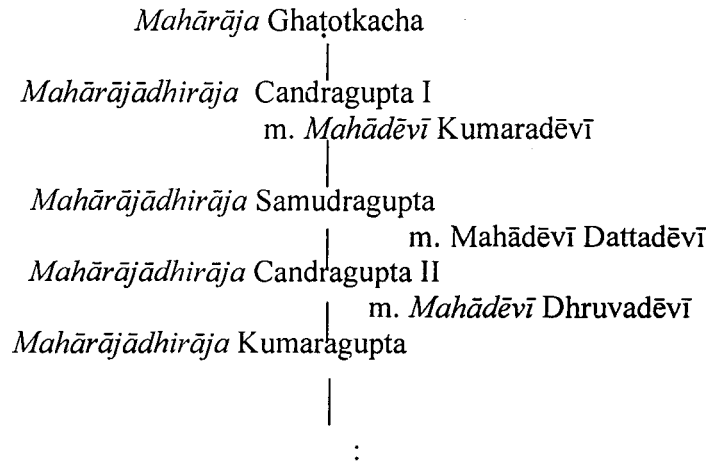
¹⁶ Sarma, I.K., 'Significance of Gōtra and Matronymics in some Early inscriptions', in *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (JESI)*, vol.- 8, (1981), pp- 71.

¹⁷ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*, CII, vol.-5, Ootacamund, 1963, pp-7.



The Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā was similar to the Poona plates in terms of the genealogy except few changes like she mentions Kumaradēvī as Lichchavi, uses lesser title of *Mahārāja* for Samudragupta. She also mentions his wife *Mahādēvī* Dattadēvī. She does not ascribe any title to Kūberanāgā. She claims for herself the title of *Agramahiśi* and *Mahādēvī*. In this inscription she describes herself as the mother of *Mahārāja* DamodarasenaPravarasena which has become a matter of contention among scholars who are divided as to whether it refers to two kings or one.

There were differences between the genealogy and the title of the Guptas given in the inscriptions of Prabhāvatīguptā and the standard Gupta genealogy. In the Bhitari stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta¹⁸ it was given as:



¹⁸ Fleet, J.R., Inscriptions of the Guptas and their Successors, CII, vol. – 3, Varanasi, (3rd revised edition), 1970, p. - 53.

A comparison shows that Prabhāvatīguptā uses eloquent titles only for her father. She mentions several *aśvamedhas* performed by Candragupta II, which was assigned to Samudragupta in the Gupta inscriptions. Her main concern was to highlight her father and mother rather than the lineage of the Vākāṭakas. In this record, like in the Vākāṭakas, the matrimonial alliances were specified specially the mother of the successor.

Prabhāvatīguptā distinguishes her identity carefully emphasizing her differences from the Vākāṭakas. The Vākāṭakas in their inscription mention the Gupta relationship but they use the title of *Mahārāja* for Candragupta II in some and mention Devagupta instead of Candragupta. The mention of the Guptas would imply that it was an important relationship for them.

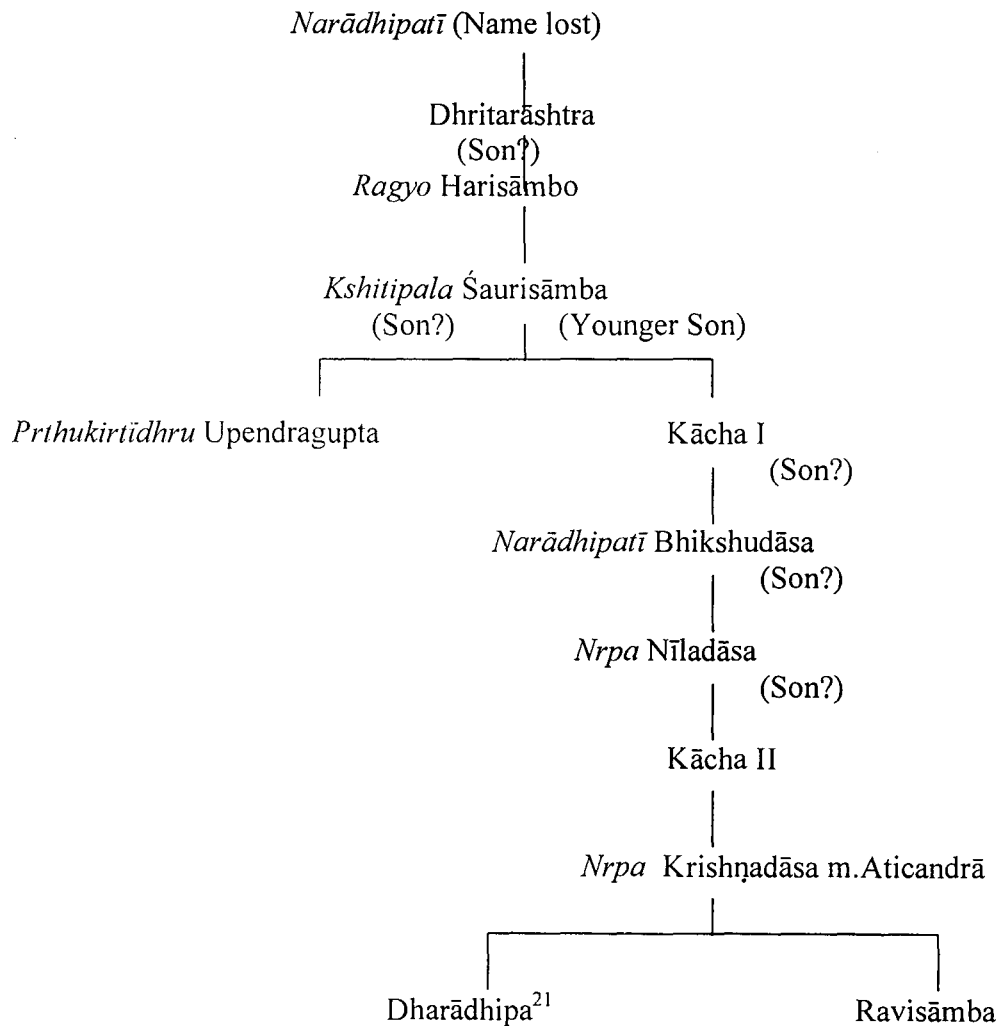
For the Vatsagulma branch, the genealogy as given in the Bāsim plates¹⁹ (392 A.D.) and Thalner plates is as follows:

Dharma mahārāja Vindhyaśakti I
 |
Dharma rāja Samrat Pravarasena I
 |
Mahārāja Sarvasena I
 |
Dharma mahārāja Vindhyaśakti II [described as Haritiputra]
 |
Mahārāja Pravarasena II
 |
Mahārāja Sarvasena II
 |
Mahārāja Devasena
 |
Mahārāja Harisena

¹⁹ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, CII, vol.-5, Ootacamund, 1963, pp-75.

Their inscriptions do not mention any queen. It was probable that they had no important diplomatic matrimonial alliance to proclaim. Probably it was a minor power.

The inscription of feudatory of Harisena of Vatsagulma branch, in Ajanta caves XVII²⁰ (approx. 475-499 A.D.), the genealogy of Ravisamba, ruler of Kandesh was given as follows:

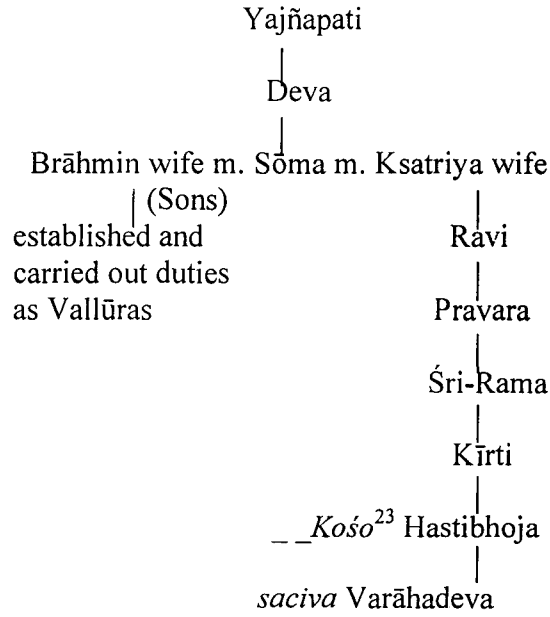


²⁰ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, CII, vol.-5, Ootacamund, 1963, pp-124-125.

²¹ Mirashi says that name is lost while A.M. Shastri says that the name was Dharādhipa.

Only Krisnadāsa's wife was mentioned but unfortunately her lineage and other details were missing. Since they were feudatories the rulers were ascribed with lesser titles like *Nrpa*.

In the inscription of Varāhadeva, minister (*saciva*) of Harisena, Ajanta cave XVI (approx. 475-499 A.D.) does not mention the genealogy of the minister and gives the genealogy of the Vatsagulma branch and ascribes no titles to the rulers. In the Ghatotkacha inscription, the genealogy of the ministerial family was given, which belonged to a category of brāhmaṇa called Vallūras²².



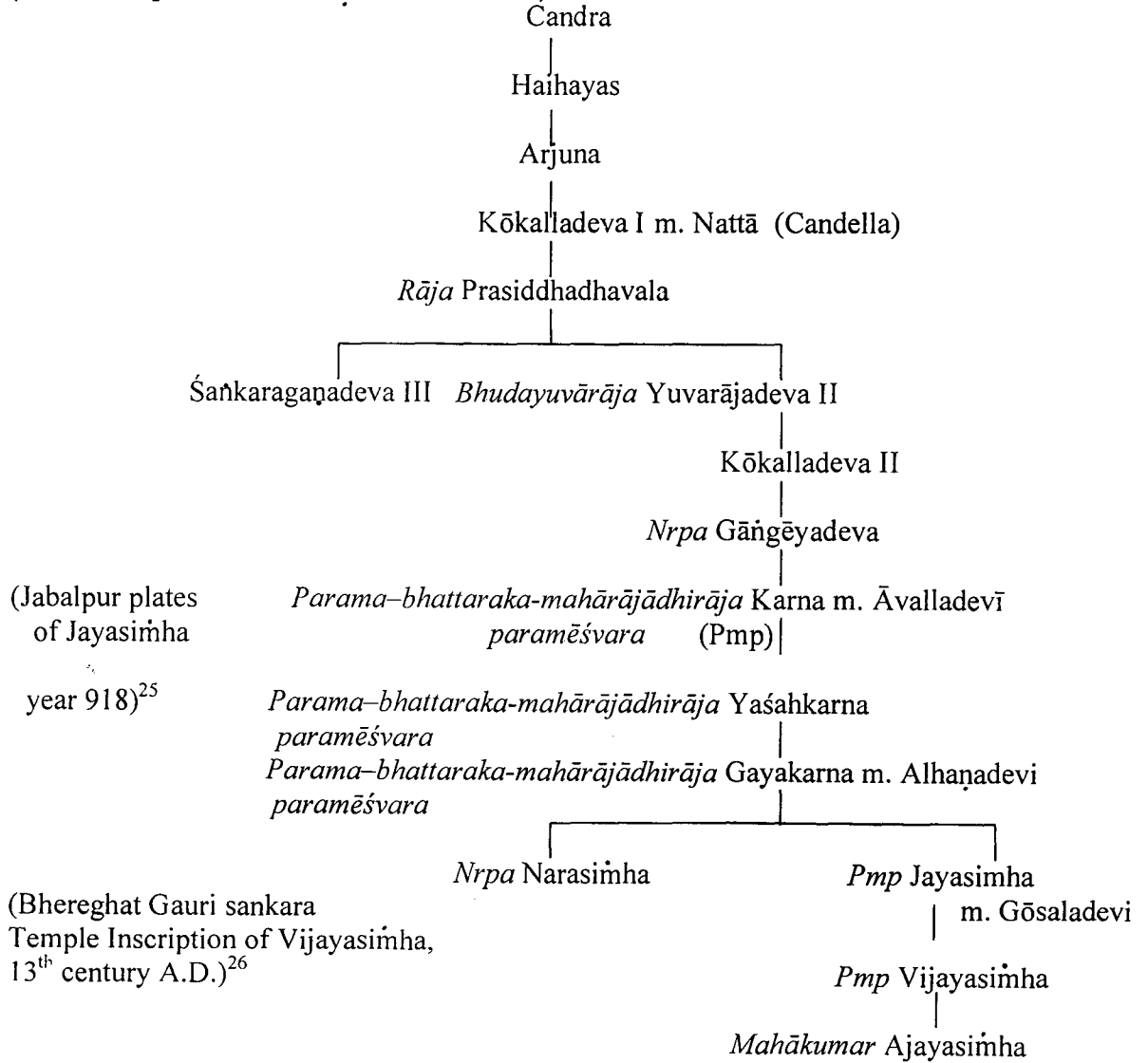
In this genealogy the varṇa identity was highlighted. The brahmaṇa wife was mentioned first and the sons from her performed the duties as Vallūras. The sons from the ksatriya wife performed ministerial roles.

²² Mirashi uses this evidence to argue for the south Indian origin of the Vākātakas. A. M Shastri does not agree with it.

²³ It was probably Hasti kośo, designation of an officer

The Kalacuris traced their origin to moon. Mythical origin was a way of claiming long ancestry as well as legitimacy. The Tripuri branch mentions the conquest of the kings in the genealogy unlike the Vākāṭakas.

(Banaras plates of Karṇa, 1042 A.D.)²⁴



²⁴ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, CII, vol.-4, part-I, Ootacamund, 1955, pp-241-244.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. – 327-328.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. – 364.

References to the queens, in the inscriptions, ends with her being described as the mother of the successor. Her lineage was not elaborated. She was described as 'janaya' of the successor.. Nowhere was she directly referred to as the wife of the king.

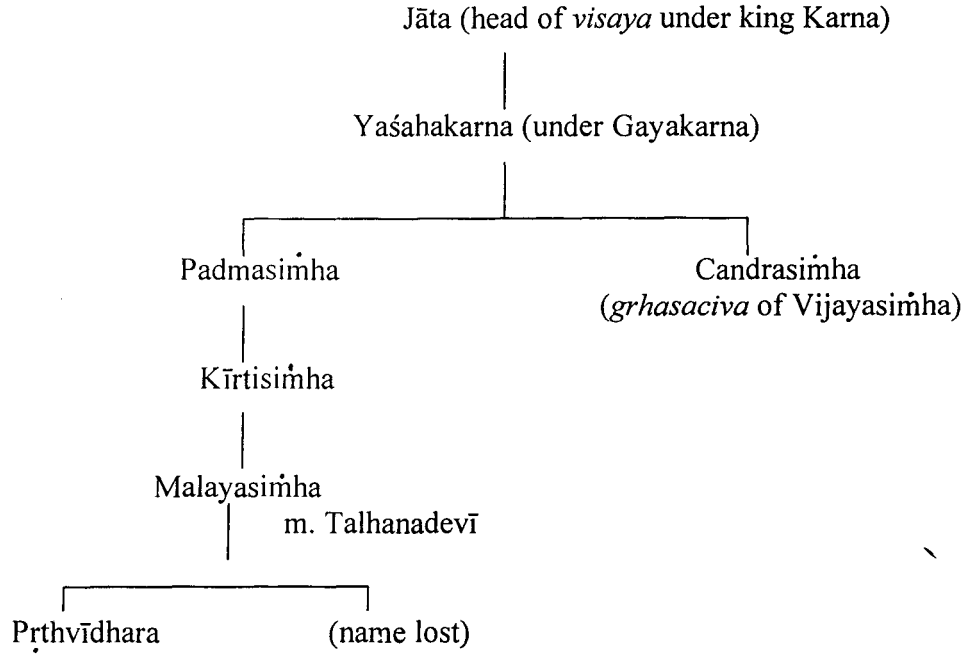
Sometimes in the genealogy, the king was described as the mediating at the feet of *Parama-bhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvara* (Pmp) Vāmadeva, probably he was the founder of the northern Kalacuri power²⁷. Scholars do not agree regarding the identification of Vāmadeva. D.C. Sircar identifies him as ascetic Vāmadeva, to whom king Sāhasika of Kalacuri dynasty dedicated his empire according to *Prṭhvirāja-vijaya*. The king was identified as Gāṅgēyadeva. On the similar evidence V.S. Pathak identifies him with *Śaivācharya* Vāmaśambhu with reference in the Malkapuram stone inscription. The king was identified as Yuvarājadeva(II). V. V. Mirashi puts Vāmadeva to the end of 7th century and as the founder of the Kalacuri dynasty²⁸

Of the records of the grants by the officials only the Rewa stone inscription of Karna (year 800) and Rewa stone of Vijayasimha year 944, mentions the royal genealogy briefly. The Chhoti- Deori inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva, Makundapur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadeva, Bahuriband statue record of Gayakarna, Lal- Pahad and Alha- ghat of Narasimhadeva along with Rewa and Tewar records of Vijayasimha does not give any genealogy. The Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha year 944²⁹, besides giving the royal genealogy also gives the genealogy of the donor Malayasimha.

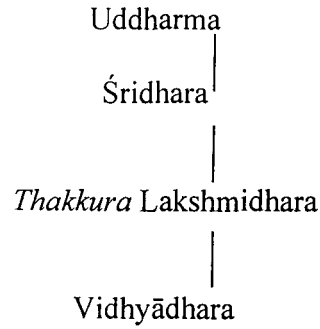
²⁷ Mirashi, V.V., Kalachuri Naresh aur unka kal, p.- 14, in Sharma R.K., *Kalachuri and their times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. – 9 (footnote-1).

²⁸ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, CII, vol.-4, part-I, Ootacamund, 1955, pp- lxviii.

²⁹ *ibid.*, pp.- 350-351.



Then the genealogy of Vidhyādhara³⁰, the superintendents of the excavations of the tank, who belonged to the family of Vāstavya



Then the genealogy of Purushottam, son of Valhana and also of the poet Purushottam³¹.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. – 353.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. – 353.

Ramacandra
|
Divākara
|
Purushottam

The Rewa plate of Vijayasimha (year 1253)³² gives the genealogy of Salakshanavarman, feudatory (*samanta*) of Vijayadeva.

Dhāhilla
| (?)
Vājūka
| (?)
Dandūka
| (?)
khōjūka
| (?)
Jaya varman
| (son)
Vatsarāja
|
┌──────────────────────────┐
Kirtivarman Salakshanavarman

There was no references to women in the genealogy.

In the records by women other than queens, there was no genealogy given. In the Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II, of 10th century A.D., the royal genealogy starts with Kōkalladeva (I) to Yuvarājadeva or Keyuravarsha. In the verse 30-37 the genealogy of Nōhala was given. It states that from a handful water taken by sage Bhāradvāja to curse Drupada there was born a warrior, the family descended and came to be known as Calukyas This highlights the

³² *ibid.*, p. – 361.

importance of Nōhala in the kalacuri dynasty. Genealogy³³ was given as:

Sinhavarman
| (son)
Sadhanva
|
Avanivarman
| (daughter)
Nōhalā m. Yuvarājadeva

In the next part of the record it mentions the son of Nōhalā and Yuvarājadeva, Lakshmanarāja (*Bhudbhupati*). In later part, the branch gave the genealogy of Śaiva ascetics from Kadambaguhā³⁴.

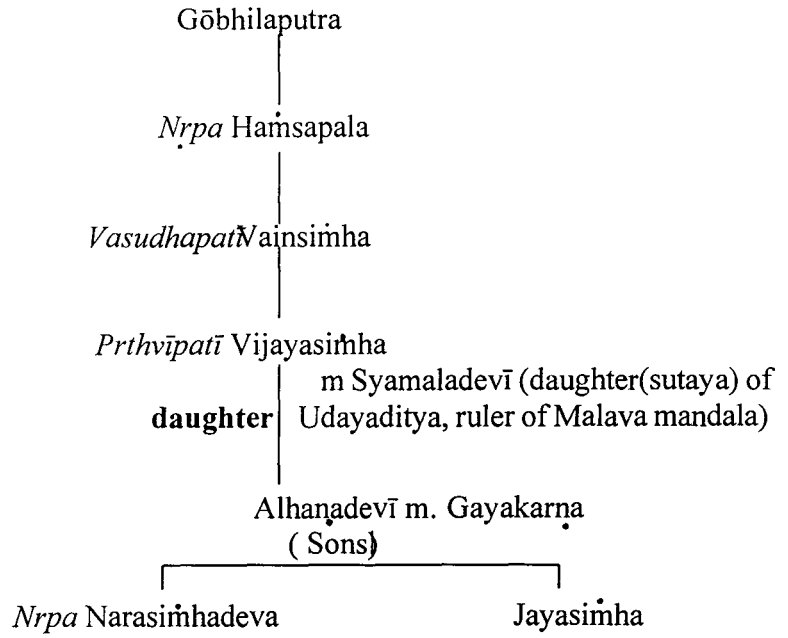
Rudraśambhu (disciple of lord of Mattamayura)
|
Dharamaśambhu
|
Sadaśiva
|
Mādhumātēya
|
Chūdaśiva
|
Hridayaśiva (invited by Lakshmanarāja)
|
Aghōraśiva

The Bhare-ghat stone inscription of Narasimhadeva (year 907)³⁵ gives the royal genealogy from moon to Gayakarna. Then gives the genealogy of Alhaṇadevī. This shows that she held an important position in the Kalacuri dynasty. The genealogy given as:

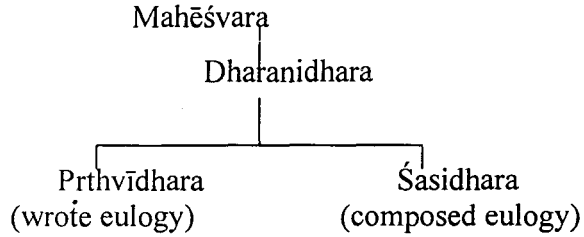
³³ *ibid.*, p. – 212.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. – 213.

³⁵ *ibid.*, pp.- 316-317.



Then the genealogy of Śasidhara , who composed the eulogy and belonged to the Maunya lineage³⁶.

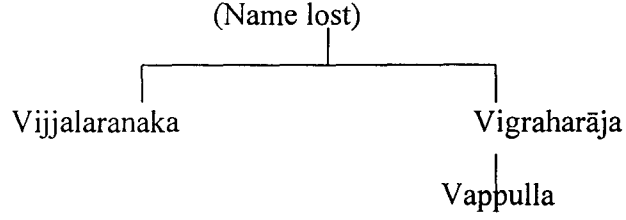


The Bhare-ghat Gauri Sankara Temple inscription of Vijayasimha gives no genealogy and only mentions *Mahārajñi* Gōsaladevī.

Of the inscriptions which records grants by both men and women, the Karitalai mentions three Kalacuri princes Yuvarājadeva, Lakshmaṇarāja and Śaṅka(ragaṇa) but nothing was specified about Rāhada, wife of Lakshmaṇarāja (II). The Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa(year 812 i.e. 1052-53 A.D.) gives royal genealogy from Kōkalla

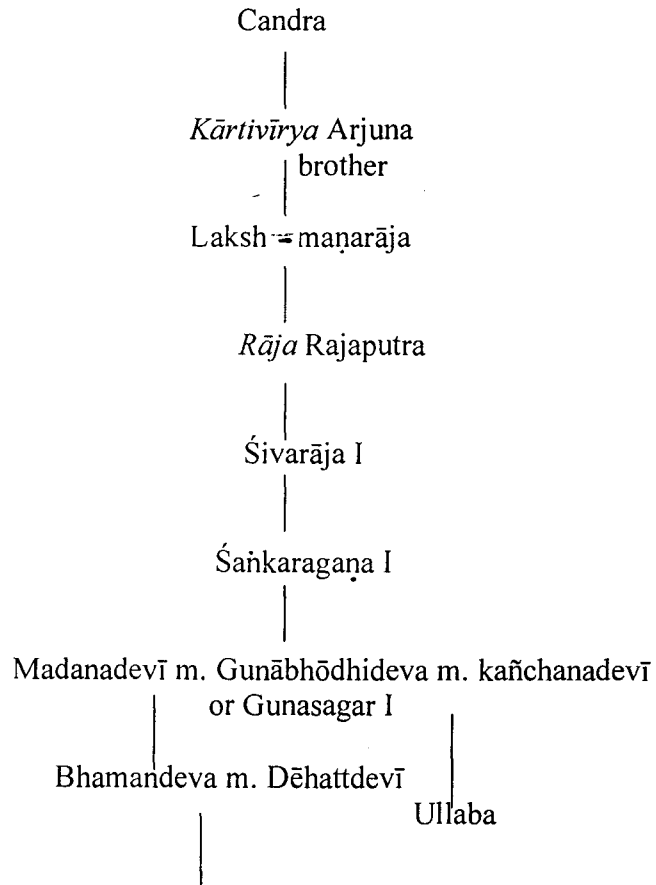
³⁶ *ibid.*, p. – 317.

(II) but no reference to women was there. Genealogy of Vappula³⁷, the donor was given as:



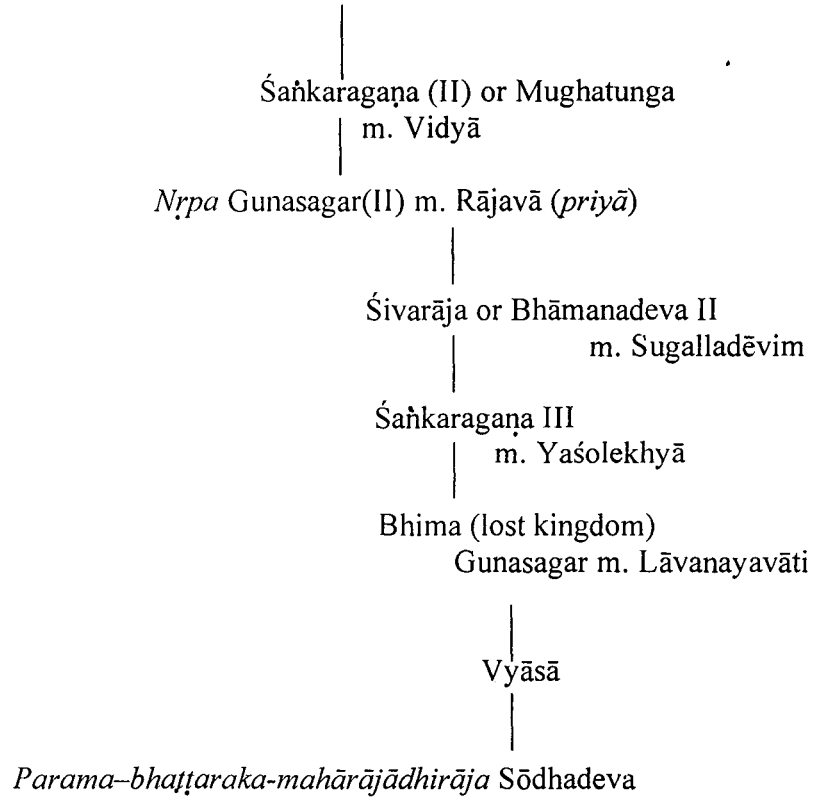
Nayanāvati was mentioned as wife (patnī) of some person probably, Vappulla but nothing else was known.

The genealogy of the branch of Saryupara³⁸ also starts from moon.



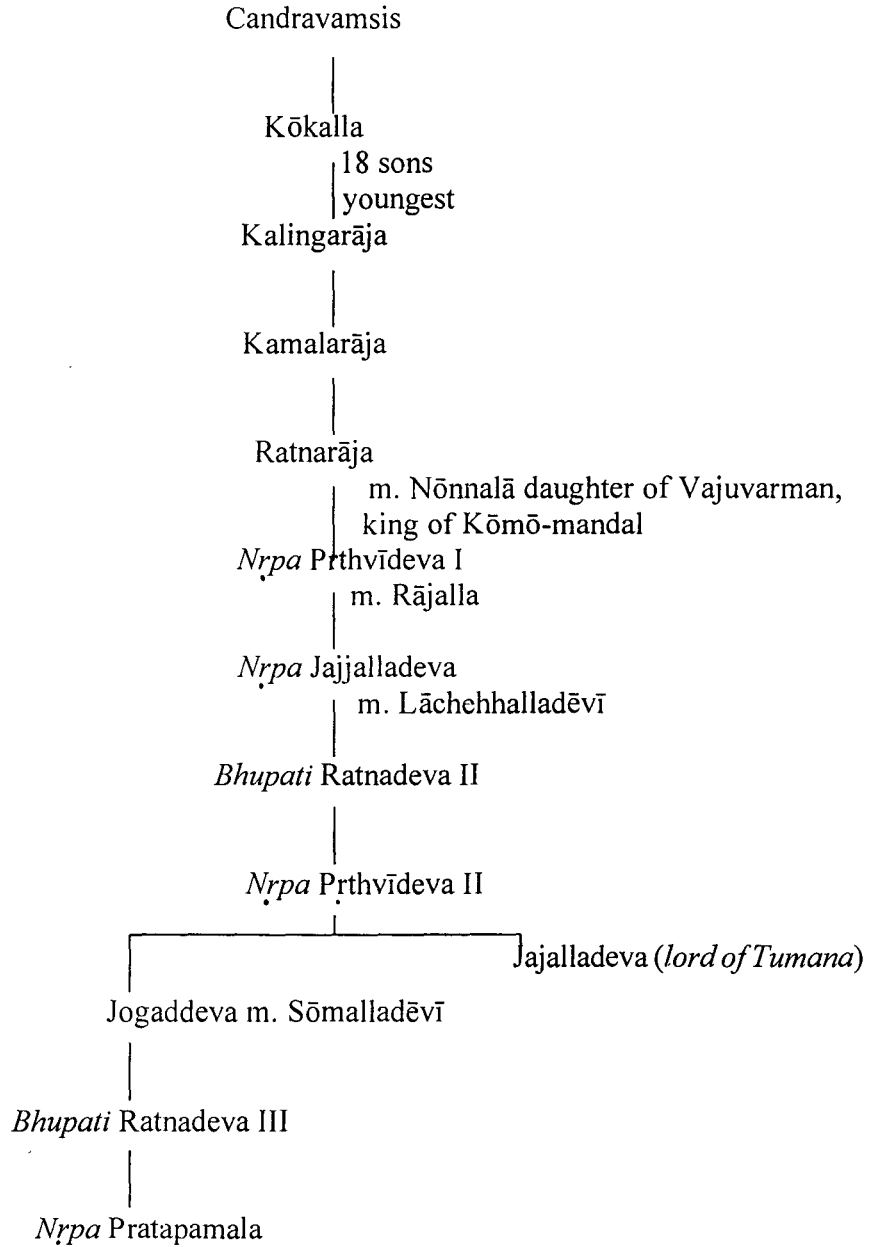
³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. – 281-282.

³⁸ *ibid.*, part- ii, pp.- 386-389.



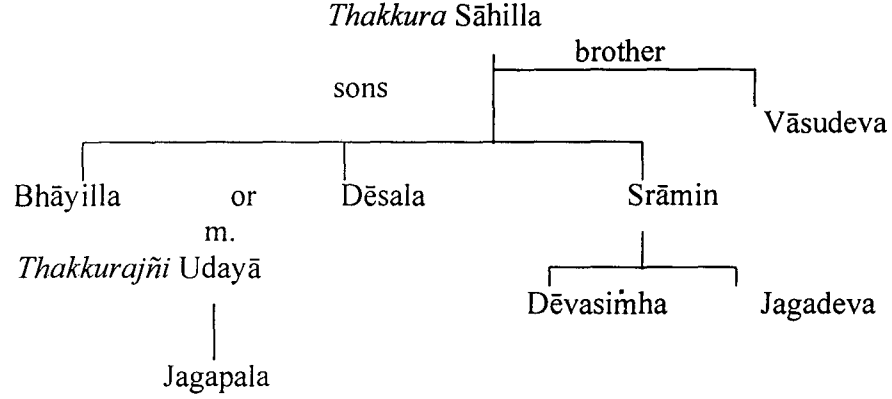
Unlike the Tripuri branch, these kings were mentioned along with their wives but unfortunately the lineage was not mentioned. As usual the wives were mentioned without any titles only for Rājavā, wife of Gunasagar II the term *priyā* was used. Kings do not use any title except the lesser title of *Rāja* and *Nrpa* Only Sōdhadeva uses the high sounding title of *Parama-bhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja*. Probably the Saryupara branch was a minor power. It is important to note that in this branch, wife of nearly all the rulers were given which would imply their prominence in the dynasty. It would also imply the strategy of enhancing power through marriage.

For the Ratanpur branch of Kalacuris all the inscriptions give details of genealogy except the Raipur plates of Pṛthvīdeva I. Their genealogy also starts from the *candra*.



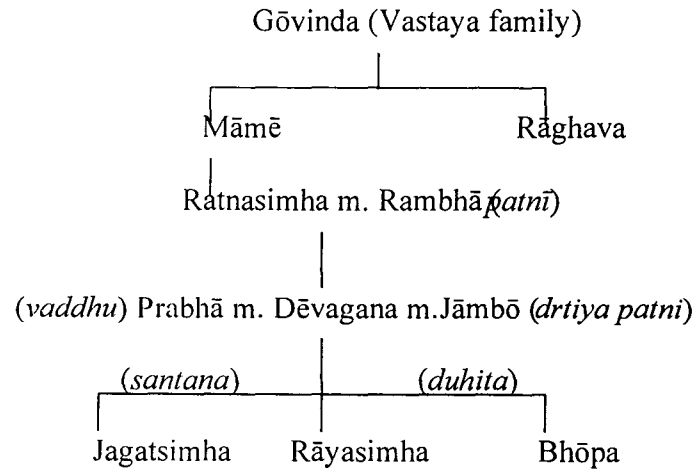
In the genealogy the lineage of the queens was not mentioned. They were not ascribed any title. This shows that they were given less prominence in the dynasty. But they were mentioned would show that they were significant.

The Rajim stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II³⁹, year 896 i.e.1145 A.D. mentions the genealogy of the donor Jayapāla from *Thakkura Sāhilla* of the family Rājamēla who migrated from Vadahara.



It was the sole instance where a title was ascribed to some women, who did not belong to the royalty. It was also interesting to note that except the first member no one was using any title. And Udayā was using the equivalent of that title. It shows that she must be having a dominant position in the family.

In the Ratnapur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva II⁴⁰, year 1207, i.e. 1149-50 A.D. the royal genealogy was given from Jajalladeva I and then the genealogy of the donor, Devagana, was given.

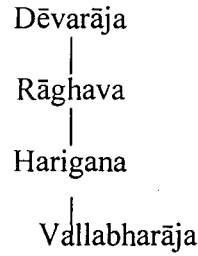


³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. – 453-454.

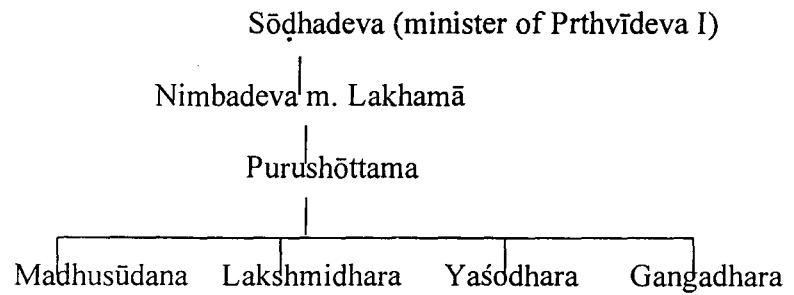
⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. – 486-487.

This inscription clearly mentions the relationships and uses the terms like *patni* for wife. This was also the sole instance where daughter was mentioned and the term used was *duhita*. This probably shows that the daughter held some important position so she was mentioned in the genealogy of the family.

In the Akaltara inscription of Ratnadeva (II)⁴¹, (12th century A.D.) besides mentioning the mother of the king, it gives the genealogy of the donor, Vallabharāja, of Vaiśya lineage.



In the Kōni stone inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva I⁴², year 900 i.e. 1148-49 A.D. after the royal genealogy, the lineage of the donor Purushōttama was given.



The Ratnapur stone inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II, year 910 i.e. 1158-59 A.D. mentions the donation of Vallabharāja also mentions his

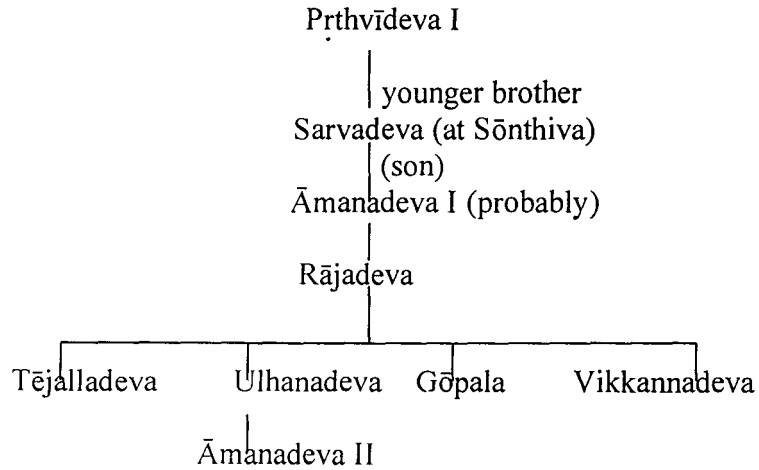
⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. – 432.

⁴² *ibid.*, pp. – 468-469.

wife Svētalladēvī. The royal genealogy was same as given in the other inscriptions.

In the Ratnapur stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, year 915, i.e. 1163-64 A.D., it also mentions the genealogy of the donor, Brāhmanadeva, son of Prthvīpala. Similarly the Mallar stone inscription of Jajalladeva II (year 919) i.e. 1167-68 A.D. gives the genealogy of the donor, Brāhmaṇa Sōmarāja, who was the son of Gāngādhara and grandson of Prthvīdhara of Kṛṣṇatriya *gōtra* from the village *Kumbhati* in Madhyadēsa⁴³.

The Sheorinārayan stone inscription of Jajalladeva II (year 933)⁴⁴, i.e. 167-68 A.D., the donor Āmanadeva and Vikrannadeva belonged to a collateral branch of the Kalacuris. Their genealogy was as given below:

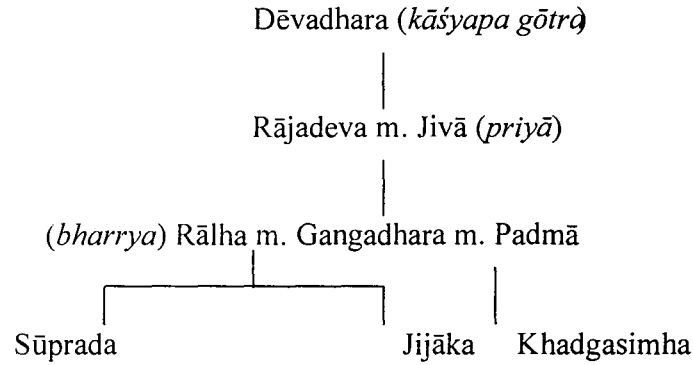


Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva III (year 933)⁴⁵, i.e. 1181-1182 A.D., gives the genealogy of the *mantri* Gangadhara.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. – 514.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp.- 522-523.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.- 538.



In the context of women the Vākāṭakas describe their relationship with the king as one who produced the successor. She was described as daughter and the term used was *sutaya* that, was a derivative of *suta*, which, meant born of or by. Only in the Ghatotkacha cave inscription a direct relation was specified i.e. *patni*. The Kalacuris also use the similar terms for women. The terms used were *jaya*, *janaya* and *sutaya*. In few cases the word *priya* was used which means beloved. It was interesting to note that the inscription of ministers and feudatories use terms like *patni*, *vaddhu*, *bharrya* and *priya*. Also the term *duhita* was used. Thus the king does not give much prominence to women in the genealogy; only the women with some kind of power were referred to. In the Ratnapur and Saryupara branch inscriptions mention the wife of nearly all the rulers, which would imply to their importance in the dynasty.

Another point that can be seen was the standardization in the genealogies given by men. In the genealogy by women i.e. by Prabhāvatīguptā this standardization was not there. There were differences in the two inscriptions in which, she gives the genealogy of the Gupta dynasty. In the genealogies by men usually there were no differences.

IV

Seals used were given at the end of the grant. Seals were the proof of royal proclamation. It was also a method of authentication. In the case of Vākātakas only twelve (12) inscriptions were sealed for the rest it was either lost or not given. For the major branch, seals started with the Poona grants of Prabhāvatīguptā. She mentions herself as the mother of the *yuvarāja* Divakarasena.

Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya
[r]m-prāpta-nṛpaśriyah
Jananyā Yuvarājasya
Śāsanam-ripu-śāsanam

[This is the enemy chastening mother of the prince who got royal fortune by inheritance⁴⁶].

Pravarasena II uses the seal only from the Māndhal plates year 16 and 17 i.e. 436 A.D. He follows same pattern as the Prabhāvatīguptā and mentions himself as 'rāja'.

Vākāṭha(ta)-kalamasya
Kṛma-pratapa-nṛpa-śrya[h]
Rāgya[h] -Pravarasenas
Śāsanam-ripu-śāsanam⁴⁷

[This is the enemy chastising command of the king Pravarasena the ornament of the Vākāṭaka who has inherited royal fortune by inheritance].

⁴⁶ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, CII, vol.-5, Ootacamund, 1963, p-8.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.- 26

All the grants by Pravarasena II i.e. Chammak, Siwani, Dudia, Tirodi, Pattan and Pauni had same seal.

In the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā the seal was lost. The seal used in the Miregaon plates was different from the earlier seal in the Poonā plates. This again shows that in the grants by men there was a standardized method followed whereas in the case of women it was not. The Miregaon inscription seal was as follows:

Vikrāntayor=janayās tu
Vākāṭaka-narendrayoh
Śri-Prabhāvati(tī)guptā yāh
*Śāsanam-ripu-śāsanam*⁴⁸.

It describes Prabhāvatīguptā as the mother of two powerful kings and refers herself as the chastiser of the enemies. It was also interesting as this grant was made during the rule of Pravarasena II. This shows that even then she could exercise power and not only give grant but also gives her own seal.

The Māndhal plates of Prthvīsenā year 2 and 10 gives the following seal:

Narendrasenasatsunoh
Bhartut-vākāṭakaśrya
Pri(pr)thvīsenanrpatye
*Jigīsonjayaśāsanam*⁴⁹

In the seal he describes himself as the son of Narendrasena who wants or desires to win over enemies.

⁴⁸ Shastri, A.M., *Vākāṭakas: Source & History*, Aryan Book International, New Delhi, 1997, p. – 92.

⁴⁹ Shrimali, K.M., *Agrarian Structures in Central & Northern India. A study of Vākāṭaka inscriptions*, Munshiram Maniharlal, Publishers, Delhi, 1987, pp. – 73,77.

The Bidar plates of Devasena of the Vatsgulma branch which, ends with the legend, Vākāṭakā ruler, king Devasena.

Vākāṭakānam -mahārāja-Śri-Devasena⁵⁰

For the Kalacuris, in the donations of the Tripuri branch only the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha (year 918) have a seal with the legend Śri-Jayasimha. For the remaining grants there was no seal. In the Saryupara branch inscription the seal was Śri-Sōdhadeva. In the records of the Ratnapur branch only seven (7) inscriptions have seal and they only mention the name of the king. Only the Sheorinārayana plates have the seal which, says,

Mahāranaka, Śrīmad- Ratnadeva⁵¹

Prthvīdeva II in five of his inscription contains the seal:

Rāja-Śrīmat- Prthvīdeva

Pendrabandh plates of Pratapamalla also give the seal:

Rāja-Śrī – Pratapamalladeva⁵²

It was only Prabhāvatīguptā and Pravarasena II who, used long seals rest all the rulers mention only their names in the seal. The seal as the mark of royal status was quite well seen in the case of these two rulers. It seems that rest of rulers only use it as the mark of authentication.

⁵⁰ Shastri, A.M., *Vākāṭakas: Source & History*, Aryan Book International, New Delhi, 1997, p. – 110.

⁵¹ V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, CII, vol.-4, part-ii, Ootacamund, 1955, pp-422

⁵² *ibid.*, p. – 548.

The explicit identity markers would show that the king held a high position, which was not shared with others. The kings mention the place of issue, which was generally derived from the name of the king. The queens do not use the place of issue, even when she mentions it she does not term it as capital. The feudatories and ministers do not mention place of issue. In the case of titles, which was quite explicit of the status of the donor the kings used a range of titles whereas the queens used only derived titles which shows that she derived her power from the king. This would imply her subordinate position. The ministers do not claim any title. In genealogies women were given prominence that they were mentioned in the inscriptions but since lesser titles were used which, shows that they did not have equal power. Except Prabhāvatīguptā no other queen so explicitly claims a position different from the king.

Through the study of the aspects like grant, exemption, officials addressed and other officials and social categories mentioned the administrative power of the donor could be noticed. The next chapter analyses these aspects of the grant and powers of the king , queen and of the feudatories are noticed.

CHAPTER – IV

GENDEERED CONTROL OVER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REOSURCES

This chapter deals with control over the resources by the donors. The following aspects of the grant are discussed in separate sections – grants given, exemptions and rights, donee/s, officials addressed and other officials or social categories mentioned.

These aspects of grants indicate the administrative and economic power of the donor. The grant she/he gives, how many exemptions given and types or variety of rights provided to the donee show her/his control over resources. This raises the question of ownership of land. Land can be donated only if the donor has ownership right over it. There has been an ongoing debate on the question of ownership of land amongst scholars.¹ Different forms of ownership – private, royal and communal have been suggested.² Most scholars agree that the king had ownership rights. In most grants of village/s, only right to collect revenues was transferred and the king maintained some right over land. Granting land was a way of establishing control over resources. It could be seen as a method of claiming legitimacy.

I

Grants can be classified under the following heads – plots of land, villages, resources for the construction of temple, tank, garden etc. Sometimes the grants were combined i.e. granting land along with constructing a temple and so on. Most of the grants were given for the

¹ Maity, S.K., *Economic Life in Northern India in Gupta period*, Calcutta, (2nd edn.), 1970, pp. 29-32.

² Ibid, p. 19.

purpose of gaining religious merit for the donor and sometimes for her/his parents. In many cases, grants were given for the religious merit of mother, as in the Vākāṭaka grants. The occasion of the grant may be lunar or solar eclipse or any other special occasion like victory or *śraddha* etc. Sometimes it was linked with religious activities such as taking a bath on a certain day or breaking fast. Some records donot provide explicit reasons for grants.

The normative texts specify that in case of land grants boundaries must be well-defined. Dispute often arose regarding boundaries of villages and also those of individual holdings. In order to reduce the possibility of such disputes jurists like Manu, Brihaspati, Yājñavalkya, Nārada emphasize the maintenance of boundary marks of different kinds.³ In Vākāṭaka grants, of the thirty-two (32) grants, ten (10) donot mention the specifications of the boundaries, rest all mention the boundaries on the four directions. In the case of Kalacuri grants, there was no mention of the specification of the land or village given. Thus, practically boundaries were not given much importance and by the Kalacuri period it was not mentioned. The boundaries specified would mean that the land grant already existed and therefore there was no need to mention it.

Table below helps to understand the distribution pattern of grants.⁴

³ Niyogi, Puspa, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India*, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1962, p. 46.

⁴ For reference see Appendix – III (a), Column – III.

TABLE 4.1: GRANTS BY VĀKĀṬAKAS:

MAJOR BRANCH

Grant	No. of grants	Land	Village	Temple	Other
By King	16	3	12	-	1 ⁵
By Queen	5	1	3	1	-
By Feudatory/ Minister	3	2	1	-	-

VATSAGULMA BRANCH:

Grant	No. of grants	Land	Village	Temple	Other
By King	4	1	3	-	-
By Queen	-	-	-	-	-
By Feudatory/ Minister	4	-	-	-	4

Villages were the most common grant by the king. Probably giving villages was a kind of royal prerogative. It was also interesting to note that no temple was donated by the king.

In case of donations by women all three (3) grants by Prabhāvatīguptā were villages. We had noted her unique position when analyzing genealogies where we had seen that she refer to Gupta genealogy and not the Vākāṭaka. She issued her seals, used titles, all these point out her special position, different from the other Vākāṭakas. In the case of land grant, she gives villages which would imply her

⁵ Deotak plates by Rudrasena (I) according to Mirashi refers to construction of temple but A.M. Shastri says it meant court of justice. Here it is counted in other grants.

control over land. In Riddhapur, she grants a village along with one house-site and four huts of farmers. No other grant except the Pauni grant of Pravarasena II mentions grant of house-site. In the Masoda plates of Pravarasena II land was donated at the request of Mahādevī. In the Ramtēk inscription, recording the donation made by the daughter of Prabhāvatiguptā⁶, refers to the construction of a temple and tank. The temple was built in memory of Prabhāvatīguptā and was named as 'Prabhāvatīsvāmin'. This could be seen as a method of honoring the person by naming the deity of a newly founded temple after him or her.⁷ This was an unique instance in case of Vākāṭakas.

Of the grants by minister or others land was given in two records while one refers to the grant of a village. Of these, one was the Chammak landgrant, which grants a huge amount of land i.e. 8000 nivartanas to a thousand brāhmaṇas of whom only forty-nine (49) were mentioned. It was given at the request of Kondarāja, son of Śatrughnarāja. Nothing else about the donor was mentioned. It was important that such large amount of land was donated, it would imply that Kondarāja had some control over land and resources. Another instance of granting a village was by Narendrarāja in Māndhal plates of Pravarasena II, year 16. The speciality of the grant was that 1/3rd of the merit accruing from grant was for Ajjihikabhāṭṭarika, mother of Narendrarāja.

For the Vatsagulma branch, again the maximum number of grants record donation of village/s, and only one mentions grant of plot of land. No grant by women was recorded for this branch. Of the total eight (8) inscriptions, four (4) record donations by ministers and

⁶ The name of the daughter was lost as the inscription was in a fragmentary condition.

⁷ Talbot, Cynthia, 'Temples Donors & Gifts: Patterns of Patronage in Thirteenth Century South India', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 50, no. 2, 1991, p. 333.

feudatories. There were three (3) grants of *vihāras* in the Ajanta caves. Another i.e. Hissē-Borālā inscription mentions the construction of a lake called 'Sudarshan'. It could be suggested that ministers and feudatories did not have the right to donate land. Probably they did not have control over landed property.

For the Kalacuris, the distribution pattern is tabulated⁸ as:

TABLE 4.2: DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF GRANT BY KALACURIS:

TRIPURI BRANCH

Grant	Total Number	Land	Village	Temple	Temple & Land	Other
By King	8	1 ⁹	7+1 ¹⁰ = 8	1	-	-
By Queen	3+1 ¹¹ = 4	-	1	1	1	-
By Other Women	3	-	-	1	-	2
By Feudatory/ Minister	14	-	3	8	-	3

RATNAPUR BRANCH

Grant	Total Number	Land	Village	Temple	Temple & Land	Other
By King	13	1	11	-	1	-
By Queen	-	-	-	-	-	-
By Other Women	2 ¹²	-	-	-	-	2
By Feudatory/ Minister	9	-	-	4	2	3

⁸ For reference see Appendix – III (b), Column – 3.

⁹ In Gurgi inscription two fields were given along with village.

¹⁰ In Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasimha, year 926, grant was given by Vimalaśiva where king gave 3 villages.

¹¹ The Joint donation is counted i.e. Karitalai inscription of Lakshmanarāja.

¹² These grants are not given by women i.e. Sheorinārāyan inscription of Jayalladeva (year 919) and Ratnapur inscriptions of Prthvīdeva (II). These mentions minor donations by women.

Specialities of some of the Kalacuri grants were in Chhoti-Deori inscription of Śaṅkaraṅadeva where a granery was granted. In Ratanpur inscription of Jajalladeva I, besides grant of village to the god of temple installed, a group of pātala trees were granted to the monastery. In the Akaltara grant, the feudatory gave a temple as well as a tank. And, the Alhaghāt inscription of Narasiṁha mentions the construction of a temple for the goddess Ambikā and a śaṭashadikā ghāt.

There were many Kalacuri-grants which, record donations by multiple donors. There are five such grants, such as the Karitalai grant of Lakshmaṅarāja II, and Jabalpur grant of Jayasiṁha (year 926) of Tripuri branch. In the Ratnapur branch, the Amoda plates of Pṛthvideva I, the Ratnapur stone inscription of Pṛthvideva (II) (year 910), and the Sheorinārāyan inscription of Jajalladeva (year 919), the king donates along with ministers, bankers, or other important persons. In the case of Tripuri branch the king gave villages. It seems that granting land was royal prerogative. It was probable that king owned land thereby he had the right to donate it. Only in one instance was a temple constructed.

On joint donations it can be said to be a method of enhancing social prestige.¹³ It showed political affiliations. When ministers and others granted along with the king, the relationship between the two was highlighted. Cynthia Talbot points out that the patron was not only enhancing his prestige and legitimacy in the locality, but was in a way confirming his membership in a powerful political network.¹⁴

¹³ Talbot, Cynthia, 'Temples, Donors & Gifts: Patterns of Patronage in 13th Century South India', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 50, no. 2, 1991, p. 334.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 335.

In Bilhari grant given by Nohalā gave a temple of Śiva and gave the income of two villages for its maintenance. This would imply that she controlled the resource but did not have the ownership right over land. The deity was named after her, Nōhalēśvara. As also seen in the case of Prabhāvatīguptā (Ramtēk inscription), it was probably a method of enhancing the prestige of the person. In the Bhereghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (year 907), his mother Alhaṇadevī constructed a temple of Śiva under the name of Vaidyanāth besides donating a matha and a hall of study. She also gave income from two villages for its maintenance. This would similarly imply that she did not have ownership but controlled some resources.

In the Karitalai inscription Rāhada gave a village with the consent of the king which, suggests that her control over resources was restricted. The Bhereghāt Gauri-śāṅkara temple mentioned that Mahārājñi Gosaladevī paid obeisance to BhagnāKidra i.e. Śiva, but it says nothing about its construction, therefore it was not counted in the table.

Of the grants by women other than queens, in the Saugor inscription probably a temple was constructed by Krsnadevī. In the Sarnath stone inscription of Karṇa, Māmakā causes a copy of Ashtaśadhasrikaprajñā, to be written and some donations to the monastery for the recitation of the book. In the Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa (year 812), a grant was given by Vappulla where he mentioned that Nayanāvatī caused the image of Uma-Mahēśvara to be made.

In the case of grants by feudatories/ministers, most of the donations to the temples shows that they did not have control over land and they were in a way restricted to the religious sphere, their position was somewhat like women, who could not grant villages.

In the inscriptions of Ratnapur branch, the king gave villages in most of the grants. The Amoda plates of Prthīdeva I (year 831), record the grant of village along with the construction of temple. The grant was given for the religious merit of the parents of the king. No other grant by the king mentions temple construction. In the case of feudatories and ministers, as in the Tripuri branch, land was not granted. There were instances like Rajīm and Kōni inscriptions where the temple and village was donated. There was no instance of only a village being donated. This would again imply restricted control over resources.

It was very interesting to note that in Ratnapur branch there was no grant by the queen. The grants by other women mentioned in table 4.2, were not separate donations by them. Both the grants i.e. Ratanpur stone inscription of Prthīdeva II (year 910), which, records the charitable works of Vallabharāja alongside mentions some works done at the instance of his wife (*patnī*) Svētalladevī. In the Sheorinārāyan stone inscription of Jajalladeva II, (year 919), which records grant by the collateral branch of Kalacuris mentions Rambhalla excavating a tank and gave mango groves. Thus, these women had some control over resources from which, they made donations. But there was no donations by queens. In case of Saryuparā branch king grants villages in Kahila grant.

Overall, in the case of grants it can be seen that king gives the grants land. It can be said that the king had the right to donate land. It shows that he had control over resources. There were few instances of king building temple or giving some other grant. There were no grants made by queen, the Vatsagulma and Ratnapur branches. In the major branch only Prabhāvatiguptā gave land. She had some control over resources. In the Tripuri branch only Rahādā gave land as donation.

Nōhalā also gave village along with the construction of temple it shows their control over land. Women other than queens gave minor donations and not land which shows that land grants were royal prerogative of the king.

A similar pattern was seen for the feudatory/ministers there were few instances of grant of land for the Vākātakas, grant, to temples were few. Comparatively the Kalacuris grant to temple and land granted linked with temple was very common. The feudatory/ministers were restricted mainly to granting temples. It was a condition similar to women. Patronage to religion was probable the only public activity women could engage in.¹⁵ The ultimate control of land rested with the king therefore only king gave villages in donation.

II

Exemptions were the rights the donee gets over the land or villages granted. Granting of exemptions was possible only if the donor had control over the administrative machinery. For the major of the Vākātakas, Deotak plates of Rudrasena I) and Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II) do not mention exemptions given to the donee. Mandhal plates of Rudrasena II, Miregaon inscription and Ramtek inscription was not mentioned in A.M. Shastri.

For the Vākātakas, I have focused on a comparison between the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, Jāmb plates of Pravarasena (II) and Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II). Except the Poona plates no other grant by women mention exemptions. In the Riddhapur inscription Prabhāvatīguptā gives exemptions similar to the Jāmb plates. In case of kings, all the grants except Chammak, Siwani, and Patna records,

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 328.

have exemptions similar to Jāmb plates. In the Vatsagulma branch only the Basim plates mention exemptions. Other inscriptions do not record any exemptions. Therefore, comparison of these grants would show the differences and similarities of the trend followed by men and women.

For an easy comparison, the various exemptions granted in the above three inscriptions are tabulated.¹⁶

TABLE 4.3: EXEMPTIONS GIVEN BY VĀKĀṬAKAS

S.No.	Exemptions	Poonā	Jāmb	Bāsim
1.	Exemptions incidental to an agrahara granted to caturvaidya	Caturvidya-agrahara-parihara	Caturvaidya-grāma-maryyādā-anvitarāmartyāthā	Caturvejja-aggrāmanjjata-parihare-vitana
2.	Not to be entered by soldiers and policemen.	Bhaṭach-chatra-apraveśyah	Bhaṭach-chatra-apraveśyah	Araḥṭṭhā-samvvinayika-abhadappāvera
3.	Exempt from the obligation to provide grass, hides, as seats and charcoal	Acāra-asana-charmmāna-angara	Acāra-asana-charmmāsa-angara	Acārasidika-acammangalika
4.	Exempt from royal prerogative of purchasing, fermenting liquors and digging salt.	Kiṇva-kreṇīkhamakah	Alavaṇa-keṇṇa-khanaka	Alavana-keṇṇa-khanaka
5.	Exempt from obligation to supply flowers and milk.	Apuspaksirsa	Apuspaksirsa	Apuppha-akkhira-aggahna

¹⁶ For reference see Appendix – III (a), Column – IV.

6.	Donated together with right to hidden treasures and deposits and together with major and minor taxes.	Sanidhi, sapanidhi, kṛptopakṛpta	Sanḍhi, sapanidhi, kṛptopakṛpta	Sanḍhi, sapanidhi, sukūtuppanta
7.	Exempt from obligation to make presents of gold and grain	-	-	Ahiranna-adhānnay- appanya-appaieya
8.	Exempt from providing cots, water pots and servants to touring officials	-	-	Akhaṭṭa-achollaka-avenesika
9.	Exempt from all taxes	-	Akaradāyi	Akarada
10.	Exempt from providing draught cattle	-	-	Avaha
11.	Right to platform & large fields	-	-	Samañcha-amahā-karana
12.	Exempt from immunities of all kind	-	Sa-parihara-aprihritah	Sāvvaḷāti-parihara-aparihitaṃcha
13.	Exempt from right to mines	Akhanimedhyah	-	-
14.	Freedom from offering transport facilities	Apāramparah	Apāramparah	Aparam-gobalivareda
15.	Free from period labour	-	Sarvvaviṣṭi	-

Table shows that the Bāsim plates give a wide range of exemptions. Except from the exemption from forced labour, all other

kinds of rights were provided to the donee. Another interesting factor was that in Bāsim plates grant was made together with platform used for collection of tolls (mañcha) and important officials (mahākarana). Thus according to D.C. Sircar¹⁷ not only local administrative machinery but also the local archives were sometimes placed at the disposal of the donee/s of a village. Its also interesting to note that after Vindhyaśakti (II), no other ruler of the Vatsagulma branch grant exemptions. It was probable that other rulers did not have power to give exemptions.

The differences between the Poonā plates and Jāmb plates were not many, which would imply that Prabhāvatīguptā enjoyed most of the rights which a king enjoyed. She does not give exemption from forced labour, all taxes and immunities of all kinds. Probably, she did not have power enough to give these exemptions which, points out to the limits of her power, even though she ruled as the regent of her son during the Poonā grant. In her Riddhapur grant she gave exemptions similar to Jāmb plates along with *Korata* (whose meaning was uncertain) and a right to levy a tax of 1/50th.

The Chammak plates which, were gives at the request of some Kondarāja gave exemptions similar to Jāmb but it also specified conditions of the grant. "The grant to be enjoyed by the donee as long as sun and moon will endure, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of seven constitutents of the king, that they are not found guilty of murder of brāhmana, theft, adultery, and high treason etc. that they do not wage war (and) that they do not harm to other villages. But if they act otherwise or assent to such acts, the

¹⁷ Sircar, D.C., *Landlordism & Tenancy in Ancient & Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphical Records*, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, 1969, p. 52.

king will commit no theft if he takes the land away".¹⁸ The condition that they do not wage war has become the bone of contention among scholars. Fleet, Mirashi and Kosambi agree with the above translation but Sircar says that the condition was to wage war against the killer of brāhmana. Dr. R. Vajpeyi¹⁹ used this condition to show that there was tensions in the society due to the emergence of powerful feudatories and brāhmana fiefholders as intermediaries between the state and peasantry.

Siwani plates gives all rights to the donee except catūrvaidyagrāmamaryyādānvita-amaryyā and akaradayi. Patna plates donot follow the pattern of Jāmb plates and only gives the right to levy 1/5th of tax.

The kings show a uniform pattern of granting exemptions. All grants by kings refer to exemptions. Of the ministers and feudatories, Chammak plates becomes important firstly because it grants 8000 nivartana of land and secondly, because it places conditions on the donee. In case of the Vatsagulma branch Vindhyaśakti II gives a wide range of exemptions to the donee but no other king referred to exemptions. The feudatories and ministers do not grant any exemption. Probably they did not have the right to do so. In the case of women, Prabhāvatīguptā, gave exemptions which, were similar to those given by the king except right to forced labour and exemption from all taxes. Other grants by women i.e. Masodā plates refer to exemptions as in Jāmb plates.

¹⁸ Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*, CII, Vol. V, (1963), p. 26.

¹⁹ Vajpeyi, R., 'Socio-Economic tensions in Bhojakata Rājya of Vākātaka Kingdom in time of Pravarasena (II)', *Indian History Congress*, 45th Sesion, Annamalai University, p. 139.

Only some Kalacuri grants mention exemptions. For the Tripuri branch only Banaras plates, Goharwa plates of Karṇa, Khairha plates of Yasahkarma, Jabalpur and Rewa plates of Jayasimha referred to exemptions. Of the grants by women only Bilhari gives exemptions. Among the grants by feudatories/ministers, Rewa inscription of Jayasimha (Year 926) and Rewa grant (year 1253) and Umariya grant Vijayasimha mention exemptions.

The Bilhari stone inscription, which records donations by Nōhalā was unique in the sense that it refers to the market place and grants exemptions in relation to trade. This would imply that she had some control over trade. This inscription was the sole instance of a grant linked to market place or trade. The following exemptions were given in the *mandapika* (market place) of the town, “there shall be paid a Śōdasika (1/16th of dramma) on every Khandika of salt and one śōdaśika for (every) oil mill per month and a paura for a couple of yugās per day. In the case of betel-nuts, black-pepper, dried gonger and other merchandise, a paura (shall be paid), by every measurer, a Kapardi shall be paid for every vithī (shop) and dyūtakapardas for vegetables and egg-plants. In the case of dealers in liquids, the tax be (in form of) bundles of grass, dhirmara and whatever (else may be possible). An elephant (offered for sale) should be taxed four pauras and a horse two pauras”.²⁰ There was also restriction that there shall be no sale or gifts of the donation.

The Banaras plates of Karṇa mentions that taxes, *bhōga*, *hiranya*, produce of mines (*Sarvakhana*) and also mango and *madhūka* trees (*samramadhuka*), inclusive of pits, land, water and waste land, (*Sagrasthālajalośar*). In Goharwa stone, it states that the village whose

²⁰ Mirashi, V.V., *inscriptions of Kalacuri-Chedi Era*, CII, Vol. IV, 1955, pp. 223-224.

four boundaries were well determined to be given inclusive of water and land (*Sajala*, *Sthala*), mango and *madhūka* trees (*Samramadhūka*), together with mines of iron and salt (*salavanakara*) extending to its boundaries and together with woods, meadows and pasture land and also to pay all royal dues such as *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *hiranya* and others to him.

Khairha plates of Yaśahkarna gives similar exemptions like Sajalaśthala i.e. with land and water, with mango madhūka trees (*sāmramadhūka*), with pits and barren lands (*sagatorsar*), right to ingress and egress (*Nirgamapravēsa*), with mines of salt (*salavanākara*), with pasture land (*sagochāra*), marshy lands (*sajaganalanūpa*), groves of trees, gardens of plants and grass (*vrishaka* and *dandhuyantrinādī*) and so forth.

Jabalpur plates of Jayasīṃha (year 918), gives similar exemptions and also adds rivers and hills, along with the (royal) share (of produce) taxes (the less on) *pravanis*, *vāda*, grazing tax, liquor tax, *kāmata*, the cess on *visēninā*, the tax levied for *paṭṭakilas* and *Dussādhyas*. The district rates and such other taxes levied or to be paid to the donee Rewa stone inscription of Vijayaśīṃha (year 96 (?)) gives grant together with cess on *visēna*, fertile and together land, together with mango and madhūka trees along with pasture land, grass etc. Also *kāmata*, *mavāda* and cess on *pravanis* and all other taxes to the donee.

Of the grants by feudatory/ministers, the Rewa stone of Vijayaśīṃha (year 944), where the grant was given by Malaysīṃha, mentions that all dues should be paid to the donee. In the Umariya grant of Vijayaśīṃha (year 944), where the donor was *Rānaka* Kumarapāla, the grant was given for the religious merit of his wife

(term used was *priya*) Mōkha. This was made along with water and land, mango and madhuka trees, together with pits and barren land and mines of salt. All the villagers were asked to pay all the taxes to the donor.

For the Saryupara branch, the Kahila grant gives exemptions along with land, water (Sajal, Sthāla), mango and madhuka trees, with woods and gardens (vanavatikā) with pits and barren lands, with iron and salt mines along with all shares, enjoyments, taxes and royal cess and not subject to (the payment) of any dues, not to be entered by *chāta* and *bhatas* and free from all annoyances.

The Ratnapur branch records do not give exemptions except the Amōda plates of Pṛthvīdeva I and Amōda plates (first set) of Pṛthvīdeva II. The Amōda plates of Pṛthvīdeva I mentions that land granted with hereditary and to be enjoyed without interference, along with shares, enjoyments, taxes, *hiranya*, fines for (illegal) distillation etc. And Amōda plates of Pṛthvīdeva II says that the village was given with all taxes (*sakara*).

In the case of exemptions the Vākāṭakas records much wider range of exemptions and rights than the Kalacuris. Nearly all Vākātaka records grants such rights. Even the grants by women give a wide range of exemptions. Comparatively, the Kalacuris gave exemptions in a few grants and even they were not as wide ranging as the Vākātaka exemptions. In case of grant by queen only Nōhala gives exemption but that was exception as it was in reference to market place. This would imply some kind of control she had over market place it was important because the queen had control over trade. No other women gave exemptions.

III

In the case of donee, the table²¹ below shows the preference of donee by the king, queen and feudatory/ministry.

TABLE 4.4: DONEES OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA GRANTS

MAJOR BRANCH:

Donee	Brāhmana	Belonging to Taittiriya Sākhā	Ācārya/ Upādhyaya	Only Name Mentioned	Total No. of Grants
By King	5	7	1	4	16
By Queen	-	1	1	1	5
By Feudatory/ Minister	1	-	-	-	3

VATSGULMA BRANCH:

Grant	Brāhmana	Belonging to Taittiriya Sākhā	Ācārya/ Upādhyaya	Only Name Mentioned	Total No. of Grants
By King	2	-	-	2	4
By Queen	-	-	-	-	-
By Feudatory/ Minister	-	-	-	-	4

For the major branch most of the grants were given to brāhmana of Taittirīya sākhā of the Yajurveda which, was related to sacrifices. We do not have information about the donee from Deotak, Pattan, Ramtēk and Miregaon grants. For the Vatsagulma branch inscriptions, the Hisse-Borālā, Ajanta Caves & Ghatotkacha do not mention the donee. The feudatories granted to Buddhist shrines and not to the Śaiva cult.

²¹ For reference see Appendix III (A), Column – IV.

Of the records by women, the Poonā plates mentions a grant to ācārya who could be a brāhmaṇa but this is not specified. Riddhapur plates mention grant to brāhmaṇa of Taittirya Śākha. Masodā grant mentioned the donee as Mahāpuruṣa and nothing else was specified. The name would suggest Vaisnava affiliation, whereas the Vākātakas were Śaivite. This grant was by the queen of Pravarasena II. We will examine further instances of variations in patronage in the next chapter.

The Jāmb plates the donee was described as gaṇayājīn i.e. performer of sacrifice for guild. The performers of such sacrifices were abhorred by ancient writers who prohibited them from being invited to a śrāddha. This sacrifice was performed by the person only in exceptional case. He could employ a priest to free himself from sin, but the priest will be tainted by guilt. Therefore it was rare.²²

In Belora, Tirōdi and Wadgaon as well as Mandhal plates of Prthvīsenā II the residence of the donee was also mentioned. The preference was given to the brāhmaṇa of Taittirya Śākhā which shows that the king patronised sacrificial order. Prabhāvatīguptā in her Poona grant does not give make grants to brāhmanas of the Taittiriya Śākhā but to ācārya. In Riddhapur grant she followed the royal trend of granting to the sacrificial order.

For the Kalacuris, the preference was divided between brāhmaṇa and śaiva ascetics. It's tabulated²³ below:

²² Shastri, A.M., *Vākāṭaka: Source & History*, Aryan Book International, New Delhi, 1997, p. 13.

²³ For reference see Appendix III (B), Column-IV.

TABLE 4.5: DONEES OF THE KALACURI GRANTS:

TRIPURI BRANCH:

Donee	Brāhmana	Śaiva Aseetics	Other	Total no. of grants
By King	3	-	1	8
By Queen	-	2	-	3
Women other than Queen	-	-	1	3
Feudatory/ Minister	3	-	-	14

RATNAPUR BRANCH:

Donee	Brāhmana	Śaiva Aseetics	Other	Total no. of grants
By King	1-	-	2	13
By Queen	-	-	-	-
Women other than Queen	-	-	-	-
Feudatory/ Minister	-	-	-	9

As the table shows king as well as the feudatory or minister gave preference to brāhmaṇas while the queens gave grants to Śaiva ascetics. Probably brāhmaṇas did not want to take gifts from women. Another intriguing point was that although the Kalacuris were Śaivite the kings did not grant to Śaiva ascetics. They granted to brāhmaṇas whereas queens granted only to Śaiva ascetics. The Saryupara branch gave grant to brāhmaṇa.

Overall, the grants given by king are to brāhmaṇas. The Vākāṭakas gave grants to brāhmaṇas of the Taittirīya śākhā emphasizing the older tradition of sacrifices, whereas queens except the Masoda plates given by wife of Pravarasena II, do not give grant to brāhmaṇa of Taittirīya Śākhā which would show that probably they did not have the right to make such donations. It could also be that since women did not have direct access to sacrifices therefore they could not make gifts to sacrificial priests. Like women the feudatories and ministers also like women could not make gifts to brāhmaṇas of Taittirīya Śākhā. Probably they did not have the right to do so. Similar trends can be seen in the case of Kalacuri grants where only the king grants to brāhmaṇas. The queen granted to the Śaiva ascetics. It was probable that the brāhmaṇas did not take grants from women.

IV

After the grant was made and exemptions laid down, the donor informed other officials about the donations and therefore addressed the grants to them. In the case of Vākāṭakas, most of the inscriptions were addressed to the *Kulaputra*, who were employed by order of Sarvādhyaksa and soldiers and policemen to whom the order was already known. The inscriptions which follow this pattern were Jāmb, Siwani, Indore, Dudia, Tirōdi, Wadgaon, Pandhurna, Pauni plates of Pravarasena II and Mandhal 'B' and Mahurjhari plates of Pṛthvīsenā II.²⁴ The Pattan inscription is addressed to the residents. Mandhal 'A' plates of Pṛthvīdeva II addresses the residents of the village (*grāma prativasīn*) and elders (*Kuṭumbina*) of the village led by brāhmaṇas along with the usual pattern. These grants were not addressed to the

²⁴ For reference see Appendix – III A, Column-V.

officials. Similarly the Yavatmal, and Patna plates also address the villagers and not to any administrative officials.

In the grants by women, Poona plates was addressed to Kutumbina and brāhmanas. The Riddhapura plates were addressed to gramamahāṭṭaras. We do not know whether Miregaon and Ramtek plates addressed to anybody, as these are not mentioned by A.M. Shastri. The Masodā plates, follow the pattern of the Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II. It was interesting to note that Prabhāvatīguptā does not address the officials about the grant. It was probable that she did not have control over the administrative machinery since the officials were mentioned only in some instances and in other instances they were not addressed, rather the villagers were informed. This could lead to questions about the validity of such grants.

For the Vatsagulma branch, the Bāsim plates addresses to ājñāpati (executor of grant)²⁵ and soldiers in all departments. The India office plates of Devasena were addressed to touring officers of noble birth (*sancantari kulaputra*) such as soldiers, bhojakas and dandanāyakas. There was no addresses in Bidar plates of Devasena, Thalner plates of Harisena and Ajanta caves XVI & XVII and Ghaṭotkacha cave inscriptions. In this case, the position of feudatories and ministers is comparable to women, who could not directly address officers.

In the case of the Kalacuris only the grants of kings of address officers. In the case of feudatories and ministers only Umariya grant given by a *Ranaka* for the religious merit of his wife (*priya*) Mōkhā addresses administrative officers.

²⁵ Sircar, D.C., *Land Lordism & Tenancy in Ancient & Medieval India as revealed by epigraphical records*, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, 1969, p. 60.

No grant by women address officials. It shows that they did not have the control over administrative machinery. But was very interesting to note that in the addresses to the officials, the king informs the *mahādevī/mahārājñi* of the grant. This suggests that the queen was duly informed of the condition, object and nature of the proposed grant.²⁶ This shows that she had an administrative role and had some kind of control over resources. On the other hand in the donations made by her, she does not address the officials.

The administrative functionaries addressed in the Kalacuri grants²⁷ can be divided into groups of royal officers, central administrative officers, revenue officers, military officers and other officials. Grants which mentions these officers were Banaras, Goharwa plates of Karna, Khairna plates of Yaśahkarṇa, Rewa plates (year 96 (?)) and Umariya plates of Vijayasimhadeva and also Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha.

Royal officers included *mahādevī* and *rājaputra Mahādevī/mahārājñi* i.e. the chief queen was the first functionary to be addressed. All the inscriptions except Rewa plates mentions the queen. This would imply that she had some control over land therefore she was informed about the grant. The second important official was the Yuvarāja or crown prince. He was mentioned in all except Jabalpur and Rewa plates.

Officers of central administration included *rājaguru*, *mahāmantrin*, *mahāmatya* and *mahāsandhivīgrahika*, *rājaguru* or the spiritual perceptor exercised great influence in administration during

²⁶ Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuris and their times*, Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 1980, p. 81.

²⁷ For reference see Appendix- III (B), Column – V.

the Kalacuri regime²⁸. Only the Jabalpur and Rewa plates mentions *rājaguru*. It would show the *rājaguru* came to prominence as an administrative officer late i.e. after *Narasimha* (1155 A.D.). The Jabalpur inscription informs about the role of *rājaguru* in royal affairs which indicates that *rājagurus* were often entrusted with various kinds of works befitting their position.²⁹ The Umariya grant mentions *vimalaśiva* as both *Mahāmantrin* and *rājaguru*.

Mahāmantrin was the chief councillor. He was variously called as *Mahāmantrin* and *Mantipradhāna*. He was mentioned in Banaras, Goharwa, Khairha, Rewa and Umariya records but not in Jabalpur inscription.

Mahāmātya was the prime minister who was mentioned only in Banaras, Goharwa and Khairha plates. This would imply that by the late Kalacuri period *Mahāmātya* lost his position and status. In the Kōni inscription of *Pr̥thvīdeva II* (year 900) he was called *Sarvādhikārin*, in the sense of prime minister.³⁰ Mirashi holds that the officer some times appointed with supreme power of direction and administration³¹.

Mahāsāndhivigrahika was the minister of war and peace, mentioned in Goharwa plates. The Jabalpur, Rewa and Umariya grants mentions *sāndhivigrahika*. He was not mentioned in Banaras, and Khairha plates. These officials including the chief queen would have had any direct involvement in the administration of the landgrant. Nevertheless, the fact that they are addressed suggests that this was a distinctive political structure in which the queen exercised some power.

²⁸ Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuris and their times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. 83.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 83.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 85.

³¹ Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of Kalacuri-Chedi era*, CII, Vol. IV, 1963, p. CXI.

Revenue officers like *mahākshapatalika*, *mahābhāndāgārika*, *mahāpramātri* and *arthlēkhin* are mentioned. *Mahākshapātalika* was the chief keeper of records or accounts. He was mentioned in Goharwa and Khairha plates. *Mahābhāndāgārika* was the chief keeper of the royal treasury. The Goharwa, Khairha, and Umariya plates mention this officer. *Mahāpramātri* was the chief revenue officer. He was mentioned in the Khairha plates. *Arthalēkhin* corresponds to chief secretary and was mentioned in Rewa and Umariya plates of Vijayasimha. This would imply that this officer gained prominence under Vijayasimha rule. These officials would have been directly involved in recording revenues transactions. As such their mention is significant.

Military officers like *mahāpramattavāra* and *mahāśvasādhanika* were addressed in a few grants. *Mahāpramattavāra* was the chief commanders of elephant force. He was mentioned in Goharwa, and Umariya plates. *Mahāśvasādhanika* was the chief of cavalry force. He was mentioned in Goharwa and Khairha plates. Umariya plates mention *aśvasādhanika*³² who may have been a subordinate officer in charge of cavalry. Reference to these officials would suggest that there was a connection between control over resources and the ability to mobilize armed forces.

Other officers mentioned were *mahāpradhāna*, *mahādharmaadhikanika*, *mahāprātihara*, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāpurohita*, *dharmapradhana*, *mahādhyksha*, *dushtasādhyā*, *mahāmandalika* and *mahāmahattaka*.

³² Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuri and their times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. 88.

Mahāpradhāna was mentioned in Rewa and Umariya grants. The nature and function of this officer was not clear.³³ *Mahādharmādhikarnika* was the head of judicial department. He was mentioned in Goharwa plates. Mirashi holds it to be head of the Department of Religion.³⁴ *Mahāpratihara* was chief usherer. He was mentioned in Goharwa, Khairha and Jabalpur plates. *Mahāsamanta* was the chief feudatory. He was probably the minister-in-charge of the department dealing with the vassals. He was mentioned in Goharwa, Khairha and Umariya plates. *Mahapurohitā* was the chief priest mentioned in Khairha and Umariya plates. *Dharmaprādhana*, was the officer related to the department of religion and mentioned in Jabalpur and Umariya plates. *Mahādhyaksha* was the great superintendent who supervised all departments. Only the Khairha plates mentions him. *Dushtasādhyā* was mentioned in Jabalpur and Umariya grants. *Mahāmāndalika* was mentioned in Rewa and *Mahāmahattaka* mentioned in Umariya. The duties of this officer cannot be ascertained.

The Kahila grant of Sodhdeva of Saryupara branch addresses the *mahārājñi*, *mahārājaputra*, *mahāsandhivigrahika*, *mahāmahantaka* who was probably the same as *mahāmahattaka*. It also addresses *mahāpratihara*, *mahāsenāpatī*, *mahākshapatalika*, *mahāsādhanika* (military officer, in charge of military supplies), *mahāśrēsthi* (chief banker), *mahādānika*, *mahāpāñchakulika* (chief *pañchakulas*, which was a committee of persons elected by residents of a town or a village for management of several departments), *śaukika*, *gaulmika*, *ghattapāti*, *tārapati*, *vishyadānika*, *dushtśadhaka*, *khandavāla*, *balādhira* and other and people of the country.

³³ Ibid, p. 85.

³⁴ Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions and Kalacuri-chediera*, CII, Vol. IV, 1963, p. 249, fn. 8.

The Ratnapur branch records do not address officials informing them about the grant. It was probable that the officers did not have the power and status in Ratnapur branch as they had in the Tripuri branch. None of the Kalacuri grants mentioned these categories.

It was seen that women generally did not address officials about the grant except in the case of Prabhāvatiguptā. The Vākātakas do not mention as many officials as Kalacuris. The large number of officials being mentioned by Kalacuris may point to a different political structure. In many cases the prefix 'mahā' was added to the post which, according to R.K. Sharma points to the tendency in the administrative system towards greater organization, further concentration of power and unity of control which manifested itself in the appointment of heads even among the high ranking officials.³⁵ Another interesting point was the mention of *mahādevī* or *mahārājñī* in Kalacuri inscriptions among the officers addressed the grant. It would imply the important position she had in the administration.

V

Besides the above mentioned officers who were informed about the grant certain officers like the Dūtaka (messenger), scribe, engraves etc. were mentioned towards the end of the grant.

There was no mention of such officials in Vākātaka inscriptions such as Deotak, Patna, Mirgaon and Ramtek of the major branch. In the Vatsagulma branch, the India office, Ajanta Cave XVI & XVII and Ghatotkacha caves also do not mention officials.

Distribution of mention of the such officials is tabulated³⁶ below:

³⁵ Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuris and their times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. 91.

³⁶ For reference, see Appendix – III A, Column – VI.

**TABLE 4.6: DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CATEGORIES & OFFICIALS
IN INSCRIPTIONS:**

MAJOR BRANCH:

Officials	Scribe	Dūtaka	Engraver	Senāpatī	Others	Total no. of Grants
By King	8	2	1	13	2	16
By Queen	1	2	-	1	-	5
By Feudatory/ Minister	-	-	-	1	-	3

VATSGULMA BRANCH:

Officials	Scribe	Dūtaka	Engraver	Senāpatī	Others	Total no. of Grants
By King	2	2	-	1	-	4
By Queen	-	-	-	-	-	-
By Feudatory/ Minister	-	-	-	-	1	4

In the miscellaneous category, the Indore grant mentions *rājuka* which, was a term used in Asokan inscriptions. Tirōdi mentions *Rājādhikṛta* and the Hisse-Borala was mentions *Karmopadeshtrī* i.e. supervisor.

The table shows that king mentions the *senāpatī* while in grants by women only the Masoda grant mentions *senāpatī* in rest of grants by Prabhāvatīguptā, *senāpatī* was not mentioned. Probably women did not have right to refer the military officers and would again imply to her limitations.

For the Kalacuris, Saugor, Chhoti-Deori, Karitalai, Banaras plates, Rewa stone of Karna (year 800), Sarnath, Rewa stone of Narasimha, Paikora of Karna and Tewar plates do not mention such categories. The Tripuri and Ratnapur branch inscriptions³⁷ mentions officials like scribe, engraver, eulogists, *dūtaka* etc. The Saryupara branch inscriptions do not mention such officials. The grants by women also mention such officials.

Comparing the Vākāṭakas and Kalacuris we find both mention officials. Grants by women of the Vākāṭakas do not mention officials but in Kalacuri grant by women except Saugor and Sarnath, mention such officials. This shows queens of the Kalacuri branch had the control over these administrative officials which Prabhāvatiguptā did not have.

In terms of administrative power, it can be seen that women did not have much power. Women do not give land or villages, except in the case of Prabhāvatiguptā and the Kalacuri queens, Nōhalā and Rāhada. In the case of Kalacuri queens Nōhalā and Alhaṇadevī the grant is of the income rather than the village. Except Prabhāvatiguptā and Nōhalā no women grant exemptions. In the case of the latter, she give exemptions related to trade, which would imply her control over market place. In the case of donees the king grants to brāhmanas whereas women, except Prabhāvatiguptā and feudatories/ministers do not give donations to brāhmanas. No grant by women and feudatories address officers except the Umariya plates of the Kalacuri Vijayasimha. The Kalacuris address a wide range of officers and also address the queen which would suggest her power and status in administration. Among the other officials and social categories mentioned women do not

³⁷ For reference see Appendix-III B, Column-VI.

mention as many categories as are mentioned by men. They do not refer to the Senāpatī which would suggest that their power was limited.

The next chapter deals with the religious affiliations of kings, queens and feudatories/ministers of both the dynasties. The aim will be to see the variation as well as similarities. Patronage of religious institutions was an important means of claiming status. As such it is important to see the extent to which men and women followed similar or different strategies.

CHAPTER - V

PATRONAGE OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

It is generally recognized that one of the common methods of claiming legitimacy was by obtaining the support of religious institutions. By giving patronage to different cults kings, queens and others proclaimed control over land and revenues. Cynthia Talbot¹ says that the legitimization of a ruler rested on his role as donor. This mode, of religious patronage had a wide territorial spread and acceptability.² It was also a source of social prestige and a method of allocating surplus resources in the locality to those institutions and social groups that supported the donor.³ The present chapter deals with the pattern of religious patronage of the Vākāṭakas and Kalacuris. The chapter is divided into two sections, the first deals with invocations and grants in honour of deities and second, with various rituals mentioned in the inscriptions.

I

The Vākāṭakas were followers of 'Bhairava' i.e. Śiva. They described themselves as '*mahābhairava bhaktā*'. There was no invocation in Deotak plates of Rudrasena I and Indore plates of Pravarasena II. Information about the Miregaon plates of Prabhāvatiguptā is missing. For the Vatsagulma branch there was no invocation in Bāsīm, India office, Bidar and Thalner plates. Of the total

¹ Talbot, Cynthia, 'Temples, Donors and Gifts: Pattern of Patronage in 13th Century South India', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 50, no. 2, 1991, p. 308.

² Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, (2nd edn.), 1998, p. 35.

³ Talbot, Cynthia, 'Temples, Donors and Gifts: Pattern of Patronage in 13th century South India', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 1991, p. 336.

thirty-two (32) inscriptions, sixteen (16) invoked Bhairava. All the grants by kings are in favour of Śaivism.

Some grants invoked Viṣṇu and Buddha, the Māndhal plates of Rudrasena II gave grant in honour of Viṣṇu in the name of Mondasvāmin. Rudrasena II was one of the few Vākātakas rulers who supported Visnuism and not Śaivism A.M. Shastri⁴ held that Rudrasena II played a pivotal role in popularizing the Bhāgavata religion in the region. He further says that Mondasvāmin was named after the place where the temple was situated. Hans T. Bakker⁵, however says that the girlhood name of Prabhāvatīguptā, wife of Rudrasena II, may have been Mundā and the temple was constructed by her. This may thus reflect the influence of Prabhāvatīguptā was pointed. Since she supported Visnuism, Rudrasena II constructed the temple of Viṣṇu although the Vākātakas were Śaivite.

In the grants by women, Prabhāvatīguptā in Poona and Riddhapur plates paid obeisance and made donations to Vaisnava shrines, she described herself as '*bhāgavata bhakta*'. She, like the Guptas, paid obeisance to Viṣṇu. Thereby in this aspect as in genealogies, grant, donee, she marks out an identity different from the Vākātakas. No other Vākāṭaka ruler after her supported Vaisnavism.

The Ramtek inscription, by Prabhāvatīguptā's daughter, recorded a grant to the temple of Narasiṃha i.e. man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. The deity was named Prabhāvatīsvāmin. This emphasizes on her Vaisnava affiliation and naming the deity after her mother would have been an indication of a claim to status. The Masoda plates given by the

⁴ Shastri, A.M., *Vākātakas: Source & History*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, p. 87.

⁵ Bakker, Hans T., *The Vākātakas, An Essay in Hindu Iconology*, Egbert Forten Groninjen, Netherlands, 1997, p. 19.

queen of Pravaresena II paid obeisance to Śiva and is thus similar to the grants by kings.⁶

Of Pravarasena II grants only the Pattan inscription records grant to Viṣṇu. In this grant Bhairava was invoked and the grant was to 'mahāpurusa' i.e. Viṣṇu. This grant was given at the request of Nārāyanarāja. The name of the donor also suggests Vaisnava affiliation. This would show that no one other than the king had right to give donations to Śiva. And since the donor gave donations with the consent of the king, he paid obeisance to Śiva and not Viṣṇu in whose honour the grant was given.

In the case of the Vatsagulma branch, no grant was given to Śiva. There was no invocation in Bāsim, Bidar, India office and Thalner plates. The kings did not support Śaivism that like the major branch. In the grants by feudatories and ministers obeisance was paid to 'Sugata' i.e. Buddha. The Hisse-Borālā inscription invokes 'bhāgavata' i.e. Viṣṇu and mentions the construction of the sudarshan lake. This records the donation by Ārya Svāmīladeva, ājñākara (executive officer) of Devasena. This would probably imply that the ministers and feudatories had the right to invoke other gods but not Śiva. It was also probable that the feudatories and ministers claimed social prestige through these grants.

It was notable that none of the women gave grants to Śiva except Masoda plates, given by wife of Pravarasena II which, as in other aspects of inscriptions do not show any kind of variation from the trend followed by king. It can be inferred that patronage to Śiva was restricted to the king but the queens and ministers did not have the right to support the institution. Prabhāvatīguptā had a Vaisnava

⁶ For reference see Appendix-IV A, Column-III.

affiliation congruent with Gupta practice of patronizing Vaisnavism. In the case of the Vatsagulma branch, the kings did not patronize śaivism. The feudatories and ministers gave donations to Buddha. It can be said that they claimed social prestige by patronizing alternative traditions and were perhaps trying to assert their autonomy.

The Kalacuris were ardent followers of Śaivism. The kings were styled '*parama-mahēśvara*'. It was very interesting to note that in inscriptions the king and queens were compared to gods and goddesses. They not only compared themselves with Śiva and Pārvātī but also Lakshmī and Viṣṇu, Indra and Śacī and others. This would imply that they did not restrict themselves to Śaivism only but extended the analogy to other gods and goddesses in order to claim power.

In the inscriptions of the Tripuri branch, of the total twenty seven (27) inscriptions only three (3) were kings and queens compared to gods and goddesses. In the Bilhari inscription Keyurvarsha was compared to Rudra i.e. Śiva.⁷ Nōhalā was described as Rudrani i.e. Pārvati and Lakshmī.⁸ In the Banaras plates Naṭṭā was described as Sacī was to Indra, Kamalā was to Upendra and Pārvatī was to Śiva.⁹ In the Goharwa plates of Karṇa, Yuvarājadeva was compared to Śiva.¹⁰ No other inscription of the Tripuri branch follows this method of legitimization which suggests that this kind of comparison did not hold much importance for them and they used other methods of claiming legitimization like giving land grants, invoking Śiva etc.

⁷ Mirashi V.V., *Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Chedi Era*, CII, Vol. IV, part – I, 1955, p. 211.

⁸ Ibid, p. 212.

⁹ Ibid, p. 242.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 256.

In the case of the inscriptions of the Saryupara branch, the Kahila plates¹¹ compare most of the Kings and queens with gods and goddess. Kancanadevī and Gunāmbhōdhedeḥva I were compared to Laksmī and Viṣṇu. Śankaragana and Vidyā were compared as Laksmi was to Viṣṇu, Girija was to Śiva. Gunasagar II and Rājava were compared to Laksmi, and Viṣṇu, Rohini and Moon, Gauri and Śiva, and Paulomī to Indra. The same inscriptions compares Śaṅkaragaṇa III with Śiva. In this branch claiming status through equating the kings and queens with gods and goddesses was an established practice.

In the case of the Ratnapur branch of the total twenty three (23) grants, in five (5) grants kings and queens were compared to Laksmi Viṣṇu, Umā-Śiva etc. In the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jajalladeḥva I (year 866)¹² Rājalla wife of Pṛthvīdeḥva I was described as Laksmi was to Viṣṇu, Pārvati was to Śiva and Sacī was to Indra. Sheorinārāyana stone inscription of Ratnadeḥva II (year 878)¹³ compared Jajalladeḥva I to Indra and Ratnadeḥva II to Jayanta (son of Indra). In this inscription the queen was not given the status equal to the king as she was not compared to goddesses. In the Akaltara stone inscription¹⁴ Jajalladeḥva I and Lachchhalladevī were compared to Laksmī-Purushōttama. In the same inscription Ratnadeḥva II was compared to Kumāra. It can be said that the kings claimed divinity by claiming status equivalent to gods and goddesses but not always to Śiva and Pārvati. They compared themselves with other gods and goddesses of the brāhmanical traditions. This can be interpreted as an example of cult syncretism.

It is very interesting to note that in many cases the donor or donee was compared with the god and not the king. In the Diakoni

¹¹ Ibid, part – II, pp. 387-389.

¹² Ibid, pp. 412-413.

¹³ Ibid, p. 42.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 432-433.

stone inscription¹⁵ the donee, brāhmaṇa Viṣṇu was compared with Viṣṇu. In this case the donee probably was given respect by comparing him to deity. In the Rajim stone inscription¹⁶ the donor Jagapāla was compared with Rāma. In the Ratnapur stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva (II) (year 1207)¹⁷, Ratnasimha, and his wife Rambhā, parents of the donor were compared with Śacī-Indra, daughter of Gīrīrāja to Śambhu, and also to the daughter of milky ocean (*dugdhabidhiputrī*) to Cakrapanī i.e. Viṣṇu. Thus, the donor was claiming divinity for his parents. Thus, the donors and donees in these inscription were projected as being more important than the king as they and not the king were equated with the gods.

The Kalacuris in their inscriptions gave made donations in honour of Śiva. Of the total twenty-seven (27) inscriptions of the Tripuri branch, seventeen (17) invoke Śiva. The invocation was missing¹⁸ in two (2) inscriptions. In the twenty three (23) Ratnapur inscriptions seven (7) invoked Śiva and the invocation was missing in ten (10) inscriptions. The Kalacuris do not give prominence to the Taittiriya Śakha as was given by Vākāṭakas. None of the Kalacuri inscriptions mention it. It was probable that by this period, the sacrificial ritual declined in status and other methods of claiming legitimacy was followed, including claiming divinity.

The Śaiva ācāryas got special patronage from the Kalacuris especially the Tripuri branch. Yuvarājadeva I invited the Śaiva ācārya Prabhasiva of Mattamayūra clan and the tradition of Śaiva ācāryas as the spiritual preceptor of the kings started. The Jabalpur stone inscriptions of Jayasimha (year 920) mentions the king and the Śaiva

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 445.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 454.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 486.

¹⁸ For reference see Appendix – IV B, Column – III.

ascetic who was the religious preceptor. This inscription records the construction of the temple of Śiva by the Śaiva ascetic Vimalaśiva, the spiritual preceptor of the king Jayasimha. Thus, the Śaiva ascetic gained prominence during this period.

Mirashi¹⁹ says that it is likely that because of the influence of Nōhalā, wife of Yuvarājadeva I Śaiva ācārya of Mattamayura, came to Cedi. Similarly, he points out that the Kalacuri queen Alhanadevī who hailed from Mewar, placed the Pāsūpata ascetic Rudraraśi of Lata in charge of the temple of Śiva and made grants of villages to him. It is very interesting to note that these queens gave grant to Śaiva ascetic while the kings gave grant to brāhmanas. This would imply that although the kings had Śaiva ascetics as their spiritual preceptor they did not make grant to them. It was only the queens who gave grants to Śaiva ascetics although they did not have the Śaiva ascetic as their spiritual preceptor.

In some inscriptions such as the Jabalpur inscription, the *rājagurus* of Kalacuris were mentioned among the royal officers, who received the grants of villages, land etc. In many of the Kalacuri grants the *rājaguru* was addressed among administrative functionaries, informing them about the donation of the grant. In the Umariya plates of Vijayasimhadeva, *rājaguru* Vimalaśiva was mentioned also as a *Mahāmantri*. The Jabalpur plates mention the role of *rājaguru* in royal affairs. This shows that their role was not restricted to religion as they transcended from religion's sphere to political sphere. The *rājaguru* under the Tripuri branch had attained a royal status and were part of administrative functions.

¹⁹ Mirashi, V.V., 'Śiva ācharyas of Mattamayura class', in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26, p. 8.

In most of the Kalacuri inscriptions the king was described meditating at the feet of '*parama-bhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara* – Vāmadeva', whose identification has been a matter of contention among scholars. Vāmadeva, according to Mirashi²⁰ was the founder of the early Kalacuri dynasty. D.C. Sircar²¹ and V.S. Pathak identify Vāmadeva as Vāmaśambhu, a Śaiva ascetic. In the context of using such high-sounding titles for Vāmadeva, D.C. Sircar²² says that a guru was no less than god thereby a title of '*parama mahēśvara*' ascribed to him was not surprising as his royal disciples also used similar titles.

Śaivism was patronized by the Kalacuri kings. Śaivism was divided into four broad sects-Paśupata, Kaula, kapalika and Śaiva siddhanta sects. Inscriptional evidence of all these sects were found, except the Kaula and Kapalika sects, in Kalacuri records.

The Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II describes the king as engaged in the worship of Śrikantha. Śrikantha was believed to have founded the Paśupata sects.²³ The Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarna referred to Bhāvabrāhmana, disciple of Paśupata ascetic Bhāvatejas. The Bhere-ghāt inscription of Narasimhadeva also mentioned the Paśupata ascetic Rudraraśi of Lata lineage to be in charge of the management of the temple endowed by Alhanadevī. The Paśupata sect held a prominent position in the Tripuri branch.

The siddha sect was referred to in the Rewa inscription of Vijayasimhadeva (K.C.E. 944), which described the genealogy of

²⁰ Mirashi, V.V., 'Identification of Vāmadeva of Kalacuri Inscription', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 33 (1957), p. 23.

²¹ Sircar, D.C., 'Vāmadeva, the Śaiva Saint', *ibid*, Vol. 14 (1935), p. 98.

²² *Ibid*, p. 100.

²³ Pathak, V.S., *History of śaiva cults in North-India*, c. 700 – 1200 A.D., Varanasi, 1960, p. 6.

Malayasimha, a feudatory, who was eulogised as “*siddhārthayogi*”. This inscription mentions that Malayasimha erected the shrine of Rāma and opened with an invocation to Mañjugośa, a Buddhist god. V.S. Pathak²⁴ says that the building of the shrine of Rāma was striking. He further says that *tantrāloka* mentions Rāma as Śiva, the highest reality. The commentator Jayadratha explains Rāma as a form of Śiva which pervades the whole universe. Rāma was frequently mentioned in the later Siddha literature. He further says that Mañjugośa as a Siddha deity was also accepted. This would suggest an attempt to integrate various cults.

The patronage to the Śaiva-siddhantā sects could be inferred from the Bilhari, Candrehi and Gurgi inscriptions, which gave genealogies of Śaiva ācāryas of the Mattamayura clan. The various sects of Śaivism were mentioned in the grants by kings, queens as well as feudatories. However women other than queen do not refer to Śaiva sects. This would imply that members of royal family had access to Śaiva sects. The grants by queens (Bilhari and Bhareghāt) record grants to Śaiva ascetic.

After Śaivism the next prominent cult was Vaisnavism. Śaṅkaragaṇa II styled himself as ‘*parama-vaisnava*’. The Khairha plates of Yasahkarna (KCE 823) traced his lineage to the ‘lotus-navelled god’ i.e. Viṣṇu. Rajim stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II of Ratnapur branch paid obeisance to Rāma, it was interesting that Tripuri branch kings were follower of Śaivism except Śaṅkaragaṇa and Yasahkarna. However, queens invariably make grants to show allegiances to Śaiva ascetics.

²⁴ Pathak, V.S., ‘Some obscure śaiva cults as known from inscriptions’, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 35, p. 130.

The Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadeva (year 772) records the construction of a temple of Jalaśayana i.e. Viṣṇu. Coins of Gāṅgēyadēva also carry the Lakshmi and lotus motif.²⁵ Gāṅgēyadeva is thus different from other kings in the sense that he supported Vaisnavism. In the Karitalai inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II the grant was given by Lakshmaṇarāja and Rāhada, who paid obeisance to Varaha i.e. boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. This was the only grant where the queen who gave grant with the consent of the king paid obeisance to Viṣṇu. In the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, we see that the mantri Gaṅgādhara caused a mandapa of Śauri (Visnu) to be constructed. Thus, Vaisnavism also was prominent in the Kalacuri Kingdom.

The Paikore stone pillar inscription of Karṇa records donation to some goddess, whose name was not specified, but the donor invokes Ganapatī. The Alhaghāt stone inscription records the grant of the temple of Ambikā and also the construction of the *shaṭashadikaghāt*. In the Ratnapur branch inscriptions²⁶, Mallār stone inscription of Jajalladeva II pays obeisance to Śiva as well as Ganapatī. Sheorinārāyan inscription of Jajalladeva II (year 919) records obeisance to Candracūdēśvara and also to Durgā. The Kharod inscription mentions temples of Śiva, Durgā, Viṣṇu and Tuntā Ganapatī. The Akaltara inscription contains invocations to Revanta i.e. Sun. It was interesting to note that goddesses were invoked by men i.e. they can invoke other gods and goddess but women were restricted to only Śaivism.

There was evidence of Kalacuris also following pañcāyatāna i.e. worshipping five deities incorporating Viṣṇu (in his various forms),

²⁵ Gupta, P.L., *Coins*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, (4th edu.,) 1996, p. 90.

²⁶ For reference see Appendix – IV B, Column – III.

Śiva, Durgā, Ganeśa and Sun sometimes included Sarasvati. The Gurgi stone inscription referred to the installation of the image named Srivatsa surrounded by four small shrines. In the Koni stone inscription of Prthvideva II (year 900), *Sarvādhikarin* Purushottam constructed a five shrined temple. In the Tripuri branch, the Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa, records a grant given by Vappula. He built a temple of Śiva, Viṣṇu and small shrines of Lakshmī-Nārāyana, and Umā-Mahēśvara. It was notable that the image of Umā-mahēśvara was installed by his wife Nayanāvati. Again, it can be said that women were restricted to Śaivism whereas men could make grant to other deities.

Of the Kalacuri grants, Sarnath inscriptions record grants to the Buddhist monastery. This grant was given by Māmaka who was a follower of the Mahāyana sect. She caused a copy of the *astaśadhasrikaprajña* to be written and also made some donations to the monastery. No kings or queens gave any grants to Buddhist deities. This may suggest that women other than the queen could support alternative cults, although they could not make grants to brahmanical cults. The Bahuriband statue inscription given by a *Mahābhoja* whose name was missing, invoked Śāntinātha, the Jaina tirthankara. The colossal image was consecrated by *ācārya* Subhadra. The Jains had a considerable following in the Kalacuri country.²⁷ No Ratnapur branch inscription referred to any grant to Buddhist or Jaina traditions.

Both the Vākāṭakas and Kalacuris patronized Śaivism. The kings claimed legitimacy by making invocations and grants to Śaiva shrines and emphasizing their religious affiliations. Among queens, Prabhāvātīguptā deviates by invoking and Viṣṇu and making donations to Vaisnava shrines. It can also be said that probably she

²⁷ Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuri and their times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p. 217.

did not have the right to grant to Śaiva shrines. In the case of Kalacuri queens, they supported Śaiva ascetics. It was also notable that men could make grants to many deities such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Ambikā, Ganapatī etc. but grants by women were restricted to Śaivism in case the of the queens and Buddhism in the case of women other than queens. It was probable that brāhmanical religious institutions did not accepted grants from women.

II

In their inscriptions the Vākāṭakas mention a number of rituals and sacrifices. The brāhmaṇa as a priest had a relationship with Kṣtriya embodying political power²⁸. Romila Thapar says that the sacrificial ritual was an exchange in which the gods were the recipients of offerings, bali, the priests were recipients of gifts and fees, dāna and dakṣina and the Kṣtriya as the one who ordered the ritual, was the recipient of the benevolence of the gods and of status and legitimacy among men.²⁹ The Vākāṭakas claimed to be reviving old practices of sacrifice, emphasizing brahmanical traditions.

All inscriptions³⁰ except Deotak, Indore, Yavatmal, and Patnā of the major branch mention the *agnistoma*, *āportyāma*, *ukthya*, *ṣoḍasin*, *atirātra*, *vājepeya*, *brihaspatisāva*, *sādyaskra* and form *aśvamedhas* performed by Pravaraseva I and ten *aśvamedhas* for Bhavanāgā. In the Māndal plates of Rudrasena II and the Miregaon inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā the information was missing.

²⁸ Thapar, Romila, *Cultural Pasts, Essays in Early Indian History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 516.

²⁹ Ibid,

³⁰ For reference see Appendix – IV (A), Column – IV.

In Poona and Riddhapur inscriptions of Prabhāvatiguptā mentions several *aśvamedhas* for Samudragupta. It was noticeable that she did not refer to any sacrifices for herself and it suggests that since women could not perform sacrifices independently they did not claim to perform them. It is also noteworthy that most Vākātaka kings do not claim to perform the sacrifices themselves, but only suggest there were performed by an illustrious ancestor. No grant by women except Masoda plates mentions sacrifices, Masoda plates mentions to the sacrifices as in the grants by king.

According to the *Gautama Dharmasutra* there were seven forms of soma sacrifice *agnistoma*, *atyāgnistoma*, *ukthya*, *ṣoḍasin*, *vājapeya*, *atirātra* and *āptoryāma*.³¹ The *agnistoma* was the model of all Soma sacrifices and was an integral part of the *Jyotistoma*. The *agnistoma* was to be performed in *Vasanta* (spring) every year and on the new moon day.³² In this sacrifice, the sacrificer and his wife performed the rituals.

The *ukthya*, *ṣoḍasin*, *atirātra*, *āptoryāma* were said to be performed by one who desires cattle, vigour, progeny, and all objects.³³ In the *ukthya*, a goat was sacrificed for Indra and Agni.

The *ṣoḍasin*³⁴ sacrifice was performed after sunset. Soma was purchased for a cow that was of a very small stature and had red coloured ears. A cow was sacrificed for Indra. The fee was a reddish brown horse or a female mule.

³¹ Kane, P.V., History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. 2, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p. 1134.

³² Ibid, p. 1134-1135.

³³ Ibid, p. 1204.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 1204-05.

The *atirātra*³⁵ also a soma sacrifice, referred to even in the *Rgveda*. Since this sacrifice was not completed in a day and went into the night therefore it was called *atirātra*. Besides the above mentioned another ewe or ram was offered to Sarasvati. The rest of sacrifice was offered to Indra.

The *āptoryāma*³⁶ was similar to the *atirātra*. In this sacrifice was offered to Agni, Indra, Viśvedevas and Viṣṇu.

The *brihaspatiśava* was a kind of one day *soma* sacrifice performed by a *brāhmaṇa* who performed the *Vājapeya*.

The *vājapeya*³⁷ involved collective drinking, animal sacrifice, chariot race. The drinking ritual was linked with notions of fertility. In this ritual a symbolic chariot race takes place in which, many members of the clan take part. The *rāja* wins the game, it was a kind of legitimization process where the higher position or status of the king was proclaimed.

The *aśvamedha*³⁸ was a major sacrifice. This sacrifice was also mentioned in *Rgveda* but it only referred to the killing of horse, N.N. Bhattacharyya says that during this phase, the horse-sacrifice did not have connotation of Kingship. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* details of the rituals were given. The horse was bathed in a pool and purified by sprinkling of water. After that the horse was set free for one year and guarded by many princes. After that the horse was sacrificed and a dialogue takes place between the chief queen and the priest. Sexual

³⁵ Ibid, p. 1205.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 1206.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 1206-07.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 1228-1239.

intercourse was enacted. It required a lot of resource mobilization and was a very important sacrifice.

The record of the Vatsagulma also mention sacrifices. Vindhyaśakti II mentions all the above sacrifices except the *ukthya*, *sōdashin* and *atirātra* and instead mentions the *jyotistoma*. The Thalner inscription mentions the rituals as mentioned in the major branch inscriptions. There was no mention of any sacrifice in the Bidar, India office and Hisse-Borāla inscriptions. None of the grants by feudatories and minister refer to sacrifices. This branch does not refer to the *aśvamedha* which was a major sacrifice. This might indicate their relative lack of power in comparison to the major branch.

The Vākātakas in majority of their inscriptions patronised Śaivism. Yes, in the rituals, they listed in their inscriptions, Śiva did not hold an important position. All the sacrifices and rituals were dedicated to Indra, Agni, etc. This probably shows that reference to the sacrifice was only a method of claiming legitimacy by claiming familiarity with old ritual traditions.

The feudatories and ministers do not refer to any rituals and sacrifices. The queens also did not mention sacrifices or rituals. Prabhāvatīguptā only refers to several *aśvamedhas* performed by Samudragupta. It shows that women and ministers did not have direct independent access to sacrifices.

The relevance of referring to sacrifices seems to have declined by the 6th century A.D. The Kalacuris had moved to Purāṇic traditions and none of their inscriptions mentions any sacrifice or ritual performed by the ruler. The Kalacuris did not use sacrifice to claim legitimacy and superior status as done by the Vākāṭaka kings.

The Kalacuris claimed divinity by comparing themselves with gods and goddesses suggesting that by this period sacrifices had lost their importance.

In the both the dynasties the kings patronized Śaivism. This may have been a significant cult in the region. The queens gave grants in honour of deities other than Śiva. It can be said that there was a gendered division in patterns of patronage to religious institutions. The women of Kalacuri dynasties other than queens gave grants to Buddhist institutions.

Besides, as we have seen, while Vākāṭaka kings tried to enhance their status by referring to the performance of Vedic sacrifices, the queens (apart from Prabhāvatīguptā) do not do so.

We thus see that there are a range of similarities and differences between Vākāṭakas and Kalacuris, between kings and queens and between royalty and others both men and women. The elite could make and record grants. We will attempt to summarize the patterns that have emerged in our conclusion.

CHAPTER – VI

CONCLUSION

Historians have analyzed the early medieval period in terms of the various aspects such as polity, economy, society but have by and large ignored gender relations. Some of the scholars who have considered this period have drawn on the Purānic discourse on Kaliyuga in general and varṇasaṁkara in particular. Both of these would suggest that women were not conforming to the norms laid down in the dharmasāstras. Interestingly, the inscriptional evidence of the Vākāṭakas and Kalacuris discussed in the preceding chapters does not lay great emphasis on either Kaliyuga or varṇasaṁkara. Instead, we find elite women occupying a small but significant space in political, economic and ritual spheres.

Starting with the Vākāṭakas, Prabhāvatiguptā holds a special position. She ruled as a regent for approximately fifteen years (c. 405–420 A.D.) she gave three grants (Poona, Riddhapur and Miregaon inscriptions) out of the five (5) grants given by women in this dynasty. Interestingly, of the other two, one was given in memory of Prabhāvatiguptā by her daughter (Ramtek inscription). Another grant was given at the request of a *Mahādevī* (name not given), wife of Pravarasena II (Masoda plates), and does not show much variation from the grants by men (27 grants). All the grants by women belonged to the major branch. The Vatsagulma branch does not record any grant by women.

In the Kalacuri records, there were six (6) grants by women of which, three (3) grants were given by queens (Bilhari, Bhareghāt and Bhareghāt Gauri-Śaṅkara temple inscriptions). Two grants record

donations by women who did not belong to the ruling family. It was very significant that by this period, women who did not belong to the ruling elite had the power and resources to make independent donations. Another grant was given for the religious merit of the donor's wife, Mōkhā. These grants belonged to the Tripuri branch. The Ratnapur and Saryupara branches do not record any grants by women.

In terms of dating methods the Vākāṭakas used regnal years. The grants by women used the regnal year of the king. Prabhāvatīguptā, in the Poona plates, where she was the regent, used the regnal year of *Yuvarāja* Divakarasena. The feudatories and ministers do not give any date except the Hisse-Borālā grant which refer to the Śaka era. In this case, the donor deviates from the trend of using regnal years.

In the Kalacuri grants, the dynastic year was used. The Kalacuri era began from approximately 248-49 A.D. Apart from grants by king, those made by women, feudatories and ministers also used the dynastic era. In the case of both Vākāṭakas and Kalacuris, we find that kings and queens follow a uniform pattern. Queens, including the otherwise powerful Prabhāvatīguptā, use regnal years of kings, in the case of Vākāṭakas. At the same time, it is interesting that the queen in the Vākāṭaka case can use regnal dates, unlike the male feudatories whose inscriptions are generally undated. It would suggest that women of the royal family probably had a higher status (even if derived from their husbands) than other elite men.

In the case of the Kalacuris, there is greater conformity amongst men and women, both royal and elite. This may have to do with a somewhat different political structure (also reflected in the kinds of officials mentioned in chapter –4).

In terms of language and script, the Vākātakas used Sanskrit and the box-headed variety of southern alphabets as script. The earlier grants like Basim plates were partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit. All the other inscriptions by men as well as women have a common script and language. The Poona grant of Prabhāvatīguptā shows a deviation in this context. In this grant the northern variety of alphabets is more predominant than the southern variety. As noted earlier, this may indicate an attempt to assert her independent identity in terms of her Gupta origin, of which we have other more explicit indications as well.

In the case of the Kalacuris, the language used was Sanskrit and the script was nāgari. The only two inscriptions are Chhoti-Deori and the Sarnath inscriptions which use proto-nāgari. As in the case of using dates in inscriptions, we find that the Kalacuri inscriptions are more uniform in terms of script and language. In other words, there are no sharp distinctions between royal and elite practice of men and women in this respect.

In the case of the Vākātakas, we had noted that the place of issue was occasionally named after the ruler making the grant e.g. Pravarapura named after Pravarasena II (Siwani, Chammak plates etc.), Pṛthvīsamudra after Pṛthvīsenā II (Mahurjhari inscription). It is in this context that we find interesting variations in the case of Prabhāvatīguptā. In no instance is the place of issue named after her. What is also significant, is that when she refers to Nandivardhana as a place of issue, she simply mentions it, whereas Pravarasena II in his inscriptions (Jāmb and Belora inscriptions) identifies it as '*vaijeyika dharmasthāna*'. It is likely that she did not have power to refer to it as an administrative center even when she issued an inscription from the place. For the Vatsagulma branch, the place of issue mentioned by the

kings was Vatsagulma, unlike the major branch where the place of issue is generally derived from the king's name. The feudatories and ministers do not mention any place of issue which would show that they did not have the right to refer to it.

For the Kalacuris we generally find that the place of issue is not mentioned. Once again, as in case of dating practices, script and language, we find there are no sharp differences between royal and elite categories, or between men and women.

In the case of titles used, the kings of both the dynasties used a wide range of titles. This is especially true of the Kalacuris who used titles such as *nṛpa*, *rājan*, *mahārāja*, *mahārājādhiāja*, *bhupati* etc. The titles ascribed to women were relatively restricted to either *mahādevī* or *mahārājñi*. Prabhāvatīguptā in Poona plates also used the title *agramahisi*. Virtually all these titles are derived from their positions as wives of rulers, and would suggest a degree of subordination. In many cases women were not associated with any title.

The Jamb plates of Pravarasena II may be taken as a typical genealogy of the Vākāṭakas. As we have seen (chapter – 3) this is standardized. In case of women, Prabhāvatīguptā marks a sharp contrast by mentioning only the Gupta genealogy (Poona and Riddhapur plates). The only Vākāṭaka ruler she mentions is Rudrasena II. This is a clear indication of the importance she assigned to her natal family. In the standard Vākāṭaka genealogy, only some wives of kings are mentioned, especially in terms of producing sons. It is likely that those women selected in inscriptions belonged to important contemporary ruling families and/or their sons were more powerful than their contemporary rulers (for example – Rudrasena I and Pravarasena II). Reference to women in genealogies of the Vatsagulma

branch and in those of inscriptions of the feudatories/ministers are relatively sparse.

In the case of the Kalacuris, a uniform genealogy is mentioned. We also find the genealogy of the donor, donee, and sometimes even of the poet, scribe and other social categories. The queens in their inscriptions mentioned their lineage as well as the Kalacuri genealogy. In the genealogies given by men, women were mentioned. In the Ratnapur and Saryupara branch, wives of most of the kings were mentioned. They were referred to as the producer of the successor. Their mention in the royal genealogy points out to their importance in the dynasty. As in some of the aspects mentioned, Kalacuri grants thus show a certain degree of uniformity in the case of genealogies which were used by both royal and elite men and women.

Seals were used by Prabhāvatīguptā in all her grants. She describes herself as the mother of the crown prince (Poona) and of kings (Miregaon). The Vākāṭaka kings such as Pravarasena II (Siwani, Dudia etc.), Prthvīsenā II (Mandhal plates), all used seals mentioning themselves as kings. In the Vatsagulma branch only Devasena uses seals describing himself as king, like the rulers of the major branch. The feudatories/ministers do not use any seal.

In the case of the Kalacuris, the use of seals seems to have been relatively less or perhaps few have survived. Some kings like Jayasimha of the Tripuri branch, Ratnadeva II, Prthvīdeva II and Pratapamalla of the Ratnapur branch and Sodhadeva of the Saryupara branch use seals. Thus, there was less prevalence of the use of seals as a mark of authentications.

These characteristics, i.e. place of issue, title, genealogy and seals have been regarded as explicit identity markers with genealogies

and titles being more explicit than seals and place of issue Prabhāvatīguptā marks out a separate identity by giving a different genealogy as well as using her own seal. In this aspect feudatories and ministers did not have the right or power to use any of the explicit identity markers while some women of the royal family had access to these markers of power. In the case of the Kalacuris, we find that while both the ruling dynasties and other elite categories used genealogies, the use of seals was infrequent.

Turning to the grants, we find that the Vākāṭaka kings generally granted villages Prabhāvatīguptā also gave villages in all her grants, which shows that she had control over resources. In the Masoda plates, recording the grant by the wife of Pravarasena II, a plot of land was given. In the Vatsagulma branch the king gave villages but elite men did not give land which may indicate that their control over resources was relatively limited.

In the case of the Kalacuris, most of the grants of villages or plot of land were given by the king, while women as well as feudatories and ministers supported the construction of temples, tank, garden etc. What is interesting here is that while there was a considerable uniformity in terms of what we have identified as implicit and explicit markers of identity, access to resources seems to have been much more sharply structured and even Kalacuri women of the royal family could not grant villages.

We had suggested that the exemptions given to the donee were an indication of the power of the donor. Exemptions given by the Vākātakas were wide ranging, including rights to mines, revenues, hides etc. Prabhāvatīguptā gave all the exemptions mentioned in the grants given by the king, except the right to use forced labour. This

may suggest that she did not have the power to transfer labour. The Vatsagulma kings (Vindhyaśakti II and Harisena) gave exemptions. The feudatories/ministers do not give exemptions.

In the case of the Kalacuris very few exemptions are specified and these are basically related to revenue. In the case of women only Nōhalā (Bilhari) gave exemptions. It was a unique grant as all the exemptions given were related to the market place. It shows her control over the market place. Interestingly, none of the kings grant such rights.

Turning to the donees, most of the grants of the Vākāṭaka kings were to brāhmaṇas who belonged to the Taittīriya śākhā, suggesting an emphasis on sacrifices. Prabhāvatīguptā (Riddhapur plates) gave grant to a brāhmaṇa of the Taittīriya śākhā, while in other grants she gave grant to an *ācārya* (Poona plates). In the Vatsagulma branch the king gave grants to *brāhmaṇa* while grants by the feudatories/ministers do not mention any donee.

In the Kalacuri records, kings and ministers gave grant to brāhmaṇas while queens gave to Śaiva ascetics. It can be said that probably, brāhmaṇas did not take grant from women.

In the case of the Kalacuri, women may have had control over resources but did not have control over the administrative machinery. They do not give villages but only the income from them. They do not make exemptions, (except Nōhalā in the Bilhari grant). They do not mention the wide range of officials. And in their grants they do not address officials. But, as they were mentioned among officials, who were informed about the grant, this shows that they had some kind of control over resources.

Finally, we have examined patterns of patronage of religious institutions, suggesting that such patronage may have been a means of acquiring legitimacy. The Vākātakas mainly gave grants to Śaiva institutions and invoked Śiva but Prabhāvatīguptā claims to be a '*parama bhagavat*' and gave grants to Vaisnava shrines. The Ramtek inscription records a grant to a Vaisnava shrine. All the kings of the Vākātika branch mention vedic sacrifices performed by Pravarasena I. Prabhāvatīguptā mentioned *aśvamedha* performed by Samudragupta. The Vatsagulma branch kings gave grant to Śiva and the feudatories/ministers granted to Vaisnava and Bhagavata shrines, but not to Śaiva shrines. Except for the Basim plate and Thalner plates none of the other inscriptions of the Vatsagulma branch mention sacrifices.

In the case of the Kalacuris, the kings invoked Śiva and patronized Śaivism. They also supported Vaisnava and other shrines of Ganapati, Durgā, Ambikā, Revanta as well as Jaina and Buddhist deities.

We can thus identify a hierarchy of cults and beliefs. Reference to vedic sacrifices are confined to kings and queens (who, however did not claim to perform these themselves). Offering grants to Śaiva shrines seems to have been a royal prerogative. Queens like Prabhāvatīguptā exercise their own preferences in granting to Vaisnava shrines as could the feudatories. The pattern of the Kalacuris is somewhat similar. The king established affiliation to Śaivism. Queens granted to Śaiva ascetics, while the feudatories and ministers supported a range of other cults.

Overall it can be seen that Prabhāvatīguptā marks out a special position for herself in all respects. It may be due to the fact she came

from a powerful family. Queens of the Kalacuris like Nōhalā held a special place but their status and power was not like that of Prabhāvatīguptā.

In conclusion we can see that royal and elite men and women shared certain markers of identify in common. At the same time, there were differences based on control over resources, access to administrative and social categories and ability to establish connections with dominant religious traditions. There were also variations between the Vākāṭakas and Kalacuris. All of this suggests that gender identities in the region were not fixed. As such, this seems to be a dynamic period as far as gender identities are concerned.

Note to appendix:

Abbreviations and Symbols

- ASCI : Agrarian Structures in Central & Northern India. A study of Vākāṭaka Inscriptions – K.M. Shrimali
- CII : Corpus Incriptionarum Indicarum – V.V. Mirashi
- EI : Epigraphia Indica
- VSH : Vākāṭaka Source & History – A.M. Shastri
- Pmp : Parama-bhaṭṭaraka mahārājādhīrāja, paramēśvara
- * : Not mentioned in the source
- () : Date arrived at by present day scholars
- : Information missing

APPENDIX – 1 (A)**Vakatakas**

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
1.	Dēotak stone of Rudrasena I, CII, vol. 5, pp. 1-4	Dēotak, Nāgpur	Major branch	(5 th century)	Partly Sanskrit Partly Prakrit	Box-headed variety
2.	Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 93-100, EI, vol. 26, pp. 137-155	Bāsim, Akola dist. Vidarbhā	Vatsagulma	4 th day of the first fortnight of Hēmanta in 37 th year (392 A.D.)	Partly Sanskrit Partly Prakrit	Box-headed variety
3.	Māndhal plates of Rudrasena II VSH, 85-88	Māndhal, Nāgpur	Major branch	7 th day of 6 th fortnight of rainy season in the 5 th year (c. 405 A.D.)	*	*
4.	Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā CII, vol. 5, pp. 5-9 EI, Vol. 15, pp. 39-45.	Wardhā major branch	Major branch	12 th tithī of bright fortnight of Karttika, 13 th year of Yuvarāja Divakarasena (418 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Admixture of northern & southern variety
5.	Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 10-15 EI, vol. 26, pp. 155	Jāmb Wardhā	Major branch	12 th tithī of bright fortnight of Āśvina in the 2 nd regnal year (422 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
6.	Bēlora plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 16-21	Bēlora, Wardhā	Major branch	13 th tithī of bright fortnight of Karttika 11 th year (431 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
7.	Māndhal plates of Pravarasena II, EI, Vol. 41, pp. 68-76 ASCI, pp. 60-63 & 89-90	Māndhal, Nāgpur	Major branch	16 th yer of the month Karttika (436 A.D.)	Sanskrit	*

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
8.	Chammak plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 22-27	Chammak Vidarbha	Major branch	13 th tithī of bright fortnight of Jyēstha in the 18 th regnal year (438 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
9.	Siwani plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 28-32	Siwani, Chhindwādā dist., M.P.	Major branch	12 th tithī of bright fortnight of Phalgunā in the 18 th year (438 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
10.	Riddhapura plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, CII, vol. 5, pp. 33-37, EI, vol. 39, pp. 199-204	Riddhapur Amravati dist.	Major branch	12 th tithī of bright fortnight of Karttika, 19 th year of Pravarasena II (439 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
11.	Masoda plates of Pravarasena II, ASCI, pp. 65-69 & 97-98	Masod, Nāgpur	Major branch	Year 19, 2 nd fortnight of the rainy season day 5 th (439 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
12.	Miregaon plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, VSH, pp. 91-93	Miregaon, Sakoli tahsil, Bhandara dist.	Major branch	12 th tithī of bright fortnight of Hemanata Pushyamāsa, 20 th year of Pravarasena II (440 A.D.)	*	*
13.	Indore plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 38-42 EI, vol. 24, pp. 52-56	-	Major branch	15 th tithī of dark fortnight of Vaiśākha, in 23 rd year (443 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
14.	Dudia plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 43-47, EI, vol. 3, pp. 258-262	Dudhia, Chhindwā dist., M.P.	Major branch	10 th day of the 4 th fortnight of the rainy season in the 23 rd year (443 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
15.	Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 48-52	Tirodi balaghat, M.P.	Major branch	12 th tithī of dark fortnight of Mīgha in the 23 rd year (443 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
16.	Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 53-56 EI, vol. 27, pp. 74-79	Wadgaon Chanda dist.	Major branch	10 th tithī of bright fortnight of Jyēstha in the 25 th year (445 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
17.	Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II, ASCI, pp. 63-65, 45	Yavatmal, Maharashtra	Major branch	26 th year i.e. (446 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
18.	Pattan plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 57-62	Pattan, Betual, Madhya Pradesh	Major branch	7 th day of the dark fortnight of Kartika in the 27 th year i.e. (447 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
19.	Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 63-68 (also called Tigaon plates)	Tigaon in Pandhurna, Chhindwada	Major branch	10 th tithī of dark fortnight of Vaiśakha in the 29 th regnal year i.e. (449 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
20.	Pauni plates of Pravarasena II, ASCI, pp. 69-71, 98 EI, vol. 38, pp. 53-56	Pauni, Bhandara dist. Maharashtra	Major branch	Dark fortnight Jyestha in the 32 nd year i.e. (452 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
21.	Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II, CII, vol. 5, pp. 69-72 (also called Balaghat plates)	Probably Balaghat	Major branch	- (around tirodi plates)	Sanskrit	Box headed variety
22.	Ramtek plates of Pravarasena II, (also called Mansar plates) VSH, pp. 125-135	Ramtek	Major branch	*	*	*
23.	Bidar plates of Devasena, VSH, pp. 107-110	Bidar dist., Karnataka	Vatsagulma branch	Dated in season, 5 th year, i.e. (455 A.D.)	Sanskrit (lot of Prakritism)	Box-headed variety
24.	Hisse-Borala plates of Devasena, ASCI, pp. EI, vol. 37, pp. 1-3	Hisse-Borala, Basim, Akola dist.	Vatsagulma Branch	Saka 380 corresponding to the year 3020 of a cyclic reckoning in astronomical terms. It also refers to the planetary position of the Great Bear, i.e. (457-58 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
25.	India office plates of Devasena, CII, vol. 5, pp. 101-102	-	Vatsagulma branch	- (approx.) (450-70 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
26.	Mandhal plates 'A' of Prthvisena II, AŚCI, pp. 73-74, EI, vol. 41, pp. 159-180	Mandhal, Nagpur	Major branch	2 nd year Grīśma (472 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
27.	Mandhal plates 'B' of Prthvisena II, AŚCI, pp. 75-77 EI, vol. 41, pp. 159-180	Mandhal, Nagpur	Major branch	10 th year, Grīśma (480 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
28.	Mahurjhari plates of Prthvisena II, AŚCI, pp. 78-81, 101-102	Mahurjhari, Nagpur	Major branch	17 th year Karttika (487 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
29.	Ajanta cave inscription of Varahadeva Minister of Harisena, CII, vol. 5, pp-103-111	Cave XVI, Ajanta	Vatsagulma branch	- (approx. 475-499 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
30.	Ghatotkacha cave inscription of Varahadeva Minister of Harisena, CII, vol. 5, pp. 112-119	Ghatotkacha cave, Gulwada, Ajanta	Vatsagulma branch	- (approx. 475-499 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
31.	Ajanta Cave inscription, Feudatory of Harisena, CII, vol. 5, pp. 120-129	Cave XVII, Ajanta	Vatsagulma branch	- (approx. 475-499 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety
32.	Thalner plates Harisena, CII, vol. 5, pp.	Thalner, Dhule, dist.	Vatsagulma branch.	3 rd year, i.e. (478 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Box-headed variety

Appendix - I (B)
Kalcauris

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
1.	Saugor stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, CII, vol. 4, (i), pp. 174-176 EI, vol. 27, pp. 163-170	Saugor, Madhya Pradesh	Tripuri	- (8 th century A.D.)	Sanskrit	Proto-nāgari
2.	Chhoti Deori stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, CII, vol. 4(i), pp. 176-178	Chhoti Deori, Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh	Tripuri	- (8 th century A.D.)	Sanskrit (incorrect)	Proto-nāgari
3.	Karitalai stone inscription of Lakshmaṇaraja II, CII, vol. 4(i), p. 186-195, EI, vol. 2, pp. 174-179	Karitalai, Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh	Tripuri	- (Approx. c. 940-65A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
4.	Gurgi stone inscription of Kokalladeva II, CII, vol. 4(i), pp. 224-233	Gurgi, Rewa	Tripuri	- (last quarter of 10 th century A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
5.	Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 204-225	Abalpur, Madhya Pradesh	Tripuri	- (c. 10 th century A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
6.	Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadeva, CII, vol. 4 (i) pp. 234-235	Rewa	Tripuri	Samvat 772, 12 th tithī of bright fortnight of Karttika, i.e. (1019-1020 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
7.	Banaras Plates of Karṇa, CII, Vol. 4 (i) pp. 236-250, EI, Vol. 2, pp. 297-310	Banaras	Tripuri	9 th tithī of the dark fortnight of Phālguna year 793, i.e. (1042 A.D.)	Sanskrit (except verse 12 which is in Prakrit)	Nāgari
8.	Paikore stone pillar inscription of Karṇa CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 250-252	East of Murari station	Tripuri	-	Sanskrit	Proto- Bengali variety of Northern Indian alphabets
9.	Goharwa plates of Karṇa, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 252-263, EI, voo. 11, pp. 139-146	Goharwa, Manjhanpur, Allahabad	Tripuri	Full-moon day of Kārttika in the 7 th regnal year i.e. (1047 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
10.	Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 263-275 EI, vol. 24, pp. 102-115	Rewa, Vindhya Pradesh	Tripuri	Year 800 i.e. (1048-49 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
11.	Sarnath stone inscription of Karṇa, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 275-278	Sarnath near Varanasi	Tripuri	15 th tithī of bright (half) fortnight of Āśvina year 810 i.e. (1058-59 A.D.)	Sanskrit (corrupt)	Nāgari
12.	Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 278-284	Rewa, Vindhya Pradesh	Tripuri	10 th tithī of bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 812 i.e. (1061-62 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
13.	Raipur plates of Prthvideva I, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 398-401	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	Ratnapur	8 th tithī of dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 821 i.e. (1069 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
14.	Khairha plates of Yasahkarna, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 289-299, EI, vol. 12, pp. 205-217	Khairha, Vindhya Pradesh	Tripuri	14 th tithī of bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823 i.e. (1076 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
15.	Kahila plates of Sodhadeva, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 382-397, EI, vol. 7, pp. 85-93	Kahila, Gorakpur, Uttar Pradesh	Saryupara	7 th tithī of bright fortnight of Pauśha of the year 1134 (Vikrama) i.e. (1077 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
16.	Amoda plates of Prthvideva I, CI, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 401-409, EI, vol.-19, pp. 75-81	Amoda, Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh	Ratnapur	7 th tithi of dark fortnight of Phālguna of the year 831 i.e. (1079 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
17.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Jajalladeva I, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 409-417, EI, vol. I, pp. 32-39	Ratnapur, Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh	Ratnapur	Year 866, 9 th tithi of bright fortnight of Mārgasirsha i.e. (1114 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
18.	Sheorinārāyana plates of Ratnadeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 423-429	Sārkhō, Janjgir	Ratnapur	Kārttika, of the year 880 i.e. (1128 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
19.	Sārkhō plates of Ratnadeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 423-429	Sārkhō, Janjgir	Ratnapur	Kārttika, of the year 880 i.e. 1128 A.D.	Sanskrit	Nāgari

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
20.	Akaltara stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 430-436	Akaltara, Bilaspur	Ratnapur	— (12 th century A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
21.	Diakoni plates of Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 443-446, EI, vol. 28, pp. 146-154	Diakoni, Janjgir	Ratnapur	11 th tithī of dark fortnight of Mārghaśirsha of year 890 i.e. (1138 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
22.	Pāsīd plates of Prthvīdeva II, EI, vol. 40, pp. 77-80	Pāsīd, Baloda Bazar	Ratnapur	Karttika of year 893 i.e. (1141 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
23.	Rājīm stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 450-457	Rājīm, Raipur	Ratnapur	Year 896, 8 th tithi of bright fortnight of Māgha i.e. (1145 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
24.	Bilaigarh plates of Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 458-462 EI, vol. 29, pp. 97-104	Bilaigarh, Raipur	Ratnapur	Year 896 i.e. (1145-46 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
25.	Kōni stone inscription Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 463-473 EI, vol. 28, pp. 336-337	Kōni, Bilaspur	Ratnapur	Year 900 i.e. (1148-49 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
26.	Ghotia plates of Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 476-483	Ghotia, Baloda Bazar, Raipur	Ratnapur	Year 1000 (?) bright fortnight of Bhādra (pa)da, i.e. (1148 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
27.	Amōda plates (1st set) Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 474-478	Amoda, Bilaspur	Ratnapur	Year 900 i.e. (1149 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
28.	Ratnapur stone inscription Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 483-490 EI, vol. 1, pp. 45-50	Fort of Ratnapur	Ratnapur	Vikrama 1207 i.e. (1149- 50 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
29.	Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarna, CII, vol. 4 (i) pp. 305-309	Tewar, Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh	Tripuri	1 st tithī bright fortnight of Śuchi of year 902 i.e. (1151 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
30.	Bahuriband statue inscription of Gayakarna, CII, vol. 4(i), pp. 309-311	Bahuriband, Sihora, Jabalpur	Tripuri	- (indistinct c. 12 th century A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
31.	Amōda plates (2nd set) of Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 491-495	Amōda, Bilaspur	Ratnapur	6 th tithi of bright fortnight of Āśvina of year 905 i.e (1152-53 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
32.	Bhere-ghat stone inscription of Narasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 312-321 EI, vol. 2, pp. 7-17	Bhere-ghat, Jabalpur	Tripuri	Year 907 11 th tithi bright fortnight of Mārghaśriṣha i.e. (1155 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
33.	Lal-pahad rock inscription of Narasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 321-322	Vindhya Pradesh	Tripuri	5 th tithi bright fortnight of Śrāvana year 909 i.e. (1158 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
34.	Alha-ghatstone inscription of Narasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 322-324	Natural passes of Vindhya Pradesh	Tripuri	Vikrama 1216 1 st tithi of bright fortnight of Bhādrapada (1159 A.D.)	Sanskrit (incorrect)	Nāgari
35.	Ratnapur stone inscription Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 495-501	Ratnapur, Madhya Pradesh	Ratnapur	Year 910 i.e. (1158-59 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
36.	Ratnapur stone inscription Prthvīdeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii) pp. 501-511	Fort of Ratnapur	Ratnapur	Year 915, i.e. (1163-64 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
37.	Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 324-331	Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh	Tripuri	Āśvina, year 918 i.e. (1167 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
38.	Māllar stone inscription of Jajjalladeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 512-518, EI, vol. 1, pp. 39-45	Māllar, Bilaspur	Ratnapur	Year 919 i.e (1167-68 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
39.	Sheorinārāyana stone inscription of Jajjalladeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 519-527	Sheorinarayana, Bilaspur	Ratnapur	Year 919 i.e. (1167-68)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
40.	Amōda plates of Jajjalladeva II, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 528-533 EI, vol. 19, pp. 209-214	Amōda, Bilaspur	Ratnapur	5 th tithi of dark fortnight of Agrāna of year 91(?) i.e. (1167 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
41.	Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 331-339	Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh	Tripurī	Year 926 i.e. (1174 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
42.	Rewa plates of Jayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 340-344	Rewa, Vindhya Pradesh	Tripurī	4 th tithi of bright fortnight of Bhādrapada year 926 i.e. (1175 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
43.	Tewar stone inscription of Jayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 344-346 EI, vol. 2, pp. 17-19	Tewar Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh	Tripurī	Year 928, 6 th tithi of bright fortnight of Śrāvana i.e. (1177 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
44.	Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva III, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 533-543 EI, vol. 21, pp. 159-165	Kharod, Janjgir	Ratnapur	Year 933 i.e. (1181-82 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
45.	Umariya plates of Vijayasimhadeva EI, vol. 41, pp. 34-38	Umariya, Panna Dist., Madhya Pradesh	Tripurī	Āśvina year 944 i.e. (1193 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
46.	Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 346-358 EI, vol. 19, pp. 295-99	Rewa, Vindhya Pradesh	Tripurī	1 st tithi of bright fortnight of Bhādrapada year 944 i.e. (1193 A.D.)	Sanskrit (with many mistakes)	Nāgari
47.	Rewa plates of Vijayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 358-363	Rewa, Vindhya Pradesh	Tripurī	7 th tithi of dark fortnight of Mārghasirsha, year (Vikrama) 1253 i.e. (1195 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Find spot	Dynasty	Date (in A.D.)	Language	Script
48.	Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 365-367	Rewa, Vindhya Pradesh	Tripuri	Year 96(?) i.e. around (1208-09 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
49.	Bhere-ghat Gauri-Sankara temple inscription of Vijayasimha, CII, vol. 4 (i), pp. 363-364	Bhere-ghat, Jabalpur	Tripuri	- c. 13 th century A.D.	Sanskrit	Nāgari
50.	Pendrabandh plates Pratapamalla, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 543-549, EI, vol. 23, pp. 1-8	Pendrabandh, Baloda Bazar	Ratnapur	10 th tithī bright fortnight of Māgha, year 965 i.e. (1214 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari
51.	Bilaigarh plates of Pratapamalla, CII, vol. 4 (ii), pp. 549-554	Bilaigarh, Raipur	Ratnapur	Year 969 i.e. (1218 A.D.)	Sanskrit	Nāgari

APPENDIX – II (A)
Vākātakas

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
1.	Dēotak stone of Rudrasena I, (4 th century)	Major branch	-	Rājan
2.	Bāsim plates of VindhyaŚakti II, (c 392 A.D.)	Vatsagulma	Vatsagulma, i.e Bāsim	Dharmamahārāja
3.	Māndhal plates of Rudrasena II, (c. 405 A.D.)	Major branch	*	*
4.	Poonā plates of Prabhavātiguptā, (c. 418 A.D.)	Major branch	Nandivardhan i.e., Nagardhan, Nāgpur	Agra-mahiśi
5.	Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 422 A.D.)	Major branch	Nandivardhan, i.e Nagardhan, Nāgpur	Parama-mahēśvara Mahārāja
6.	Belora plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 431 A.D.)	Major branch	Nandivardhan, i.e., Nagardhan, Nāgpur	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja
7.	Māndhal plates of Pravaraseva II, (c. 436 A.D.)	Major branch	Pravarapura, i.e. Pavnār, Wardhā	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja
8.	Chammak plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 438 A.D.)	Major branch	Pravarapura, i.e. Pavnār, Wardhā	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja
9.	Siwani plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 438 A.d.)	Major branch	- (probably pravarapura)	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
10.	Riddhapura plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (c. 439 A.D.)	Major branch	Footprints of the lord of Rāngiri i.e. Rāmtek	Mahādevī, Mahārāja for Rudrasena (II) and Pravarasena (II)
11.	Masodā plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 439 A.D.)	Major branch	- (probably Pravarapura)	Mahādevī, Mahārāja for Pravarasena (II)
12.	Miregaon plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (c. 440 A.D.)	Major branch	*	*
13.	Indore plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	- (probably Pravarapura)	Mahārāja
14.	Dudia plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	Pravarapura, i.e. Pavnār, Wardhā	Mahārāja
15.	Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	Narattangavāri, i.e. Wāri, Akōt tahsil	Mahārāja
16.	Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 445 A.D.)	Major branch	- (probably Pravarapura)	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja
17.	Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 446 A.D.)	Major branch	-	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja
18.	Pattan plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 447 A.D.)	Major branch	- (probably Pravarapura)	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
19.	Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 449 A.D.)	Major branch	Temple of Pravareśvara	Mahārāja
20.	Pauni plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 452 A.D.)	Major branch	Pravarapura, i.e. Pavnār, Wardhā	Parama-mahēśvara, Mahārāja
21.	Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II,	Major branch	-	Mahārāja
22.	Rāmtēk plates of Pravarasena II,	Major branch		
23.	Bidar plates of Devasena (c. 455 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Vatsagulma, i.e. Bāsim	Dharma-mahārāja
24.	Hisse-Borala plates of Devasena, (c. 457-58 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	-	Rājah
25.	India office plates of Devasena (c 450-70 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Vatsagulma, i.e. Bāsim	Mahārāja
26.	Māndhal plates 'A' of Prthvīsenā II, (c. 472 A.D.)	Major branch	Rāmgiri	Mahārāja
27.	Māndhal plates 'A' of Prthvīsenā II, (c. 480 A.D.)	Major branch	Bennāstāsthāna	Mahārāja
28.	Mahurjhari plates of Prthvīsenā II, (c. 487 A.D.)	Major branch	Prthvīsamudra	Mahārāja
29.	Ajanta cave inscription of Varahadeva (c. 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	-	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
30.	Ghatotkacha cave inscriptions of Varahadeva (c. 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	-	-
31.	Ajantā cave inscription (c 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	-	-
32.	Thalner plates of Harisena (c. 478 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	-	Mahārāja

APPENDIX – II (B)

Kalacuris

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
1.	Saugor stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, (c 8 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Paramabhattacharaka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvara (Pmp), Rāgye for donor Krsnadevī
2.	Chhoti Deori stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, (c 8 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	-	-
3.	Karitalai stone Inscription of Lakshmanarāja II, (c. 940-65 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Rāja, Mahādevī for Rāhada

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
4.	Gurgi stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II, (c. 10 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	-	-
5.	Bilhari stone Inscriptions of Yuvarājadeva II, (c. 10 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Nrpa
6.	Makundpur stone Inscriptions of Gangeyadeva (c. 1019-20 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Mahārha mahā-mahāttaka
7.	Banaras plates of Karṇa (c. 1042 A.D.)	Tripuri	Jayaskandhavara at Prayāg	Pmp, Trikalingādhipatī
8.	Piakore stone Inscriptions of Karṇa	Tripuri	-	Mahārāja, Cedirāja
9.	Goharwa plates of Karṇa (c. 1047 A.D.)	Tripuri	Victorious camp at Karnatirtha	Prup, Trikalingādhipatī
10.	Rewa stone of Karṇa, (c. 1048-49 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Narādhipam
11.	Sarnath stone Inscription of Karṇa (c. 1048-59 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikalingādhipati
12.	Rewa stone Inscription of Karṇa (c. 1058-59 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
13.	Raipur plates of Prthvīdeva I, (c. 1069 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Mahāmandalēśvara, the sole lord of 21,000 (villages) and ruler of the entire kōśala country
14.	Khairha plates of Yaśahkarna (c. 1076 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp.
15.	Kahila plates of Sodhadeva (c. 1077 A.D.)	Saryupara	-	Pmp
16.	Amōda plates of Prthvīdeva I, (c. 1079 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Lord of 21,000 (villages) and ruler of the Kōśala country, Mahāmandalēśvara acquired panchamahāsabda
17.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Jajalladēva I, (c. 1114 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
18.	Sheorinarāyana plates of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1127 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Bhupati
19.	Sārkho plates of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1128 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
20.	Akaltara stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, (c. 12 th century A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
21.	Diakoni plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1138 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Mahībhujō
22.	Pasid plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1141 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Mahībhujō
23.	Rajim stone Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1145 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Narēndra, Panchamahāśabda for donor Jagapāla
24.	Bilaigarh plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1145-46 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Bhupati
25.	Kōni stone inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1148-49 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Mahibhujō
26.	Ghotia plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1148 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Bhuratnadeva
27.	Amōda plates (1st set) of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1149 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Bhuratnadeva
28.	Ratnapur stone Inscription Of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1149 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Narēśvara

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
29.	Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarna	Tripuri	-	-
30.	Bahuriband statue inscription Of Gayakarna	Tripuri	-	-
31.	Amōda plates (2nd set) of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1152-53 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
32.	Bhere-ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (c. 1155 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Nrpa
33.	Lal-pahad rock inscription of Narasimha (c. 1158 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikalingādhipatī, Aśvapatī, Narapatī
34.	Alpha-ghat stone inscription of Narasimha (c. 1159 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Mahārājādhirāja of Dāhāla
35.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1158-59 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
36.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1163-64 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Narēśvara
37.	Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha (c. 1167 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikalingādhipatī

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
38.	Mallār stone inscription of Jajalladeva II, (c. 1167-68 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Lord of Tummāna
39.	Sheorinārāyana stone inscription of Jajalladeva II, (c. 1167-68 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
40.	Amōda plates of Jajalladēva II, (c. 1167 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Nrpa
41.	Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasīmha (c. 1174 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Nrpa
42.	Rewa stone of Jayasīmha (c. 1175 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikalingādhipatī
43.	Tewar stone inscription of Jayasīmha, (c. 1177 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Samrāt
44.	Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1181-82 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
45.	Umariya plates of Vijayasīmhadēva (c. 1193 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikalingādhipati
46.	Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasīmhadēva (c. 1193 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikalingādhipati

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Place of issue	Title/s
47.	Rewa plates of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 1195 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikatingādhpati
48.	Rewa plates of Vijayasimhadēva (c. 1208-09 A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Pmp, Trikalingādhpati
49.	Bhere-ghat Gauri Śankara Temple inscription of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 13 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	-	Mahārāja, Mahārājnī for Gośaladevī
50.	Pendrabandh Plates and Pratapamalla (c. 1214 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Nrpa
51.	Bilaigarh Plates of Pratapamalla (c. 1218 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	Rājā

APPENDIX - III (A)
Vākātaka

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
1.	Dēotak Stone of Rudrasena I, (4 th century)	Major branch	Construction of temple at Chikkamburi i.e. Chikmārā	-	-	-
2.	Bāsim Plates of Vindhyaśakti II, (c 392 A.D.)	Vatsagulma	Village-Ākāsapadda	Brāhmana belonging to Ātharavana Carana	Ājñapati and soldiers	Senāpāti Vanhu
3.	Māndhal plates of Rudrasena II, (c. 405 A.D.)	Major branch	Villages Selludraha, Achchhattalikā, Suragrāmā, Suragrāmā and Aragrāmā	Brāhmana of different gōtra	*	Senapati Vibhisana
4.	Poonā plates of Prabhavātiguptā, (c. 418 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Danguna	Ācārya Chanālasvāmin	Grāmakutumbin, brāhmana and others	Scribe-Chakradāsa
5.	Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 422 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Kothuraka	Brahmacārarin Kaluttaka belonging to Taittīriya śakha of Yajurveda	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Scribe Nāgavarman Dūtaka-Cakradeva

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
6.	Belora plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 431 A.D.)	Major branch	Mahāllama Lāta in Asibhukti, Lādki in Mōrsitaluko	Sūryasvamin of Taittirīya Śākhā	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Scribe Mani Senāpati-Chitravarman
7.	Māndhal plates of Pravaraseva II, (c. 436 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Mmyasagrāma bank of Bennā	Upādhyāya Mātrisvāmi	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Senāpati-Chitravarman
8.	Chammak plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 438 A.D.)	Major branch	8000 nivartanas in Charmmānka, i.e Chammak	1000 brāhmana (of whom only 49 were mentioned)	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Senāpati-Chitravarman
9.	Siwani plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 438 A.d.)	Major branch	Village Brahmapūtraka	Devaarmācharya belonging to Taittirīya śakha	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Dūtaka-Ācārya Senāpati-Bappadeva
10.	Riddhapura plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (c. 439 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Aśvatthana-gara & a house and 4 huts of farmers	Brāhmaya of Taittirīya Śakha	To grāmamahattaras	Dūtaka-Dēvananda-Svāmin Scribe-Prabhusimha

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
11.	Masodā plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 439 A.D.)	Major branch	300 nivartanas	Of two shares one to one Mahāpurusha, & other to Boppārya, Visnuārya Aratyārya, Bhavārya, Bhavaoputrānyas & others	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Senāpati-Katyāyana
12.	Miregaon plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (c. 440 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Jalapura-vātaka	Brāhmanas, of Kāśyapa gōtra, Bhattārya, Svāmikārya, Govyārya, Śankavārya and Dharārya	*	Drafted by Amātya Candra
13.	Indore plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	Village	Brāhmana Gōndārya and his six sons	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Written Rājuka Kottadeva

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
14.	Dudia plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Darbhamalaka 25 Nivartanas Karmmakāra (60 nivartanas)	Yakshārya and Kālīsarman	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman of Ārammirājya	Written Gōladasa Senāpatī- Namidāsa
15.	Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Kośambakhanda	Brāhmana- Varunārya	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman of Bennākata	Written Rājyādhikṛta Chamidāsa
16.	Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 445 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Velusuka (400 nivartana)	Brāhmana Rudrārya	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Scribe Māradāsa Senāpatī Bāppadēva
17.	Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 446 A.D.)	Major branch	Land in Lāta Kapalli	Indrārya and Svānīdeva of Taittīriya Sākha	To the village	Senāpatī- Bāppadeva

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
18.	Pattan plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 447 A.D.)	Major branch	Land in Aśvatthakhetka (400 nivartana)	-	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman and the residents of the village	Scribe-Kālidāsa Engraver-Goldsmith Íśvara-datta Senāpati-Kātyāyana
19.	Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 449 A.D.)	Major branch	Land in village Dhuvavā take in exchange for village Vijayapallivātaka (2000 nivartana)	7 brāhmanas of Vājesaneya Yajurveda	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Written Acāryā Senāpati-Māddhapa
20.	Pauni plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 452 A.D.)	Major branch	50 nivartana & a house site	Durggārya	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Senāpati Māddhapa
21.	Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II	Major branch	Village Śriparnakā	3 brāhmanas Gāngārya, Vasurārya, and Rudrārya of Taittīriya śakhā	Kūtumbino grāmvāsina	-

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
22.	Rāmtēk plates of Pravarasena II,	Major branch	Tank & some pious act	*	*	Lost
23.	Bidar plates of Devasena (c. 455 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Village Velpakondā	Raddochha (Chātuvejja)	*	Executor-Sāmilladeva writer (lost)
24.	Hisse-Borala plates of Devasena, (c. 457-58 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Construction of Lake Sudarsana	-	-	Karmopadestri Bappa
25.	India office plates of Devasena (c 450-70 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Village Yappajja	Dharmasvāmin and Bhavasvāmin	Touring officers of noble birth such as bhojakas and bhanda nāyakas	-
26.	Māndhal plates 'A' of Prthvīsenā II, (c. 472 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Kuruvajjaka	3 brāhmana-Mahēvarāsvāmī, Agnisvāmī and Brahmasvāmī of Taittīriya Sākha	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman and also brāhmana; purogā grāmaprativasino kutumbino	Scribe-Sārvadatta Senāpatī-Visnudatta

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
27.	Māndhal plates 'A' of Prthvisena II, (c. 480 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Govvasāhikā	4 brāhmanas Mahāvarāsvāmī, Brahmāsvāmī, Harasvāmī and Varahāsvāmī of Kautsa gōtra of Bennataka	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Scribe-Śarvadatta Senāpāti-Visnudatta
28.	Mahurjhari plates of Prthvisena II, (c. 487 A.D.)	Major branch	Village Jamalaketaka	Visnudatta and Bhavadatta of Vājasaneyi Śakha of Yajurveda	Officials of noble birth who are employed by the order of Sarvādhyaksa and our soldiers and policeman	Senāpāti-Ravidatta
29.	Ajanta cave inscription of Varahadeva (c. 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Dedication of cave dwelling with pictures and pillars	-	-	-
30.	Ghatotkacha Cave Inscriptions of Varahadeva (c. 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Excavation of vihara, cave	-	-	-
31.	Ajantā Cave Inscription (c 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Excavation of vihara	-	-	-

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
32.	Thalner Plates of Harisena (c. 478 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Villages: 5 donations of 20½ nivartanas	Devasvamī, Gaingasvāmaī, Varāhasvāmi, Bhattārākasvāmi, Khūdasvanū and Dharasvāmi	-	Scribe-Boppadeva Dūtaka Svāmiladeva

APPENDIX – III (B)
Kalacuris

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
1.	Saugor Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, (c 8 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Some religious work	-	-	-
2.	Chhoti Deori Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, (c 8 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Granary (Kadaru)	-	-	-

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
3.	Karitalai stone Inscription of Lakshmanarāja II, (c. 940-65 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Visnu, some village Dirghśākhila by Lakshmanarāja village Chakrahradi by Rāhadā villages by śanka (ragana) and others	8 brāhmaṇas	-	-
4.	Gurgi stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II, (c. 10 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Villages Śarasadōllka, Vakkadōllaka, Rajyanddha, Nāsapundika, Khatōllika, Ābhirapalli, etc. and 2 fields	-	-	Praśasti-Madu Scribe-Śivanāga Inscribed by Mādhava
5.	Bilhari stone Inscriptions of Yuvarājadeva II, (c. 10 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Śiva Villages Nipānīya Dhangatapītaka, Pōndi, Nāgabala, Khailapātaka, Vidā, Sajjānate and Gōshthapatē	Śaiva ascetic Iśvaraśiva	-	Written by-Nāi Engraver-Nōnnā
6.	Makundpur stone Inscriptions of Gāngēyadeva (c. 1019-20 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Jalasayāna (Visnu)	-	-	Executer Sūtradhara Sāmbhūka

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
7.	Banaras Plates of Karṇa (c. 1042 A.D.)	Tripuri	Village Śrusi	Brāhmaya Viśvarupa	Mahādevī, Mahārājaputra, Mahāmantrins, and Mahāmātya	-
8.	Piakore stone Inscriptions of Karṇa	Tripuri	Dedication of image of goddess (not specified)	-	-	-
9.	Goharwa plates of Karṇa (c. 1047 A.D.)	Tripuri	Village Chandapatrā	Śantiśarman of Vajasaneya Śakha	Mahādēvī, Mahārājaputra, Mahāmantrin, Mahāśandhivigrahika, Mahāmātya, Mahādharmaḍhika- ranika, Mahāpratihara, Mahākshapatalika, Mahābhāndagārika, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpramattavāre, Mahāśvasādhnika and unnamed officials	Writer- Kananika Engraver- Vidyānānda
10.	Rewa stone of Karṇa, (c. 1048-49 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Śiva	-	-	-

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
11.	Sarnath stone Inscription of Karna (c. 1048-59 A.D.)	Tripuri	Donations to monks and caused a copy of Ashbaśadhas rikaprajña	To monks	-	-
12.	Rewa Stone Inscription of Karna (c. 1058-59 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Śiva and of Visnu by Vapulla image of Uma-Mahēśvara by Nayanāvati	-	-	Praśasti-Vajhūka
13.	Raipur plates of Prthvideva I, (c. 1069 A.D.)	Ratnapur		Brāhmaṇa Jūgūka	-	Witness Trivikrama, vikrama and Arjuna Engraver Hāsala

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
14.	Khaīrha Plates of Yaśahkarna (c. 1076 A.D.)	Tripuri	Villages-Deuta-Pañcheta and Pachri	Brāhmaṇa Gāngādhara	Mahādevi, Mahārājaputra, Mahāmantrin, Mahāmātya, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpurohita, Mahāpratihāra, Mahākshapatalika, Mahāpramātri, Mahaśvasadhinika, Mahābhāndāgarika, Mahādhyaksha and inhabitants of village	Writer Vāchchuka
15.	Kahila plates of Sodhadeva (c. 1077 A.D.)	Saryupara	20 nālus of land in Tikarikā part of villages Mahiāripātaka Thiulapātaka varna pātaka Duāripātaka and Chhibādātē-mbhā	14 brāhmaṇas	Mahārajñi, Mahārājaputra, Mahāsandhivigrāhika, mahāmahāntaka, Mahāprātihara, Mahāsenāpatī, Mahākshapatalika, Mahāsāndhanika, Mahāśrestin, mahādānika, mahāpancha Kulika, Saulika, Gaulnika, Ghattapati, Tarapati, vishyadānika, Dushtasādhaka, Khandavāla, Balādhira and others	-

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
16.	Amōda plates of Prthvīdeva I, (c. 1079 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village vasatā temple of Vankēśvara land by others	Brāhmaṇa Kēśava	-	Witness- Trivikram, Vikram and Arjuna writer- Alhama sculptor- Hāsala
17.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Jajallādēva I, (c. 1114 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village simli, Arjunakōna-Sarana, to deity and a group of pātala trees to monastery at Jānjgir	-	-	Composer name lost writer name lost
18.	Sheorinarāyana plates of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1127 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Tinēri	Nārāyana-śarman student of Sāmadeva	-	-
19.	Sārkho plates of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1128 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Chinchātātā	Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha	-	Written by kirtidhara
20.	Akaltara stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, (c. 12 th century A.D.)	Ratnapur	Temple of Rēvanta, & a tank	-	-	Praśasti- Dēvapani

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
21.	Diakoni Plates of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1138 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Budukunī	Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇu	-	-
22.	Pasid plates of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1141 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Dugara	Brāhmaṇa Pārāśara	-	Writer-son a Kīrtī
23.	Rajim stone Inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1145 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Temple of Rāma and grant of village Śāmaliya	-	-	Praśasti-Thakkura Jasāmānda Engraver-Ratnapāla
24.	Bilaigarh plates of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1145-46 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Pandaratalāi	Brāhmaṇa Dēlhūk	-	Composer-Malhana Prepared-Vāmana
25.	Kōni stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1148-49 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Construction of 5-shrined tempel and some land in village Saloni	Brāhmaṇa vāsudeva (given 2 plough measures of land) Purushōttama given village Salōni	-	Praśasti Kāśala

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
26.	Ghotia plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1148 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Gothadā	Brāhmana Gōthadā	-	Written by- Vatsarāja Incised by- Cāndāka
27.	Amōda plates (1st set) of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1149 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Avatā	Brāhmana Mihirasvāmin	-	Written by - Vatsarāja Engraved by- Lakshmidhara
28.	Ratnapur stone Inscription Of Pr̥thvīdeva II, (c. 1149 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Temple of śiva (Bilvapāni) at Village Sāmbā	-	-	Praśasti- Dēvagasa written by- Kumārapāla Incised by- Sāmpula
29.	Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarna	Tripuri	Temple of Śiva	Bhāvabrāhmana disciple of Paśupata ascetic Bhāvatejas	-	Composed by- Pr̥thvīdhara Incised by- Architect Mahidhara
30.	Bahuriband statue inscription Of Gayakarna	Tripuri	Temple of Śantinātha	-	-	Consecrated Ācharya subhadra

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
31.	Amōda plates (2nd set) of Prthvideva II, (c. 1152-53 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Budubudū	3 brāhmanas Silana, Pithana and Lakana	-	Written by- Vatsarāja Engraver- Cāndārka
32.	Bhere-ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (c. 1155 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Śiva (vidyanātha) along with matha and a hall of study from the income of 2 villages Nāmaundī, and Makarapātaka	Paśupata ascetic Rudrarāśi	-	Praśasti- Śasidhara engraved by- Mahidhara, Architect-Pithī
33.	Lal-pahad rock inscription of Narasimha (c. 1158 A.D.)	Tripuri	Construction of water channel	-	-	Rāuta Ballāladeva
34.	Alpha-ghat stone inscription of Narasimha (c. 1159 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of goddess Ambikā and Shatāshadikā- ghāt	-	-	Written by- Thakkura Kamalādhara Executed by- Kamalasimka, Sōmā, Kōkāsa, Pālhana, and Dalhana

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
35.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1158-59 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Record of religious and charitable works of Brahmadeva	-	-	Praśāsti-Tribhuvana-pāla Scribe-Kuniārapāla, Engraver-Dhanapati and Íśvara
36.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1163-64 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Religious and charitable work of Vallabharāja tank excavated by Svētalladevī	-	-	Praśāsti-Devapani
37.	Jabalpur plates of Jayasīmha (c. 1167 A.D.)	Tripuri	Village Akharand	Brāhmana Dēlhana	Mahārājñi Kalhanadevī, Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, Dharmapradhāna Pandita Rāghava, Sāndhivigrahika Purushōttama, Prātihara Kamalasimha, and Dushtasādhyā Padmasimha	Written by-Vatsarāja, Engraved by-Sculptor Tālhana

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
38.	Mallār stone inscription of Jajalladeva II, (c. 1167-68 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Construction of temple of Śiva (Kēdara)	-	-	Composer- Ratnasimka, written by- Kśatriya Kumārapāla Sculptor Sāmpula
39.	Sheorinārāyana stone inscription of Jajalladeva II, (c. 1167-68 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Amandadēva gave village Chinchēli expense for incense, lights and other materials, execution of temple of Durgā Rājadeva built temple of Purabia (Śiva), tank and mango grove Rāmbhallā excavated tank and mango grove in village pajani	-	-	Praśasti & written by- Kūmārapāla engraver- Chhītuka

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
40.	Amōda plates of Jajalladēva II, (c. 1167 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Bundērā	Astrologer Rāghava priest-Nāmadeva	-	Written by - Dharmārāja
41.	Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasīṃha (c. 1174 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Śiva king gave 3 villages Tēkabhara, kandaravāda and Vadiha	-	-	Praśasti- Śasidhara
42.	Rewa stone of Jayasīṃha (c. 1175 A.D.)	Tripuri	Village Ahadāpāda	2 Brāhmanas Thakura Mahāditya and Silhava	-	Written by- Thakkura Vidyādhara Engraver -Kūkē and Kīkaka
43.	Tewar stone inscription of Jayasīṃha, (c. 1177 A.D.)	Tripuri	Temple of Īsvara (Śiva)	-	-	-
44.	Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1181-82 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Benefications of minister Gangādhara	-	-	Prāsasti & written by - Kūmarapāla Engraver-Jatū supervisor- Srestin Ralhana

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
45.	Umariya plates of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 1193 A.D.)	Tripuri	3 villages Bhāthigrāma, Valaha-digrāma and Amilanādagrāma	26 brāhmanas 20½ share to each	Mahārājñi, Mahārājaputra Ajayasimadeva, Mahāmantrin and Rājaguru Vimalasiva, Mahāpurohitā Ratnadhara, Dharmaprādhana and Mahāmahātaka Thakkura Kirtisimha, Sāndhiving- rahika Thakkura Lakhanapāla, Mahāpradhāna, Mahākshapatalika, Mahāpradhāna and Arthalēkhin Thakkura Kēśava, Mahāpratihara Bhimasimha, Dushta- sādhyā, Charadhyaksha, Bhāndāgārika, Pramattavāra and Aśvasādhakika	-
46.	Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 1193 A.D.)	Tripuri	Constructon of tank	-	-	Incised by- Ananta Doorkeeper- Ralhana Praśasti- Purushottam

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Grant/s	Donee/s	Officials addressed	Other officials mentioned
47.	Rewa plates of Vijayasimhadēva (c. 1195 A.D.)	Tripuri	Village Chhidanadā	Grandsons of Mādhava	-	Engraver Vinanī Kūkē and his sons
48.	Rewa plates of Vijayasimhadēva (c. 1208-09 A.D.)	Tripuri	Village Dhōttavāda	-	Mahāpradhāna-Thakkura kīkī, Arthalēkhin, Thakkura Kēśava, Sandhivigrāhika Lakhana, Mahāmantrin-Haripāda, Mahāmandalika Malaysimha, Rājaguru Vimalasīva	Sūtradhara Ānanta
49.	Bhere-ghat Gaurisaiskara Temple Inscription of Vijayasimhadēva (c. 13 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	For enshrined god Bhagnakhidra	-	-	-
50.	Pendrabandh Plates and Pratapamalla (c. 1214 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Kāyathā	Satya sādharma	-	Written by-Pratirāja
51.	Bilaigarh Plates of Pratapamalla (c. 1218 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Village Sirata	Brāhmana Haridāsa	-	Written by-Pratirāja

APPENDIX – IV (A)**Vākātaka**

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
1.	Dēotak Stone of Rudrasena I, (4 th century)	Major branch	-	-
2.	Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, (c 392 A.D.)	Vatsagulma	-	Agnistoma, Āportyāmas, Vājapeya, Jyotistoma, Brihaspatisava, sādyaskra and four Aśvamedhas
3.	Māndhal Plates of Rudrasena II, (c. 405 A.D.)	Major branch	Śesha-Śāyīn Visnu under the name Mondasvāmin	*
4.	Poonā Plates of Prabhavātiguptā, (c. 418 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhāgavata (Viṣṇu)	Several Aśvamedhas by Samudragupta
5.	Jāmb plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 422 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava (Śiva)	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
6.	Belora plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 431 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
7.	Māndhal plates of Pravaraseva II, (c. 436 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
8.	Chammak Plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 438 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
9.	Siwani plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 438 A.d.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
10.	Riddhapura plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (c. 439 A.D.)	Major branch	Rāma (Viṣṇu)	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
11.	Masodā plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 439 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
12.	Miregaon plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (c. 440 A.D.)	Major branch	*	*

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
13.	Indore plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	-	-
14.	Dudia plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
15.	Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 443 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
16.	Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 445 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
17.	Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 446 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	-
18.	Pattan plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 447 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava grant for Mahāpuruśa (Viṣṇu)	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
19.	Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 449 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
20.	Pauni plates of Pravarasena II, (c. 452 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
21.	Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II,	Major branch	Śambhu	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
22.	Rāmtēk plates of Pravarasena II,	Major branch	Grant for Narasimha (Viṣṇu) under the name Prabhāvatīsvāmin	*
23.	Bidar plates of Devasena (c. 455 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	*	*
24.	Hisse-Borala plates of Devasena, (c. 457-58 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Bhāgavata (Viṣṇu)	-
25.	India office plates of Devasena (c 450-70 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	-	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
26.	Māndhal Plates 'A' of Pṛthvisena II, (c. 472 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
27.	Māndhal Plates 'A' of Pṛthvisena II, (c. 480 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
28.	Mahurjhari Plates of Pṛthvisena II, (c. 487 A.D.)	Major branch	Bhairava	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)
29.	Ajanta Cave Inscription of Varahadeva (c. 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Sugata (Buddha)	-
30.	Ghatotkacha Cave Inscriptions of Varahadeva (c. 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Buddha	-
31.	Ajantā Cave Inscription (c. 475-499 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	Buddha	-
32.	Thalner Plates of Harisena (c. 478 A.D.)	Vatsagulma branch	-	Agnistoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Sōdasin, Atirātra, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra, Vājapeya and four Aśvamedhas for Pravarasena (I)

APPENDIX – IV (B)**Kalacuris**

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
1.	Saugor Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, (c 8 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
2.	Chhoti Deori stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇadeva I, (c 8 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Jatādhara (Śiva)	-
3.	Karitalai stone Inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II, (c. 940-65 A.D.)	Tripuri	Varaha (Viṣṇu)	-
4.	Gurgi stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II, (c. 10 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
5.	Bilhari stone Inscriptions of Yuvarājadeva II, (c. 10 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
6.	Makundpur stone Inscriptions of Gangēyadeva (c. 1019-20 A.D.)	Tripuri	Viṣṇu	-
7.	Banaras plates of Karna (c. 1042 A.d.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
8.	Piakore stone Inscriptions of Karna	Tripuri	Ganapati	-
9.	Goharwa plates of Karna (c. 1047 A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
10.	Rewa stone of Karna, (c. 1048-49 A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
11.	Sarnath stone Inscription of Karna (c. 1048-59 A.D.)	Tripuri	Buddha	-
12.	Rewa stone Inscription of Karna (c. 1058-59 A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
13.	Raipur plates of Prthvideva I, (c. 1069 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Mahēśvara obtained kingdom by grace of Vankēśvara	-
14.	Khairha plates of Yaśahkarna (c. 1076 A.D.)	Tripuri	Mahēśvara	-
15.	Kahila plates of Sodhadeva (c. 1077 A.D.)	Saryupara	Mahēśvara	-
16.	Amōda plates of Prthvideva I, (c. 1079 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
17.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Jajalladēva I, (c. 1114 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
18.	Sheorinarāyana plates of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1127 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
19.	Sārkhō plates of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1128 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva and Rēvanta	-
20.	Akaltara stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, (c. 12 th century A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
21.	Diakoni plates of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1138 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
22.	Pasid plates of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1141 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Viṣṇu	-
23.	Rajim stone Inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1145 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
24.	Bilaigarh plates of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1145-46 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
25.	Kōni stone inscription of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1148-49 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
26.	Ghotia plates of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1148 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
27.	Amōda plates (1st set) of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1149 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
28.	Ratnapur stone Inscription Of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1149 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva	-
29.	Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarna	Tripuri	Śiva	-
30.	Bahuriband statue inscription Of Gayakarna	Tripuri	Śāntinath	-
31.	Amōda plates (2nd set) of Prthvīdeva II, (c. 1152-53 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
32.	Bhere-ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (c. 1155 A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
33.	Lal-pahad rock inscription of Narasiṃha (c. 1158 A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
34.	Alpha-ghat stone inscription of Narasiṃha (c. 1159 A.D.)	Tripuri	Ambikā	-
35.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Prthvideva II, (c. 1158-59 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
36.	Ratnapur stone inscription of Prthvideva II, (c. 1163-64 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva	-
37.	Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṃha (c. 1167 A.D.)	Tripuri	Mahēśvara	-
38.	Mallār stone inscription of Jajalladeva II, (c. 1167-68 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Kedāra (Śiva) and Ganapāti	-
39.	Sheorinārāyana stone inscription of Jajalladeva II, (c. 1167-68 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva	-
40.	Amōda plates of Jajalladēva II, (c. 1167 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva	-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
41.	Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha (c. 1174 A.D.)	Tripuri	Kirtisvara (Śiva)	-
42.	Rewa stone of Jayasimha (c. 1175 A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
43.	Tewar stone inscription of Jayasimha, (c. 1177 A.D.)	Tripuri	Mahādeva	-
44.	Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadeva II, (c. 1181-82 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva	-
45.	Umariya plates of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 1193 A.D.)	Tripuri		-
46.	Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 1193 A.D.)	Tripuri	Mahēśvara	-
47.	Rewa plates of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 1195 A.D.)	Tripuri	Śiva	-
48.	Rewa plates of Vijayasimhadēva (c. 1208-09 A.D.)	Tripuri		-

	I	II	III	IV
No.	Inscription	Dynasty	Deity invoked	Rituals mentioned
49.	Bhere-ghat Gauri Śaṅkara Temple Inscription of Vijayasimhadeva (c. 13 th century A.D.)	Tripuri	Bhagnakhidra	-
50.	Pendrabandh Plates and Pratapamalla (c. 1214 A.D.)	Ratnapur	-	-
51.	Bilaigarh Plates of Pratapamalla (c. 1218 A.D.)	Ratnapur	Śiva	-

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