

HISTORICAL NOTES

ANCIENT METHODS OF PRESERVING COPPER PLATE GRANTS*

The present paper highlights the important methods of preservation followed by the people of Orissa for the copper plate grants. An attempt has also been made to offer possible explanations for the interment of more than one set of plates belonging to different ages and different rulers issued to different donees.

It is well-known that the copper plate grants issued by the ruling authorities to the brāhmaṇas and other beneficiaries carried the stamp of authenticity and legitimized the claim of the donees over the gift land or village(s). These charters were, therefore, kept in private possession of the beneficiaries. Since most of them were granted in perpetuity and enjoyed by the beneficiaries hereditarily, they preserved the documents with utmost care and normally did not part with them. Sometimes royal charters written on palm leaves and copper plates were lost or destroyed by fire or other natural calamities thereby rendering the revenue-free holdings as ordinary rent-paying lands. In such cases the donees or their descendants appealed to the kings to issue fresh charters to perpetuate their claim over the gift land. The king after ascertaining by official investigation that the gift land was in continuous enjoyment of the donee, confirmed the grant by means of a copper plate charter.¹ The circumstances of the discovery of the copper plate grants furnish many interesting information regarding the method of preservation of the documents practised by the people in ancient and medieval times. In the present paper an attempt has been made to examine the various methods followed by the people of Orissa to preserve the copper plate grants.

A majority of the inscribed copper plates have been discovered either by the cultivators while ploughing up the fields or by the workers in the course of digging the earth for the foundation of a house or a temple or a well. Sometimes the copper plates were unearthed while re-excavating or

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renovating some old wells, tanks, temples or mounds. It is further noticed that some of the plates were kept in the custody of temples or *mathas* or in private possession of the local chieftains, zamindars or others. At the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to know how these charters came to the hands of the temple authorities or private individuals. But there is every reason to believe that they were at first unearthed by some cultivators or workers and then they were deposited with the temples², *mathas*³ or some influential persons of the locality of the find-spots.⁴ So far as the plates recovered from the temples and *mathas* are concerned, it may be said that probably from the very beginning they were kept in the custody of those establishments. The two plates secured from the *matha* or monastery in the village Kanasa near Delanga in the Puri district gives credence to this. Both the plates were in the possession of the Mahānta Mahārāja of the Kanasa *matha*. From the internal evidences it is learnt that in both the charters land grants were made in favour of the deity Maṇināgabhaṭṭāraka and the brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyanīya school of the *matha*, obviously attached to the temple of Maṇināgeśvara.⁵ It appears that the plates were kept in the safe custody of the temple management until they were finally secured from the pontiff of the Kanasa *matha*. The Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarnam were for a long time in possession of the Mahanta of Kendupatana *matha* in the Cuttack district.⁶ It is not known how and under what circumstances the plates came into the hands of the Mahanta. The history of the discovery of the Tekkali plate of Mādhyamarāja furnishes interesting information.⁷ “Sometimes before 1917 when a dilapidated temple at Tekkali was under repair, it was found that inside the ‘Ala-śrī’ or ‘śikhara’ of the temple there was the present copper-plate inscription.”⁸ The plate containing the details about the donee is missing. It is difficult to explain under what circumstances the plate was kept in the *śikhara* of the temple. But the possibility that the grant was made in favour of the temple and when the worship in the temple was discontinued for some reason or other, the plate was secretly kept in the *śikhara*, cannot be ruled out.

The two sets of the Eastern Gaṅga copper plate grants were found in course of excavation near the temple of Dharmaliṅgeśvara in the village of Sudava.⁹ The first set was issued by Devendravarman in the Gaṅga year 184 (682 AD) and the second set by his son Anantavarman in the Gaṅga year 204 (702 AD). The donee in the former was one Pattaṅga Śivācārya, who was a

royal preceptor, while the donee in the latter was Viṣṇusomācārya. From the purport of the first set it is learnt that Pattaṅga Śivācārya after receiving the land grant from the king re-granted the same. Half of the village was given to Yogeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka and the remaining half to his own students (*śiṣya*) and students' students (*prasiṣya*). It seems that Yogeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka was the deity worshipped in the Dharmaliṅgeśvara temple at Sudava, and Pattaṅga Śivācārya and Viṣṇusomācārya were closely associated with the temple. The copper plate grants given to these learned scholars were probably with the temple for a long time and later on they were concealed underground in the premises of the temple.

One method of preserving the copper plates was putting the plates in an earthen pot and filling the pot with sand or grain husks. This was the usual practice in ancient Kalinga roughly comprising of the undivided Ganjam district of Orissa and the northern districts of Andhra Pradesh. The territorial unit was ruled by the Māṭharas in the 4-6th centuries and later on by the Eastern Gangas. A few copper plate grants of Śvetaka Gaṅgas, the Śailodbhavas and later Bhanjas discovered from various parts of the Ganjam district were also preserved similarly in the earthen vessels. Some of the charters of the Somavaṃśis unearthed from the Bolangir and Cuttack districts were also found from earthen jars. The kings of these ruling houses issued *triphalī-tāmra-śāsanas* or three copper plates joined together with a circular ring and the royal seal affixed to them. While putting the plates into the earthen pot, the plates were at first suspended by the ring on a wooden stick or an iron rod/bar, and then they were rested on the edges of the pot. Sometimes holes on both sides of the earthen ware were made deliberately to insert the stick or rod. The sand or grain husk filling was done afterwards. The mouth of the earthen pot so prepared was covered with a lid or another pot and was then kept underground preferably at a depth of two or three feet below the surface level. The pots were normally kept underground in the cultivable lands or in the backyard of the houses. Most of the plates thus kept in the earthen vessels were found in a good state of preservation.¹⁰ However, the Purle plates of Indravarman were discovered “in a pot exposed to view in a crumbling wall on the bank of the river opposite where Purle lies.”¹¹

From the available information it is learnt that mostly single sets of copper plate grants were preserved in the earthen vessels. Sometimes several

sets were also preserved together in the vessels.¹² A resident of Kalibhana near Bolangir, while excavating a canal, discovered an earthen jar which contained two sets of copper plate grants issued by the Somavaṃśī ruler Janamejaya I in his 6th and 34th regnal year respectively.¹³ The Jurada plates of Neṭṭabhañjadeva¹⁴ and the Phulasara plates of Kīrttirājadeva¹⁵ were found in an earthen pot. Similarly the earthen pot secured from Kornī contained two sets of copper plate grants of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva.¹⁶ At least four sets of plates have been recovered from an urn in the village of Andhavaram in the Narasapeta tāluk of the śrīkakulam district of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁷ Of the four sets, the earliest one was belonging to Anantaśaktivarman of Māṭhara dynasty (c. 5th century AD)¹⁸ while the latest one was belonging to the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahastadeva (c. 9-10th century AD).¹⁹ Excepting the plates of Vajrahastadeva, which registered a land grant to one Maḍapabhīma of Vemmā *kula* (warrior class), the rest of the plates are collective land grants made over to the brāhmaṇas or brahmacāris of various *gotras* and *caraṇas*. However, the four sets were collected and preserved in a pot sometime after the date of Vajrahastadeva.

Six sets of inscribed plates of the Māṭharas and the Eastern Gaṅgas were discovered from Chicacole while digging the foundation of a wall. They were suspended by their rings on an iron bar across the mouth of a large pot.²⁰ The plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman (c. 5th century AD)²¹ are the earliest and that of Satyavarman of Gaṅga year 351 (849 AD)²² are the latest in the series. The six sets were probably put together in the pot and concealed underground sometime after the date of the above charter of Satyavarman.

In 1935 six sets of copper plate inscriptions were secured by S.N. Rājaguru from the village Palajhadi in the ex-Zamindari of Badakhemundi in the Ganjam district. According to Rājaguru, "I was told that a few years before 1935, while digging the earth near Palajhadi village one cultivator found a big pot containing ten sets of copper plate inscriptions. Four sets were destroyed before I recovered the remaining six sets which belonged to the early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga."²³ If the above version of Rājaguru is to be believed then this is the largest cache of inscribed plates found in an earthen jar in Orissa. All the [plates belonged to the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka who ruled over a small territorial unit in the Ganjam district of Orissa in the 7th-

10th centuries. One of the interesting aspects of these plates is that mostly the brāhmaṇa beneficiaries belonged to Vatsa *gotra* and Vājasaneyya or Chāndoga *carāṇa*.

At this stage of our knowledge it is difficult to know precisely the circumstances leading to the interment of the charters belonging to different rulers of different ages. With regard to the Andhavaram hoard, D.C. Sircar gives a possible explanation. According to him, “The grants were issued by different rulers of different ages to different donees and may have been interred in the ground when the owners left the village at one time on an occasion like pilgrimage.”²⁴ On a close examination of the internal evidences furnished by the four Andhavaram plates, it is learnt that except the plates of Vajrahastadeva, which is a service grant, the other three were collective land grants issued to a number of brāhmaṇas. Āndoreppa, the gift village of the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman, is referred to as Āndoraka-agrahāra in the plates of Indravarman²⁵ and Ānandapura in the plates of Anantavarman.²⁶ Andhavaram, the find-spot of the plates, is, therefore, a derivative of its ancient name Andoreppa through its intermediate toponyms like Āndoraka-agrahāra and Ānandapura. It is further observed that the gift villages in other plates were in close neighbourhood of Andhavaram and that the donees who were earlier residents of Andhavaram received land grants in other neighbouring villages. Since the brāhmaṇa residents of these villages lived there for many generations and had definitely close relationships, they might have interred the charters before undertaking pilgrimage to a distant place. But the interment of charters together with a service grant is inexplicable. However, the possibility that the brāhmaṇas before leaving for pilgrimage might have handed over the charters to Madapabhīma, the donee of the plates of Vajrahastadeva, for safe custody, and when they did not return due to some reason or other, the latter buried the plates along with his own, cannot be ruled out. Madapabhīma was entrusted with the task because he was a noble man and is mentioned in the grant as a *deva-dvija-guru-pūjakaḥ*.²⁷

As in the case of the Andhavaram cache, so also in the case of the Chicacole hoard of plates, most of the donees had received the land grants collectively almost in the same locality. The donated villages were not far off from one another. Tāmaracheru, the gift village in Varāhavarttani *viśaya* was

granted twice to a number of brāhmaṇas of Vājasaneyā *śākhā* or *carāṇa*. In the Gaṅga year 128 (626 AD), it was granted to eight brāhmaṇas²⁸ and later on in the Gaṅga year 251/351 (?) (749/849 AD), the same village was granted to as many as 300 brāhmaṇas.²⁹ The Chicacole plates of Devendravarman of Gaṅga year 183 (681 AD) refer to the land grant to six brahmacāris who were all brothers and residents of Kaliṅganagara.³⁰ Collective land grants were always prone to internal feuds or squabbles. The beneficiaries or their descendants might have engaged in prolonged quarrels among themselves over the possession of the original charter. In all such cases, one possible solution was to deposit the charter in the safe custody of the superintendent of the local temple. The grant of Satyavarman which was the latest in the series found from Chicacole, record the donation of a village to a deity.³¹ This lends support to our presumption that the charters so deposited with the temple were later on preserved safely by the temple authorities.

The Palajhadi hoard of the Śvetaka Gaṅga charters prompt us to marshal yet another reason for the preservation of several sets in an earthen pot. Unlike the Andhavaram and Chicacole hoards, the Śvetaka Gaṅga grants were made over to the individual brāhmaṇas. One of the grants registers a land grant to one Bhaṭṭa Nannaṭaśarmā.³² He was also the recipient of another land grant issued by Jayavarman.³³ From the Gaṇeśa gumphā inscription³⁴ and the Dhauli cave inscription of Bhauma era 93 (829 AD)³⁵, it is understood that he and his son Bhimata were noted physicians and lived in Virāja (i.e. modern Jajpur). We have elsewhere established the identity of Nannaṭaśarmā of the Śvetaka Gaṅga records with Nannaṭa of the above two Bhauma inscriptions and also concluded that Nannaṭaśarmā migrated from Svalpavelura in Śvetaka to Virajā in Toshali kingdom.³⁶ This is a case of internal migration of brāhmaṇas. The other brāhmaṇa donees might have similarly migrated to other places in search of better livelihood and patronage, and in all such cases, the original plates were collected and carefully concealed underground.

Another method of preserving the copper plate grants is preparing a square or rectangular stone box or casket and keeping the plates inside it. Chronologically, the Chaurasi plate of Śivakaradeva (8-9th century AD) is the earliest inscription preserved in this manner.³⁷ Of course the box containing the inscription is not made of stone; it is a cemented brick cabinet.³⁸ The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate measuring 8'' × 8 ½''.

A few inscriptions of the Sonepur-Athamallik-Angul region were also preserved similarly. The Sonepur plates of Somavaṃśi Janamejaya I (late 9th-early 10th century) were found concealed in a massive oblong stone coffer, measuring 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ " long with a slipping lid which was obviously designed for the safe deposit of the charter. The plates measure 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " each.³⁹ The Kankala plates of the Bhañja king Ranabhañjadeva (9th century AD) were discovered while excavating an old tank in 1968 in the village Kankala, only four miles from Athamallik, in the present Baud district of Orissa.⁴⁰ The three inscribed plates with the seal-ring were well preserved in a square-size heavy stone-box. The plates measure 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{4}{5}$ " each. The Angul plates of Śāntikara of an unknown family (10th century AD) were also found preserved in a stone casket at the time of discovery.⁴¹ Later on some of the charters of the Imperial Gaṅgas of the 13-14th centuries were also found concealed in huge stone boxes. In 1892, when the Kendrapara canal in the former Cuttack district was being dug, a stone-box was found, 19 or 20 feet below the surface of the earth, in the village Kendupatana.⁴² The box which was 3 feet square with a height of 2 feet, contained three sets of inscribed copper plates (each set having seven plates) belonging to the Gaṅga king Narasiṃhadeva II (1278-1305 AD). The three sets measure 14" x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", 13" x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and 13" x 9" respectively. This is the heaviest stone-box containing the plates so far discovered in Orissa. For long the box together with the plates was preserved in the local temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. The Alalpur plates of the same king are also reported to have been preserved in a stone-box.⁴³ The Kenduli plates of Narasiṃhadeva IV of śaka. 1305 (1383 AD) were discovered in a stone case when a tank was excavated in the village of Kenduli near Balipatana in the Puri district.⁴⁴ Outside Orissa, the Kalegaon (Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra) plates of Yadava Mahādeva of 1201 AD were found inside a stone-box made of two slabs of stone firmly joined together.⁴⁵

From the above instances it has been observed that mostly single sets of copper plate grants were preserved in the stone boxes. The Kendupatana box which contained three sets belonged to the same ruler and issued to the same donee, and, therefore, they were kept in a single box. Although there is no direct evidence to substantiate the argument whether the practice was in vogue in Orissa prior to the 8-9th century, yet the designations of some of the officers associated with the execution and preservation of royal charters

offer an affirmative answer. In the inscriptions of the Mudgalas⁴⁶ and the Dattas⁴⁷, the responsibility of heating and affixing the royal seal to the charters (*lāñchita / tāpita*) was given to the *peḍapālas* or *peḍapālakas*. *Peḍapāla* or *peḍapālaka* is a local Prakrit variant of Sanskrit *peṭapāla* or *peṭapālaka* mentioned in the later Śailodbhava⁴⁸ and Bhauma-Kara records.⁴⁹ The word literally means the ‘keeper of boxes’, apparently the keeper of the stone boxes containing copper plate grants. But in actual practice he was only the keeper of records. Because the empirical evidences suggest that the stone boxes containing the charters were in the private possession of the beneficiaries. Further, it may be noted here that the records which mention *peḍapāla* or *peḍapālaka* were not found from stone boxes while the plates which were secured from the stone boxes do not refer to this official designation.

Thus, normally two methods were followed for preserving the copper plate grants. The method of preserving the inscribed plates in earthen vessels was practiced by the beneficiaries or their descendants living in the locality or localities in which the land grants were made. This was the most popular method of preserving the plates. The other method was keeping the plates in stone coffers. The stone boxes were probably prepared under the supervision of the royal officers and given to the donees at the time of registering the land grants by means of copper plate charters. It is for this reason we do not come across charters of different rulers belonging to different ages issued to different donees concealed together in the same stone cabinet. However, the interment of single sets of several sets of copper plates in an earthen jar has a number of possible explanations. Migration of brahmanas from one region to another for better prospects of livelihood and greater royal patronage was a common feature in ancient and medieval times. Whenever they permanently moved out of the locality in which they held the land rights, they preferred to conceal the charters underground or hand them over to the local temples for safe custody. Sometimes the beneficiaries or their descendants or relatives living in close neighbourhood went on pilgrimage to distant sacred places and they did not return. In such circumstances, the original charters specifying their claim over the gift land were collected and kept together in earthen vessels. Besides, internal feuds or quarrels among the donees or their descendants for the possession of the original charters, as it was likely to happen in collective land grants, is another important factor for handing

them over to the temple authorities who in turn deposited all such disputed charters in earthen jars and concealed them underground.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Khurud grant of the Śarabhapuriya king Narendra is a case in point which clearly establishes that the land grant made over to a Brahmin named Bhāsrutasvāmin by Paramabhattarakapāda was originally written on palm leaves and that the palm leaf charter (*tāla-patra-sāsana*) was burnt in a conflagration in the donee's house (*grihadāha*). King Narendra confirmed the grant by means of a copper plate charter in favour of Sankhasvāmin, son of Bhasrutasvāmin. (M. G. Dikshit, *Epigraphia Indica* (hereafter *EI*), 31, 263-66; A.M. Shastri, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, 2, 50-54.)
2. While digging the foundation to construct the kitchen room near the old temple of Svapneśvara in the village Deulapedi near Polasara in Ganjam district, two sets of copper plate grants were found in an earthen pot. One set belonged to Nettekhanjadeva (C. R. Krishnamacharu, *EI*, 24, 15-20) while the other set to Kirttirajadeva (S.N. Rajaguru, *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society* (hereafter *JAHR*), 3, Pt. 1, 30-40). Later on the two sets were kept in possession of the Chandrasekhara temple of Polasara. According to H.P. Sastri, of the seven copper plate grants discovered from the bank of the river Brahmani near Bhimanagari in the Dhenkanal district, five sets were being worshipped together with an image of Raghunātha (i.e. Ramachandra) in a temple in the village of Sanda about 18 miles north-west of Dhenkanal. (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (hereafter *JBORS*), 2, pt. 4, 405-09.)
3. The Pherava grant of Samantavarman (R.C. Majumdar, *EI*, 27, 108-15) was dug up from a field nearly a furlong west of Chidivalasa near Narasanapeta and was in the possession of the pontiff of Balaga *maṭha* of Chicacole (modern Śrīkakulam). Sometime before February 1891, M.M. Chakravarti secured two copper plate inscriptions of the Sulkis of Kodālakamandala on temporary loan for examination and publication from Rāghavadāsa *maṭha* at Puri. The plates were probably received by the pontiff of the *maṭha* from some cultivator who discovered them. Chakravarti edited the two plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereafter *JASB*), 64, pt. 1, 1895, 123-27. The Kenduli plates of Narasimhadeva IV of S. 1305 were discovered in a stone case when a tank was excavated at Kenduli and subsequently sent to Trimali *maṭha*. (M.M. Chakravarti, *ibid.*, 128ff.)
4. The Urlam plates of Hastivarman of Ganga year 80 (E. Hultzsch, *EI*, 17, 330-34) were in the private possession of the Raja of Urlam. The Santabommali plates of Indravarman of Ganga year 87 (L. N. H. Jagadeb, *JAHR*, 4, pt. 1 & 2, 21-24; R.K. Ghoshal, *EI*, 25, 194-98) were secured in 1925 by the king of Tekkali from a farmer of Santabommali. The same king also secured a number of copper plate grants from the cultivators and kept them in his private possession. (Tekkali plates of Indravarman, E. Hultzsch, *ibid.*, 18, 307-11; Simhipura plates of Dharmakhedi, S.N. Rajaguru, *JAHR*, 3, pts. 2, 3 & 4 171-80). The Hindol plate of Subhākaradeva (Pt. B. Mishra, *JBORS*, 16, pt. 1, 69-

83) was preserved in the palace of the ruling chief of Hindol. It was reported that a peasant while ploughing the land at Chitalpur discovered it and presented it to the chief of Hindol. The Mandasa plates of Anantavarman (G. Ramdas, *ibid.*, 17, pts. 2 & 3, 175-88), the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja (R.D. Banerji, *EI*, 11, 281-87) and the Sarangarh plates of Mahasudevarāja (Hiralal, *ibid.*, 9, 281-85) were similarly secured from the peasants and kept in the private possession of the ruling chiefs of Mandasa, Parikud and Sarangarh respectively.

The Patiakella grant of Maharāja Śivarāja of Gupta *samvat* 283 (603 AD) was discovered by a peasant in a corn field in the village of Patiakella in Cuttack district. It was the property of a Brahmin who was regularly worshipping it. The Raja of Patiakella made it over to N.N. Vasu, the Honorary Archaeological Surveyor to the then Mayurbhanj State, and R.D. Banerji published it in *EI*, 9, 285-88.

5. D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, 28, 328-31.
6. N. G. Mazumdar, *ibid.*, 24, 148-53.
7. Pt. Gopabandhu Vidyabhusana and S. N. Rajaguru, *Prachi* (Oriya), 1933, Pt. 2, 85-88; H. P. Shastri, *JBORS*, 4 pt. 1, 162-67.
8. Shastri, *ibid.*, 162.
9. S. N. Rajaguru, *JAHRS*, 2, pts. 2 & 3, 271-76.
10. Instances of copper plates preserved in this manner have been reported from southern parts of Andhra Pradesh. See for example the Dammara-Nandyala (Cuddapah district) plates of Punyakumāra, 10th year, H.K. Narasimhasvāmi, *EI*, 27, 268-76; the Chendalur (Nellor district) plates of Kumāravishnu and Sarvalokāśraya, E. Hultzsich, *ibid.*, 8, 233-36.
11. G. Ramdas, *ibid.*, 14, 360-63.
12. The Munjeru plates of Anantavarman (O. Ramachandraiya and C. Somasundara Rao, eds., *Prof. K. A. N. Shastri Felicitation Volume*, Madras, 1971, 117-24; the Vishmagiri plates of Śvetaka Ganga Indravarman (T. C. Rath, *EI*, 19, 134-37); the Buguda plates of Sailodbhava Mādhavavarman (F. Kielhorn, *ibid.*, 3, 41-46) and many more documents were discovered from the earthen jars.
13. D.C. Sircar and P.C. Rath, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (hereafter *IHQ*), 20, 237-44.
14. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, *EI*, 24, 15-20.
15. S.N. Rajaguru, *JAHRS*, 3, pt. 1, 30-40.
16. G.V. Sitapati, *ibid.*, 1, 40-48 & 106-24.
17. "A photograph of the urn with the four sets of plates suspended from the rod in their original position was published in some of the English dailies, announcing the discovery. See for instance, the *Mail* and the *Hindu* (both of Madras), respectively of the 11th and 14th April 1951." (*EI*, 28, 176, n. 1). Photographs of the same urn containing four sets

of copper plates have also been published in D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1965, Plates XXIV & XXV. The measurement of the plates vary between 6 7/16" x 2 3/16" and 7 3/4" x 3 3/4".

18. R. Subrahmanyam, *EI*, 28, 175-79.
19. *Ibid.*, 31, 202-04.
20. Noticed by J.F. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary* (hereafter *IA*), 10, 243, No. 1. The shortest of the hoard measures 6 1/2" x 2 5/8" while the longest measures 8 1/8" x 3 3/8".
21. *Ibid.*, 13, 48-50.
22. *Ibid.*, 14, 10-12.
23. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, 2, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, 1960, 272. The measurement of the plates vary between 5" x 2 7/8" and 7 1/2" x 4".
24. Sircar, *op. cit.*, 1965, 97-98.
25. R. Subrahmanyam, *EI*, 30, 37-42.
26. *Ibid.*, 31, 200-02.
27. *Ibid.*, 202-04, text line 28.
28. Fleet, *IA*, 13, 119-22.
29. *Ibid.*, 273-76.
30. Hultsch, *EI*, 3, 130-34.
31. Fleet, *IA*, 14, 10-12.
32. B. Ch. Chabra, *EI*, 24, 129-37.
33. Pt. B. Mishra, *IHQ*, 12, 489-93.
34. R.D. Banerji, *EI*, 13, 167.
35. *Ibid.*, 19, 263-64.
36. S. K. Acharya, "Identification of Nannata-Mahattara, Nanata-śarmā and Nannata", *Orissa Historical Research Journal* (hereafter *OHRJ*), 36, pts. 3-4, 121-25.
37. Narayana Tripathy, *JBORS*, 14 pt. 2, 292-306.
38. According to G. Buhler, "The way in which private individuals kept their copper-plate grants, seems to have been very peculiar. In many places, e.g., in the ruins of Valabhi, near the modern Vala, they have been found immured in the walls or even in the foundations of the houses of the owners. In many other cases the grants have turned up in those fields to the donation of which they refer, often hidden in small caches constructed of bricks." (Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, reprinted in *Indian studies : Past and Present*, 1, 3, Calcutta, 1959, 99-100).

39. B. Ch. Chhabra, *EI*, 23, 248-55. Also see A.M. Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Panduvamśins and Somavamśins*, pt. II, New Delhi, 1995, 194, n. 1.
40. H.C. Panda, *OHRJ*, 24, 25 & 26 (single issue), 45-50.
41. S. Tripathy, *EI*, 40, 113-18.
42. D.C. Sircar, *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, 17, pt. 1, 1951, 33-39; *EI*, 28, 185-91.
43. As per the information of Pt. Ratnakara Gargabatu recorded by D.C. Sircar and P. Acharya (*ibid.*, 31, 17-24), the Alalpur plates of Narasimhadeva II had been found in a stone box which had been discovered while digging the foundation of a house in the village of Alalpur about four miles east of Bhubaneswar. Mukunda Samantaray of the village, who was the owner of the plates, sold them to a copper-smith and they were ultimately melted by the latter. Sircar and Acharya jointly edited the plates from the transcription supplied to them by Pt. Gargabatu in the year 1949.
44. S.N. Rajaguru, *OHRJ*, 5, pt. 1, 1-80.
45. D.G. Koparkar, *EI*, 32, 31-44. Also see Sircar, *op. cit.*, 1965, 98.
46. S.N. Rajaguru, Erbang plate of Śambhuyaśa, *Samvat 235*, *OHRJ*, 12, pt. 3, 113-22, text line 15.
47. Sircar, Olasing plate of Bhānudatta, *EI*, 28, 332-34, text line 18; R.K. Ghoshal, *ibid.*, 26, 239ff., text line 18; N.G. Majumdar, Soro plate of Mahārāja Bhānudatta, *ibid.*, 23, 203ff., text line 20.
48. S.N. Rajaguru, Ranapur plates of Dharmarāja, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, 1, pt. 2, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, 1958, 218-22, text lines 57-58; Rajaguru, Puri plates of Dharmarāja, *JBORS*, 16, 176ff., text lines 60-61; Sircar, Chandesar plates of Dharmarāja, *EI*, 30, 269-73, text line 39; Y.R. Gupte, Konedda plates of Dharmarāja, *ibid.*, 19, 265ff., text line 60.
49. R.D. Banerji, Neulpur plate of Śubhākaradeva, *ibid.*, 15, 1-8, text line 34; Sircar, Terundia plate of Śubhākara, *ibid.*, 28, 211-16, text line 29; Pt. B. Mishra, Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva, *JBORS*, 16, 69-83, text line 32-33; Pt. B. Mishra, Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, Calcutta, 1934, 40-45, text line 38; S.C. De, Two Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī, year 158, *EI*, 29, 210ff., text line 44.