CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
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Delimitation of a region for study poses many complex problems owing to multiple reasons. A political region may get invalidated if looked from at different points of view, such as linguistic, cultural, land-use or morphological considerations. There cannot be any set criteria for delimiting a region. To a large extent it depends on the criteria of the researcher in tandem with his/her objectives. In this sense regions are often conceptual creations of the researchers' mind rather than intrinsic and evident realities of the landscape. Therefore, a present regional unit may not have been perceived as such or even constituted a unit in the past. When dealing with historical geography, apart from space one has to take into account 'time' as well. In our case, if we follow Unstead's method of dividing regions by taking the major relief features, the whole Himalayan range becomes a separate, unified region. But when we take into account socio-politico-cultural developments through the ages, we would find several separate regions. A study of each such region becomes imperative to bring out the elements of differentiation which constitute the region. This differentiation was recognised, however loosely, by the ancient and medieval text writers as well. They also divided what we call the Indian subcontinent today into several regions, according to a set of pre-conceived parameters reflecting their understanding of the people manning different parts of the subcontinent.

A seemingly large number of monographs and studies have been produced to profile the ancient and medieval understanding of regions. A broad survey of such studies was done by B.D. Chattopadhyaya in 1974 but published in 1984. What emerges from Chattopadhyaya's study is that almost all the studies are of an exploratory nature and have not moved beyond identifying the places, the people and their area of habitation mentioned in the texts and inscriptions. Even if in some cases a departure has been made, particularly after the publication of H.D. Sankalia's study of Gujarat, these too have fixed patterns of study. There is certainly a need to undertake a holistic study of the historical geography of India in general, and of different regions in particular. B.D. Chattopadhyaya's Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India is a good example of this approach. It is a pioneering attempt to locate the rural settlements of the early medieval period within the overall socio-political framework. Another landmark study is Urban Decay in India (c.300-1000) by R.S. Sharma. In this monograph, he has looked at the growth and decay of urban centres in India during the early medieval period.

Although there has been an increased interest in regional histories in recent years, the Uttarakhanda area has not received the

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4 R.S. Sharma, Urban Decay in India (C.300 - C.1000), (hereafter Urban Decay), MMPL, Delhi, 1987.
attention it deserves. This is particularly so in the case of the historical geography of this region. The scholars working on the region have not given due attention to the process of its attaining a regional identity culminating into its most recent identity as Uttarakhanda. In the following pages an attempt has been made to look at these processes.

The Region

The Himalayan region is not static and geologically it presents a complex picture. It is held that it is still folding and uplifting. Rivers which were formerly a part of one system have been captured and now form a completely different system. The entire drainage pattern has changed since tertiary times. The instability of the mountain zones in recent geological times also means that each valley tends to have unique features. In terms of human geography, such mountainous country lends itself to the growth of many small distinct communities, each valley being a micro-region in geographical as well as human terms whose inhabitants form a largely self-contained economic and cultural entity. Although, a thin line of communication does exist among the fundamentally different cultural entities, contact with higher levels of economic, social, religious and political formations unify them at some superficial level. The resultant formations mature with time. In the case of Kumaon and Garhwal, contacts with the north Indian socio-political formations have resulted in many significant changes, similar to the changes in the Deccan and Godavari plains because of contacts with the Mauryan state. But before we go on to bring out the nature and effects of such contacts we must first look into its own natural environs and its interaction with human actions.

Uttarākhaṇḍa, as it exists today, consists of eight districts of the

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northern part of modern Uttar Pradesh. These eight districts are: Pithoragarh, Almora, Nainital, Chamoli, Tehri Garhwal, Pauri Garhwal, Uttarkashi and Dehradun. The first three districts belong to the Kumaon sub-region and the other five belong to Garhwal. This region is variously known as Western Central Himalaya, Garhkim Himalaya or simply U.P. Himalaya. This region is separated on the west from Himachal Pradesh by Tons-Pabar, on the east from Nepal by Kali, on the south from the Ganga plain by Terai and on the north it runs into the Indo-Tibetan border. The Tarai-Bhabar belt in the south has a width of eight to twenty-five kms. The rest of the region is full of mountains and valleys. There are no plains when we leave Terai-Bhabar area which is also the most populated area. Habitation becomes sparse when we proceed towards north.

The whole region is drained by Ganga-Kali river system. In this system, we have three major rivers—Yamuna, Ganga and Kali. The rest are tributaries of these three rivers. Tons and Pabar are tributaries of Yamuna; Bhagirathi, Jadha, Bhillang, Mandakini, Alakananda, Pindar, Western Dhauli, etc. are tributaries of Ganga; and Saryu, Ramganga, Gori, Eastern Dhauli, etc. are tributaries of Kali or Sarda. Ultimately, Yamuna and Kali are also drained by Ganga.

**Human Settlements**

There are five types of human settlements in this region. First, there are stair-pattern villages and hamlets. These are situated on mid-slopes of spurs running from ridges, along the valleys of rivers and

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streamlets. About 75% of human settlements of this area are of this type. The second type are confluence settlements. These are relatively large settlements which sprang up at the confluence of affluent streams of the main rivers. Such settlements are known as Prayāga, for example, Devaprayāga, Rudraprayāga, Karṇaprayāga, Nandaprayāga, Vishnuprayāga, Keshavprayāga, Hariprayāga and so on. Following is the list of some important confluence settlements.

1. Askot is situated on the Junction of Gori and Kali rivers.
2. Bageshwar is at the junction of the Sarju and Gomati rivers.
3. Kalsi (site of Asokan inscriptions) is located near the joining of Tons with Yamuna.
4. Karṇaprayāga is at the confluence of Alakananda and Pindar rivers.
5. Milam is situated near the confluence of Gori and Gunka rivers.
6. Nandaprayāga is at the confluence of Alakananda and Nandakini rivers.
7. Nauleshvar is at the confluence of Ganga and Rāmaganga rivers.
8. Briddha Kedāra is at the confluence of Rāmaganga and Bino rivers.
9. Rameshvar is at the confluence of Rāmaganga and Sarju rivers.
10. Pacheshvara is at the confluence of Kali and Sarju rivers.
11. Tehri is at the confluence of Bhillang and Bhagirathi rivers.

12. Rudraprayāga is at the confluence of Alakananda and Mandakini rivers.

Most of these prayāga type of settlements are mentioned in the Purāṇas as well. In the third category come the villages which are at the convergence of pilgrim routes to the shrines of Badarīnātha, Kedāranātha, Gangotri, Yamunotri and many others. A large number of pilgrims' records inscribed on the temples, mostly belonging to post seventh century A.D., testify to the fact that there was an increase in the movement of the pilgrims in this area, and in the wake of this a fairly good number of settlements sprang up at the convergence of the pilgrim routes. At Tehri, routes converge from Devaprayāga and Narendranagar. At Uttarakashi, routes converge from Yamunotri and Gangotri. Similarly at Pauri, routes from the plains and different shrines of the area come together; at Shrinagar, routes from Hardwar and Kotdwar; at Chamoli routes from Kedāranātha and Badarinatha and at Joshimath routes from Niti valley, Mana valley and Badarinātha, etc. The four shrines of Yamunotri, Gangotri, Kedāranātha and Badarinātha are situated near the sources of the Yamuna, Ganga, Mandakini and Alakananda respectively. The fourth type of settlements are seasonal settlements. People residing in the Alpine-zone valleys have permanent sets of houses for summer and winter in two different attitudino-climatic zones. Itinerary encampments, the fifth settlement type, belong to two groups: (i) the Alpine-zone trader-cum-pastoralist people during the upward and downward marches to their summer and winter residences; (ii) Gujjar buffalo-herders graze their cattle in the Alpine pastures above 2,100
metres during the summer, and in the Dun valleys below 1,000 metres in the winter.

The above mentioned human settlement types are governed by a set of cultural and physical milieu. A change in any one of them may lead to abandonment of a particular settlement or a change in its status. The chief elements of the milieu have been enumerated as follows: (1) Configuration, (2) Sunny or shady aspect of the slope, (3) Climate, (4) Vicinity of any streamlet or sprint, (5) Soil, and (6) Social system. Configuration determines the area available for cultivation and also the availability of water supply for drinking and irrigation. Sites near river banks are usually avoided because of the danger of floods. Habitations mostly lie high up on the mid-slopes and those lying at lower levels are sometimes devastated by floods. Old sites of the villages of Harsil (on Jalandhari Ganga), Shrinagar and Gohna (on the Alakananda), and Nakuri (on the Bhagirathi) are examples of settlements swept away by floods. 7

In the Himalayan region, precipitation is sufficient everywhere for growing crops, and it is the temperature which de-limits crop-zones, forces winter-migrations and determines the structure of the houses. Impact of climate and climatic changes on man can have great bearing on the spatial distribution of settlements. But in the Indian context, no source is available to study the past climate as has been done by the European climatologists. 8 It was only after the coming of the British that occasional recording of temperatures began and hence

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7 Ibid.
it is impossible to have an authentic construction of past climate in the Kumaon and Garhwal and track changes in it. But it seems that there has not been any major climatic upheaval during the past one thousand years. Below 2,100 metres the summer temperature averages between 18° and 24°C. The winter temperature ranges between 3° and 10°C. This zone grows two crops a year, and therefore, it is comparatively densely inhabited. It is this temperature zone co-terminus with the Terai-Bhabar and Dun land formations and its immediate northern areas, which saw the rise and fall of many local kingdoms through the centuries, due to many other factors which will be discussed at a later stage. The zone between 2,100 metres and 4,100 metres is mostly a single crop zone maintaining less than 20 persons per square kilometre. The zone above 4,100 metre maintains only two persons per square kilometre and that too, not by agriculture but by pastoral activities, trade and cottage wool-industry.

In the Bhagirathi basin an average size village, including hamlets, is inhabited by 80 persons and in the Alakananda basin by 74 persons. The former has more river terraces providing most suitable land for cultivation. The terraces along the Alakananda valley have also been well developed and are highly suitable for cultivation and habitation.9 Similarly, at Ranikhet in Kumaon before the confluence of the Gauri Ganga with the Kali river, the terraces are well developed. Concave slope and river flat terraces have comparatively deeper soil deposits, and they provide most suitable sites for human settlement and agricultural field-terraces. Steep scarp slopes are avoided or used as pastures.

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Transhumance

Annual transhumance is an important part of rural life in the Himalayas. Climate is the most important factor in determining the zones of permanent and itinerary settlements. Areas above 3000 metres experience very cold winters, and this climate forces the people to migrate with their herds, sheep and goats to warmer valleys. These temporary migrants return to their permanent settlements during the summer. Some mobile pastoral communities keep shuttling between the warm and cold regions during winter and summer seasons. Nityanand studied the pattern and factors behind the human habitation in Sabli village located near Rishikesh taking it as representative of the rural landscape of Garhwal Himalaya. The most remarkable feature of this village is that about 60% of its population practises transhumance within the village territory. Transhumance within the village territory is an important pointer to the way village boundaries were specified. Both the summer and winter settlements are known by the same name and in-between lie the cultivated fields. So, in many cases a village is not only the habitation site or sites but also includes the fields and pastures belonging to its inhabitants. But this is not a rule. In course of time, satellite settlements become equally important and are known by separate identities. Change in population structure plays an important role in the formation of such identities. Transhumance practised by mobile pastoral communities is important in the sense that their routes open up lines of communication between the sub-regions because they have been using the same routes through the centuries.

Spatial Pattern of Settlements

The mode and spatial pattern of settlements represent the collective adjustment to ecological forces. The physical milieu (spatial distances, relief, configuration, climate, water - supply, etc.) discussed above govern the origin, distribution and density of settlements. The cultural milieu and contacts, stage of economy and technology decide their further growth and change, which will be discussed later. The Himalayan zone as a whole is not a unified region. Spate and Learmonth\(^\text{11}\) recognise this in no uncertain terms: “Nowhere in the world are the small natural regions more sharply separated than in the Himalayas”. This is why we have a variety of spatial patterns of settlements in the region. We have true dispersed settlements in the northern region whereas we have large compact settlements in the region adjacent to the plains. In the Dun Valley we have both large compact villages and dispersed settlements depending upon the availability of land and irrigation facilities. There are traces of an original tribal settlement in the dialectal and cultural homogeneity of the chain of villages along a spur.\(^\text{12}\)

Areas of Attraction

In Subba Rao’s phraseology, the Kumaon and Garhwal region falls in the category of ‘relative isolation’ although a large portion lying in the northern part may be termed as the ‘area of isolation’. But within this region there are certain areas towards which people get more attracted and certain areas are avoided. The valleys of Charma,


\(^{12}\) Ibid., p.462.
Shangli, Salam, Baijnath valley in Katyur, Someshwar valley of the Kosi, the valley of Kali, etc. are highly cultivated. Similarly, some of the areas where a considerable mass of flat land is available are Barahmandal, Barabisi, Asi, Askot, Barahsyun, Barahat, Chandpur, Lahba, Pali, Lakhanpur, Chaukot, Choundkot, Chhakhat, Danpur etc. These are the most populated areas in the region. These are the areas which have seen the growth of petty principalities from time to time. At the same time, areas like Bhotiya valleys and Bhabar are very thinly populated.

Archaeological Evidence

It is unfortunate that this region has not received much attention from archaeological authorities. As the eminent historian R.S. Sharma remarked while addressing a National Seminar in Calcutta in 1988, archaeologists on the whole are still preoccupied

\[\text{\textsuperscript{14}}\] ATK, III, ii, p.40.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{15}}\] Ibid., p.43.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{16}}\] Ibid., p.12-13.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{17}}\] Ibid., p.13.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{18}}\] Ibid., p.43.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{19}}\] Ibid., p.44.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{20}}\] Ibid., p.165.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{21}}\] Ibid.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{22}}\] Ibid., p.172.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{23}}\] Ibid., p.174.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{24}}\] Ibid., p.175.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{25}}\] Ibid., p.178-179.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{26}}\] Ibid., p.182-184.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{27}}\] R.S. Sharma said, "I would plead for archaeology of rural settlements. I would also plead for the explorations of the rural hinterland of urban settlements and monastic establishments". In Amita Ray and Samir Mukherjee (ed.), Historical Archaeology of India: A Dialogue Between Archaeologists and Historians, University of Calcutta, Books and Books, New Delhi, 1990.)
with pre- and proto-historic problems neglecting historical archaeology and particularly the archaeology of rural settlements. Inspite of this handicap, it is worthwhile, however, to explore the archaeological profile of Kumaon and Garhwal region to see how settlements evolved here. We know that this area falls in the tectonic belt. Periodical earthquakes destroy settlements forcing migration or a shift to new areas. This is also one of the reasons why we do not have much information on settlement archaeology of this region.

We have some indication of human activities during the pre-historic and proto-historic times in this area. Early stone age tools,\textsuperscript{28} painted rock shelters in Almora,\textsuperscript{29} a cluster of cup marks,\textsuperscript{30} and PGW sites at Thapali and Purola in Tehri Garhwal\textsuperscript{31} show that from very early times human activities were going on in this region. It is also conjectured that the region supplied copper to the Copper Hoard Cultures of north India.\textsuperscript{32} There was a continuous line of communication between different regions of north on the one hand, and Kumaon and Garhwal on the other. But it would be misleading to think that the entire Kumaon and Garhwal area had pre- and proto-historic settlements. Archaeological evidence reveals that the proto-historic cultures could reach only up to the eastern and southern fringes of the valley. In the early phase of PGW, an attempt to enter the northern frontiers was made. It went as far as Thapli in Tehri Garhwal and Purola in Uttarakasi. But these settlements did not

\textsuperscript{29} Ind. Arch. AR, 1991-92, p.130-31.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} Nayanjot Lahiri, The Archaeology of Indian Trade Routes upto C.200 B.C., OUP, Delhi, 1992, p.252.
survive for long; both of them revealed single phase of PGW culture.\textsuperscript{33}

After the PGW culture sites of Thapali and Purola we have a Mauryan period settlement at Kalsi, where Asokan inscriptions were found in 1860. This site had a two metre thick deposit. From the surface of the mound incurred dishes, bowls in plain Grey Ware of thick fabric, carinated \textit{hāndī}, and medium-size vases in Red Ware were collected. An iron sickle was also noted. The collection strongly suggests the existence of a small settlement near the Rock Edict of the Mauryan period. The findings were reported way back in 1972-73 but still remains unexcavated.\textsuperscript{34} The deposit of only two metre shows that the site was abandoned soon after. Around the same time another habitation had grown up in the eastern part of the Doon Valley on the banks of the Ganga in Rishikesh. K.P. Nautiyal carried out a small scale excavation in the compound of Bharat Mandir in 1982-83.\textsuperscript{35} The beginning of the habitation was dated around second century B.C. The occupation of the site continued for many subsequent centuries. Structural remains reveal elaborate house plan, with drains and soakage jars, etc. The material remains include copper and semi-precious stones and a few iron implements. Copper was mined locally. But semi-precious stones, soakage jars, etc. indicate long distance trading activities. Two life-size images found near Bharat Mandir assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era indicate Kuśāṇa influence. A hoard of forty-two Kuśāṇa gold coins discovered at


\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ind.Arch.AR}, 1972-73, p.33.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ind.Arch. AR}, 1982, p.96.
Śivānanda Āśram, Rishikesh, in 1972 prove Kuśāṇa rule in this area. In 1972-73 from the lowest level of the excavation at Virabhadra, Rishikesh, a Kuśāṇa copper coin was also recovered. Findings of these coins point to the site being a trading centre as well as an urban centre. Sh. N.C. Ghosh conducted excavations at Virabhadra temple site at Rishikesh in Dehradun district. The deposit was noticed in 1963-64 and the excavation report was published in 1973-74. It was occupied from the second to the eighth century A.D. In the first to third centuries, sprinklers of red polished ware, bowls, vases and mudbrick structures appear. The fourth to seventh century phase has brick-structures, but the floor is made of brick-bats. It has a Śaivite sanctum, and may probably be credited with two temples. Temples and other structures are found in the last phase which ended in the eighth century. Ranihat in Tehri Garhwal was occupied around the sixth century B.C. In the fourth-second centuries B.C., brick structures with floorings paved with bricks appear. Wedge-shaped bricks suggest the construction of either a well or a barn. The size of bricks indicate a Maurya-Śuṅga horizon. Iron seems to have been in extensive use in this period. In 200 B.C.- A.D. 200 period we find bottlenecked sprinklers, and miniature vases of the period which resemble those from western and central India. Iron continued to be

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38 *Ind.Arch. AR*, 1963-64, p.45.
40 Ibid.
41 *Ind.Arch. AR*, 1974-75, pp.41-42.
43 Ibid.

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used widely; floors and other structures were made of broken bricks and tile pieces. Several phases of structures are placed between the sixth and the twelfth centuries A.D. The site wore a deserted look during the second to the sixth century A.D., and the early medieval structures were poor.44

Similarly, Moradhwaj in Bijnor, a fringe area of Kumaon and Garhwal was inhabited since the fifth century B.C. and acquired an urban character in C.200 B.C. – C. A.D. 300. The pre-Kuṣṇa phase shows baked brick structures, fortification walls, terracotta beads, cart-wheels and figurines. Copper bangles and iron tools are also found.45 Baked brick structures continued to be put up in the Kuṣṇa phase and a brick temple was erected in the heart of the settlement of Kuṣṇa times.46 The Buddhist association of the site is indicated by the remains of a stūpa and numerous small tablets bearing the image of the Buddha.47 The earlier finds continued in a large measure,48 and apart from typical Kuṣṇa ceramics, a gold coin of the Kuṣṇa king Vasudeva was found. The site was abandoned after the Kuṣṇa period.49

At Jagatgram: almost opposite the Kalsi Rock Edict, on the left bank of the river Yamuna, T.N. Ramachandran unearthed three sacrificial altars of horse sacrifice performed by the king Śīlavarman.

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47 Ibid.
in the third century A.D. One of the inscribed bricks discovered at the site speaks of four altars. However, so far only two have been excavated; the third is located but not yet studied and the fourth remains elusive. In 1972-73 in the course of an exploratory digging at Jiwangarh, about ten kilometres north-west of Jagatgram, a few fragmentary bricks bearing inscriptions in Brāhmi characters of third century A.D. were discovered. The size of the bricks and the palaeography of the Brāhmi letters on them are similar to the inscribed bricks found at Jagatgram, which suggest that these were laid in the form of Śyena (hawk or eagle with spread wings). The cīti altar of the inscription was undoubtedly Śyena in shape. However, neither T.N. Ramachandaran nor N.C. Ghosh could find any trace of a habitation site of comparable age. At Purola in Uttarakashi, situated on the left bank of river Kamal, a tributary of Yamuna, a vedic brick altar was excavated in 1986-87 and 87-88. The mound was locally known as intākot. It was a massive structural complex of burnt bricks. The structure has been identified as a Śyenacīti. measuring 24 x 18 m. laid in the east-west direction in the shape of a flying Garuḍa. the head being exactly towards the east and the tail towards the west. Excavation of the pit in the middle of the altar yielded Śuṅga-Kuśāṇa pottery like the incurved bowl, miniature vase, cup, lamp etc. The five intact miniature red ware bowls resembling closely the Śuṅga-Kuśāṇa miniature bowls from Ahicchatra contain ash, charcoal mixed with bone pieces, sandy clay and copper coins of the Kuśinda dynasty. These coins closely resemble those of Amoghaṭuti. One of the most significant discoveries of the excavation was an iron axe (21.5 cm. long) below 1.30 metres suggesting that the same was used for the


51 Ind. Arch. AR, 1972-73, p.46.

performance of the sacrificial rite connected with the citi. One does not know if there was any habitation site of the same age around the altar site. We have one PGW culture site in Parola but that belongs to an earlier age. Besides Jagatgram and Purola, Syena-citi is reported from Kausambi and an alleged Aśvamedha altar from Nagarjunakonda.\(^5\) These altars are well within the fortified and prosperous settlements. Such elaborate rituals testify to a rich material life in the valley around the opening centuries of the Christian era but the absence of any large sized urban centre is really intriguing.\(^4\)

Apart from the above mentioned archaeological sites, i.e. Kalsi, Jagatgram, Thapli, Purola, Virabhadra, Bharat Mandir, Lakhamandal, Jiwanagarh, Sivananda Asram, Rishikesh, we do not have any other site which could give us an idea of the settlement pattern in Kumaon and Garhwal. Whatever sites we come across are basically temple sites belonging to the early medieval period. Even when at some places ruins of settlements have been found, these have been studied mainly from the architectural and religious points of view and nothing is known about their settlement pattern. Some sites\(^5\) are as follows:

1. Panduwala in Shrinagar - ruins of an ancient urban settlement, identified by A. Fuhrer with the capital of the kingdom of Brahma Purāṇa ruled by Paurava-Varmanas.

2. Baijnath in Danpur - identified with the Katyur capital Kārttikeyapura. A large number of temples (ruined) are found there.

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\(^4\) Ibid.

3. Champavat - Capital of the rājās of Kumaon before shifting to Almora in the sixteenth century. A fort is in ruins.

4. Dhikuli - Near the village are the remains of ancient buildings a few feet from the surface, locally identified with Vairatapattan, the capital of the old kingdom of Goviśāṇa visited by Hieun Tsang in the seventh century. There are many fine specimens of capitals, pillars, medallions, figures of lions and other Buddhistic designs.

5. Chaturbhuj - In Rudrapur; contains large number of mounds around a ruined fort.

6. Ujain - one mile east of Kashipur lies the old fort of Ujain, which General Cunningham identifies with the ancient city of Goviśāṇa visited by Hieun Tsang. It is 3,000 feet in length from west to east and 1,500 feet in breadth, the whole circuit being upwards of 9,000 feet. Hieun Tsang describes the circuit of Goviśāṇa as about 12,000 feet; but in this measurement he must have included the long mound of ruins on the south side, representing the remains of an ancient suburb. By including the mound within the boundary of the old city, we arrive at the circuit of 11,000 feet approximately, which is very nearly the same as that given by Hieun Tsang.

Plot-Names and Place-Names in the Inscriptions

Compared to the archaeological sources, our study of epigraphic material has been much more rewarding. In this section, we shall study the place names appearing in the inscriptions belonging to the early medieval period.
The inscriptive data show that many a settlement was named after landscape features which must have characterized the place at the time of its occupation. Such names are the fossils of human action on geographical features because they provide evidence of primitive landscapes, peoples who colonised them and the changes in subsequent times; but their forms are corrupted by time and usage and their meanings often become obscure. Large compound names often show changes in the nature of the settlements. Great advances have been made not only in the systematic collection of place-names but also in critical appreciation of their value and limitations. One of the most valuable methods of extending the range of identification followed by most scholars from Cunningham to present day scholars, is to find analogous place name elements belonging to the same language or to a related language group. Such names can be used in indicating the presence of forests, lakes, rivers, streams, etc. As a result one may be able to define the extent of early medieval forest-land, dry-land or marshland with greater precision. Other than this, place-names also yield information about the character of early settlements and land-use.

Plot-Names in the Inscriptions of Paurava-Varman Dynasty

The plots of land had their proper names in Kumaon, Garhwal and Chamba. This practice shows the relative importance of cultivable land for the people of the region. It shows that the plots were not only less in number but also that they were distributed in far-flung areas. Since this practice of naming plots went into disuse probably after sixteenth century their exact meanings cannot be ascertained. But

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many of these names indicate the nature of plots in general and at the
time of their colonisation in particular. The grant of Dyutivarman mentions only one plot-name i.e. *Samajja-vyastā*, a compound of *samajja* and *vyastā*. *Vyas* means to obtain, to take possession of or to occupy and *Samajja* seems to be a derivative of *sami*, meaning to meet at or to meet with. So this was a plot at the junction of rivers. Samijja as a settlement appears in the plate of Subhikṣarājadeva (tenth century A.D.). In the grant of Viśpuvarman we have a larger number of field names. First, we have *Huḍukka-sunanā*. *Ṣunā* is a place used for slaughtering animals and *Huḍukka* may be the person who owned it. *Huḍukiyas* are the traditional drum-beaters in the region and *Huḍuka* is a kind of drum. In most cases the measurements of the plots are also given but in this case it is not so. Hence, it has to be a place used for anything but agriculture. Next, we have the field *Mālavaka*. Mālava tribe occupied parts of north-western India. But we do not have any concrete evidence which could suggest that a tribe of this name lived in any part of Kumaon and Garhwal. It is probable that a group of the Mālava tribe migrated to this area and the tract came to be known as *Mālavaka kṣetra*, in which a plot requiring one *Khāri* of seed is mentioned. In the term, *Vajrasthalakṣetra*, *Vajra* according to Gupte is the owner’s name but it is more likely that *Vajrasthala* was a land which had very hard soil or was full of stone pebbles. The colonisers may have turned that land into cultivable land. Similarly, *Madhyamāraka* was a field in the middle of which was some sort of

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58 Ibid., no.7B.
59 Ibid.
60 *Madhya* = Centre, *māraka* from *mr* =Obstacle.
obstacle and may have been reclaimed after removing that obstacle. Kapileśvara kṣetra was an area near the Kapileśvara temple or it may have been a land in possession of the priests of Kapileśvara temple. Nandikeraka kṣetra seems to be a plot named after Nandi, Śiva's attendant. Rajakasthala kṣetra was a plot belonging to the community of washermen. Devakyānūpa kṣetra was a land situated near the water source belonging to the priestly families (devakya). This identification becomes more plausible in the light of the fact that it has been mentioned in the same inscription in different forms viz. Devakyakarṇṇaka, Devakya ṭoli and Devakya kṣetra. All of these terms seem to refer to the settlements of priests. The meaning of the name Khaṭṭalikā is not clear. It has been mentioned thrice in this grant referring to three different localities, in Madhyamapūraka, in Devakhala and in Sunthināvānūpa. In the first case Khaṭṭalikā is without any suffix, whereas in the other two cases the suffix kṣetraṁ has been added. From the first reference - which reads Vāsodakaṁ Jāṅgalam Tadupari Khaṭṭalikā - one can make out that it was situated on the upper portion of the hill. It was perhaps a resting place from where the cultivated plots could be watched. This conclusion derives from the fact that khaṭṭa means a bedstead. In other cases, the plots attached to such rest-houses or watchman's den could have been meant. Bhṛṣṭikākṣetram is a field which was previously a habitation site but converted into agriculturable land.61 Bhṛṣṭaka kṣetraṁ appears at another place too, in the same inscription. Vījakaranaṁ may mean the small portion of the field where seed might have first been sown and then taken out to be sown in larger fields.62 This is the

61 Bhṛṣṭi = a deserted cottage or garden. Y,4563f
62 Y.R.Gupte, op.cit, p.121,fn.3.
usual process of paddy transplantation all over India. *Vadra* may be a large field, larger than the usual small plots found in the hills.\(^{63}\) *Parvata* is possibly a localised variant of *Parvatākara* and could mean a field which resembled a hill or a field on the hill. A field called *Jaṅgala khoṇikā* might have been the waste land in which many caves were found. *Kedāra* is a field or meadow, especially one under water most suitable for rice cultivation, for *kedārikā* is a kind of rice. The *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* takes it to mean any field or area.\(^{64}\) *Jārolaka kedāra* may mean a wasteland or a land which has not been under cultivation for a long time, but was suitable for rice cultivation.\(^{65}\) *Vāsosūti jāṅgalā* was a waste land whose shape was like a camel’s back. *Nāgilākṣetra* may mean a land full of serpents, or one which was serpentine in shape. *Śvetakṣetra* was a land where the colour of the soil was white, i.e., it was a land with sand as major ingredient. *Vetasa* (*Vetasa-kalyāṇa-vāpa naṁ-dheyaṁ*) was a field full of a kind of reed called *vātan*. *Vetasa* also means stick which may allow us to infer that after removing the reeds the field was made fit for cultivation and in some parts the stems were still there. *Madhupālamūlaka* may have been a plot where sweet roots grew.

**Plot-Names in the Inscriptions of the Katyuri Dynasty**

The tradition of naming the plots granted continues in the later centuries as well. Thus the inscription of Subhikṣarājadeva\(^{66}\) belonging to the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. also

\(^{63}\) *Vadra* = large, great.

\(^{64}\) *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVIII, 5,4, cited by Monier-Williams, SED, s.v., *kedara*.

\(^{65}\) *Jara* = Old, Waste.

\(^{66}\) D.C. Sircar, *El*, vol.31, no.38.III.
mentions many plots which are named as was the case with the grants of the Paurava-Varmans. Vidimalāka may have been a land from where salt was procured (viḍa = salt) or may be it was a land with salty water. A plot named Vanolaka could have been a forest land. Khoṇu bhūmi was perhaps a land with caves. This name is phonetically similar to Khoṇhika discussed earlier. Kaṇḍayikā was probably a place where grains were pounded (kanḍi = to pound) Saṭeka was a land where a kind of sweet root grew. Yakṣašṭhāna was a plot around the place of Yakṣa. Kṣirakau was a plot where or around which the root Kṣirakākolikā grew. Talasaṭeka was a land lying below and Saṭeka is mentioned earlier. It was a low-lying field. Tala or Talla is still used in the same sense in the region. Gaṅgeraka was perhaps a plot reclaimed from the river bed. However, Gaṅgeruki is the name of a plant as well. The plot Pavita may be a variant of Pavita which means cleansed off forest shrub and made cultivable. The plot name Kaṭṭilla seems to be related to stone slabs.

The meaning of plot name Nyāyapaṭṭaka is self-evident. It belonged to the entire population of Nāmbaraṅga grāma. The name seems to be the result of some dispute over its ownership. The reference to the plot name Vaḍibala belonging to Vacchabala is interesting as we have two more plots with similar names viz. Vidimalāka and Vaḍipalāka. Further, the second syllable of the plot-name i.e. Vadibala and of the owner’s name, i.e. Vacchabala, is the same. The meaning of Vaḍibala seems to be the same as Vidimalāka i.e. land with salty water. The plot name Khorkhoṭṭāṁka has two

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67 Saṭa is the name of a fragment root like ginger.
68 Kṣirakākolikā = name of a root from Himalaya yielding a milky juice.
syllables i.e. Khora and Khotiūmka and both mean the same i.e. limping and may imply land with uneven surface for most part. The land called Anūpa was either situated near the water or was a watery plot itself. The former meaning may be correct in the light of other usages like plots at Anūpa (Anūpe-bhū-khandam). Jātipāṭaka land was a plot which was prepared with steps (Pāṭaka = a flight of steps leading to the water). Ijjara was perhaps a fallow land. Ijjara is used again in the plate of Bhīṣma Canda dated 1514 A.D. in the sense of fallow land.69 However, Ijjara could also be the local variant of Ijjala which is a small tree growing in wet and saline soil and the plot with these trees could have been named after that.

The plot named Govaraka may have been manured by cow-dung (govara = cow-dung pulverised). The plot Ghāsserūka was the pasture ground owned by all the inhabitants of Yoyikāgrāma (ghāsa=pasture). The plot Valivārddāśila may mean a land besides a large stone or a land reclaimed after removing a large stone slab (balivarda=a bull or an ox; śila = stone stab). Land styled Kuṭṭanūsūlā means the land brought under cultivation after cutting large stone slabs (kuṭṭīna=cutting, breaking, grinding). Gaunodārikā was land on an elevated place.70 The plot name Tiringa may be derived from Trīṇa = grass, and was perhaps a pasture. The plot Karkatāyāla was a shrubby land.71 Dālimūlaka was most probably an orchard of pomegranate which grows in some parts of Kumaon and Garhwal. (Dālīma = Pomegranate). Suṣtavimā was a dry land of a certain measure and was

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70 Udarika = having a large belly. By extension one may take it to mean an elevated place.
71 Karkatā = a kind of shrub.
probably derived from śuṣka = dry land. (vimā = measure). The plot Karkarāṭaka was again a shrubby area similar to Karkkaṭayāḷa. This plot of land was under the ownership of the whole viṣaya. Cidārikā seems to be a local variant of kedāraka or kedarika meaning a rice-growing wet land. Pannakorālikā was a low-lying field or a field in the valley (panna = creeping on the ground). This plot was also owned by the villagers of Caḍavāka. Lohārasāmenā may be a land near the settlement of iron-workers. Grāmiyārakanā is the compound of two words viz. Grāmiyāra and Kanā. Grāmeyā is a female villager and kanā (kanyā) is a vedic kinship term meaning daughter. We also have a reference to a land owned by the grand-daughters of Aṭṭaka. It is a strong possibility that this plot called Grāmiyārakanā was owned by the women and hence this name. Grhanḍakapāṭikā seems to be house site belonging to Vantāka.

From the above study it is possible to draw certain inferences with regards to the manner in which the plots or settlements acquired their nomenclature. More often, these are with reference to some specific geographical feature of the area. The region had many stretches full of wild thorny shrubs. These shrubs were easy to clear for cultivation. In the inscriptions we find many such place names signifying this aspect of reclamation of land for the purpose of agriculture after the fifth century A.D. Such lands usually have Karkaṭa for prefix but many of them are without any prefixes or suffixes. Karkarāṭaka, Karkaṭayāḷa, karkkaṭasthūṇā, Kṣirakau, Saṭekā, Talasūṭaka, Paivitta, Vetasa, etc. are some of such names.

Availability of water plays an important role in the selection of sites for settlements, as well as in the choice of a particular tract to be
turned into arable land. Some of the plot-names echo this necessity, viz. *Corapãniyam*, *Samajjãyastã*, *Devakyãnûpa Kṣetra*, *Vïjakarañï*, *Gãngeraka*, *Anûpa*, *Cidãrikã*, etc. Some derive their names from their shape and size. Some names refer to their colonisation by some specific group and some to their locations, viz. *Vajrasthalakṣetra*, *Madhyamâraka*, *Vadrakṣetra*, *Parvvatãrakṣetra*, *Nãgilakṣetra*, *Śvetakṣetra*, *Kãtapïlla*, *Khorakhorïstãnaãkã*, *Govaraka*, *Valivaraddâsila*, *Gauñodârikã*, *Jãtipãtaka*, *Punnakorãlikã*, *Śuśstavimã*, etc. Some plot names signify that they were wet lands, such as *Kedãra*, *Jarolaka Kedãra*, *Cidãrikã*, *Mãlavaka*, *Lohãrasãmenã*, *Grãmiyãrañkanã*, *Rajakasthalakṣetra*, etc. were fields which either belonged to particular ethnic or an occupational group. Substantial number of plots seem to have been fallow land, viz. *Jarolaka kedãra* and *Ijara*, or waste lands, viz. *Jangala khoñikã*, *Vyãsoñthini jañgala*. Plots denoting pastures such as *Ghañseruka* and *Tiriṅga* must have been owned by the whole village. Large stones are found in abundance in the whole region and they needed to be cleared for the purpose of making such tracts suitable for cultivation. The fields reclaimed through such processes were named *Valivaraddâsila*, *Kuñtanãsila*, *Vajrasthalakṣetra*, *Madhyamâraka*, etc. Salt is a rare mineral so far as Kumaon and Garhwal is concerned. For the most part of its history salt formed one of the most sought after material of import. Some plots were named after this natural product, viz. *Vãdîbala*, *Vãdipalãka*, *Vidimalãka*, etc. In one case a deserted habitation site called *Bhrûstikãkṣetra* was granted, whereas in another case a housesite called *Gthañdakapûtikã* was granted. While the former was apparently converted into a cultivable plot, the latter was meant for building a house. There are a few plots which are known by the names of nearby
temples, viz. Kapileśvarakṣetra, Narākṣetra, Yaḵṣasthāna, Nandīkeraka kṣetra, etc. Further, we have such plot-names as Vanolaka, Huḍukkasūnā, Khaṭṭalikā, Khoṇū, Kanḍayikā and Govaraka, signifying forest land, place for slaughtering animals, rest-house, caves, grain-pounding place and manured field respectively.

It is obvious that these plot-names refer to some specific feature of the lands before they were colonised or granted. Some of the plot-names also refer to the process of reclamation of new fields for the purpose of cultivation. In a large number of cases, the Sanskritic names of plots and non-Sanskritic names of their owners indicate that the area in which land was granted was dominated by tribal elements and more and more land under the possession of the tribals was being granted to the temples. This aspect of land grants has an important bearing on the brahmanization of this mountain tract. In the Paurava-Varman inscriptions (5th-7th centuries) we have lesser number of plot-names and larger number of settlement-names, whereas in the Katyuri inscriptions (9th-10th century) we have larger number of plots and lesser number of settlements being granted. This shows some amount of fragmentation of the land holding, possibly the result of a demographic change. Since in the Paurava-Varman inscriptions owners' names are not specified, we may suppose that the plots granted were to be turned into cultivable plots. But in the Katyuri inscriptions, it was cultivated plots that were granted. This is also supported by the fact that in the Paurava-Varman inscriptions elaborate boundary specifications were given. The elaborate boundary specifications appear to imply show the relative newness of the plots.

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and settlements. The settlements and cultivable tracts of recent origin would not be known widely and hence there was a need to specify the boundaries (āghāta or āghāṭana). In the Katyuri inscriptions also the new settlements or new plots are mentioned with proper boundaries but such cases are less in number.

Names of Settlements

In the inscriptions we have at least two dozen suffixes denoting particular types of settlement. These are — grāma, grāmaka, pura, purī, pallī, pallikā, ṭoli, āśrama, vanika, vanaka, vañja, gartta, koṭtha, araṇya, vāṭaka, vāstu, vāsa, sālikā, khohṣaka, karmānta, karvaṭaka, koṭṭa, garh, durga, viṣaya and bhukti. From the inscriptionsal evidence, we cannot make out the exact nature of these settlements except in some cases. However, we will try to examine our sources from this angle as far as it is feasible.

Settlement Names Based on the Inscriptions of Paurava-Varman Dynasty

The grant of Dyutivarman dated in his fifth year mentions a number of grāmas whose specific features can be inferred from the analysis of their names. Koṇakalikāgaṅgā Grāma must have been a village which was situated on the curvature in the course of a river. Koṇa means corner and kalikā could refer to its shape resembling a half moon. Apparently this was a settlement of cattle herders and karmakāras.73 Within the jurisdiction of this grāma we have Guṇeśvara-valadīpaka, i.e. a settlement74 around the temple of

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74. Vala = enclosure.
Gulôsvara (Siva temple) situated on the shiny (dipaka) side of the slope of a hill; and Karavirakośthā, i.e. a small enclosure (hamlet) at Karavīra.75 Next we have Gâkṣicaraṇa Grāma which literally means a place where cattle were kept,76 and this may have been a settlement of cattle herders.77 Within the jurisdiction of Gâkṣicaraṇa Grāma there were two smaller settlements called Mahāsāla and Vurāsikadantavanikā. Mahāsāla may have meant a settlement with a big fence.78 It might have been erected to protect the cattle. Vurāsikadanta-vanikā was a small forest settlement on the ridge of a mountain.79 Jyorāṇā (from root jri= to become old or decrepit, to decay) could have been a deserted place at this time. This place has been identified with Jhirna, about sixteen miles east of Ramanagar in Nainital district. The next settlement is called Bhagnanūpadomādbhā. This name is the compound of bhagna (=broken) and anūpa (=a well or a naula), and odṛbhā referring to a tribal community, and seems to be indicating that the settlement was near the broken or abandoned naula belonging to Odra tribe. This tribe is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Katyuris. Within the jurisdiction of Bhagnanūpadomādbhā eight smaller settlements were granted, viz. Puṭavānaka, Karkkaṭasthunāvaṇjāli, Uttaragāṅgā, Kapilgarta, Koṭaravaṇja, Śivamusicapurī, Dādīmikā and Śimsapikā. Puṭavānaka appears to have been a small forest settlement having caves, as puṭa implies a hollow or a cave.80 Karkkaṭasthunāvaṇjāli and Koṭaravaṇja

75 Kośtha = any enclosed space; granary.
76 akṣ = to pass through, penetrate, pervade.
77 Go = cattle, Car = to graze.
78 Śāla = Fence, wall, rampart.
79 Danta = the ridge of a mountain; Vanikā = grove.
80 Was it a settlement of cave-dwellers?
were again forest areas, the former being full of uncultivated land
(sthūṇa=uncultivated land). Uttaragaṅgā was a settlement on the bank
of a river while Kapilgartā was a settlement in the valley (Garta= a
pit or valley). It is identified with Kapileshwar in Nainital. Śivamusicyapurī was a settlement with a Śiva temple. Dādimikā was a
settlement of pomegranate growers. We have also a reference to a
pomegranate growing field called Dālimūlaka. All these above
mentioned places were situated on the southern (Dakṣiṇapārśve)
portion of the larger unit called Bhagnānūpamodṛbhā.

In the Śarathā viṣaya there were three pallis, viz. Karvīra
Gartā, Kollapuri and Bhelamastaka. Karvīra gartā was a settlement
in the valley similar to Kapilgartā, Kollapuri was the settlement of
Kolas, an ethnic group. Kolāpur is mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa
as well.81 Kollapuri of our inscription has been identified with
Kolapuri in Almora district, while Karvīra Gartā has been identified
with Karbar Ghati in Nainital. Bhelamastaka seems to be the wrong
rendering of Bhilamastaka i.e. a settlement of Bhils. There is some
confusion regarding the term śarathā- Viṣayastā-palli as read by
Y.R.Gupte. The correct reading should be śarathā-viṣayastha-palli
i.e., the palli under the jurisdiction of Śarathā viṣaya.

Next the inscription mentions grants made in the Karrakotā
viṣaya. It was a fortified settlement as is apparent from the suffix
kota. Karrakotā has been identified with Karakota Dhar, eleven miles
south of Ramgarh in Nainital. The thirteen settlements within this
viṣaya are mentioned. These are: Khaṇḍāka pallikā, Mammadatta,
Rājakyatoli, Srīgālkhoṣṇaka, Bhūta-Pallikā, Gogga-Pallikā,

81 Monier-Williams, SED, s.v., Kola.
Vārunāśrama, Prabhīla pallikā, Devadasaṭolī, Nārāyaṇadevakulakamālākhānaka, Sribhācarppaṭa, Anaṅgalagarttā and Uttaravāsa. Khaṇḍāka pallikā gives the impression that it was a deserted settlement (Khaṇḍāka = breaking to pieces, destroying). Rājakyāṭolī was either a washerman’s settlement or the settlement of warriors. (Rajaka = washerman; Rājanyaka = inhabited by warriors). Most probably it was the settlement of washermen since we have another reference to Rajakasthalakṣetra elsewhere.82 Śrigālakhoṭhānaka was either a settlement of cave dwellers or it was a place infested with jackals and hence named as such. The meaning of Bhūta pallikā is very difficult to ascertain. In the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas we have reference to Bhūtagrāma in the sense of a place infested with spirits. Bhūta is also a name of Śiva and Yakṣas are also called Bhūta.

The settlement may have been named after a temple of either Śiva or a Yakṣa. Interestingly a plot was also named as Yakṣasthāna. Gogga pallikā was a tribal settlement, the inhabitants of which might have been engaged in the trade of Guggula. Vārunāśrama was probably a settlement around the hermitage of a sage called Varuṇa. Prabhīla pallikā could have been a settlement of the Bhils. Devadāsā ṭolī was the locality in which the temple attendants lived. Nārāyaṇadevakulakamālākhānaka was a settlement of those whose job was to supply flowers to a group of temples dedicated to the god Nārāyaṇa. Śribhācarppaṭa was apparently a prosperous settlement on a flat area.83 Anaṅgalagarttā could have been a valley not inhabited as


83 bhā = shining, carpata = lying flat to the head; like an open palm of the hand, Śrī = an honourific title.
yet but worthy of habitation.\textsuperscript{84} Uttaravāsa seems to be a hamlet which was perhaps occupied during the transhumance.\textsuperscript{85}

The Brahmapura mentioned in the inscription perhaps as a viṣaya is very important since this was the seat of the political power of the Paurava-Varmans. Both the grants, that of Dyutivarman and of Viṣṇuvarman, are purported to have been issued from here. Within the jurisdiction of Brahmapura, Kārttikeyapuragrāmaka and a plot called Samajāvyastā were granted. This Brahmapura has been identified with modern Dhinkuli in Nainital where ruins of a settlement have been found. This site has been identified with Po-lo-hi-mo-pu-lo of Hieun Tsang. Kārttikeyapura has been mentioned twice in the inscription of Dyutivarman: once as a grāmaka and at another place as a larger unit. We wish to suggest that there were two Kārttikeyapuras. Kārttikeyapura Grāmaka was a small settlement under Brahmapura and the other Kārttikeyapura was a viṣaya and a large settlement, to which Ativalāka Pallikā, Viśākhila Pallikā, Ariṣṭāśrama and Avalīnaka were attached. It was this larger Kārttikeyapura which became the seat of political power of the Katyuris, and it may be identified with modern Katyr in Almora district. Kārttikeyapura Grāmaka seemed to have been under the direct control of the kings of Brahmapura.

In the Trayamvapura district we have three pallikās mentioned, viz. Suvarṇṇakāra Pallikā, a settlement of goldsmiths, Vṛiddāpallikā (an old settlement) and Candrapallikā which may have been colonised first by the family of a person called Candra. From the existence of

\textsuperscript{84} Anuṅga = bodyless, formless.

\textsuperscript{85} Uttara = higher, opposed to adhara = lower, tending downwards i.e. going to the upper portions of the hills during the summer in search of pasture.
Suvarṇakāra Pallīkā, it may appear that Trayamvapura was a small township. Suvarṇakāra Pallīkā has been identified with Sonarkhola in Nainital but Trayamvapura remains unidentified. If Suvarṇakāra Pallīkā was a part of Trayamvapura then it must be identified with the adjoining place. In the jurisdiction of Bilvaka district identified with Bilva Kedāra in Garhwal, we have Jayabhāṭa Pallīkā and Vācākaraṇa Grāma. Jayabhāṭa Pallīkā was the settlement of the Bhaṭa brāhmaṇas. Many of the personal names in the inscriptions have Bhaṭa endings. Vācākaraṇa Grāma seems to be a settlement of an aboriginal group whom the brahmanical people considered as sorcerers (from Vasīkaraṇa).

This inscription speaks of Vṛddhatarī Pallīkā as attached to Dipapuri, (a small township). Vṛddhatarī Pallīkā might have been an old settlement around which the market town Dipapuri grew. Vṛddhakāpallikā, Uṣṭralāmaka, Kaṭakabhṛṣṭī, Ḍinḍika Pallīkā and Catusālorohālāgala Pallīkā were under the jurisdiction of Kroḍasūrppī viṣaya. Kroḍa according to D.C. Sircar86 is the same as suvarṇa which is a weight of gold, and śūrpa is a winnowing basket. If we accept these meanings then Kroḍasūrppī may be a settlement of gold-dust collectors. Kroḍasūrppī has been identified with a place called Supi, 13 miles south of Almora. We have in the Mahābhārata a reference to pipīlīkā suvarṇa presented to Yudhiṣṭhira by the people residing in Himalayas. Vṛddhakāpallikā was apparently the settlement of carpenters. Uṣṭralāmaka was a settlement of herdsmen (uṣṭra=buffalo or camel). It may also mean a settlement on a ridge.

87 *Mbh*, I, 48. 3-7.
resembling a camel’s back. *Kṛtkabhṛṣṭi* was a place perhaps so named for having been deserted by a marching army (*kaṭaka* = the camp or capital, a fortified place; *bhṛṣṭi* = a deserted cottage or garden) and *Ḍīndika Pallikā* could have been a settlement of some aboriginal tribe as the word *Ḍīndika* seems to be non-Sanskritic. Next the inscription mentiones Sora identified with Saur in Nainital or Sor in Pithoragarh. It had three *Pallikās* attached to it. *Bhāhirānya Pallikā*, was perhaps a tax paying settlement and *Bhattipallikā* a settlement of Bhaṭṭa brāhmaṇas. The third one was *Candulāka Pallikā*.

Next the inscription enumerate *pallikās* attached to Kārttikeyapura. The *Viśākhila Pallikā* could have been a settlement with a vast tract of uncultivated land. *Ariṣṭāśrama* was a settlement around the āśrama of some sage called Ariṣṭa and *Avāṅaka* was a settlement on the slope of a mountain. The inscription also speaks of a fort*88 at Sakinnarā* apparently named after Kinnaras, the celestial beings (or perhaps an ethnic group inhabiting the region?). At the foot of the fort was situated a settlement called *Pallivātaka*, identified with Pallayu near Someshwar in Almora. It was a small enclosure (*vātaka* = an enclosure). At the foot of the fort was another place called *Tuṅgula karmānta* i.e. a settlement of workers in *tuṅgula* but the meaning of *tuṅgula* is not known. It is possible that ‘*tuṅgula*’ is a mistake for ‘*guggula*’, and that it was a settlement of *guggula* workers.

Line 24 of Dyutivarman’s inscription speaks of *Śīrṣāraṇya* at the banks of Pitṛgaṅgā. It was apparently a large forest tract on the river Pitṛgaṅgā. The next locality mentioned as *Kaṇṭhārapārśva* could

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*Sakinnarāyaṁ kottatale.*
be a mistake for Kandarapārśva meaning 'behind the great cliff'. Then follows the phrase rājaputraka - oddāla-karvvaṭako bahu grāma sahita uttarā pathaḥ. Gupte\textsuperscript{89} translates karvvaṭaka as a market town named after Rājaputra Oddāla and takes Śirṣāraṇya, Kanthāraparśva, Karvvaṭaka and “the Uttarāpatha with many villages” situated on the banks of the river Pīṭṛgaṅgā, but in our opinion karvvaṭaka here does not mean market town but ‘the declivity of a mountain’.\textsuperscript{90} The whole passage may be rendered as “many villages on the northern side of the Pīṭṛgaṅgā river situated on the downward slope of the mountain and under the jurisdiction of Rājaputraka Oddāla”. ‘Alternately Karvvaṭaka could be the headquarters of the Rājaputraka Oddāla who apparently held many villages, but there is nothing to suggest that it was a market town named after him.

Finally, the inscription gives us the list of the localities in the paścima droṇī, i.e. the western valley, where the granted lands were located. Here we have Udumbaravāsah, i.e. a settlement of the Audumbaras - a tribe, Gohattavāṭaka (the enclosed cattlemarket place), Puṣpadantikā (the sacred spot of a Puṣpadanta),\textsuperscript{91} Vāsantivanaka (the place were a spring festival was held in the month of Caitra), Karvīrakhoṅhāvanaka (a small forest tract near Karvīrapura with many caves), Mallavāstuko (a residential area of the Mallas). Mallas were a republican tribe mentioned in the early Buddhist

\textsuperscript{89} op.cit.

\textsuperscript{90} Monier-Williams, SED., s.v. karvata.

\textsuperscript{91} In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Puṣpadanta is the name of Śiva, in the Mahābhārata it is the name of an attendant of Śiva. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, it is the name of the an attendant of Viṣṇu. Puṣpadantaka is also the name of a Gandharva who wrote Mahimnah Stavaḥ and the name of a Vidyādhara. Monier-Williams, SED., s.v. puṣpa.
sources and Manu describes them as *Vṛtya-kṣatriyas*. In Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Mallavāstu is a place-name. Apparently some Mallas were situated in this region and the inscription further mentions *Mallikaśivaka*, the cattle stall of the Mallas, along with *Karabhśālikā*. 

A tax collecting centre perhaps on the Malla cattle-herders. *Golathalaka* could have been a small market place (in Bihar, Gola is a grain market). *Daṇḍavāsivata* seems to be a settlement of people who were punished for some offence and were made to live in an uninhabited and difficult terrain.

In the grant of Viśnunvarman also, we have many settlement names and most of these are compound words similar to those found in the inscription of Dyutivarman. *Stambhasankafika* seems to be a newly acquired or newly settled area which could not be reached without difficulties because of the clumps of trees still present. *Sādhutuṅgakagrāma* identified with Tungeshvar in Almora was, it appears, a settlement of Taṅgaṇas and Taṅganeśvara was their god (a form of Śiva). Tuṅgesvara temple of Śiva is also mentioned in the *Rājatarangini*. *Patalikārāmaka* was perhaps initially a hamlet with rest houses to facilitate the pilgrims but subsequently developed into a full-fledged settlement. It could also refer to a place for the *brahmacāris*. It has been identified with Patalibagadh in Almora.

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92 X.22.
93 IV.2, 120.
94 Gupte, op.cit.
95 *Stambha* = phonetic variation of *skāṁhha* = a clump or tuft of grass; *Saṁkaṭa* = dense, impassable.
96 ii, 14.
97 Ārāma = place of pleasure, a garden; āram = to pause, to stop.
98 *Pātalika* = a pupil; knowing the secrets of others; *pāṭali* is a species of rice as well.
(enroute to Kedāranātha). *Gomatisāri* was a settlement situated at the bed (former) of the river Gomati. *Lavanādaka* identified with Lavanasāri in Almora clearly means a place with salty water. *Gabhira pallikā* seems to be a wrong reading for *Ābhira Pallikā* and must refer to a settlement of the Āhis who were scattered all over western and central India from very early times. *Devakya toli* seems to be a small settlement of the priests or *brāhmaṇas* (compare *Devakyāṇūpa* kṣetra). *Madhyamapūraka* may have been a habitation tract prone to flood. *Tulākaṇṭhakāyakṣa* may be a sacred spot of a local deity (Yakṣa) indicated by the expression *Tulākaṇṭhākāyakṣa* samīpe. Devakhala grāma has been identified with the present Devikhala in Nainital and seems to be a large settlement since a large number of plots as well as a *toli* have been granted. *Khal* in Čamba records means a threshing floor probably situated near a well and it also means a low land. The *Skambhāraṇolī* seems to be a settlement of workmen making pillars (skambha) of wood or stone. *Sunthināvāṇūpa* was a settlement near the newly created water source (*nava anūpa*). *Sunthi* also means dried up. *Chidragartī* was a settlement in the valley.

Coming back to Kārttikeyapura, we may mention that this Kārttikeyapura was a *viṣaya* and a large settlement. This is apparent from the fact that some state officials, viz. *bhogika* Varāhadatta, *balādhyaṇa* Lavaṇaḍanda and *divirapati* Dhanadatta, were landowners in the Nimbāsāri falling under the jurisdiction of Kārttikeyapura. Further, the mention that a plot called *Vetasa* with water and jungle land was purchased together with the roots and all the things from the *kāyastha* Naṇṇaka for eight gold pieces by this *divirapati*, shows that

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*Pūraka* = flood, Stream.
Kārttikeyapura was a prosperous settlement and might have been an urban centre. The presence of royal officers also confirm this.

Name of Settlements Based on the Inscriptions of Katyuri Dynasty

The most important development of this period was the gradual growth of Kārttikeyapura from a mere viṣaya to the headquarters of the Katyuri kingdom in the late 7th century. In the inscriptions of the Katyuris Kārttikeyapura is called a viṣaya. This was its status even in the time of the Paurava-Varmans. But now it seems to have become the capital of the kingdom as well from where grants were made in the presence of the state officials. Some scholars identify Kārttikeyapura with Kartrpura mentioned in the Allahabad praśasti of Samudragupta. But the time gap between the reign of Samudragupta (335 A.D.-375 A.D.) and the rise of Kārttikeyapura to the status of a kingdom is too big to justify this view. It is doubtful that in the 4th century A.D. Kārttikeyapura was of any consequence. In fact, the Brahmpura kingdom of the Paurava-Varmans is nearer to the Gupta times so far as the chronology of the development of these regions is concerned. The Aparājitapṛcchā, a work on architecture of the 12th century, mentions Kārtikapura as a region of northern India with 9,00,000 villages. This Kārttikapura may well be identified with the Kārttikeyapura of Katyuris since it is mentioned along with Trigartta, Jalandhar and Kāśāmīra, all falling in the Himalayan belt. Further, Dashrath Sharma has indentified the Kartrpur of Allahabad Pillar Inscription with Karur region between Multan and Loni in Pakistan.

102 Dr. Dashrath Sharma, IHQ, XIV, p.31.
It seems that Karttikeyapura was a growing settlement during the Paurava-Varman rule and because of some natural calamity and subsequent destruction of their capital Brahmpura, Karttikeyapura gained prominence and became the capital of the Katyuris. Karttikeyapura is identified with Baijnath, a village in Pargana Danpur of the Almora district. According to a tradition noticed by Atkinson the city was built by a Katyuri king of the Katyur valley in Kumaon on the ruins of an older city named Karavīrpura. Since Karttikeyapura existed before the rise of the Katyuris, we may surmise that Karttikeyapura was made the capital of the newly founded kingdom. The tradition of Karavīrpura was invented later.

Karttikeyapura’s location in the valley of the Gomati river gave it a kind of economic advantage. This valley is one of the few fertile valleys in the entire Kumaon and Garhwal region.

Coming to the inscription of Lalitasuradeva we find a number of interesting place-names. It speaks of Gomatisāri, a formation like Gomatisāri and may have been a settlement in the bed of the former Gorūḷa river. Khaśiyāka paribhujyamāna pallikā was a settlement enjoyed and owned by Khaśas. Palībhūtica was perhaps the same as Bhūtapalli of Dyutivarman’s grant. After gaining prominence Bhūtapalli might have become Palībhūtica. Attached to Palībhūtica was Guggula Pallikā and it seems to be the same as Gogga Pallikā of Dyutivarman’s grant. In the Dyutivarman grant, Gogga Pallika is mentioned just after Bhūtapalli and in Lalitasuradeva’s plate we have Guggula Pallika attached to Palībhūtica. This shows the growth of

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103 ATK, p.468.
Bhūtapalli into a larger settlement and the regrouping of the whole area in which Palībhūtika became the central unit. In Dyutivarman's grant, both Bhūtapalli and Gogga Pallikā were under the jurisdiction of Karkkotā viṣaya but now Bhūtapalli seems to have become an independent unit with a new name Palībhūtika, and Gogga Pallikā was attached to Palībhūtika. Further, in the grant of Dyutivarman we have a reference to the pariṣad of Gauggulika. If we examine the three references i.e. Gauggulika Pariṣad, Goggapallikā and Guggula paribhujyamāna pallikā together, we may conclude that trade in Guggula (a kind of incense found plentifully in Kumaon and Garhwal) was carried out perhaps by a group of tribals. Guggula was and still is a very important item of trade and the importance of people engaged in it is proved by their forming an association called pariṣad.

In the second inscription of Lalitasuredeva issued again from Kārttikeyapura viṣaya we have Thappalasārī identified with Thapala near Bageshwara in Almora, it seems to have been situated on the bed of the river Thappal which is no longer in existence. The modern surname Thappalyal apparently refers to this river. The land being enjoyed by Denduvāka in Thappalasārī which lay in the Kārttikeyapura viṣaya was donated to the god Nārāyaṇa installed at Garudāgrāma. The Garudāgrāma settlement may have got its name from a temple of Garuḍa in the vicinity. Garuḍa is the Vāhana of Viṣṇu, and the land was donated to the god Nārāyana. Further, the Nārāyana temple was situated at Garudāgrāma but the donated land was in Thappalasārī.

The Badarīka Āśrama mentioned in the inscription is identified

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105 D.C. Sircar, EI., vol.31, no.38.1, ln.17.
with the modern Badarīnātha in Pargana Painkhandā which contains the celebrated temple of Badarīnātha or Badarī-Nārāyaṇa. The Tapovana referred to as located at Badarīka Āśrama has been identified with Tapoban or Dhaktapoban, a village on the left bank of the Dhauli river about nine miles away from Joshimath. But as this is considerably away from the Badarīnātha temple, there may have been many Tapovanas attached to Badarīkāśrama, one of which is mentioned in this inscription. Incidentally, this is also the earliest epigraphical reference to Badarīnātha.

In the Plate of Padamājadeva we have mention of Yośī, the modern Joshimath or Jyotirdham, famous for one of Śiva's Jyotirlingas, situated in the Painkhandā Pargana of Garhwal district. This inscription was issued from Kārttikeyapura but proclaimed from Tangapapura viṣaya. Sircar identified Tangapapura with the area around modern Joshimath. Atkinson suggested that the district of Tangapapura was situated on the upper course of the Ganges. The people of this region were identical with the Tanaṇas or Tanaṇas of early Indian literature. Yośī and Drumati probably formed parts of the Tanaṇagapura viṣaya. Kākasthalikāgrāma was attached to Drumati, whereas Randhāvakagrāma (a settlement of warriors) was attached to Yośī. Both these places cannot be identified but the latter could not have been too far from Joshimath.

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106 Ibid., p.279; 281, Ins.23,24.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid.
The plate of Subhikṣarājadeva\textsuperscript{113} mentions a new site named Subhikṣapura. There is no doubt, according to D.C. Sircar, that the city was named after the king and that it was his capital.\textsuperscript{114} However, Atkinson suggests that Subhikṣapura was another name for Kārttikeyapura or its suburb.\textsuperscript{115} As mentioned above, the grants were proclaimed at Ṭangaṇapura viṣaya and Antaranga Viṣaya. Ṭangaṇapura viṣaya is known from Padmaṭadeva’s record and discussed above. Antaranga viṣaya is located in the Doab between the Bhagirathi and the Alakananda.\textsuperscript{116} The inscription doesn’t specify which of the lands were attached to which of the two viṣayas. It refers to Harṣapura or Śrīharṣapura, an unidentified settlement, containing a temple of goddess Durgā Bhāṭṭārikā to which seventeen plots of land including house sites were granted in the village of Nāmbaraṅga-grāma. Again, the temple was situated in Harṣapura and lands were granted in Nāmbaraṅga grāma. Nāmbaraṅga seems to have got its name from Nāmba, a species of grain most probably maduā known as poor man’s grain. Donation of house sites suggests the introduction of new elements in the local population. Since the grants are made to the temples, the new people might have been brāhmaṇas who were to perform the rituals connected with the goddess Durgā. There are many pallikās without specific names which were granted. Such pallikās were apparently tribal settlements in which grants introduced the process of brahmanization. Yoyikagṛama has also been identified with Jośimatha.

\textsuperscript{113} D.C. Sircar, \textit{EI.}, vol.31.no.38.III.lns.19-33.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} ATK, p.483.
\textsuperscript{116} ATK, p.357.
Interestingly, Yośī and Yoyikāgrāma have both been identified with Jōsimatha which seems quite improbable, because both are mentioned separately in the same inscription. Varosikāgrāma could have been a settlement which received good sunlight for the most part of the year.\textsuperscript{117} Cadavaka seems to be a settlement of some aboriginal people. In the \textit{Mahābhārata},\textsuperscript{118} Baka is the name of a people. Pairigrama has some phonetic similarity to Hara-ki-Pauri at Haridvar and Pauri town in Garhwal. But Pauri town is of recent origin. Possibly in the 10\textsuperscript{th}-11\textsuperscript{th} centuries a village settlement existed at that place. It may also be the local variant of paura, i.e. belonging to a town. Ravvapallika could have been a settlement of aboriginal herdsmen (Rava = a roar, yell, cry of animals, wild beasts). It was undoubtedly a very recently acquired settlement since its boundaries are specifically defined. Sisankaṭa seems to be a dense forest or a large gorge (sankāṭa = dense, impassable). Sevāyikā seems to be a service village.

The data discussed above shows that in the naming of settlements, sometimes geographical and sometimes ethnic or religious factors played the decisive role.

Reference-Points

In the inscriptions of Kumaon and Garhwal we do not find any definite referral pattern. A number of reference-points have been used to indicate the location of a plot of land. These could be a temple.\textsuperscript{119} a

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\textsuperscript{117} Vara = excellent; Uṣika = uṣapa = sun.
\textsuperscript{118} Monier - Williams, SED, s.v. Baka.
\textsuperscript{119} Brahmeśvara devakulasamīpe and niścitādevyā dhustā, Grant of Visnuvarman, line 15.
river, a bridge,\textsuperscript{120} a fort,\textsuperscript{121} a large tree, a hill, a hermitage or anything that could be differentiated and identified easily by the people. At times when such landmarks were not available, other named plots are mentioned as demarcators as these must have been well known. In the grant of Viṣṇuvarman we have one such reference\textsuperscript{122} giving the exact location of the plots: \textit{Gomatisāryam brahmeśvara devakula samīpe} (i.e. near the bed of the river Gomati (or at Gomatisari) and near the temple of the God Brahmaśvara).\textsuperscript{123}

**Boundary Specifications**

While the inscriptions of the Paurava-Varman rulers have clear boundary specifications (\textit{āghāṭana}) of the denoted plots, later inscriptions belonging to the Katyuris do not have such elaborate descriptions, except in one case where the boundaries of a plot is very detailed.\textsuperscript{124} On the other hand, the use of terms such as \textit{sambaddha}, \textit{pratibaddha} and \textit{satka} in connection with the donated land shows that by this time the area was already in occupation and a pattern of ownership had emerged. \textit{Pratibaddha} is generally used in the sense of ‘attached to’ or ‘belonging to’ a village forming part of a territorial unit.\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Sambaddha} also has the same connotation. But \textit{satka} is the sanskritized form of the Prakṛt \textit{Santaka} meaning ‘the holding of’ or

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textsuperscript{120} \textit{saṃkrama sannikṛṣṭā}, Plate of Padmatadeva, line 18. \\
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Sakinnarāyāṁ koṭṭatale}, Grant of Dyutivarman, Line 23. \\
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{stambhasankatikāyāṁ vajraśhala-kṣetra kulyavāpam- tat pūrvega huḍukka-sūnā- kṣetram-tat samīpe mālavakā-kṣetram}, Grant of Viśnuvarman, line 13. \\
\textsuperscript{123} Grant of Viśnuvarman, line 15. \\
\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Sevāyikā-pratibadhara-vavapallik-ābbhād ānasy = āghāṭanītaḥ likhyante sisankata - simāyam = uttarattas = samehaka grāma - dakṣiṇatās = ravvavallikā = paścimataḥ anvārisantika - pūrvvataḥ - gangāyām}. D.C. Sircar, \textit{El.} vol.31, no.38.III. ln.32. \\
\textsuperscript{125} D.C. Sircar, \textit{Glossary}, s.v. \textit{Pratibaddha}. 
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belonging to' an individual. The use of the term satka is significant in the sense that it throws some light on the land ownership issue. Interestingly, boundaries of donated settlements are never given. This may suggest that in most of the cases the settlements were situated at long distances and the state must have found it difficult to control such a pattern of settlements.

Types of Settlements

Inscriptions are not explicit about the relationship between different units of settlements, but they give us some clues. Although some early medical texts like Mayamaṭa, Mānasāra, Sukranītisāra and the Agni Purāṇa provide some information, the inscriptions are usually silent except for a few incidental references. The Talesvara grant of Dyutivarman126 mentions bhūmi, pallikā, grāma, karmānta and viśaya in that order. Evidently it lists the territorial units in a serial order beginning with the smallest unit bhūmi and culminating in viśaya. But the relationship of each with the other is not clear. It is likely that the pallikā was a settlement of an aboriginal tribe, grāma an agrarian settlement or village, and karmānta a crafts or occupational village. We have some observations on the nature and extent of territorial units, in the Sukranītisāra and the Aparājītāprēchā. These are too schematic to be taken at their face value. Thus, according to these texts each succeeding unit measures half of the preceding one. This makes such divisions artificial, imposed from the above. In the process of natural evolution of settlements, such an exact ratio is not possible. Besides, the prescriptions of these texts would hardly have any validity for a region where the brahmanization process was still

fluid. As the brahmanical concepts of social hierarchy had not yet acquired rigidity, their influence and extension to other aspects of life in this area were still at an elementary level. The division of a settlement into separate residential areas for the upper varṇa and the lower varṇa is not indicated in our sources. All settlements seem separate and independent, although there is an attempt to attach some settlements to more important units for administrative purposes. But the small size of the settlements and the existence of natural boundaries between them might have made close integration of different units not very practicable. Interestingly, we have several references to pali or pallikā indicating a large presence of aboriginal peoples. There seems to be no reference to pali in early Sanskrit literature, but later it had come to mean a small village, a village of wandering herdsmen (ābhira-palli), of wild tribes, den of thieves, or the residence of a candala. In the Uttaradhyāyana Sūtra and some other Jain canonical texts too, pali is used to denote a village of wild tribes.127 Thus, literature reflects the perspective of the upper classes, brahmanical or Jain, while using a damnatory tone towards tribal settlements.

The term toli appears in the grant of Viṣṇuvarman128 and it was used to indicate the habitation of a specific community. Hence we have Devakya toli, Devadāsa toli, Skambhāra toli, Campaka toli, etc. Curiously toli does not figure in the records of the Katyuris. Only grāma and pallikā are mentioned. As we have shown earlier, the Katyuri grants do not contain detailed specifications.

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As mentioned earlier, the terms \textit{sambaddha} and \textit{pratibaddha} have been used to show the relationship between various units of settlement. \textit{Sambaddha} may mean ‘naturally’ connected with, while \textit{pratibaddha} may show the role of human agency in connecting some territory to a larger one. This meaning stems from the fact that \textit{sambaddha} has been used in cases where land is attached to a \textit{grāma} or \textit{karmānta}, whereas in case of the whole settlement being attached to a larger unit \textit{pratibaddha} has been used. But these two terms are rarely used in the grants of the Paurava-Varmans. It seems that during the rule of the Katyuris, realignment of settlements was effected because of larger number of settlements cropping up in the region, and many of them being in totally new areas. There are many other terms denoting settlements such as \textit{vanikā}, \textit{gārtā}, \textit{vāsa}, \textit{vanaka}, \textit{koṣṭha}, \textit{vaṇīj}, \textit{khohṛaka}, \textit{araṇya}, \textit{vāṭaka}, \textit{vāṣṭuka}, etc. But these terms do not exactly give a sense of permanence. They are either small hamlets or temporary settlements to be occupied during summer seasons, at times of harvest, or may be for the purpose of attending to the fields. But two terms i.e. \textit{karmānta} and \textit{karvaṭaka} need more attention as these are different from other types of settlements. The first reference to \textit{karmānta} is in the grant of Dyutivarman. Here it is mentioned along with \textit{bhūmi}, \textit{pallika} and \textit{gramā}.\textsuperscript{129} Y.R. Gupte translated it as ‘craft’ or ‘occupation’ whereas D.C. Sircar takes it to mean a barn. Another reference in the same inscription is to a village called \textit{Koṇakalikā Gaṅgā} of which the occupation (\textit{karmānta}) is the \textit{avadāra} of cattle.\textsuperscript{130} The meaning of \textit{avadāra} is not clear. But here \textit{karmānta} seems to be something related to cattle. We have a plot called \textit{Huḍukkasūnā} where \textit{sūnā} means a place for slaughtering animals. So ‘some occupation related to cattle’ appears to be the obvious meaning. The third reference is to \textit{Tuṅgula karmānta} which is located at the foot of the fort at Sakinnarā. We have suggested that \textit{tuṅgula} is a corruption for

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Bhūmi-pallika-grāma-Karmānta-viṣayastha}, Grant of Dyutivarman, lines. 10-11.

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Yattra-paśukula-avadāra-karmānta}, ibid., line 14.
guggula. If our suggestion to accepted, it must have been a place for guggula workers. The plate of Padamatadeva speaks of a Karmāntasthālikā attached to Yosi and indicates that Yosi had more than one karmantasthālikā attached to it.131 In the Arthaśāstra, karmāntika is mentioned among the eighteen tīrthas and there is a section called Ākara-karmānta-pravartanam, the working of mining operations and manufactories.132 R.S. Sharma interprets it in the sense of an artisanal workshop in the Arthaśāstra.133 According to Luder, karmāntika is the superintendent of workers. Our sources do not mention karmanṭika in the long lists of officials. However, karmānta was without doubt a workshop or craft village. Sometimes some land was also attached to a karmānta, apparently to meet the needs of workmen.134

We have only one reference to karvatégka in the grant of Dyutivarma. We have discussed it earlier. D.C. Sircar in his glossary takes the term to mean a market town and compares it with the Sanskrit word kharvāṭa. According to Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary karvāṭa means declivity of a mountain, a village, a market town and the capital of a district (of two or four hundred villages), and kharvāṭa means a mountain village.135 Since karvatégka in our inscription appears along with many villages we have interpreted it as a group of villages on the hillside held by Rajaputraka Oddala.

There are stray references to some other larger territorial terms such as janapada, bhukti, durga, koṭa and garh. The largest territorial unit was

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131 Karmāntasthālikā = asminy = eva Yosi pratibuddha; Pallikā vṛitti-karmānta-ādibhūmi sahitq. Plate of Padmatadeva, line 18.
132 Sircar, Glossary, s.v. Karmanta.
134 The plot called Grāmiyārakanā was attached to a karmānta.
135 Monier-Williams, SED, s.v. karvāṭa, kharvāṭa.
apparently a *janapada*. The term is not found in Paurava-Varman inscriptions. As regards *bhukti*, we have this term only in the stone inscription of Bhūdeva as part of the name of a place, Jayakulabhukti. Atkinson thinks that Jayakulabhukti is the name of a village. This is possible, but we may add that the name derived from the fact that the village was being enjoyed (*bhukta*) by a member of the royal family (*jayakula*). The *bhuktis* were generally held by the close relatives of the king.136

Durga, *koṭa* and *garh*, carry the same connotation, although minor differences cannot be ruled out. *Koṭa* is mentioned in the grant of Dyutivarman, (*Sakinnarayam kotttale*). Durga finds a place in the stone inscription of Bhūdeva, as *Jayakuladurga*. It seems that Jayakula-bhukti had a *durga* as well. In the Balesvara copper plate of Krācalladeva we have both *garh* and *koṭa*, in the form of *Kahudakōta*, *Talakoṭa* and *Svahāragrhi*. Both have been mentioned while delimiting a granted plot: Svahāragarhi in the east, Kahudakota in the south, Talakoṭa in the west and Laghaul in the north. After the tenth century A.D, there was an increased tendency to construct hill fortresses in India.137 But in the case of Kumaon and Garhwal this tendency gained momentum only from the fourteenth century onwards.

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