CHAPTER - FOUR

DYNASTIC HISTORY
The medieval Orissa has witnessed the rise of three important dynasties into power and prominence, namely the Bhauma-Karas, the Somavamśīs and the Eastern Gaṅgas. While the Bhauma-Karas held their sway over Toṣali in the eastern coastal region, the Somavamśīs were ruling over South Kośala comprising the eastern portion of Chhattisgarh and western portion of Orissa and the Eastern Gaṅgas were empowered in Kaliṅga comprising the southern region of modern Orissa. These ruling families not only enjoyed sovereign power in their respective sphere of influence but also tried to extend their political sway over their neighbouring territories. As a result a struggle for supremacy started among themselves which led to frequent wars and conspiracies. They were trying to strengthen themselves politically and militarily with the help of some feudatory powers. Exactly at that time the Bhaṅjas emerged as the ruler of Khiṅjali maṇḍala as a feudatory power of the Bhauma-Karas. Originating from an aboriginal tribal stock, the Bhaṅjas asserted their power over the Tel Mahānādi valley by adopting an indigenous religious belief and social practices for availing the support of the local people. In order to get the support and co-operation of the priestly class they are known to have distributed lands to the learned Brahmins. The liberal attitude of the Bhauma-Karas facilitated the Bhaṅjas to carve out an extensive
kingdom covering the Gañjām, Nayāgarh, Phulbāṇī, Baud and Suvaṅnapur districts of modern Orissa and their territory is known to have served as a buffer zone between Toṣali, the kingdom of their overlords and South Kośala, the kingdom of the powerful Somavamśīs.

The Bhaṅjas of Khinjali maṇḍala are known from their copper plate charters and other archaeological remains discovered from different parts of their territory. These epigraphic records except only a few do not refer to any significant event. However, basing on the charters of some of the contemporary ruling dynasties an account of the dynastic history can be reconstructed.

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1. The N.K.Sahu Museum plates of Raṇabhaṅja Deva I issued in his 52 regnal year refers to the sovereign status of the king (N.A.H.O., Vol.II, p.12, ed. J.K.Sahu). This charter describes the king as a Mahārāja while in his previous plates Raṇabhaṅja has been described as a Rāṇaka. The Daśāpallā grant (O.H.R.J., Vol.I. pp.208-12) and Gañjām plates (O.H.R.J., Vol.IV, pp.76ff.) of Saṭrubhaṅja II, both in Samvat 198 provide a clue to find out the starting point of the Bhauma Era. The Antirigām plates of Yaśa-bhaṅja (E.I., Vol.XVII, pp.298-99ff.) help us to establish his contemporaneity with Anāṅghabhima III (1211-1238 A.D.) of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty and his Kalachuri rival Jagadekamalla (1200-1225 A.D.) of Ratnapura.

2. Sivakara I (c.736-783 A.D.) of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, who is also known as Unmattakeśarī is credited with the conquest of Rādhā (B.Mishra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, Calcutta, 1934, p.47) in the north-east and Koṅgoda (Baḍakhemāṇḍi plates of Jayavarman Deva of Svetaka, I.H.Q., Vol.XII,XII, No.3, September, 1936, pp.489-93) as far as Kaliṅga in the south. Since Khinjali maṇḍala came within his territorial extent, Sivakara I must have conquered it and brought its ruler (the Bhaṅja king) to submission.

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Kolāvalī Devi Vol.IV, p.245f., Lines 2-3) states that Svabhāvavatūnga Janmejaya I captured Oḍrā deśa, by killing its, king with a kunta. The Oḍrā deśa narapati of this charter was evidently a Bhaṅja king (S.R.Nama, Political History of the Somavamśī Kings of South Kosala and Orissa, New Delhi, 1978, p.202).

The Rājim Stone inscription (K.E.896 i.e. 1145 A.D.) of the Kalachuri king Prthvīdeva II C.I.I., Vol.XII, 1964, No.4, pp.16-36) has established his contemporaneity with Yaśa-bhaṅja of Khinjali.
Nettabhañja Deva I (c.730-750 A.D.):

Nettabhañja Deva I of Baud copper plates was the earliest known ruler of Bhañja dynasty. Consisting of five plates his only charter so far discovered was issued from Navaṅgulakapataṇa, identified with the town of Angul by Pandit B. Mishra and with the village Naṅguliābeḍā situated between Merāmaṇḍali and Angul town by S. Pattanaik. However, N.K. Sahu has identified it with Puruṅāgarh near Angul town. This charter records the donation of the village Chhattārghāta situated in Olāśriṇga viṣaya to one Mādhavasvāmīn for the merit of his deceased queen Vāsaṭādevī who had left for her heavenly abode. A scion of Ādibhañja, Nettabhañja Deva in his inception part of his reign was a petty local chieftain having independent status, ruling over Angul-Dheṅkānāl region with his headquarters at Aṅgulakapataṇa. He might have ruled before the coming of the Bhauma-Karas into political picture. During the reign of the Bhauma-Karas this territory came to be known as Kodālaka maṇḍala and was ruled by the Šulkis when the Bhañjas migrated to Baud-Sonepur region where they established their new territory.

7. Ādibhañja is believed to be the founder of Bhañja dynasty of Khijjiṅga Koṭṭa.
known as Khīnjali maṇḍala. The use of sobriquets like Parama Māheśvara and Mātāpiṭroāḍānudhyāta in the above said copper plates indicates the patronage of the king to Brahmanic form of Hinduism which apart from its Śaivite pantheon also refers to the cult of ancestor worship. The charter does not speak any thing more about the other aspect of his reign. When the Bhauma-Karas became powerful and rose to prominence towards the middle part of Neṭtabhaṇja’s reign the king might have acknowledged their suzerainty in order to consolidate his position.

Śilābhaṇja Deva I (c.765-775 A.D.):

Śilābhaṇja Deva I, also known as Aṅgaṇi is probably the earliest ruler of Khīnjali maṇḍala. The first phase of the Bhaṇja branch begins with him. No inscription of this king has been discovered so far. Hence the inscriptions of his son, grand son and great grand son help us to reconstruct the history of his reign. These inscriptions were issued from Dhṛtipura, the capital of this branch of Bhaṇja ruling family. After Neṭtabhaṇja I, a hiatus is marked due to the lack of proper source to reconstruct the history of the Bhaṇjas during this period. The rise of the Śulkis of Kodālaka maṇḍala

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forced Śilābhaṇja to leave his ancestral territory and to establish his new kingdom on the right bank of river Mahānadi, making Dhṛtipura as capital. For about more than a decade this family led an obscure life and around 765 A.D. Śilābhaṇja I is known to have established his new settlement at Dhṛtipura. He is described as a powerful king who snatched away the fortune of the enemy kings by sheer show of his son \(^{10}\). This grant further describes him as 'grave like Ocean, still like Earth, energetic like Wind, radiant like Fire and his creditable name was as white as Moon. In the said grant Śilābhaṇja is compared with Vṛhaspāti in learning. The Madras Museum plates \(^{11}\) of the time of Narendra Dhavala of Nala dynasty records that a person named Seḍā, son of Bhaṇḍari Raṇiyā and grandson of Kulaputraka Vanadeva purchased a village named Tāḍeśvaragrāma, situated in Gomuṇḍa maṇḍala in the kingdom of Khinḍiraśrīga of Narendra Dhavala from king Śilābhaṇja Deva. The detail of the ownership of the village is not known. It is suggested that Śilābhaṇja Deva had matrimonial relation with Narendra Dhavala and obtained the village as dowry. In this grant we get the name of Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍi, who is seen in all the copper plate grants of Śatrubhaṇja I and Raṇabhaṇja Deva I issued from Dhṛtipura. Padmanābha was the engraver of Sonepur plates of

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Ranabhañja, son of Satrubhañja and grandson Silábhañja alias Aṅgaḍi. He was an inhabitant of Gandhatapāṭī, identified with the modern village of Gandharāḍi near Baud. The inscription refers to one Silábhañja, who must have been Silábhañja I alias Aṅgaḍi of Dhṛipura.

Silábhañja Deva was probably the founder of the town of Silábhañjapāṭī in Oḍra deśa, or it was founded by his successor to commemorate him. But it is confirm that this town had already existed during the reign of the Somavāṁśi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (c.895-925 A.D.) as has been referred to in his Cuttack Museum plates which states that the donee of his grant was a resident of Silábhañjapāṭī.

Satrubhañja Deva-I alias Gandhata alias Neṭṭabhañja Deva-II (c.775-798 A.D.):

After ruling for about a decade Silábhañja was succeeded by his son Satrubhañja Deva I. Two charters namely the Undated Sonepur grant and Kumurakelā copper plates are assigned to him. He is also known from the charters of Raṇabhañja

I. In his Undated Sonepur grant he has been described as the son of Śrī Śilābhaṇja Deva. But his second epigraph dated in 15th regnal year mentions him as successor of Aṅgaḍī. Although the relationship between Aṅgaḍī and Śatrubhaṇja Deva I is not definitely known it can be presumed from the record of Śatrubhaṇja I and his son Raṇabhaṇja that Aṅgaḍī’s real name was Śilābhaṇja, father of Śatrubhaṇja I. The name of Aṅgaḍī was only an epithet.

i) The Undated Sonepur grant of this king was issued from his capital Dhṛtipura which records the donation of village Milupāḍi in Royarā (identified with Rohilā village in Binikā P.S. of Suvarṇapur district) viṣaya to one Bhattaputra Kṛśna, son of Ākhaṇḍala who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra, Trayārśeya pravara and Śāmveda school of Brāhmaṇas. The charter was issued on the occasion of Gaṅgāsamādhī which synchronized with Akṣaya Trtiyā16 for the merit of the donor’s parents.

ii) The Kumurakelā charter, issued in the 15th regnal year of Śatrubhāṇja Deva I from Dhṛtipura, records the donation of both the villages, Jaintāmurā and Kumurakelā in the district (viṣaya) of Uttarapalli to Bhaṭṭa Manoratha of Kāśyapa gotra, Garga-Āpanya-Āṅgirasa pravara and

16. Akṣaya Trtiyā falls on the 17th day in the month of Vaiśākha (May).
Vavrja charaṇa. The donee belongs to a family migrated from Baddhakuṭi and settled at Gandhaṭapāṭi. The grant was issued on the occasion of Kārtika Śukla Dwādaśī, also known as Mahādvādaśī and is dedicated to Lord Viṣṇu.

Śatrubhaṇja Deva is simply known as Rāṇaka and his religious title was Parama Vaiṣṇava. It is interesting to note that although he embraced Vaiṣṇavism, the invocatory verses used in his copper plate grants are in praise of Lord Śiva. The predecessors of Śatrubhaṇja were probably Śaivites and used the invocatory verses in their grants in praise of Śiva Natarāja, although no grant of Śilābhaṇja or his predecessors has yet been found so far. The Bhaṇjas of Khijjinga-Koṭṭa and these earlier Bhaṇjas of Khiṇjali maṇḍala, all used Śiva’s praśasti in their grants. Invocation of Śiva had become conventional in his documents even after Śatrubhaṇja embraced Vaiṣṇavism.

From his royal title Rāṇaka it can be presumed that Śatrubhaṇja I was a sub-ordinate king under some imperial power, probably under the Bhauma-Karas. We find two of the copper plate

17. Line-3 of Second side of Second plate of Kumurakela charter of Śatrubhaṇja.
18. Line 16 of Sonepur charter of Śatrubhaṇja Deva.
grants of Raṇabhañja\textsuperscript{19} and Narendrabhañja\textsuperscript{20} of Ādibhañja family using years of the Bhauma Era 188 and 193. In some of the copper plate grants\textsuperscript{21} of the later Bhañjas of Khīnjali maṇḍala, years of Bhauma Samvat have been used. Thus the Bhañjas were the contemporaries of the Bhauma-Karas. King Šatrubhañja Deva is known to have ruled for more than 20 years. During his reign Khīnjali maṇḍala was divided into two parts, probably Mahānādī being the dividing line as known from the Sonepur copper plates where the king declares himself as lord of Ubhaya-Khīnjali (Ubhaya-Khīnjalyādhipati)\textsuperscript{22}. The N.K.Sahu Museum plates\textsuperscript{23} of Raṇabhañja, his son and successor refer to him as Neṭtabhañja Deva II. In his charter and those of his son, Šatrubhañja Deva I is described as the possessor of unfathomable intelligence (autuladhī) and the master of Chaturāṅgavāla\textsuperscript{24}. His creditable name

\textsuperscript{20} Adipur Copper plates of Narendrabhañja, \textit{E.I.}, Vol.XXV, pp.147-55ff.

\textsuperscript{22} Line 17 of the Sonepur copper plate grant of Šatrubhañja.


\textsuperscript{24} Chaturāṅgabhāša refers to a complete army consisting elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry.

enlightened all directions like silver white ray of the autumnal full moon. Śatrubhaṅja Deva I has been described as Gandhata in the two Baud charters of his son and successor Raṇabhaṅja I issued in 54\textsuperscript{25} and 58\textsuperscript{26} regnal year respectively. The foundation of the town of Gandhaṭapāṭi is ascribed to him\textsuperscript{27}. Identified with the village Gandharāḍī in Baud P.S. this village is found mentioned in many Bhaṅja and Somavaṁśi charters\textsuperscript{28}.

**Raṇabhaṅja Deva I (c.798 to 858 A.D.):**

Śatrubhaṅja Deva I after his death was succeeded by his son Raṇabhaṅja Deva, the most illustrious ruler of the Bhaṅja ruling family of Khiṅjali maṇḍala. He appears to be the most prolific Bhaṅja ruler in issuing charters. As many as thirteen charters issued by him from his capital city Dhṛtipura have been brought to light. His last charter, the Baud charter\textsuperscript{29} was issued in his 58\textsuperscript{th} regnal year which indicates that he had a long rule of about sixty years.

\textsuperscript{27} N.K.Sahu and Others, *op.cit.*, p.131.
i) The Orissa Museum plates\textsuperscript{30} were issued in his 9\textsuperscript{th}\textsuperscript{31} regnal year from Dhrṣtipura to Bhṛṭṭa Varadā, son of Bhṛṭṭa Śavara and grand son of Iāka who belonged to Vatsya gotra, Bhārgava-Abharvya Chyavan-Atmavān-Yamadagni pravara, Chhāndoga chāraṇa and Kanthurna śākhā (branch) who migrated from the village Tala Bhṛtaki in the province of Varendri and a resident of Vāri village. In this charter the king is described as the son of Śrī Śatrubhaṅja as well as the grand son of Śilābhaṅja and is designated as Parama Māheśvara and Rāṇaka, Māṭipiṭru-pādānuḍhyāta Bhaṅjāmalakulatilaka, Ubbaya-Khiṅjalyāḍhipati, Samadhigata Pañchamahāśavda and Stambheśvṛī-Lavdhavaraprasāda. These high sounding titles indicate that he was a very powerful feudatory king.

ii) The Sīghārā plates\textsuperscript{32}, also known as Sonepur plates were issued in the 9\textsuperscript{th} regnal year\textsuperscript{33} (Vijaya Rājya Navame) on the occasion of the gift of village Sīghārā in Dakṣiṇapallī viṣaya to Bhṛṭṭaputra Vohi, son of Bhṛṭṭa Sarīkhā and

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item[R.K.Ray] has given a different opinion saying that this grant was issued in the 50th regnal year of the king.
\item[R.K.Ray, Feudatory States of Medieval Orissa, Ph.D.Thesis, (Sambalpur University, 1986), pp.36-37.]
\item[R.K.Ray has assigned this plate to 50 regnal year of Ranabhaṅja.]
\item[R.K.Ray, \textit{op.cit.}, p.36-37.]
\end{thebibliography}
grand son of Vimala who migrated from the village Palaśi in Māgha country and belonged to Kāśyapa gotra with three pravaras-Kāśyapa, Naidhruva and Vātsa and was a student of Yajurveda branch. The donee who came to reside in Gandhaṭapāṭi of Khinjali maṇḍala was probably appointed as the priest of God Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka, who appears to be the presiding deity in the name of Nilamādhava enshrined in the twin temple of Gandharāḍi near Baud.

It is important to note that although the grant is made by invoking Viṣṇu in lines 21 and 22 yet the donor has called himself as Parama Māheśvara and not Parama Vaiṣṇava. His assumption of the title Ubhaya-Khinjalyāḍhipati indicates that the king was the Lord of Ubhaya-Khiṇjali and that the kingdom was divided into two parts namely Uttarapalli and Daksinapalli.

iii) The Undated Baud grant\textsuperscript{34} was issued by Raṇabhāṇja on the occasion of the grant of village Ambasari in Sivarā khaṇḍa (sub-division) of Daksinapalli viṣaya to Bhaṭṭaputra Devahara, son of Bhaṭṭaputra Kāchila and grand son of Keśava of Kāṇva gotra, Āṅgirasa-Ajamidh

\textsuperscript{34} I.O., Vol.VI, pp.129-24. Viṣuva Samkrānti falls on the 20\textsuperscript{th} day in the month of Chaitra (April).
-Kāṇva Trayāṣeya pravara, Aśvalāyana sākhā, Vabṛcha charaṇa and was an immigrant from Madhyadeśa and a resident of Mahisipadrāka. Raṇabhaṇja issued the charter on the occasion of Viṣuva Sarṅkrānti for the merit of his parents and relatives. Ray assigns this undated charter to some times after the 26th regnal year of the king. But as in the said charter king Raṇabhaṇja is described as a Rāṇaka, the record therefore seems to be issued in the earlier part of the donor’s reign. Secondly, the grant was engraved by Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍi and an inhabitant of Gandhaṭapāṭi. He also engraved the Siṅgharā plates of king Raṇabhaṇja issued in his 9th regnal year. This indicates that the dates of the Undated Baud charter and the Siṅgharā plates were not far apart from each other. So we presume to assign this grant to the 9th regnal year of king Raṇabhaṇja.

iv) The Phulbāṇi plates of Raṇabhaṇja, issued in his 9th regnal year on the occasion of Viṣuva Sarṅkrānti record the grant of village Kokati in Tulasidga visaya on the bank of the river Āmvāda to one Bhattaputra Dāmuni Ghosa, son of Śrī Āghosa and grandson of Tosāveṇa who belonged to

Āriṣṭasen gotra and Panchārśeya pravara. The donee of this grant migrated from Varendri maṇḍala which has been identified with Varendra of Bengal. Here the king assumes the titles of Rāṇaka, Parama Vaiśnava and Ubhaya-Khiṃjalyādhipati.

v) The Tāsapaikerā charter of the king issued from his capital Dhṛtipura in his 16th regnal year refers to the grant of village Tāsapaikerā on the bank of the river Mahānadi in Uttarapalli viṣaya to Bhatta Śrī Śrīdhara, son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Bāpula and grand son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Balabhadra of Bhāradvāja gotra of Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya pravara and a student of Mādhyadina branch of Yajurveda. The donee had migrated from Bhaṭṭa Nirola and a resident of Kāmāri. Kāmāri village may be identified with the modern village of Kamirā in Bīrmahārājpur P.S. situated in the northern side of the river Mahānadi.

vi) The Pāṭnā Museum plates issued in the 22 regnal year of king Raṇabhaṇja by his queen Śrī Vijayā (Vidyā) Mahādevī, daughter of Niyārṇama from Dhṛtipura records the grant of village Vāhiravāda in Dakṣinapalli viṣaya of

39. The date of the issue of the charter is assigned to 55 or 56 by R.D.Banerji.
Khiṅjali maṇḍala to Lord Vijaśvara (Vijayeśvara), who is evidently the ‘Śiva Liṅga’. The charter, apart from all feudatory titles used by the king, adorns him with the epither Parama Vaiśnava, where as his queen Vijayā is mentioned as Parama Māheśvari. The donor of the charter Vijayā Mahādevī calls herself the daughter of one Rāṇaka Niyārnama whom late B.Mishra⁴⁰ and D.C.Sircar⁴¹ have identified with Kadamba king Niyārṇava, the great grand father of Dharmakheḍi. The grant was made for the merit of the donor’s parents.

vii) The Daśapallā charter⁴² of Raṇabhaṅja issued from Dhṛtipura in the 24th regnal year describes the grant of village Hastileṇḍā in Tullāsidgā viṣaya to Bhaṭṭa Śrī Padmākara, son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Prabhākara and grandson of Āṅgaḍi, who belonged to Kṛṣṇātreya gotra, with three pravaras-Ātreya, Archanāṇaśa and Śavaśma, who was a follower of Chandogya school and belonged to the Kaustuma sākhā. The donee was an immigrant of village Burallā in Pechipāṭaka district located in the province of Varendri.

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viii) The Baud grant was issued in the 26th regnal year of the king which records the grant of village Vallasr̥nga in Khaṭiyā viṣaya to Bhaṭṭapatra Dāmodara, son of Bhaṭṭa Bhūṣaṇa and after his death to his son Bhaṭṭaputra Chhadoka of Vājasaneyya charaṇa, Maudgalya gotra, Bhārmyāsva pravara and the Aṅgirasa anupravara. Issued from Dhṛtipura on the occasion of Mārgaśīra Śukla Pañchamī the grant adorns Raṇabhaṇja as Rāṇaṅka and Parama Vaiṣṇava. The village Vallasr̥nga is identified with the modern village Balasiṅgā, situated to the south of river Mahānadi and east of river Sālaṅki near Baud.

ix) The Aṅgapaḍā charter issued by the king in his 26th regnal year registers the grant of village Tumasiṅgā situated in Saṇjāmura khaṇḍa of Haṇḍapā maṇḍala in favour of a Brahmin named Dukara Śriya. The donee was a resident of the village Gandharāḍi. It is significant from this charter that Raṇabhaṇja’s territory extended into Angul district upto river Brāhmaṇī.

44. This charter is not edited so far. It is in the Department of History, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.
x) The Koṅkolā copper plates dated in 28th regnal year of Ranabhaṇja record: the gift of village Vaḍhamaśarā on the bank of river Mahānadī situated in Tulasiṅgā viṣaya to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama of Kṛṣnātreya gotra, with various pravaras and Chhandogya charaṇa for the merit of the parents and children of the donor.

xi) The N.K.Sahu Museum plates issued in the 52th regnal year of Raṇabhaṇja on the occasion of Mahānāvamī refer to the donation of village Champāmallī to Bhaṭṭa Baladeva of Bhāradvāja gotra, Āṅgiraśa pravara, Varaspatya anupravara, Vājasaneyya charaṇa and Kāṇva branch of the Brāhmaṇas, who happens to be an immigrant from Puṇḍravardhana Mahāsthāna in Varendra maṇḍala. The most significant aspect of this charter is that king Raṇabhaṇja has designated himself as Mahāraja instead of Raṇaka which indicates that he might have asserted independence discarding the suzerainty of the Bhauma-Karas. Secondly this charter is quite unique one as the convention followed in the earlier charters is different from it. All the charters of the Bhaṇja rulers of Dhṛtipura

45. O.H.R.J., Joint Volume from XIV to XVI, pp.45-50.
Mahānāvamī falls on the 24th day in the month of Āśvina (October).
are written in a set form where invocatory verses in praise of Naṭarāja Śiva in the opening lines are mentioned. In the subsequent lines, description of the capital and king are presented. But this convention is totally discarded in the N.K.Sahu Museum charter. The first plate which sings the praśasti of Raṇabhaṇja is a carbon copy of the preamble portion of the charters\(^{47}\) of the Pāṇḍuvarṇī alias Somavarṇī king Tivara Deva who flourished about 150 years before Raṇabhaṇja. This is an indication which shows that he might have emulated Tivara Deva who was a feudatory chief under Saravapūriyas and subsequently became a sovereign ruler of Kośala.

xii) The Baud grant\(^{48}\) of Raṇabhaṇja Deva issued in his 54 regnal year from Dhṛtipura on the occasion of Bhadrava Amāvāśyā records the grant of village Koṇatinti in Khaṭiyā viṣaya to Bhaṭṭaputra Apilo, son of Vāṣudeva of Rohita gotra. Rohita aṣṭaka, Visvāmitra pravara, Chhāndoga charaṇa and Kauthuma branch. The donee was an emigrant from Muleri and an inhabitant of Āmvasarsarā. Here the donor claims to be the son of Śrī Gandhata and

\(^{48}\) I.O., Vol.VI, pp.105-111.;  
assumes the title of Mahārāja and Parama Māheśvara. The village Āmvasarasarā is identified by us with the village of Sarasara, a Panchayat headquarters near the town of Baud⁴⁹.

xiii) The last known charter of Raṇabhaṅja is his second grant of Baud⁵⁰ issued from the capital city in his 58th regnal year on Phālguṇa Śukla Pañcama (solar eclipse) records the grant of village Taralā in Tullāsrīga viṣaya to Bhaṭṭa Śubhadāma, son of Bhaṭṭa Vṛṣabhadāma, an emigrant from the village Takāri in the Sābathī maṇḍala⁵¹ and a resident of Taralā in the Oḍra country and who belonged to Bhāradvāja gotra, Kāṇva sākhā of Yajurveda charaṇa, Āṅgirasa Vārhaspatya-Bhāradraja pravara. In this plate the king is described as the son of Śrī Gandhata and also he assumes the title of Mahārāja and Parama Māheśvara. The adoption of the title Mahārāja and Parama Māheśvara indicate that at the time of the issue of the charter he was at the height of power and with the

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⁴⁹. R.K.Ray has identified it with the village Ām바sarbhaṭṭa near Subalayā in Birmahārājpur P.S.
⁵¹. Sāvathi maṇḍala is identified with Sravasti, a village of northern border of Bengal. I.O., Vol.VI, p.118.
advancement of time his inclination was more to Śaivism than to Vaiṣṇavism.

Ranabhaṇja had a long rule of about 60 years. While his father was a Parama Vaiṣṇava, Ranabhaṇja was inclined towards Śaivism, Vijayā Mahādevi, his queen was a Śaivite and is known to have built the temple of Vijayēśvara Śiva at Vāhiravāḍā. Probably she influenced her husband Ranabhaṇja to be inclined towards Śaivism. The twin temple of Gandhārīdi dedicated to Lord Siddheśvara and Nilamādhava was built by him. In the earlier part of his reign Ranabhaṇja is distinctly called as Rāṇaka as known from his charters. But during the last part of his reign he is known to have adopted the title Mahārāja i.e. in his 52 regnal year in striking contrast to the epithet of Rāṇaka applied to his name in his

56. See the following copper plate of Ranabhaṇja Deva.
   ix) Aṅgapaḍā charter, It is unedited and presently in the Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.
57. See the following plates of Ranabhaṇja.
earlier grants. No copper plate of this king is available for the period between Koṅkalā grant\(^{58}\) dated in his 28 regnal year and N.K.Sahu Museum plates\(^{59}\), dated in 52 regnal year. Probably during this long period of 24 years he was engaged in fighting with some neighbouring power whom he ultimately defeated and extended his kingdom. This is proved by the use of the epithet Mahārāja in his grant of 52 regnal year.

The death of Bhauma-Kara monarch Śivakara Deva II (c.800-820 A.D.) was followed by a war of succession between his sons Śubhākara Deva II and Śāntikara Deva I which went in favour of the latter. From here onwards the integrity of the Bhauma-Kara empire became exposed to external danger. The internal dispute of the Bhauma-Karas facilitated the ambitious design of Raṇabhaṅja I who was eager to expand his territory. He started interfering in the Bhauma-Kara succession dispute. From 828-852 A.D. he probably strengthened his position over Dhṛtipura and might have declared independence as known from the assumption of title Mahārāja by him. Secondly a gap of 24 years in issuing both his charters indicates that Raṇabhaṅja was also actively engaged in diplomatic maneuvers with his immediate neighbours like the Bhauma-Karas of

\(^{58}\) O.H.R.J., Joint Volumes, XXIV-XXVI, pp.45-50.
Toșali in the east, the Śulkis of Kodälaka manḍala in the north and the Somavāṁśis of South Kośala in the west. In his N.K.Sahu Museum plates we mark three important things which are very significant from the political point of view. Here Raṇabhañja has given up the titles of Rāṇaka ParamaVaiśnava and Udbhaya-Khiṅjalyādhipati in preference of new titles like Mahārāja, Parama Māheśvara and Lord of Khiṅjali. Raṇabhañja’s change of religious faith was for political exigency as much it was for the influence of his queen Viajaya Mahādevi.

As a mark of his victory over the enemies, which was but temporary, Raṇabhañja Deva I issued a charter in his 52 regnal year donating village Champāmalli in Uttarapalli viṣaya which lies opposite to Suvarṇapur along the left bank of the river Mahānādi. It is known from this charter that his territory extended up to village Chaturāghāta in the east along the left bank of the river Mahānādi. Olaśṅga viṣaya, of which Chaturāghāta formed a part, no more finds mention in the Bhañja charters. The dis-continuation of the title Udbhaya-Khiṅjalyādhipati by Raṇabhañja I from cir.852 A.D. onwards indicates that he was dispossessed of his right over the Āṭhmallik region which passed into the hands of the Śulkis. How this tract of Bhañja territory

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61. Champamallī is identified by us with the modern village of Champāmāl near Birmahārājpur town.
passed into the control of the Śulkis is not known. Since there is no evidence of a clash between both the powers, we can not ascertain that this region was forcibly occupied by the Śulkis. It might have happened that some sort of friendly relation was established between both the houses as a result of which Raṇabhaṇja might have ceded this part of his territory to the Śulkis.

When Raṇabhaṇja I was ruling over Khiṇjali maṇḍala at that time the kingdom of South Kośala was ruled by the Somavaṁśīs under Janmejaya I (cir.850-885 A.D.) Janmejaya I was a great expansionist and is regarded as the glory of the Somavaṁśīs. At that time the Kalachuris of Dahala became a rival power of the Somavaṁśīs and the latter had to shift their political activities to the eastern quarters. After Śrīpura (their former capital) a number of places like Murasimā Kaṭaka (modern Mursiṅg in Bolangir district), Ārāma (modern Rampur in Suvarṇapur district), Vinitapur (modern Binkā in the same district) became the headquarters of the Somavaṁśīs in rapid succession indicating the unsettled condition of their rule. The most significant event in the reign of Janmejaya I is his war with the Oḍra country. The Brahmeśvar temple inscription reveals that Svabhāvatuṅga Janmejaya occupied the Oḍra country

after slaying its ruler in a hotly contested battle. He (Janmejaya) was a destroyer of enemies and drew himself the fortune (Lakṣmi) of the king of Oḍra country who was killed by his spear (Kunṭā) in a battle when his enemy elephants were overcome with fortigue fighting with their tusks and trunks. Various scholars have given different opinions about the name of the king who was defeated by Janmejaya I. K.C.Panigrahi suggests that the evidence furnished by the Baud plates and the Brahmeśvar temple inscription leads us to conclude that there was a struggle for succession to the Bhauma-Kara throne, that the Somavaṃśi king Janmejaya Svabhāvatuṅga took up the cause of his daughter that he killed his son-in-law's brother Śivakara III in the battle field and that he placed his daughter on the Bhauma-Kara throne. S.N.Rajguru gives a different account of this battle writing that some feudatory chiefs of Oḍra started disturbance in that country taking the advantage of the weak administration of Lalitahāra of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty who was the husband of Tribhūvana Mahādevi II and son-in-law of Janmejaya I alias Svabhāvatuṅga. It was Janmejaya I who

suppressed the rebel in Oḍra deśa by killing its king in the battlefield. Thereafter Oḍra merged into Kośala.\textsuperscript{66}

The meagre of information which are available from the Brahmeśvar temple inscription and also from other sources is not sufficient to identify the king of Oḍra who was defeated by Janmejaya I. He, however, seems to be a member of the Bhaṅja dynasty who was ruling over Khiṅjali maṇḍala. The kings belonging to the Bhaṅja dynasty were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. D.C. Sircar\textsuperscript{67} informs us that both Raṇabhaṅja and his father Śatrubhaṅja are styled in their charters as Lord of Khiṅjali, but this title is not applied to their successors. That, this is no more accidental omission but denotes a great change indicated by the fact that whereas the charters of Raṇabhaṅja and his father were issued from Dhṛtipura, those of his successors were issued from Vijaya Vaṅjulvaka. Further while all the villages granted by the former, so far that have been identified are situated in the ex-states of Sonepur and Baud, those granted by the latter are located in Gaṅjām district or its immediate neighbourhood. All these seem to indicate that after the death of Raṇabhaṅja, his successors shifted to south and changed their capital. Further D.C. Sircar observes that the reign of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{66} I. O., Vol. IV, p. 367.
\end{itemize}
the Bhaṅja king of Khiṅjali may have covered the tenth and eleventh centuries and they may have risen to power on the decline of the Bhauma-Karas. If the dates proposed above be accepted we may regard the removal of the Bhaṅja capital from Dhṛtipura to Vaṅjulvaka, as due to the invasion of Orissa by the Somavāmśīs, who forced them to take shelter in the south. There is a reason to believe the above contention of Dr. Sircar. The state of Khiṅjali maṇḍala was close to the Somavāmśī territory. The old Sonepur state which was included in the Somavāmśī kingdom was originally a part of Khiṅjali maṇḍala. The out-break of the struggle between the Bhaṅjas and the Somavāmśīs is quite natural, particularly when the latter were following the expansive policy in Orissa right from the time of Śrī Śivagupta, the father of Mahābhāvagupta Janmejaya I. The chief of Oḍra as R.C. Majumdar pointed out was a member of the Bhaṅja dynasty that was ruling over Khiṅjali maṇḍala. We subscribe to Majumdar’s view identifying the king of Oḍra with Raṇabhaṅja I who was ruling over Khiṅjali maṇḍala contemporaneously with Mahābhāvagupta Janmejaya I and was in strain relationship with the latter. The Soma-Bhaṅja struggle took place during the last part of the reign of Raṇabhaṅja I. Janmejaya I.

68. Ibid., pp.72-73.
70. R.C.Majumdar and A.D. Puselkar (ed.), op.cit., p.149.
occupied Suvarṇapur (Sonepur) in his third regnal year and issued his earliest known copper plate charter, the Vakratentuli grant\textsuperscript{71} from that victorious camp. After that the struggle between Janmejaya I and Raṇabhañja continued for some years. It seems that Raṇabhañja did not get any help from his overlord, the Bhauma-Karas who were probably displeased with him because of the independent attitude he assumed during that time\textsuperscript{72} Raṇabhañja resisted the aggression of the Somavamsīs to the last and died fighting in the battle field as revealed from the Brahmeśvar temple inscription of Kolāvatī Devī. After that the Baud-Sonepur region came under the suzerainty of the Somavamsīs who constituted that territory into a separate province called Odra deśa. The Bhañjas were driven out to Gañjām region where they built their new Khiñjali maṇḍala with Vañjulvaka as their capital. On the other hand as a measure of diplomacy, Janmejaya I befriended the Bhauma-Karas by giving his daughter Prthvī Mahādevī in marriage with Šubhākara IV, who adorned the throne at Guheśvarapāṭaka. After having this matrimonial alliance Janmejaya I fell back upon the Kalachuris to safeguard his own interest in the western border of the Somavamsī kingdom.

\textsuperscript{71} The issue of Vakratentuli grant indicates that Raṇabhañja I lost the Sonepur region to the Somavamsīs. \textit{E.I.,} Vol.XI, pp.93-95ff.; \textit{I.O.,} Vol.IV, pp.95-104.

\textsuperscript{72} N.K.Sahu and Others, \textit{op.cit.,} p.172.
Nettabhañja III alias Kalyaṇa Kalaśa (cir.860-895 A.D.): 

Nettabhañja III alias Kalyaṇa Kalaśa, the son of Ranabhañja I is considered as the first king of the house of Vijaya Vañjulvaka\textsuperscript{73}. In the above described Soma-Bhañja war the Bhañjas were defeated after the death of Ranabhañja I. After that they were driven away from Baud-Sonepur region who fled to the Phulbāṇī-Gañjām region and started their new Khiṇjali manḍāla with Vañjulvaka as its capital. During the rise of the Bhañjas in the Gañjām region, the Bhauma-Karas of Toṣali and the Somavamśis of South Kośala had entered into a struggle for supremacy. In their respective sphere therefore they were trying to muster the petty chiefs of their neighbourhood. Such a situation led to a probable clash between the two families. Immediately after the occupation of the Baud-Sonepur region by the Somavamśī king Janmejaya I a real danger was posed to the very existence of the Bhauma-Karas. The Śulkis, feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas were also beheaving as an example of the Bhañjas. They promptly acted to the situation and recognized to the defence of the western frontier. The Bhauma-Karas crushed the Śulkis and divided Kodālaka manḍāla into two principalities, namely Yamagartta manḍāla and Airābhata manḍāla.

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p.132.
The former was kept under the Tuṅgas and the latter was kept under the Nandodbhavas. The Somavamśīs wanted to avoid a war with the Bhauma-Karas because of the threat of the Kalachuris from the west. They had also to recognize the newly acquired Oḍra deśa. Both of them now entered into an alliance. The Bhauma-Karas recognized Oḍra deśa and Janmejaya I gave his daughter Prthvī Mahādevi in marriage with Śubhakara Deva IV, the Bhauma-Kara chief. As a matter of strategy both the powers now allowed the Bhaṅjas to act as an independent power. The new principality of the Bhaṅjas now acted as a buffer state linking the three sovereign states namely Kaliṅga, Toṣali and Kośala. It was evident that the Bhaṅjas played a prominent role in maintaining check and balance between the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamśīs.

The earliest known ruler of Vañjulvaka branch of Khiṅjali maṇḍala was Neṭṭabhaṅja III alias Kalyaṇa Kalaśa. In his Komanda grant he is described as the son of Raṇabhaṅja, grandson of Śatrubhaṅja and great grandson of Śilābhaṅja II. Disabhaṅja alias Digabhaṅja, the father of Śilābhaṅja Deva of Balugān plates was probably the eldest son of Raṇabhaṅja I. He was probably killed

75. Also known as Orissa Museum plates of Śilābhaṅja here the donor is described as the son Disabhaṅja and grandson of Raṇabhaṅja. *E.I.*, Vol.XXVIII, pp.272-78ff.
with his father in the clash between the Bhañjas and the Somavanāśis. After that Neṭṭabhaṇja III, the second son of Raṇabhaṇja I shifted his headquarters to Vaṇjulvaka and started his rule there. The new territory, over which the Bhañjas reestablished themselves, retained the old nomenclature of Khinjali maṇḍala. The Bhañjas from Neṭṭabhaṇja III onwards are known to have dropped the titles of Mahārāja and Khinjalyādhipati etc. Neṭṭabhaṇja III only bore the title of Parama Māheśvara. As many as five charters issued by him have come to light so far.

i) The Komanḍā grant76 of Neṭṭabhaṇja III was issued in his 31st regnal year77. The grant records the donation of village Karaṇjāḍu in the district of Sāraddā to Bhaṭṭa Stambadeva, son of Bhaṭṭa Durgāsarman and grandson of Hariśarman of Gautama gotra, Autathya pravara, Aṅgirasa anupravara, Vājasaneya charaṇa and Kāṇva branch of Brāhmaṇas for the merit of the donor and his parents. Karaṇjāḍu has been identified by K.C.Panigrahi78 with Komanḍa in Nayāgarh district which is not accepted by us. We presume the location of the village some where near

77. N.K.Sahu treats this grant as the earlier grant of Neṭṭabhaṇja Deva. N.K.Sahu and Others, op.cit., p.133.
Suruḍā in Gaṅjām district. Issued by queen Māmmā (Mahāmāyā) from Vaṅjulvaka the Komanda grant describes the king as a great worshipper of Lord Śiva.

ii) Issued by queen Mahāmāyā (Māmmā) the first undated Gaṅjām grant\(^7^9\) registers the grant of village Rātaṅga in Vāsudeva khaṇḍa to a number of Agnihotrins belonging to Kauśika and Vatsa gotras for the merit of the king and his parents. Rātaṅga and Vāsudeva khaṇḍa have been identified by us with Reṭāṅga and Vasudevapura respectively near Ghumsar of Gaṅjām district. King Neṭṭabhaṅja III has been introduced with the coronation name Kalyāṇa Kalāśa (the pitcher of blessing of Goddess) in this charter.

iii) The second undated Gaṅjām grant\(^8^0\) issued by king Neṭṭabhaṅja III records the grant of village Machchhāḍa in Machchhāḍa khaṇḍa in favour of Bhaṭṭa Rudrata son of Bhaṭṭa Keśava and grandson of Charampaśvāmī of Śrīvatsa gotra, Aṅgirasa pravara and Vājasaneyya charaṇa. The charter was sealed by Jachchhikā who is probably the second queen of Neṭṭabhaṅja III\(^8^1\). The village

\(^{79}\) Ibid., Vol.XVIII, pp.293-95.
\(^{80}\) Ibid., p.295-96.
\(^{81}\) N.K.Sahu and Others, op.cit., p.133.
Machchhāda has been identified with the village Majhigān near Berhampur in Gaṇjām district.

iv) The Ghumusar charter 82 issued by the king records the grant of the same Machchhāda village in Machchhāda khaṇḍa (district) to Indra Deva and Aditya Deva. They were related to Rudraṭa, the donee of the second Gaṇjām grant as brothers. The date of this grant is represented with a symbol which is read by N.N.Vasu 83 as ‘Om’. According to R.D.Banerji 84 the date is one which is perhaps the regnal year. But R.C.Majumdar 85 and D.C.Sircar 86 opine that the symbol stands for five and represents the 5th regnal year of the king. The grant was issued on Māgha Śukla Saptamī.

v) The Peṭṭasara grant 87, issued on Mārgaśīra Kṛṣṇa Chaturdaśī records the grant of village Peṭṭasara in Māṇḍiḍḍā vaisaya for the merit of the king and his parents to Bhaṭṭa Keśaba Rudra, son of Kṣemā Rudra of

83. Ibid.

Mārgaśīra Kṛṣṇa Chaturdaśī falls on the 14th day of Mārgaśīra (November).
Bhāradvāja gotra, Āṅgirasa pravara, Vajasaneya charaṇa and Kāṇva branch of the Brāhmaṇas. There is difference of opinions between C.C.Dasgupta and S.N.Rajguru in the Samvat which according to the former is 59 and according to the latter is 279. From the original inscription it is traced out that in line 35 there are three numerical symbols before ‘su’di’ which may be taken as Samvat 59, 79 or 279. If the Samvat is taken to be the Bhauma Era which was in vogue during the eighth and ninth century A.D. than it may be suggested that this era can not be 279 as the same era came to an end after 220 years from the date of commencement. If Bhauma Samvat 59 or 79 would be taken into consideration than it will be 795 or 815 A.D. which fall during the reign of Śatrubhaṇja I and his son Raṇabhaṇja I, a contemporary of Mahābhāvagupta Janmejaya I (cir.850-885 A.D.). So this numerical symbol can not be taken as Bhauma Samvat. If these will be taken as the regnal year of Netṭabhaṇja III it is also improbable because one of the successor of Netṭabhaṇja III, Śatrubhaṇja II has issued two copper plate grants namely

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Gaṇjām plates and Daśapallā plates in 198 Bhauma Samvat i.e. 934 A.D. If we will calculate 59/79/279 as the regnal year of Neṭṭabhaṇja III these will be 919/939/1139 A.D. Out of these three dates the reign of 279 years by a king is never possible. Again 79 regnal year of the king i.e. 939 A.D. is not possible because the sixth successive ruler of Neṭṭabhaṇja III, Śatrubhaṇja II had issued the Gaṇjām plates and Daśapallā plates in 198 Bhauma Era i.e. 934 A.D. If 59 years of reign will be assigned to Neṭṭabhaṇja III his last regnal year will be 919 A.D. But the difference between 934 A.D. when Śatrubhaṇja II issued his plates and 919 A.D. is 15 years. It is hardly possible to assign 15 years i.e. from 919 A.D. to 934 A.D. to 5 rulers among whom Vidyādharabhaṇja ruled approximately for 26 years. Hence the problem needs a thorough examination and the riddle can be solved if any concrete evidence is discovered in future.

From Neṭṭabhaṇja III we mark a definite change in the style of invocatory verses of the Bhaṇja copper plates. Unlike the charters from Dhṛtipura which begin with the invocatory words 'Om

Siddhāḥ // Samhārakāla hutabhugvikarāla --- etc., the inscription from Vañjulvaka begin with the words ‘Om Svati // Jayati Kusumavāna prāṇa vikṣobhadakṣam --- etc.’ Netṭabhaṅja III started a new precedence i.e. the Bhaṅja king from him onwards assumed coronation sobriquets ending with the word ‘Kalaśa’. The royal seal contained the figure of a lion in place of a bull and it was placed under the custody of the queen.

Śilābhaṅja II alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa (cir.895-900 A.D.) :

Netṭabhaṅja III was succeeded by his nephew Śilābhaṅja II, who issued the Balugān charter. Only one grant of this king has been discovered so far which was issued from Vañjulvaka in his 2nd regnal year. Also known as Orissa Museum plate, issued by Śri Śilābhaṅja alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa, son of Disabhaṅja and grand son of Śri Raṇabhaṅja this charter records the grant of village Deulaḍḍa in Salvaḍa viṣaya (district) to Bhaṭṭa Lumvā Deva, son of Agu Deva and grand son of Golasvāmī who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gotra, Kauṇḍinya, Vaśiṣṭha and Maitrāvaruna pravaras, Vājasaneya charaṇa and Kāṇva sākhā of

93. Ibid., Vol.XXVIII, pp.272-78.
Yayurveda. This charter was written by Sandhivigrāhin Māṇi or Ṋamāṇi, engraved by Durga Deva and sealed by Devarāja. The Dutaka or the executor of the grant is Bhatra Stambha Deva whose name is also recorded in the plates of Nettabhaṅja III alias Kalyāṇa Kalaśa I and Vidyādharabhaṅja I alias Amogha Kalaśa. This is a clue to establish relationship between the donor Śilābhaṅja alias Amogha Kalaśa and Nettabhaṅja alias Kalyāṇa Kalaśa. D.C.Sircar and P.Acharya have given the following genealogy which is also supported by us.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Śilābhaṅja-I alias Āṅgaḍī} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Rāṇaka Satrabhaṅja alias Gandhata} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Mahārāja Raṇabhaṅja} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Digabhaṅja} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Śilābhaṅja II} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Mahārāja Vidyādharabhaṅja alias Amogha Kalaśa} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Mahārāja Nettabhaṅja alias Kalyāṇa Kalaśa} \\
\end{array}
\]

Diśabhaṅja or Digabhaṅja, the father of Śilābhaṅja II was the elder brother of Nettabhaṅja III. He seems to have predeceased his brother Nettabhaṅja III being probably slain along with Raṇabhaṅja I in the Soma-Bhaṅja struggle. Nettabhaṅja III, the
founder of the Vañjulvaka house probably represented the younger branch and after his death the throne passed to the elder branch represented by Śilābhañja II. It is not definitely known under what circumstances this transfer of power from the hands of the younger branch to the hands of the elder branch took place. It might have happened that at the time of the death of Diśābhañja his sons were minor and inexperienced for which the Bhañjas wanted a strong ruler to strengthen their position. Therefore Nettabhañja III of the younger branch was chosen as the ruler of Vañjulvaka. But this change embittered the relationship between both the two branches which is attested by the fact that there was quick succession to the throne of Vañjulvaka, and the rule of the Bhañjas over Khiñjali in a continuous chain could hardly last for three score of years when this tract of land merged with the Somavāṃśī territory in-toto.

Impending danger from the side of the Somavāṃśīs and probably from the Nāgas, who ruled over Gomuṇḍa maṇḍala, the dwindling conditions of the Bhauma-Karas of Toṣali and finally the feuds that arose among the members of different branches of their own family, dumped the Bhañjas of Khiñjali in a state of political chaos. Perhaps there was an internecine war between the members of the elder branch and the younger branch of the Bhañjas to capture the throne of Vañjulvaka, which shortened the span of the reign of
Śilābhaṇja II. It was during this critical moment that South Kośala under the Somavaṁśīs got another powerful ruler named Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, who machinated the process of disintegration under the Bhauma-Karas of Toṣali and their most potent feudatory power, the Bhañjas of Khiṇjali maṇḍala.

Śilābhaṇja II alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa ruled for a very brief period i.e. from cir.895-900 A.D.

Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja:

Śilābhaṇja II was succeeded by Śatrubhaṇja alias Maṅgalarāja, who was perhaps his eldest son. During this time there was a great political development among the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Toṣali and South Kośala respectively. This profoundly effected the politics of Vañjulvaka. Śubhākara Deva IV, the Bhauma-Kara king and the son-in-law of Somavaṁśī king Janmejaya I died issueless sometime before 885 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Śivakara Deva III. Yayāti I immediately put his sister Prthvī Mahādevī on the throne of Toṣali at the death of Śivakara III. Prthvī Mahādevī ignored the claims of two minor sons of the deceased king and claimed the throne as her own95. Yayāti I was the main force behind the Bhauma-Kara administration under

Prthvī Mahādevī. It is evident from the Cuttack Plate charter\(^96\) of Yayāti I that in his 9\(^{th}\) regnal year he donated the village Chaṇḍagrāma of Dakṣiṇa Toṣali in favour of a Brahmin name Saṅkhapāṇi of Oḍra deśa.

The Bhaṅjas of Vaṅjulvaka maintained their independence and security by striking a balance between the two sovereign houses namely the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavāṃśīs. At the accession of Prthvī Mahādevī the balance was tilted towards the Somavāṃśīs which adversely affected the fortune of the Bhaṅjas.

Śatrubhaṅja Maṅgalarāja had a brother named Vidyādharabhaṅja. The latter was closely related to the Somavāṃśīs out of his marriage with Trikaliṅga Mahādevī, a Somavāṃśī princess. Yayāti I, the Somavāṃśī ruler entered into the political arena of the Bhaṅjas and ousted Śatrubhaṅja from the throne in favour of Vidyādharabhaṅja. Śatrubhaṅja probably established himself in a place called Salvaḍa viṣaya and from there issued the Tekkāli grant\(^97\). It is significant to note that this is the only grant which does not record the name of the capital in the preamble of the charter.

The Tekkāli grant registers the grant of village Kontamallo in Salvaḍa viṣaya to two Brahmins namely Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇusvāmī and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇasvāmī of Vaśiṣṭha gotra. The grant was composed and incised by Sandhivigrāhaka Buddhadatta. Mahāsamanta Kṛṣṇavarman was the Dutaka, Śrī Samanta Dhavalaka was the engraver and Śilāditya was probably the Pratihāra. All these show that the banished king appointed a class of new officers in the absence of the old one left in the capital. This grant further mentions Mallagambhira Deva and Yathāsukha Deva as the grandfather and great grandfather of Śatrubhaṇja Deva. These two names without Bhaṇja suffix seem to be the family names of Śatrubhaṇja, Diśābhāṇja Deva and Raṇabhāṇja Deva respectively. The charter was issued in the 8th regnal year of the king.

The Orissa plates98 of Vidyādharabhaṇja were edited by Keilhorn. While editing it the learned scholar noticed its palimpsestic characteristic which indicate that these plates have served for another grant of a king earlier than Vidyādharabhaṇja. He reads the names of the officers of the earlier grant as Dutaka Nartaṇḍa, Sandhivigrahi Arka (deva) and the queen Māṇikya Mahādevī and Aksāśāli Kumāra (data) or Kumārachandra. Kumārachandra was probably the son of Durgadeva, the Aksāśāli of

Nettabhaña III and Vidyādharabhañja. Kumārachandra perhaps succeeded his father as Akṣaśāli under Vidyādharabhañja. Durga Deva was apparently the son of Kumārachandra and grandson of Durga Deva of earlier grants. He became the Akṣaśāli of Nettabhaña IV, son of Vidyādharabhañja. Kumārachandra not only engraved the charters of Vidyādharabhañja but also the above mentioned palimpsest grant of an earlier king who can be no other than Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja. When he was on the throne of Vañjulvaka Śatrubhañja had lost his capital as well as his queen Mānikya Mahadedvī at the time of the issue of the Tekkāli grant. It is therefore that the name of the queen was not mentioned in the Tekkāli grant.

Vidyādharabhañja Deva (cir.900-926 A.D.):

With the death of his father Śilābhañja II Vidyādharabhañja became the ruler of Vañjulvaka by driving away his elder brother Śatrubhañja Maṅgala Kalaśa. He issued the Gañjām grant\(^{99}\) and Orissa grant\(^{100}\), in which he is described as a Mahārāja. The assumption of his title Mahārāja indicates that he was a very powerful king. In these two grants he assumed two sobriquets i.e. Amogha Kalaśa in the former and Dharma Kalaśa in

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\(^{99}\) Ibid., Vol.XVIII, pp.282-300ff.  
\(^{100}\) Ibid., Vol.IX, pp.271-77ff.
the latter. His queen was Trikaliṅga Mahādevī, who appears to be a Somavarmisī princess. The Somavarmisīs claimed themselves to be the lord of Trikaliṅga. This indicates that the enmity between the Somavarmisīs and the Bhañjas had been brought to an end and close relation was established between them. Vidyādharabhañja enjoyed considerable power and privilege under the patronage and help of the Somavarmisīs and assumed a more dignified sobriquet than his father, the title of Mahārāja. As many as two sets of copper plate charters of Vidyādharabhañja have been discovered so far.

i) The Gāñjām plates issued by the king from Vañjulvaka record the grant of village Mūlamāchhāḍa in Māchchāḍa khaṇḍa (district) to Bhatta Purandara, son of Devaḍaśarman and grand son of Hariśarman of Rohitāsa gotra, Vājasaneyya charaṇa and Rohittaṭaka-Viśvāmitra pravara who was an immigrant from Manmāṇā of Taḍisamā in Varebdhi province. The name Varebdhi appears to be a corruption of Varendri of Bengal. In the charter the king is described as the son of Śilābhañja, grandson of Digabhañja and great grandson of Raṇabhañja.

The charter gives three numerical symbols, each bisected from the next symbol by a fullstop. Although these symbols are not preceded by the usual procedure of Samvat or Vijayarāja Samvatsara it is quite probable that the intention of the engraver is to give the date of the document. So on the analogy S.Tripathy\textsuperscript{102} deciphers the first symbol as 100, the second symbol as 70, and the third symbol as 4 and reads the total number as 174, describing it as Bhauma Samvat which was in vogue in the time of these Bhañja kings. If her reading will be taken as correct and the number denotes the Bhauma era, than the actual date of the inscription will be $736 + 174 = 910$ A.D. as the Bhauma Era started from 736 A.D. In this charter the king calls himself as Parama Māheśvara. This was sealed by queen Trikaliṅga Mahādevī.

ii) The Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañja issued in 26 regnal year of the king record the grant of village Tuṇḍurāva in Ramalava district to a Brahmin named Bhaṭṭa Dārukhaṇḍi, son of Śurideva and grand son of Gurichandra of Upamanyu gotra and Vavṛcha branch of Rigveda. In the said grant the king is described as the son of Śrī Śilābhañja, grandson of Śrī Digabhañja and great grandson

\textsuperscript{102} I.O., Vol.VI, pp.136-37.
of Śrī Raṇabhaṅja. The use of both the Bhauma Era and his own regnal year indicates that probably Vidyādharabhaṅja disobeyed the authority of the Bhauma-Karas and asserted independence in the later part of his reign being supported by the Somavamśīs and issued charter in his own regnal year.

Śilābhaṅja Deva III and Neṭṭabhaṅja Deva IV (cir.926-934 A.D.):

No charter of Śilābhaṅja III, the eldest son of Vidyādharabhaṅja has come to light so far. So we do not have any source to know about the king. He might have predeceased his father or was too weak and incompetent to hold the wheel of administrative machinery or might have ruled for a short period and was succeeded by his brother Neṭṭabhaṅja IV.

It is not definitely known whether Neṭṭabhaṅja IV succeeded his brother Śilābhaṅja III or father Vidyādharabhaṅja. The following charters assigned to him have been discovered so far.

i) The Daśapallā plates (undated\(^{103}\)) issued by Śrī Neṭṭabhaṅja, son of Śrī Vidyādharabhaṅja, grand son of

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Silābhaṇja and great grand son of Digabhaṇja record the grant of village Duolladā in Ramalava district to Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama, son of Bhaṭṭa Gāḍika, grand son of Bhaṭṭa Bojaka and great grand son of Bhaṭṭa Govardhana of Kṛṣṇātreya gotra with three pravaras namely Atri, Arteya and Archanānasa who followed the Chandoga school, belonging to Kauthuma branch of Brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to point out here that the donee of this grant belonged to the same gotra, pravaras, śākha and Veda as the donee of the Daśapallā plate of Raṇabhaṇja where an additional information have been found that they migrated from Varendra maṇḍala. It can be presumed that the donee of the present grant migrated from the same place since both the plates were discovered from the same spot.

ii) The Orissa Museum plates record the grant of village Guṇḍapātaka in Navakhanda viṣaya to Ivadatta, son of Vapadatta, grandson of Apadatta and great grandson of the merchant Gargadatta of Kāśyapa gotra and an immigrant from Tribhūvanapura of Varendra maṇḍala in West Bengal. The donor of the grant is Śri Neṭṭabhaṇja alias Pṛthvī Kalāśa, son of Vidyādharabhaṇja Deva, grandson of

Śrī Śilābhaṇja and great grandson of Śrī Digabhaṇja Deva. It describes the king as ParamaVaiṣṇava. The grant is known to be issued in 197 (cir.933 A.D.) Bhauma Era according to K.C.Panigrahi.

Nettabhaṇja IV, like his father also assumed two coronation names, Kalyāṇa Kalaśa in Daśapallā grant and Prthvi Kalaśa in Orissa Museum grant. Both the grants are sealed by his queen Jayā Mahādevī and were written by Sandhivigrahi Jayastamba. Nettabhaṇja Deva IV was very likely a feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara queen Vakula Mahādevī. The Bhaṇja king of Vaṇjulvaka from Nettabhaṇja III to Vidyādharabhaṇja were devout worshippers of Śiva. But Nettabhaṇja IV switched his religion to Vaiṣṇavism. From that time onwards Vaiṣṇavism became the family religion of the Bhaṇjas of Khinjali maṇḍala.

Śatrubhaṇja Deva II (cir.934-943 A.D.) :

Nettabhaṇja IV was succeeded by his nephew Śatrubhaṇja II alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa, son of Śilābhaṇja III. Two copper plate records of this king are so far available both of which were issued in Samvat 198.
i) The Daśapallā copper plates106 of Rāṇaka Śatrubhaṇja Deva alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa, son of Śrī Śilābhaṇja and great (?) grand son of Śrī Vidyādharabhāṇja was issued on Viṣuva Saṁkrānti and sealed by queen Prthvi Mahādevī record: the grant of village Kaṅkairā in Ramaṇava viṣaya to Bhaṭṭa Ājapāla, son of Bhaṭṭa Nilakaṇṭha and grand son of Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdana of Maudgala gotra and Vaidhṛta pravara, Vājasaneya charaṇa and Madhyandina śākhā of Brāhmaṇas who was an immigrant from Khaḍuvavalli village in Madhyadeśa and a resident of village Santosa Mādhava. The most important point in this document is its date which is mentioned as Samvat 198, Viṣuva Saṁkrānti, Paṁchamī, Mṛgasirā nakṣatra. The Samvat used in this inscription is popularly known as Bhauma Samvat. It gives a clue to find out the starting point of the Bhauma Era107.

ii) The Gaṇjaṁ plates108 were also issued in 198 Bhauma year by the king which register: the grant of village Komvabāḍā in Bodākhaṇḍa district to a brahmin named Bhaṭṭaputra Bāppi, son of Bhaṭṭa Keśi and grand son of Bhaṭṭa

108. Ibid., Vol.IV, pp.67-76ff.
Simiyappa of Bhāradvāja gotra, Aṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya pravara and Taitiriya branch of Yajurveda and who migrated from Śṛkheḍha of Dakṣināpatha and a resident of Oḍiṣojōṅga.

Both the plates were written by Sandhivigrahi Saṅkara, engraved by Akṣaśāli Nānya, sealed by Prthvī Mahādevī, the queen and conveyed by Bhaṭṭa Rajada. The Pratihāra of the Daśapallā grant is known as Prabhākara where as the same officer is known as Divakara in this grant. Another officer known as Vaguli Ratna is found in this Gaṅjām plates but such is omitted in the Daśapallā plates.

Śatrubhaṅja alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa came to the throne after the death of his uncle Neṭṭabhaṅja IV. The names of the officers mentioned in the charters of Śatrubhaṅja II are completely different from the names of the officers of Neṭṭabhaṅja IV. The frequent change of power from one branch to another branch in the house of Vaṅjulvaka reveals internal disputes and dissension among themselves. Neṭṭabhaṅja IV was probably a feudatory of the Somavaraṁśiśis where as Śatrubhaṅja Deva was a feudatory of the Bhauma-Karas. Thus it appears that the throne of Vaṅjulvaka was
connected with the struggle between the Somavāṁśīs and the Bhauma-Karas.

Tribhūvana Mahādevī II, the widow queen of Bhauma-Kara chief Śubhākaradeva IV rose to the throne with the help of the Somavāṁśīs. This took place about the year 160 Bhauma Era or 896 A.D. which was also the date of the issue of Dheṅkānāl copper plate\(^{109}\) by the ruling queen. Vidyādharabhaṇaṅja decided to remain as the feudatory of the Somavāṁśīs. The Bhauma-Karas on the other hand tried to win over the support of the Bhaṇjas to Vaṅjulvaka. The Bhauma records show that the two sons of Tribhūvana Mahādevī III had married in the family of the Bhaṇjas. Dharma Mahādevī, the wife of Santikara III and Vakula Mahādevī, the second wife of Subhakara Deva V describe themselves as Bhaṇja princess. One of the princesses was at least the daughter of Śilābhaṇaṅja Deva III. Such relations between the Bhauma-Karas and the Bhaṇjas must have annoyed the Somavāṁśīs of Kośala. The Somavāṁśīs probably ousted Śilābhaṇaṅja III from power and put his brother Neṭṭabhaṇaṅja IV on the throne in preference to Śilābhaṇaṅja’s son Śatrubhaṇaṅja Deva II. The Bhaumna-Karas on the other hand drove away Neṭṭabhaṇaṅja IV and gave the throne of Vaṅjulvaka to Śatrubhaṇaṅja II Tribhūvana Deva, son of Śilābhaṇaṅja Deva III.

Nettabhañja Deva V alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa
(cir.943-950 A.D.):

Another later Bhañja king of Vañjulvaka is Rāñaka Nettabhañja Deva alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa who may be identified with Nettabhañja V alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa III. Only one copper plate of this king has been discovered so far. We do not find any direct connection between Šatrubhañja II and Nettabhañja V as the genealogy given in this record is altogether different from other records issued from Vañjulvaka. But we presume to identify Prthvībhañja, the grand father of Nettabhañja V with Nettabhañja IV alias Prthvī Kalaśa. If our identification is true, it is seen that again the throne passed from the elder branch to the younger branch due to internecine war. It might have also happened that Šatrubhañja II might have died issueless for which the Vañjulvaka throne might have passed to the younger branch as because no charter of his son or grand son have been discovered so far. The interval between the issue of the charters by these two kings is only 15 years as there is a date mentioned in the charter which has been deciphered as Samvat 213. This is the last known year of Bhauma Era used in the Bhañja inscriptions. The corresponding year in the Christian era will be $736-37 + 213 = 949-50$ A.D.
The Orissa Museum plates\textsuperscript{110} issued from Vañjulvaka record the grant of village Seḍāgrāma in Nānākhaṇḍa viṣaya to Bhaṭṭa Dauli, son of Bhaṭṭa Siḍa and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Valabhadra of Bhāradvaja gotra. Āṅgirasa pravara, Vārhaspatya anupravara, Chāndogya charaṇa, a student of Kauthuma branch and an immigrant from Vātalaviḍima and a resident of Kolakhali. The genealogy given in this grant is as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
Prthvībhaṇja
\downarrow
Rāyabhaṇja
\downarrow
Netṭabhaṇja alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa
\end{verbatim}

Prthvībhaṇja and Rāyabhaṇja are not far remote from Śatrubhaṇja II or Netṭabhaṇja V and may have been their co-brothers or sons. It is not known whether they were actually rulers. Netṭabhaṇja V was a worshipper of Viṣṇu and assumed the title of ParamaVaiṣṇava. Like his predecessor Śatrubhaṇja II he had also changed the traditional invocatory verse in praise of Śiva Nāṭarāja in his grants. The grant was sealed by queen Jivaloka Mahādevī.

It is interesting to note that the Tithi, Nakṣatra and day of the issue of Orissa Museum plates are exactly same as those of

\textsuperscript{110} E.I., Vol.XXVIII, pp.272-78ff.
the Gañjām grant of Śatrubhañja alias Tribhūvana Kalaśa. The difference which is found is that the former is dated in Samvat 213 (949 A.D.) and the later is dated in samvat 198 (934 A.D.)

Nettabhañja V Tribhūvana Kalaśa is the last ruler of Vañjulvaka branch of Khiñjali mañḍala. After him no inscription is available of the Bhañjas issued from Vañjulvaka. During his reign Tośali came under the sway of the Somavamśīs. The Bānpur copper plate charter\textsuperscript{111} reveals that Dharmaratha (cir.960-995 A.D.) appointed his step brother Indraratha as the governor of Kaliṅga and Koṅgoda which has been newly conquered by him. After that the Bhañjas served as the feudatory of the Somavamśīs in the Ghumusar region of Gañjām. Under the Somavamśīs the Bhañjas lost their political colour and led a very insignificant life. However, they enjoyed political ascendancy at intervals, though for a very short period of time which is attested by the discovery of their copper plate charters that can be assigned to a much later period in comparison to the charters of the early Bhañjas.

During the later period the Bhañjas were divided into several branches and ruled in different parts of Khiñjali mañḍala. A Bhaña chief named Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Nettabhañja, son of

\textsuperscript{111} J.A.S.B., Vol.VIII, pp.271-76.
Ranabhañja and grandson of Brhad Netṭabhañja is known to have ruled over Khiñjali mañḍala with Kumārapura as his capital. His Jurāḍā grant\textsuperscript{112} issued on Phālguna Paurṇamāṣī, Somagrahan records the grant of village Jurāḍā in Gaḍa-viṣaya to Pātra Śrī Vāpanna, son of Bhaṭṭa Guheśvara and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Santosa of Viśvāmitra gotra, Kāṇva sākhā of Yayurveda and an immigrant from Gaṅgavāḍi. In the grant the king is described as Mahāmañḍaleśvara and Parama Vaiṣṇava.

The capital of Mahāmañḍaleśvara Netṭabhañja was Kumārapura, identified with a village of the same name near Berhampur of Gañjām district\textsuperscript{113}. The king was a contemporary of a Gaṅga king named Kirtiraja Deva\textsuperscript{114}. The donee of the grant of Netṭabhañja Deva was Vāpanna who was also the donee of the Phulśar copper plate grant of Kirtirāja Deva\textsuperscript{115}. Both the grants were also discovered from the same place in the village of Phulśar in Gañjām district. Netṭabhañja describes himself as the grandson of Brhad Netṭabhañja who is identified by N.K.Sahu with Netṭabhañja III, the first ruler of the Vañjulvaka branch\textsuperscript{116}. The royral emblem of

\textsuperscript{112} E.I., Vol.XXIV, pp.15-20ff.
Phālguna Paurṇamāṣī means full moon day of Phālguna (March). Somagrahan means lunar eclipse.

\textsuperscript{113} N.K.Sahu and Others, \textit{op.cit.}, p.134.


\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{116} N.K.Sahu and Others, \textit{op.cit.}, p.134.
this house is a pitcher (Kalasa) in place of a lion. The style and form of this charter are also different from those of the Vañjulvaka house. The queen of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Netṭabhaṇja was Santōsa Mahadevī. A town of Khīñjali named Santōsa Mādhava is referred to in the Daśapallā grant of Śatrubhaṇja II. It seems that the town was so named after the temple Santōsa Mādhava which might have been built by the queen. The town of Santōsa Mādhava may be identified with Mādhava of Nayāgarh district. The following genealogy is found in the charters of Netṭabhaṇja.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Netṭabhaṇja-I
(identified with Netṭabhaṇja-III)

↓

Raṇabhaṇja

↓

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Netṭabhaṇja-II
Queen Santōsa Mahādevī

↓

Yuvarāja Rāyabhaṇja

The eldest son of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Netṭabhaṇja as known from the Jurāḍā grant was Yuvarāja Rāyabhaṇja. It is not known whether he succeeded his father. The Bhañjanagar copper plate charter\(^\text{117}\) reveals the name of another Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Netṭabhaṇja. The latter may be identified with the donor of the Jurāḍā grant and Rājaputra Maṅgala Kalaśa with Yuvarāja

Rāyabhaṅja of the same grant. The Bhaṅjanagar plates record the grant of village Aṭai in Vāseva khanḍa to Akṣapaṭalī Dāmodara Šarman, son of Ṭhākura Vāhudatta and grand son of Akṣapaṭalī Narasiṁhadatta of Piṅgala gotra, Panchārseya pravara and Ārya kulina who had migrated from Harapura. The capital town was Kholipāṭi which may be identified with Khalikote. The genealogical list found in the grant is as follows:-

Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Neṭṭabhaṅja-I

↓

Rājaputra Maṅgala Kalaśa

↓

Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Neṭṭabhaṅja-II

Queen Mādhvai Śrī Mahāyi

↓

Yuvarājā Prthvībhaṅja

A few records of some other Bhaṅja kings have been brought to light which have no connection with the main branches of the Bhaṅja dynasty i.e. the Bhaṅjas of Khiṅjali maṇḍala and the Bhaṅjas of Khiṭṭa. While some of these records are assigned to eighth or ninth century A.D. some others are of much later period than the other Bhaṅjas of Khiṅjali maṇḍala. The donors of these grants, unlike other Bhaṅja rulers of the main branches, do not trace the origin of their family to a peahen’s egg nor speak of Vaśiṣṭha Muni as the protector of their family.
Nettabhañja of Bāñatumba plates is one of the rulers of these miscellaneous branches of the Bhañja dynasty. The charter issued by his queens namely Rājñī Kṣatri Devī, Kaivarta Devī and Rājaputri Meghāvali Devī from Vārāḍā, records the grants of village Vaṇḍutuṅga in Kāṁverāla viṣaya to Vāṣudeva Swāmī of Kauśika gotra and Vājasaneya charaṇa along with thirteen Brāhmaṇas who belonged to different gotras and charaṇas.

The charter is written in Sanskrit and the script employed may be attributed to eighth century A.D. on paleographical grounds. The charter describes the king as a scion of the Dharmajākula (family of Dharmajā) and as representing the hundredth generation of this royal family. There is no connection of this Nettabhañja family with other kings bearing the same name in the family of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala.

D.C. Sircar identifies him with Nettabhañja of Navaṅgulapatana on the basis of the paleography and the style of the records. But no similarity is found between these two records so far as the style of charter is concerned. While Nettabhañja of the Bāñatumba plates was ruling in Gañjām region of South Orissa.

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Neṭṭabhaṇja of the Baud plates was the ruler of Angul-Dheṅkānāl region as known from their grants. Neṭṭabhaṇja of the charter under discussion has been described as Parama Brāhmaṇya and Parama Māheśvara. The invocatory verses used in praise of Śiva in this charter are not found in any literary works. It may be presumed that these verses were composed by some Śaiva Āchāryas of eighth and ninth century A.D. which influenced the poets of the royal courts. Another interesting point is that the later Bhaṅjas of Khiṅjali maṇḍala ruled over the same region where Neṭṭabhaṇja was ruling in eighth century A.D.

Likewise another group of Bhaṅja chiefs ruling over Khiṅjali country from Kolaḍa Kaṭaka is known to us from two charters of Jayabhaṅja and Yaśabhaṅja, both issued from the said place.

The Antirigām charter issued by Śrī Yaśabhaṅja Deva\textsuperscript{121} son of Śrī Rāyabhaṅja Deva, grand son of Śrī Vīrabhaṅja Deva, great grand son of Rāyabhaṅja I and great great grand son of Śrī Devabhaṅja issued in his 3\textsuperscript{rd} regnal year records the grant of village Komyāṇa in Voḍā Viṣaya to a Brāhmaṇa named Jagadhara Śarman, son of Vārādhara Śarman, grand son of Śrīdharā Śarman of

Bharadvāja gotra, Āṅgirasa, Vārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja pravaras and a student of Mādhyandina sākha of Yajurveda who migrated from Bapabhūmi grāma and a resident of Paṭtabāḍa-Pāṭaka of Koṇṭarāvaṅga viṣaya. Here the donor is described as Samasta Khiṇjalyādhipati. From the grant it is known that the king Yaśabhaṅja had defeated a king named Jagadekamalla. The same donee appears in two other copper plates namely Antirigām plates of Jayabhaṅja\textsuperscript{122} and Kapateśvar plates\textsuperscript{123} of Anāṅgabhima III (cir.1211-1239A.D.). Therefore the date of the inscription should be attributed to middle of thirteenth century A.D. The rival king of the donor of this grant is Jagadekamalla who has been identified by Dr.Bhandarkar with Prem Jagadekamalla of the Eastern Chālukya family\textsuperscript{124}. It is interesting to note here that Anāṅgabhima’s inscriptions are found in Kāṇchi which was subjugated by him temporarily. There was a struggle between Yādava kings of Warrangal and some Chālukyan kings of Kāṇchi where the Gaṅgas and the Bhaṅjas of Orissa were involved. It can be presumed that Aniankabhima’s invasion of Kāṇchi and Jagadekamalla’s defeat at the hands of Yaśabhaṅja happened simultaneously in South India in collaboration of their powers and army.

\textsuperscript{122} E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.41-45ff.
\textsuperscript{124} I.O., Vol.VI, pp.207-08ff.
The Antirigām plates of Jayabhañja Deva, son of Rāyabhañja Deva and grand son of Vīrabhañja Deva was issued in his 3rd regnal year register: the grant of village Reṅgarāḍa in Khiṇjalyagaḍa viṣaya to Śrī Jagadhara, son of Paṇḍita Dharāḍhara of Madhyandina śākhā, Bhāradvaja gotra, Yajurveda Aṅgirasa pravara of Pattavada pataka. Probably Jayabhañja was the brother of Yaśabhañja Deva who were contemporaries of Anāṅgabhima III of the Gaṅga dynasty. His headquarters was located at Kolāḍa Kataka, identified with modern Kulāḍa. The traditional account of Ghumusar states that Kulāḍa was conquered and made the capital in the later part of twelfth century A.D..

Two sets of copper plate grants found from Baud furnish an account of another Bhañja family ruling over a part of the territory that was under the early Bhañjas of Dhṛtipura house. These grants were issued by Kanakabhañja and his brother Solaṇabhañja who were the sons of Durjayabhañja alias Śilābhañja. The headquarters of these rulers was located at Suvarṇapura on the confluence of river Tel and Mahānādi.

The charter of Kanakabhañja125 issued in the 3rd regnal year of the king records the grant of villages Jamarāpura, Sihipura,

Dharmmapura, Madhavapura, Koyāśingā and Telaṇḍī in Vāghulakhaṇḍa to Harivaṁśa, son of Dhanapati, grand son of Arthapati of Parāśara gotra and Trayārśeya pravara who had migrated from Madhyadeśa and was a resident of Hastigrāma.

The charter of Solanabhanja\textsuperscript{126} issued in the 27\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of the king on Phālguna Śukla Trayodasi registers the grant of village Nayaḍa in Kolāḍa viṣaya in Gandharvāḍi manḍala to Mahādeva, son of Kṛṣna and grandson of Goula belonging to Kāśyapa-gotra of Yajurveda.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit and mostly written in verse. According to K.C.Panigrahi the script used in the inscription is Proto-Oriya and they may be classed with those of Adipur plates of Durjayabhaṇja\textsuperscript{127}, the Mahadā plates of Yogeśvaradeva Śarman\textsuperscript{128}, the Pātnā Museum plates of Someśvara Deva\textsuperscript{129} and the Baud plates of Kanakabhaṇja\textsuperscript{130}. On paleographical ground and in consideration of the language used in the record Dr.Panigrahi attributes it to fourteenth century A.D. He further suggests that Gandharvāḍi and Kolāḍa may respectively be

\textsuperscript{126} E.I., Vol.XXVI, pp.276-79ff.
Phālguna Śukla Trayodasi falls on the 13\textsuperscript{th} day of 2\textsuperscript{nd} fortnight in Phālguna (March).
\textsuperscript{127} E.I., Vol.XXV, p.172.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., Vol.XII, p.218.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., Vol.XIX, p.97.
identified with Gochabāri in the Baud state and Kaintrāgarh in Āṭhmallik state. The latter is situated on the north bank of the river Mahānadī and is not far from the headquarters of Āṭhmallik state. Since the gift of village Nayaḍā included Khaṭiyā viṣaya and river Mahānadī as its northern boundary the identification of Kolāḍā with Kaintrā is placed on surer grounds. The word Gada (fort which is generally added to the names of old places in Orissa, must have come to be associated with it later on.

The family of Kankabhaṇja belonged to Kāḍyapa gotra although the earlier Bhaṇjas were Vāśiṣṭha gotra. It is significant to note that the Bhaṇja rulers of the ex-feudatory state of Baud also belong to Kaṣyapa gotyra and they describe that the changes of gotra was due to the adoption of the Bhaṇja prince, the founder of the family by the last Brāhmaṇa Rājā (apparently a Ganga governor) of this territory. The rule of this family was founded in cir.1300 A.D. Kankabhaṇja and Solaṇabhaṇja whose reign is assigned to the middle of fourteenth century A.D. and who belonged to Kāṣyapa gotra and are undoubtedly the ancestors of the modern Bhaṇja family of Baud. The rule of this family came to an end when the state of Baud merged with the province of Orissa.