

## Settlements and Spatial Markers Under the Vākāṭakas: An Epigraphic Study

**Kundan Kumar**

Shivaji College, University of Delhi, Delhi

Email id: [kundanhhistory@yahoo.co.in](mailto:kundanhhistory@yahoo.co.in)

**Abstract:** The study explores the political geography of historical regions, Vidarbha, i.e., territorial and administrative units described in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas dynasty that ruled the two hundred years (c.300- 500 CE) The study of these units is aimed at providing an understanding of the interaction of physical and human geography as reflected in the changing nature of settlement patterns both rural and urban and their political organization through time. The settlement names in the Vākāṭaka land-grant charters yield certain interesting insights into the physical geography and socio-economic character of the Vākāṭaka dominions. The suffixes betray the rural and urban character of settlements, indicating a remarkable expansion in the number of former. The prefixes indicate several interesting features of the settlements: regional concentration of mineral resources; local specialization in artisanal activities; agrarian expansion and local specialization in cultivation of certain crops; presence, rather proximity, of groves and plantations; migration of populations from outside central India and the northern Deccan; and admixture of Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical/tribal cultures.

**Key words:** palli/pallikā and pātaka/vāṭaka, grāmas, puras, nagaras

For nearly two hundred years (c. 300 to 500CE) the modern regions of central India and the northern Deccan were under the hegemony of the Vākāṭakas whose political importance was next only to that of the imperial Guptas. The period of the Vākāṭaka rule in the Deccan constitutes a momentous epoch in the political and cultural annals of this region. Keeping in view the geographical distribution of their inscriptions, the territory under their jurisdiction comprised over 30 districts of the present-day Madhya Pradesh,<sup>i</sup> Maharashtra<sup>ii</sup> and Telangana.<sup>iii</sup> This study, based on Vākāṭaka inscriptions, largely those of the Eastern branch, delineates the typology of settlements in the Vākāṭaka domains, and the pattern of establishment of settlements.

Almost from the very start, at least from the time of the ambitious Pravarasena I, the Vākāṭakas adopted Sena as the family surname. Still the existence and even the name of this dynasty

came to be known only when the Siwani copper-plate grant of Pravarasena II was discovered from Madhya Pradesh in 1836, which contains the genealogy of Pravarasena II. Vindhyaśakti, the founder of this dynasty, is mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, but he was mistakenly believed to have belonged to the *yavana* or Greek origin. It has since been pointed out that Vindhyaśakti is described in the Siwani copper-plate inscription as a *dvija* (literally, ‘twice-born’). It is now generally accepted that like the Sātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas also were a Brāhmaṇa family that rose into prominence in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The original centre of the Vākāṭaka power was the Vindhyan region of Madhya Pradesh up to at least the time of Prthivīṣeṇa I, as indicated by a critical analysis of Purāṇic data and the Nachna -ki-Tilai and Ganj inscriptions of his time. The Vākāṭakas furnished a rare example of southward movement in Indian history. Under Pravarasena I they moved southward from Central India and domiciled (established) them in the Deccanese trans-Narmada region. The Vākāṭakas had matrimonial relations with the imperial Guptas, the Kadambas of Vanavāsī (Karnataka), the Nāgas of Padmāvati and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Telangana, indicating the high esteem and prestige enjoyed by them among their contemporaries.

As attested by the *Purānas* and inscriptions, after the death of Pravarasena I (275-335 CE), the dynasty’s second ruler and most likely its veritable founder, two branches of the Vākāṭaka family established two kingdoms that continued to exist independently till their very end in late 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. Historians agree on this point, but usually refrain from explaining the fate of the Vākāṭaka kingdom after Pravarasena I’s death. Some (e.g., A. M. Shastri) speak of the kingdom (in singular) and its ‘two branches’ and implicitly tend to favor the possibility that the kingdom continued to exist in one way or another despite its ‘division’ into two branches, usually named after their respective capitals, Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma. Others (e.g., A. S. Altekar, D. C. Sircar, Hans Bakker) are inclined towards the possibility that one of the two branches remained dominant—one (viz. Nandivardhana) designated as the ‘senior’ or ‘main’ branch and the other (viz. Vatsagulma) as the ‘junior’ or ‘collateral’ branch or ‘subsidiary’ dynasty—or that they subjugated each other temporarily, thus re-establishing the unity of the kingdom though with shifting centres. The Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches have been more recently geographically designated by Bakker as eastern Vākāṭakas and western Vākāṭakas respectively. However, none of the two branches appear to have demanded a senior status, and rulers of both, after their division, edited their inscriptions as ‘*mahārājas* of Vākāṭakas’, thus clearly demonstrating their relations but also their mutual

independence. Even when one or the other of the two branches temporarily predominated (Nandivardhanas under Pravarasena II in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuryCE and Vatsagulmas under Hariṣeṇa in the late 5<sup>th</sup> centuryCE), their inscriptions do not hint at a unified Vākāṭaka kingdom, nor to any encroachment into each other's realms in quest of superiority. More recently, H. Kulke, contends that despite the common descent of the rulers and the alternating predominance of one of the 'branches', the two branches ruled over two separate independent kingdoms throughout their history: they preferred to retain the identity of their own *vaṃśas*, had political and even cultural relationships not markedly different from normal relations between two independent kingdoms, though in times of predominance none appears to have ever thought of extinguishing its temporarily subordinate relative. Further, following the well-established nomenclature of Western Cālukyas of Vātāpī /Bādāmi and Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi (both of whom in their inscriptions claim common ancestry but do not jointly refer to a Cālukya kingdom), Kulke changes the mere geographical designation of the two branches, eastern Vākāṭakas and western Vākāṭakas, to proper names by capitalizing 'Eastern' and 'Western' and treating the latter at a par with the former. He also calls for greater attention to their distinct identities in terms of not only political history and administrative apparatus, but also their culture and socio-economic development.<sup>iv</sup>The Eastern Vākāṭakas kingdom seems to have evolved as an early state.

The Vākāṭakarulers issued a total of 38inscriptions, mostly land grant charters, in Sanskrit language and Brahmi script. Those issued by the Nandivardhana branch or the Eastern Vākāṭakas are far greater in number than those issued by the Vatsagulma branch or Western Vākāṭakas.<sup>v</sup> Of the 38 inscriptions, 30 belong to the former, and to one of their *sāmanta*, viz. the Pāṇḍuvaṃśīruler Bharatabala of Mekalā. Thus, the following discussion of settlements is largely based on the Eastern Vākāṭaka inscriptions and applicable more to the Eastern Vākāṭaka domain. However, a limiting factor for the reconstruction of the Vākāṭaka history is the fact that 20 of all inscriptions belong to the period of nearly 60 years (c. 398-455CE) of direct Gupta influence under Candragupta II's daughter Prabhāvatīguptā, her husband and Rudrasena II and in particular their son Pravarasena II.<sup>vi</sup> Further, more than 50 per cent of all Vākāṭaka inscriptions belong to just one king, viz. Pravarasena II (420-52 CE) of the Eastern Vākāṭaka branch. Thus, all these inscriptions of both the branches have been broadly classified into pre-Pravarasena II, Pravarasena II, and post- Pravarasena II periods.<sup>vii</sup> It is interesting to note a tendency in the pattern of issuing land grants: many Vākāṭaka rulers issued charters from the same place. For instance, Rudrasena II and Pṛthivīṣeṇa II of the Eastern

Vākāṭakabbranch, and Pravarasena II of the Western Vākāṭaka branch issued land grants from Mandhal. Maximum number of Vākāṭaka inscriptions record land grants to Brāhmaṇas.<sup>viii</sup>

## DIFFERENT TYPES OF SETTLEMENTS

Vākāṭaka inscriptions are very often concerned with land grants and thus mention not only the villages donated but also numerous other settlements to define the geographical boundaries of these donations.<sup>ix</sup> Names of 134 such settlements have been identified<sup>x</sup> and classified into 12 categories: such as *āhāras*, *bhogas*, *bhuktis*, camps (military), *mārgas*, places of issue of grants, residence of donees, etc.<sup>xi</sup> There are only 11 settlements,<sup>xii</sup> which figure in more than one inscription, but there are still fewer territorial units which are mentioned throughout the duration of the Vākāṭaka rule.<sup>xiii</sup> For instance, Vatsagulma/Vātsyagulma and Ārammi/Surambī *rājya* are mentioned in both pre-Pravarasena II and post-Pravarasena II inscriptions. In practically all the categories of settlements, the settlements mentioned in the inscriptions of Pravarasena II stand out prominently in terms of numbers. Out of a total of 35 villages donated by the Vākāṭakas, 20 were donated by Pravarasena II. There are six place-names as residence of donees, all mentioned in the inscriptions of Pravarasena II. Similarly, all the three *bhōgas* (viz. Beṇṇākārppara, Lohanagara, Hiranyapura), three *rājyas* (viz. Ārammi/Surambī, Bhojakaṭa and Vāruchcha), and the single known *rāṣṭra* (viz. Pākkaṇṇa) and *saṃgamikā* (viz. Chandrapura) are attributed to the long reign of Pravarasena II. In all, of the 134 listed settlements, 83 are found in the inscriptions of Pravarasena II.<sup>xiv</sup>

K. M. Shrimali,<sup>xv</sup> on the basis of the use of suffixes such as *pura*, *pūraka* and *nagara*, identifies 16 settlements as some sort of urban settlements. These are Achalapura, Aśvatthanagara, Brahmapūraka (mentioned twice in Siwani Plates and Patna Museum Plates), Chandrapura (also mentioned twice in Dudia and Tirodi Plates), Gepūraka, Hiranyapura, Kollapūraka, Lohanagara, Nandipūraka, Padmapura, Pravarapura, Śailapura, Vaṭapūraka and Yaśapura. The terms *pura* and *nagara* appear to have been synonymous. Sometimes, towns were named after the princes who founded them. For instance, the capital town Pravarapura was founded by and named after Pravarasena II. The suffix *gulma*—which is regarded by Manu as a station where an army unit was posted for the protection of the kingdom—in the name Vatsagulma suggests that it could have been a garrison-town as well as a capital.<sup>xvi</sup>

In contrast to the suffixes denoting urban settlements, suffixes clearly denoting varieties of rural settlements are too numerous, for instance *kheṭa*, *kheṭaka*, *vaṭa*, *vaḍa*, *vāṭaka*, *vāṭikā*, *grāma*,

*pātaka, padda, kaṭa, pallī, pallikā, kaḍa*, etc. Instances of settlements with such suffixes are also too numerous in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions.<sup>xvii</sup> Clearly, a great majority of settlements mentioned in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions fall under the category of rural settlements. Some of these settlements came up for the first time under the Vākāṭaka rule in general and Pravarasena II's rule in particular<sup>xviii</sup>—partly a result of the Vākāṭakas, particularly the Eastern branch, following an aggressive policy of establishing settlements and thereby expanding and consolidating their kingdom.<sup>xix</sup> All this also shows an increase in the number of rural settlements in parts of central India and the northern Deccan during the two centuries of the Vākāṭaka rule.<sup>xx</sup> The Vākāṭaka villages appear to have been of different sizes, and in the settlement complex, the village-town ratio stood at 16:103.<sup>xxi</sup> The dissemination of Sanskrit culture and acculturation attendant upon the establishment of settlements are also discernible in the records.<sup>xxii</sup>

Of the varieties of settlements, several were named after flora:<sup>xxiii</sup> medicinal plants (e.g., Añjanavāṭaka<sup>xxiv</sup> and Karañjavāṭaka<sup>xxv</sup>), grassy patches (e.g., Darbhamalaka,<sup>xxvi</sup> Darbhpatha<sup>xxvii</sup> and Darbhaviraka,<sup>xxviii</sup> all derived from *darbha*), gardens/groves (e.g., Ārāmaka<sup>xxix</sup> derived from *ārāma*) and trees (e.g., Aśvatthakhetaka<sup>xxx</sup> and Aśvatthanagara<sup>xxxi</sup> derived from *aśvattha* or holy fig tree/*Ficus Religiosa*, Badarīgrāma<sup>xxxii</sup> from badari or jujube, Vaṭālikā<sup>xxxiii</sup> and Vaṭapūraka<sup>xxxiv</sup> from *vaṭa* or banyan/*Ficus Indica*, Vilavaṇaka<sup>xxxv</sup> from *bilva* or bel/wood-apple, Chikkamburi<sup>xxxvi</sup> from Chikkenna or betel nut, Chinchāpallī<sup>xxxvii</sup> from *chinchā* or tamarind, Velusuka<sup>xxxviii</sup> from *veṇu* or bamboo, Kadambasaraka<sup>xxxix</sup> from *kadamba* or *Nauclea Cadamba*, Maṇapallikā<sup>xl</sup> from *maṇa/maṇaka* or *Arum Indicum*, Kadalivāṭaka<sup>xli</sup> from *kadali* or banana, etc.). Preponderance of numerous place-names with prefixes associated with flora suggests that the areas where these settlements were located were covered with natural groves or deliberately prepared gardens or plantations.<sup>xlii</sup>

Some settlements were named after crops, for instance Nīlīgrāma,<sup>xliii</sup> where perhaps indigo plantation may have been predominant ; Kṛṣṇālesalikaṭaka,<sup>xliv</sup> probably named after black transplanted paddy (perhaps because of paddy transplantation practiced on the black soil of the region).<sup>xlv</sup> The use of the suffix *viraka*, which means a barrage/irrigational dam, in the place-names Darbhaviraka,<sup>xlvi</sup> Karañjaviraka<sup>xlvii</sup> and Sidiviviraka<sup>xlviii</sup> suggests the importance of irrigation infrastructure provided for agricultural operations which would have helped secure the economic viability of such settlements.<sup>xlix</sup>

Ten settlements were located on and thus named after routes (*mārga*),<sup>l</sup> for instance Padmapura-pūrvamārga,<sup>li</sup> Padmapura-aparamārga,<sup>lii</sup> Śailapuramārga,<sup>liii</sup> Kośikamārga,<sup>liv</sup> Their location

on the *mārgas* seems to denote their being a part of a network of interactions. The *mārgas* probably represented internal routes of communication.<sup>lv</sup> Further, the suffix *pura* in several of these names suggests their being urban settlements of larger size than rural ones. They were better suited to being nodal points of communication and, probably centres of administration and internal trade, though some villages were also located on *mārgas*.

Some place names were derived from their mineral resources. For instance, the names of *bhōgas* Lohanagara<sup>lvi</sup> and Hiranyapura<sup>lvii</sup> are derived from *loha* or iron and *hiranya* or gold and could be indicative of iron and gold deposits;<sup>lviii</sup> they could also have been artisanal settlements or noted for economic/commercial products.<sup>lix</sup> However, the region does not appear to be rich in mineral reserves despite the fact that inscriptions speak about mineral resources and 'hidden treasures'.<sup>lx</sup> One settlement, Lavaṇatailaka<sup>lxi</sup> appears to have been associated with both salt and oil production. Besides, the find spots of two other inscriptions of Pravarasena II, the Tirodi and Ramtek plates, are located in manganese-rich areas of Tirodi and Mansar respectively.<sup>lxii</sup>

Some villages are named after certain occupations. For instance, Suvarṇakāgrāma,<sup>lxiii</sup> Charmmānka,<sup>lxiv</sup> Lekhapallikā,<sup>lxv</sup> Karmmakāra,<sup>lxvi</sup> and Śailapura<sup>lxvii</sup> could have been inhabited by goldsmiths, shell-cutters or shell-dealers, leather-workers, scribes, bronze-smiths, ironsmiths, stone-cutters and brick-makers respectively. Similarly, Kāllāra<sup>lxviii</sup> and Madhukajjhari<sup>lxix</sup> could be centres of distillers.<sup>lxx</sup>

The presence of tribal populations such as Kols and Bhils is hinted at by the place-names Kollapūraka and Millukadratha. Further, names of settlements such as Ajakarṇa,<sup>lxxi</sup> Gṛdhragrāma,<sup>lxxii</sup> Maṇḍukigrama<sup>lxxiii</sup> and Mṛgasima,<sup>lxxiv</sup> derived from animals (*aja*/horse, *gṛdhra*/vulture, *maṇḍūkī*/female frog, *mṛgī*/female deer) perhaps had some totemistic origins.<sup>lxxv</sup> At the same time, names of settlements such as Brahmapūraka<sup>lxxvi</sup> and Brāhmaṇavāṭaka<sup>lxxvii</sup> hint at the growing Brahmana settlements in the Vākāṭaka dominions. The resultant acculturation or Sanskritization of tribal populations is indicated, for instance, by such names as Goṇḍārya<sup>lxxviii</sup> and Goṇḍāśarman.<sup>lxxix</sup> Brāhmaṇa donees could have been Gond priests ; and Koṇḍarāja/Kauṇḍarāja, a Gond chief who participated in the Vākāṭaka administration in some capacity (the grant in the Chammak plates was made at his request and his goldsmith Īśvaradatta engraved the Pattan plates), indicate in that direction.

Certain settlements were named after lands in western, northern and north-western parts of the

subcontinent, suggesting the influx of immigrants. For instance, Pākāṇṇa, the name of a *rāṣṭra*,<sup>lxxx</sup> could be a derivative and prakritised form of Prakaṇva, mentioned by Pāṇini and interpreted as a country of north-western India beyond Kamboja.<sup>lxxxi</sup> Similarly, Ānarttapura, the name of a *bhukti*,<sup>lxxxii</sup> and Lātakapallī<sup>lxxxiii</sup> suggests migration from the Saurashtra-Kathiawar region; Kuruvajjaka<sup>lxxxiv</sup> and Kurudambhaka<sup>lxxxv</sup> echo the land of the Kurus in the north;<sup>lxxxvi</sup> and Kośambaka<sup>lxxxvii</sup> and Kośambakakhaṇḍa<sup>lxxxviii</sup> are reminiscent of the famed early historic city of Kauśāmbī in the north.

Some rural settlements seem to have served as some sort of territorial divisions as they were named after the number of villages included in them. A case in point is Pravareśvara-ṣaḍviṃśati-vāṭaka,<sup>lxxxix</sup> which appears to have been the chief village in a group of 26 villages and was named after a shrine of Śiva under the name of Pravareśvara erected by Pravarasena I.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF SETTLEMENTS

The donated villages mentioned in the Vākāṭaka land grant inscriptions also reveal an interesting pattern in the establishment of settlements. Of the six donations of pre-Pravarasena II period, five (Achchhabhallaka, Ākāśapadda, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma) were in the area ranging between 300 and 600 meters in altitude and only one (Daṅguṇa) was in the relatively plain area in the Wardha river system. All except one (Ākāśapadda) were in the eastern half of the Vākāṭaka dominions, and four (Achchhabhallaka, Aragrāma, Selludraha and Suragrāma) were concentrated in the Maikala ranges.<sup>xc</sup>

In the succeeding Pravarasena II phase, one notices not only a movement towards the plains but a westward expansion as well. Out of a total of 20 villages donated by Pravarasena II as many as 11 (Brahmapūraka, Darbhamalaka, Dīrghadraha, Karmmakāra, Kośambakhaṇḍa, Kothuraka, Mṇiyasagrāma, Śrīparṇakā, Velusuka, two missing villages in the Indore and Masod Plates) were situated in lands below 300 meters in altitude and the remaining nine (Aśvatthakheṭaka, Aśvatthanagara, Charmāṅka, Dhuvavāṭaka, Lātakapallī, Lekhapallikā, Mahalla-Lāṭa, Saṅgamikā and one missing village in the Pauni grant) in areas ranging between 300 and 600 meters in altitude. The area drained by Wardha and Wainganga systems nestled as many as 15 of these donations. Unlike the case in the pre-Pravarasena II phase, at least 25 percent of donations, five out of 20 donated villages (Aśvatthanagara, Charmāṅka, Lātakapallī, Mahalla-Lāṭa and one unnamed village of the Pauni grant), donated by Pravarasena II himself were located in the western half of the Vākāṭaka dominions. Incidentally, four of these five settlements (except Mahalla-Lāṭa) were donated in the second half of

king's reign, i.e., after the 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year (Pravarasena II's total reign lasted for at least 32 years).<sup>xci</sup>

In the post-Pravarasena II phase, there seems to be a further accent on settling the western half, particularly the Tapti valley. Six of the nine donated villages of this phase (Bhaṭṭikāpadra, Govachchetaṭīgrāma, Kāṃskāarakagrāma, Kumāradāsavāṭaka, Suvarṇakāragrāma and Yappajja) are to be located in this area, away from the Wainganga-Wardha valleys. At least four out of these six settlements (Bhaṭṭikāpadra, Govachchetaṭīgrāma, Kāṃskāarakagrāma and Suvarṇakāragrāma) of the western half were in the plains watered by the Tapti system. Three (Jamalakhetaka, Kumāradāsavāṭaka and Yappajja) out of the nine donated villages of the post-Pravarasena II phase were in an area ranging between 300 and 600 meters in altitude. Only three of the nine donations (Govvasāhikā, Jamalakhetaka and Kuruvajjaka/Kurubheñjñaka) belong to the main branch of the Vākāṭakas. The remaining six donations were made by the Vatsagulma branch:<sup>xcii</sup> five (Bhaṭṭikāpadra, Govachchetaṭīgrāma, Kāṃskāarakagrāma, Kumāradāsavāṭaka and Suvarṇakāragrāma) by Hariṣeṇa;<sup>xciii</sup> and the sixth (Yappajja) by Devasena.<sup>xciv</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The settlement names in the Vākāṭaka land-grant charters yield certain interesting insights into the physical geography and socio-economic character of the Vākāṭaka dominions. The suffixes betray the rural and urban character of settlements, indicating a remarkable expansion in the number of former. The prefixes indicate several interesting features of the settlements: regional concentration of mineral resources; local specialization in artisanal activities; agrarian expansion and local specialization in cultivation of certain crops; presence, rather proximity, of groves and plantations; migration of populations from outside central India and the northern Deccan; and admixture of Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical/tribal cultures. It needs to be mentioned that conclusion based on place names are tricky exercises. There are examples of place names having outlived the context of their origins. A settlement may move to become an Urban Centre from its origin and as *apallī* or hamlet yet carry on with the older names. The suffixes like, *pallī/pallikā* and *pātaka/vāṭaka*, clearly suggest that all rural settlements were not that of villages or *grāmas* they denoted hamlets and other forms as well. The addition of *purā* and *nagara* clearly suggests the existence of a hierarchy of settlements, which were related to each other in complex ways. Some of the processes such as agrarian expansion, growth of settlements, exploitation of mineral resources, immigrations and acculturation of local populations had a significant role in the formation, territorial expansion, consolidation and



political legitimation of the Vākāṭaka state. These could be explained in the context of the emergence of a local state or what is popularly known as local state formation.

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- <sup>i</sup> Balaghat, Betul, Bhilsa, Chindwara, Damoh, Durg, Hoshangabad, Indore, Jabalpur, Khandwa, Khargaon, Mandla, Narsinghpur, Raisen, Sehore and Seoni (K. M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan (c. AD 300-500): A Study of Vākāṭaka Inscriptions*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1987, p. 1).
- <sup>ii</sup> Akola, Amrroti, Aurangabad, Bhandara, Bir, Buldana, Chanda, Dhulia, Jalgaon, Nagpur, Nander, Osmanabad, Parbhani and Yavatmal (ibid.).
- <sup>iii</sup> Karimnagar (ibid.).
- <sup>iv</sup> Herman Kulke, 'Some Thoughts on State and State Formation under the Eastern Vākāṭakas' in Hans Bakker (ed.), *The Vākāṭaka, Heritage: Indian Culture at the Crossroads*, Groningen, 2004, p. 2-3.
- <sup>v</sup> Kulke, 'Some Thoughts on State and State Formation under the Eastern Vākāṭakas', p. 2.
- <sup>vi</sup> Ibid., p. 4.
- <sup>vii</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 11.
- <sup>viii</sup> Ibid., p. 6.
- <sup>ix</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 22.
- <sup>x</sup> Ibid., p. 11.
- <sup>xi</sup> Ibid., p. 22.
- <sup>xii</sup> These are Ārammi/Surambī rājya, Govvasāhika, Kuruvajjaka/Kurubheñjāka, Mahalla-Lāṭa/ Mahallama-Lāṭa, Nandivardhanā, Pravarapura, Pravareśvara, Rāmagiri, Ṣaḍviṃśativāṭaka, Supraṭiṣṭha āhāra and Vatsagulma.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 23.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xv</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xvi</sup> R. N. Mishra, 'Village Life and Settlements in the Light of Vākāṭaka Inscriptions', in Bhairabi Prasad Sahu (ed.), *Land System and Rural Society in Early India*, Manohar, Delhi, p. 76.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 24.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Ibid., p. 26.
- <sup>xix</sup> Mishra, 'Village Life and Settlements', p. 74.
- <sup>xx</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 26.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Mishra, 'Village Life and Settlements', p. 76.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Sahu, 'Introduction', in idem (ed.), *Land System and Rural Society in Early India*, p. 18.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 24.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Indore plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Siwani plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Dudia plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Indore plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Pattan plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Riddhapur plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> Thalner plates of Hariṣeṇa of Vatsagulma branch.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> Siwani plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Poona plates of Prabhāvatiḡuptā.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Deotak stone inscription of Rudrasena I.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Jamb plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> Ibid.

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- <sup>xl</sup> Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xli</sup> Prabhāvatīguptā memorial stone inscription of Pravarasena II from Ramtek.
- <sup>xlii</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 24.
- <sup>xliii</sup> Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Pauni grant of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xlv</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 24.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xlvii</sup> Siwani plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>xlviii</sup> Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 26.
- <sup>l</sup> Mishra, 'Village Life and Settlements', p. 74.
- <sup>li</sup> Mandhal plates of Rudrasena II.
- <sup>lii</sup> Masoda plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>liii</sup> Belora plates B of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>liv</sup> Riddhapur plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lv</sup> Mishra, 'Village Life and Settlements', pp. 74-75.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Pattan plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Dudia plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lviii</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 1.
- <sup>lix</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- <sup>lx</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Mandhal Plates A of Pṛthivīṣṇa II.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, pp. 1-2.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Thalner plates of Hariṣṇa of Vatsagulma branch.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> Chammak plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Dudia plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Belora plates B of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxviii</sup> Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxix</sup> Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxx</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 29.
- <sup>lxxi</sup> Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxii</sup> Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxiii</sup> Jamb plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxiv</sup> Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxv</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 27.
- <sup>lxxvi</sup> Siwani plates and Patna Museum plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxvii</sup> Pandhurna plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxviii</sup> Indore plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxix</sup> Chammak plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxx</sup> Belora plates B of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxxiv</sup> S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini: A Study of Cultural Material in the Astadhyayi*, Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 38, 50.
- <sup>lxxxii</sup> Thalner plates of Hariṣṇa.
- <sup>lxxxiii</sup> Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II.
- <sup>lxxxiv</sup> Mandhal plates A and B of Pṛthivīṣṇa II.
- <sup>lxxxv</sup> Mandhal plates of Rudrasena II.
- <sup>lxxxvi</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, pp. 27-28.

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- <sup>lxxxvii</sup> Indore plates of Pravarasena II.  
<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Tirodi plates of Pravarasena II.  
<sup>lxxxix</sup> Belora plates A and B of Pravarasena II.  
<sup>xc</sup> Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India*, p. 25.  
<sup>xci</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>xcii</sup> Ibid., p. 25-26.  
<sup>xciii</sup> Thalmer plates of the 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year of Hariṣeṇa of Vatsagulma branch.  
<sup>xciv</sup> India Office plate of Devasena of Vatsagulma branch.

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