LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL ORISSA
(Cir. A. D. 600-1200)

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Dedicated to the sacred memory of my father

Shri Chaman Lal Sah
PREFACE

The present work substantially represents my thesis submitted to the Patna University in 1965 under the supervision of my respected teacher Dr. R. S. Sharma, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Delhi University, Delhi and chairman, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. No amount of words can adequately convey my sense of gratitude to him as without his invaluable supervision and constant encouragement the present work would not have been possible.

I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Retired Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, Calcutta, for his valuable suggestions and help. I am grateful to Dr. Yogendra Mishra, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Patna University, Patna, for taking due interest in my work. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. D. N. Jha, Reader in History, Delhi University and Dr. Sita Ram Roy, Director of Archaeology & Museums, Bihar, for their help and co-operation.

I am obliged to Dr. B. P. Mazumdar, Professor of History, Patna University, Patna, who helped me in various ways in the completion of my work. I am also thankful to Dr. (Mrs.) Suvira Jaiswal, Associate Professor of History, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi for her advice regarding the chapter on religion in this book.
My sincere thanks are also due to Pandit Rajeshwar Jha, Office Secretary, Bihar Research Society and Shri Mangani Prasad Singh, Library Assistant, Patna University, Patna for their courteous and efficient services.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Shri Ram Baran Singh, M.A. Principal, Sharda Pathshala, Kahalgaon, who in the formative period of my life implanted in me a love for the study of History.

Finally, I am thankful to the Chaukhambha Orientalia for undertaking to publish this work. On account of certain unavoidable reasons, the book could not be published earlier, though submitted in 1965.

My main aim in preparing this work has been to make it as intelligible and interesting as possible and if the scholars find it interesting and profitable, I shall think that my labour has been amply rewarded.

26 January 1976
Raj Niketan,
Wace Road,
Bhagalpur.

Ayodhya Prasad Sah
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ABBREVIATIONS.

AS. Arthaśāstra.
ASI. Archaeological Survey of India (Repots by A. Cunningham),
Bh, List, A list of Inscriptions of Northern India by D. R. Bhandarkar (Appendix to EI., XIX-XXIII),
B K. Book.
BO. Buddhism in Orissa by N. K. Sahu.
CII. Corpus Inscriptions Indicarum.
Cordier, Catalogue due Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale, by P. Cordier.
DHNI. Dynastic History of Northern India by H. C. Ray in 2 volumes Calcutta 1931 and 1936.
DMO. Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, Calcutta, 1933.
EI. Epigraphia Indica.
fn. Foot Note.
HDS. History of Dharmaśāstra by P. V. Kane, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
HGD. History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty by Roma Niyogi.
Banerji, HO. History of Orissa by R. D. Banerji.
Mahtab, HO. History of Orissa by H. K. Mahtab.
HRS. Hindu Revenue System by U. N. Ghoshal.
IA Indian Antiquary.
IB. Inscriptions of Bengal by N. G. Majumdar.
IC. Indian Culture, Calcutta.
IHC. Indian History Congress.
IHO. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
IO. Inscriptions of Orissa, vols. I and II by S. N. Rajaguru.
JAHRS. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JAS. Journal of the Asiatic Society (Letters)
JASB. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBORS. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JIH. Journal of Indian History.
JKHRS. Journal of the Kāliṅga Historical Research Society.
JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
MASI. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MER. Madras Epigraphist's Report by Dr. E. Hultsch, Nos. 814, Public, 6th August, 1896.
MSM. Manusmrīti.
NS. New Series.
NVA. Nītivākyāmrita.
OHRJ. The Orissa Historical Research Journal.
RAT. Rāṣṭrapātis and Their Times by A. S. Altakar.
Santi Śontiparva,
SBE. Sacred Book of the East,
SE. The Struggle for Empire, edited by R. C. Majumdar.
SIII. South Indian Inscription.
Wattets. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.
Yaj. Yajñavalkyasmṛti.
LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL-ORISSA

(Cir. A. D. 600–1200)
CHAPTER I

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

SECTION I

INSCRIPTIONS

The present thesis is mainly based on the inscriptions belonging to the period from the 7th to the 12th century A.D. An unusually large number of copper-plates, far exceeding the number of those found in Bengal during the corresponding period, has come to light. The total number of the published inscriptions from Orissa concerned with our period is about 300, the list of which is furnished in Appendix I.

Different dynasties such as the Śailodbhava, Bhauma-Kara, Śulki, Nanda, Tuṅga, Bhaṅja, Soma and Gaṅga, which ruled in Orissa during this period, have their inscriptions. Of them the Gaṅga dynasty of our period has the greatest number of inscriptions; some of them are copper-plates and the rest are stone inscriptions engraved on the walls of the Mukhalingam, Draksharāmam, Pālur, Vatēsvaram, Śri-Kurumam, Simhāchalam, Mahendragiri, Nileśvaram and other temples—

The inscriptions of the period under study are written in Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya. Sanskrit words are sometimes mixed with Oriya words and written after the fashion of Oriya pronunciation. We may quote the following instances from the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara kings:

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Almost every copper-plate inscription is seen to follow a definite order. The opening is generally an invocation to a deity. Then follows a preamble, the praṣasti, in which the names and achievements of the ruler and his ancestors are recorded, sometimes in a set form which is common to several
records of the reign. After this comes an address of the king to different officers, feudatories and others in which the information of the land grant is given to them. Next comes a briefer description of the donee and his ancestors. Then follows the formula of gift, which usually says that it is given with water poured out from the hand of the donor for his perpetual and undisturbed enjoyment. Then there is a description of the object given. Often it is a village or a field given along with various kinds of taxes. Sometimes the boundaries of the land are carefully specified. After this the record concludes with an imprecation on anyone who may terminate the charity or otherwise disturb it and with the praise of those who will maintain and protect it in the future. The different parts of these land charters are valuable, for they supply information on economic social and religious matters.

Although many of the epigraps are dated, the years are more often regnal or refer to an era which is unknown. Their palaeography too is often of no great help in determining their age, as the letters, even of the same time and locality, are sometimes written in different styles which create an erroneous impression about their antiquity. To add to the difficulty, the same name is frequently borne by a number of kings, and several alternate names are adopted by the same king and are indiscriminately used in records. However, these inscriptions can be dated with more certainty than many literary texts, and hence can be used for the cultural history of Orissa in early mediaeval times.

So far these inscriptions have been utilised for the study of political history, although not in a critical and systematic manner, but they have still to be used for the study of the various aspects of the non-political history of Orissa. They furnish us the bulk of information about the administrative units, forms of government, royal titles, duties and powers. They provide lists of officers and feudatories of different denominations, both high and low. However, the inscriptions do not provide us with any clear and definite ideas about the ministers, their numbers, functions and powers. They merely name the various functionaries in connection with land grants, which makes it difficult to determine their functions.
The inscriptions throw considerable light on the Brāhmaṇas, their pravaras and gotras, social status, place of immigration and their activities. But they do not have much to say about other castes such as Kashchatriyas and Vaiśyas. Nevertheless, they tell us something about the Kāyasthas, especially the Kāraṇas. There are only a few inscriptive references to the aborigines, and nothing particular about their social life is to be gathered from our epigraphic records. The materials furnished about the social customs of the Hindus also are meagre.

Many inscriptions are religious grants made to priests and temples. Hence they give us information about the different religions such as Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Vaishnavism etc., which existed in Orissa during this period. They enlighten us about the various Śaiva, Vaishnava and Śākta temples, their gods and various types of donations made to them, but we get extremely inadequate materials in our inscriptions about Jainism.

The inscriptions supply very little information about agriculture and trade. Only a few scattered references about the agricultural produces of Orissa are found in them, but they contain the names of various kinds of trees and a few fruits. Some idea about the irrigation also can be formed on the basis of the materials supplied by them. Our records refer to certain articles of trade, and mention a few ports and commercial towns. Some information about industry and craft also can be gleaned from the copper-plates of this period, and we find frequent references to weavers and brewers in them.

Valuable details about the land system and land revenue are provided by our records, which shed light on different types of land tenure, land measure, land grants and land sale. Our inscriptions refer to a number of fiscal terms such as bhoga-bhoga-kara, uparikara, hiranya, pravargikara, kshetramgara, lavanakara, nidhi-upanidhi, hastidanga, ahidanga, bandhadanga etc., many of which are difficult to interpret. They also mention some coins. On the whole the inscriptions of this period form valuable sources of information for drawing a picture of the various aspects of Orissan life during our period.
SECTION II

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

Orissa does not have the good fortune of possessing such books as have been utilised for writing the history of Bengal or of Gujarat or the Madras Coast in the early mediaeval period. One can easily follow the condition of Bengal at the time of the rebellion of the Kaivartas by going through Sandhyākaranandī’s Rāmcharita. The religious beliefs of the contemporary Bengal are known from Jīmūtavāhana’s Kālaviveka, Aniruddha’s Hāralatā, Vallālasena’s Dānasāgara, to mention a few, but such sources are not found in mediaeval Orissa.

The two famous Oriya writers during out period are Satānanda and Indrabhūti. In Satānanda’s Bhāsvatī (A.D. 1099) we get astronomical calculations. This book refers to the use of the words current in Orissa for calculating time and distance. No doubt Satānanda occupies an important place amongst the writers on astronomy, but his work is not of much use for the cultural history of Orissa.

The other writer Indrabhūti has been described as a native of Orissa. He tells us in his Jñānasiddhi (A.D. 717) that he was a native of Uḍḍiyāna. If we take Uḍḍiyāna as Orissa, it would appear that Indrabhūti composed the two books Jñānasiddhi and Kurukullāsadhana. But neither of these books refers to such Buddhist deities or Philosophy as were current in Orissa alone. None can vouchsafe from the Jñānasiddhi that the esoteric Buddhism described in the Jñānasiddhi was not an eastern Indian phenomenon but typical of Orissa alone.

The voluminous chronicle of the Jagannātha temple of Puri called the Madala Pāñji is also not of much help. Of course in the 19th century the Madala Pāñji was considered as a reliable source for the political and cultural history of Orissa by some scholars. European scholars such as Stirling in 1825 and Hunter in 1872 largely drew upon this chronicle for constructing the history of Orissa. The eminent historian R. D. Banerji also could not detect the legendary character

1. At least 23 books are ascribed to Indrabhūti and are preserved in the pages of the Tibetan Tangyur in translation—Sūdhanamālā, II (GOS.), p. li.
of the Madala Pañji. A. B. Mahanti thinks that "from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century the accounts contained in the Madala Pañji are quite true and creditable (Sampurṇastya and viśvāsa yogya 1)." Believing in its authenticity he brought out an edition of the Madala Pañji based on three versions.

Since the publication of the views of Stirling 2 and Hunter, 3 numerous writers have challenged the authenticity of the Madala Pañji. Twenty years after the publication of Hunter's Orissa, M. M. Chakravarti observed that "the work should be deposed from the high pedestal which it now occupies and placed in the proper rank." 4 In 1894–95 Fleet examined the tradition preserved in that Pañji and concluded that it could not have been reduced to its present form before the sixteenth century A.D. 5 Following him, numerous scholars such as R. P. Chanda, B. C. Majumdar, H. K. Mahtab, K. B. Tripathy, P. Acharya, and D. C. Sircar have expressed doubt about the value of the Madala Pañji for the history of the early and later mediaeval Orissa. The last two writers 6 differed from each other on the question of the relation between the Madala Pañji and the Bhaktibhāgavata written by Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadevāchārya in A.D. 1510. D. C. Sircar is of opinion that the priest compilers of Puri did not consult the latter text because while the Madala Pañji does not mention the gold coins of Gajapati Pratapaardadeva (A.D. 1497–1539) and completely omits the activities of Anaṅgabhīma III (A.D. 1211–39), the Eastern Gaṅga monarch is not mentioned in the Bhaktibhāgavata.

The Rajacharita portion of the Madala Pañji has been discarded on several grounds. This Pañji is based on a late tradition current amongst the temple priests regarding the history of three royal families, the later Somavāṁśī, the Eastern Gaṅgas, and the Suryavāṁśī. Although the Pañji claims to trace the history of Orissa from the 6th century A.D. it makes no mention of the Vigrahās, Mānas, Gaudās and

1. JIH., XXXI, p. 236.
4. JASB., Proceedings, 1892, p. 141.
5. Ibid., LXIII, p. 340.
Śailodbhavas. It is almost silent about the Bhauma-Karas, who ruled between the 8th and 11th century A.D. The Pāṇji gives a history of the Kesari dynasty, which did not at all exist in Orissa at any period. It does not even mention the famous king Udyotakesari. Some kings of later Somavāṃśi dynasty ended in Kesari, but it is impossible to agree that the Kesari dynasty ruled between A.D. 474 and A.D. 1132. Again, the queen of Vasukalpakesari is mentioned as Tulāvati, which is a mistake for Kolāvati. Instances of such blunders can be multiplied from the list of Gaṅga kings given in that chronicle. The genealogical table of Gaṅga kings found in the inscriptions are not identical with the list of successive sovereigns mentioned in the Mādalā Pāṇji. The Pāṇji gives the credit of construction of the Jagannātha temple to Anaṅga-bhīma III. But the copper-plates of Nṛsiṃhadeva IV show that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva built that famous temple. Lastly, K. B. Tripathy has rightly raised the question about the original text of the Mādalā Pāṇji. Extracts from the Pāṇji, now preserved in the library of the Utkal University, differ from the printed text published by A. B. Mahanti. Tripathy finds that the copy of the Pāṇji in the Utkal University, which is similar to the one preserved in the house of Pandit Sadāśiva Ratha, is written in two scripts, viz., in proto-Oriya with admixture of early Oriya alphabet and the modern Oriya. Much earlier than Tripathy, D. C. Sircar also posed the same problem. We also find discrepancies in the number of the so-called Kesari kings furnished by scholars and editors working on the Mādalā Pāṇji. In 1822 or 1825 Stirling counted 36 kings, but the latest editor of the Mādalā Pāṇji in 1940 mentions 65 kings. Hence we have sufficient reasons to agree with the view of D. C. Sircar that the Mādalā Pāṇji is exactly similar to the South Indian temple chronicles such as the Maduraittalavaratāru and Śṛtraṅgaṅkoyilōlugu. K. A. Nilakanta Śāstrī thinks that the latter are

1. JASB., LXVII (1898), part I, pp. 328–31 (M. M. Chakravarty).
3. JIH., xxxi, pp. 233 ff.
5. JAS., IV, No. 1 (1962).
“nothing more than a farrago of legends from the earlier times and contain too many inaccuracies and distortions to be used by themselves without the testimony of other more trustworthy sources.” Hence the Madala Pani cannot be relied upon much for the study of the political history of Orissa, but perhaps they can be used with caution for the study of the cultural history of Orissa to which they contain some stray references.

The Puranas such as the Kurma Purana, the Bhumi-khandala of the Padma Purana, the Brhannaradiya Purana, the Brahma Purana, and the Utkal-khandala of the Skanda Purana throw light on religious life in Orissa. According to Dr. Hazra, most of the chapters relating to Orissa in these various Puranas were composed between A. D. 900–1200. 1 The Brahma Purana and the Utkal-khandala of the Skanda Purana give us a detailed history of the holiness of Purushottama Kshetra. But the Brahma Purana also deals with Virja Kshetra, Ekamra Kshetra and Konarka. These Puranas attempt to bring a compromise between the two major religious sects, viz., Saivism and Vaishnavism. In the Brahma Purana we are told that in Harisvara one should not differentiate between Visnu and Mahesvara. 2 Elsewhere it says that the holy Purushottama Kshetra forbids all the wranglings between Saivas and the devotees of Visnu. 3 The same catholic spirit is noticeable in the Ekamra Purana, which sometimes recognises only one God. 4 But this text was compiled by the AgamicPasupatas. Avowedly a Saiva work, it consistently advocates the superiority of faith in the Lingam over all other forms of worship. According to some passages quoted by R. L. Mitra and H. P. Sastri, Brahma was told that Siva was the highest deity. In chapter V Visnu is identified with Siva’s wife, and elsewhere it states that Siva made Narayana as a Kshetrapala. This Purana narrates in great detail a number of legends in connection with the establish-

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1. R. C. Hazra, Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp. 114, 132, 156, 165.
2. Kane, HDS., IV, p. 696, fn 1576a.
3. Ibid.
ment of the principal temples and sacred spots in Bhuvanesvara. It refers to the temples of Brahmašvara, Bhāsakaresvara, Yamešvara, Siddhesvara, Indresvara.

As Ekāmra Purāṇa draws upon the upa-Purāṇas such as the Kalikā Purāṇa, the Byhānārdrādiya and the Ekāmra Chandrika and is quoted in Gadādhara’s Kalasūra, it is likely that it was composed sometime between A.D. 900-1200. From the minute details of Bhuvanesvara given in this Purāṇa it seems undoubted that it was written in Orissa.

Short notices of Jagannātha and Puri are found in the Anaragha Rāghava Nāṭakam written by Krīṣṇa Murāri (assigned to the 9th century A.D. 1), the Prabodhachandrodaya Nāṭakam of Krīṣṇa Miśra (A.D. 1050-70 2), the tāntric literature Rūdrayāmal (A. D. 950-1000 3), and lexicons such as the Abhidhāna Chintāmoṇi of Hemachandra (A. D. 1088-1172) and the Trikāṇḍasēṣha of Purushottama (placed before A. D. 1130 by some scholars 4), the Htndi poem the Prithviṇā Jaya Raso written by Chāndbardāī (about the 12th century A. D.) 5 etc.

The Mānasollāsa written by Someśvara III (A. D. 1127-38) constitutes an important source of information regarding the industries and agriculture of Orissa.

There are a few references to the religious and economic life of the people of early mediaeval Orissa in the account of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who paid a visit to this land in the 7th century A.D. Though his records relating to the state are short, they are of great value for different religious sects, agriculture and trade.

Thus inscriptions, literature and foreign accounts give us glimpses of the life and conditions of the people of early mediaeval Orissa. But these sources do not supply us full information on all aspects of Orissan life during the period under survey. Moreover, the relative value of the sources differs, and of all these inscriptions have been the most useful for purpose.

1. OHRJ., II, Nos. 3+4, p. 71.
2. Ibid., VI, No. 4, p. 298.
3. Ibid., III, No. 1, p. 11.
4. Ibid., II, Nos. 3+4, p. 65.
5. Ibid., III, No. 1, pp. 18-19.
CHAPTER II
ADMINISTRATION
SECTION I
ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Kaliṅga in its wider sense included not only the area now known as Orissa but also considerable portions of the Central Provinces and northern Madras. ¹

Orissa was divided into four parts, viz., (1) Odra or north Utkala, (2) Koṅgoda, (3) Kaliṅga, and (4) south Kośala during the period under survey.

For the purpose of civil administration, the kingdom was usually divided into a number of smaller administrative units, as appears from the land-grants of the several dynasties ruling in Orissa during this period. These administrative units were differently known as maṇḍala, bhukti, vishaya, pañchāli, bhoga, khaṇḍa pūṭaka, grāmo etc.

In the inscriptions of Šailodbhatas, the following territorial divisions are mentioned:

(1) Maṇḍala, e.g., Koṅgoda maṇḍala
(2) Bhukti, e.g., Kaṭaka bhukti
(3) Vishaya, e.g., Vartini vishaya
(4) Pūṭaka, e.g., Matṛichandra pūṭaka

It is difficult to determine the nature and size of these divisions.

In Orissa during this period maṇḍala seems to be the largest territorial division corresponding to a province under different dynasties, excluding the Gaṅga dynasty. The next lower administrative unit was bhukti. We come across this term only in two plates, the Parikud plates ² of Madhyaama-rājadeva dated A. D. 694 issued from the Koṅgoda maṇḍala and the Santhabomvale plates ³ dated the 9th to 10th A. D.

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¹ DHNI., p. 392.
² ET., XI, pp. 281 ff.
³ JAHRS., II, pp. 188 ff.
Hence it indicates that it was not much in use in Orissa. It is difficult to form a correct idea about the extent of a bhukti in relation to other territorial divisions. Altekar rightly says that it was of the size of the commissioner's division in modern times.\(^1\) Vishaya seems to be the territorial division corresponding to a modern district. This term was current over a very wide area embracing Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Oḍra and Kośala. Paṭaka was probably a subdivision or talukā. Very few paṭakas are, however, mentioned in our records. A slightly different term named pāṭhaka, which probably corresponds to pāṭaka, was prevalent in Gujarat and Khandesh.\(^2\) In the Paramāra\(^3\) and Gāhaḍavāla\(^4\) states also we come across the denomination pāṭhaka. It is remarkable that in Orissa come vishayas were large enough to correspond to modern divisions. In the Soro plate of Somadatta, we find that Sarephāhare vishaya was a part of Odra vishaya, which was a part of Uttara Tosali.\(^5\)

In the Gaṅga inscriptions we come across the terms mahā-
maṇḍala, maṇḍala, bhukti, vishaya, paṅchāli, bhoga, rāṣṭra etc. We may note the terms Sada maṇḍala, Phareya bhukti, Tirikatū vishaya, Pushyagiri paṅchāli, Bhilinga bhoga, Kuraka rāṣṭra etc.

Mahāmaṇḍala was the largest administrative unit under the Gaṅgas. It is not found under the other dynasties of Orissa during this period. This was because the Gaṅga empire was larger in extent than that of others. The unit was placed under the mahāmaṇḍalesvara,\(^6\) who is wrongly compared to the Governor General of British days by H. K. Mahtab.\(^7\) Each mahāmaṇḍala was divided into a number of maṇḍalas or provinces placed under the control of a rāṅaka or moṇḍalika and was subdivided into a number of bhuktis or vishayas. The head of bhukti was uparika and that of vishaya was vishayapati. In the Bengal inscriptions the term bhukti was

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2. V. V. Mirashi, CII., IV, part I, p. cxxxv.
4. HGD., p. 127.
5. IO., I, part II, p. 140.
6. SIL., VI, No. 829.
most probably applied to administrative units bigger than those we find in Orissa.

The terms bhoga and pañchālī were applied to some territorial divisions which were probably smaller in extent than the vishaya. Bhogas are found in other parts of the country, but the pañchālī was typical of Orissa. We meet with a term panchela in the Chandella inscriptions, in which it was a unit comprising five villages. It is possible that pañchālī also indicated a group of 5 villages like panchela.

The term rāṣṭra is mentioned in the Purle plates of Indravarman, where it is used evidently in the sense of a smaller territorial division such as vishaya, a sense in which it is also used in the Rāṣṭrakūta inscriptions. Another term khanda finds mentioned in Śulki inscriptions and appears to have been a small territorial unit like bhoga corresponding to a tāluka.

The village was, of course, the smallest territorial division. Each village had a number of hamlets attached to it and subject to its control. Villages granted to Brāhmaṇas were known as agrahāras. For instance a piece of land at the village of Höndevalla was constituted into an agrahāra as mentioned in the Urmal plate of Hastivarman (A. D. 574), and villages granted to gods or goddesses for worship and offerings were known as devagrahāras as referred to in the copper-plate of Anantavarman Choḍaganagadeva. It is remarkable that villages were granted to Vaiśyas also in Orissa during this period and were known as Vaiśyagrahāras. For example three villages in the Gaṅga dominion were constituted into a Vaiśyagrahāra as stated in a copper plate of Madhu Kāmārṇava. This is a typical grant in Orissa not to be seen anywhere else during this period.

1. V. V. Mirashi, CII, IV, part I, p. cxxxiv.
3. EI., XIV, pp. 361 ff.
We may, therefore, arrange the territorial divisions in the following descending order:

1. Mahāmanḍala ... Great province
2. Manḍala ... Province
3. Bhukti ... Division
4. Vishaya ... Division (Some big vishayas)
5. Vishaya ... District
6. Raśhtra ... District
7. Pañchāli ... Subdivision
8. Bhoga or Khaṇḍa ... Tālukā
9. Grōma ... Village

Besides there were nagaras or cities and puras or towns. Kaliṅganagara, which contained the royal residence, was a city, while Bhogapura, Dantapura, Siṁhapura, Pishṭapura etc. were all towns where the provincial or district heads resided.

On the basis of inscriptions we have prepared a list of the names of various administrative units in Orissa, but we are not sure whether these units existed throughout the whole of our period.

**Maṇḍalas**

1. Koṅgoda
2. Kodālaka
3. Raḍhā
4. Sodā
5. Airāvaṭṭa
6. Yamagartta
7. Khiṅga
8. Khiṅjalī
9. Samvaravādi
10. Ganuṭapāta
11. Giḍāṇḍa

**Bhuktis**

1. Phareya
2. Vyāghrapura
3. Kaṭaka
4. Sāmanta

**Vishayas:**

1. Kṛṣṇagiri
2. Thoraṇa
3. Guḍḍa
4. Devagrāma
5. Jayapura
6. Khiṅgahāra
7. Śrīrājatilaka
8. Tanekhaṇḍrā
9. Varttiṇī
10. Pūrva
11. Koḍāla
12. Kahāśṭīṅga
13. Karaḍāśīṅga
14. Poṭoḍā
15. Khembai
16. Rūpyavatī
17. Devadāmadavam
18. Tirikatu
19. Pushkariṇī
20. Lohasrīṅga
21. Varāha-Varttinī
22. Kestoına
23. Krṣṇamatamva
24. Kanṭaka-Varttinī
25. Ramjumara
26. Gālela
27. Kolu-Varttinī
28. Varakaṭṭa
29. Murrāpaka
30. Erada
31. Vepūrā
32. Sammaga
33. Nayaṇḍi
34. Homva
35. Auḍadāśṭīṅga
36. Janora
37. Jalamvora
38. Hemva Kamaṭamva
39. Hallamvara
40. Jayaḍā
41. Arttani
42. Venḍumga
43. Oḍra
44. Tunkerā
45. Tosala
46. Talamura
47. Vibhyudaya
48. Pāṅchāla
49. Khāṭiyā
50. Royarā
51. Korandia
52. Devakuṇḍa
53. Ramalavva
54. Taḍisama
55. Vodā
56. Koṇṭarā-Vaṅga
57. Thihiṇa
58. Sidхаīmbā
59. Khīṇjaliya-gaḍa
60. Tullāsidyā
61. Oṅgataṭa
62. Potā
63. Kasaloḍa
64. Povā
65. Sandānā
66. Bharaṇḍa
67. Sanūḷā or Sauṛtā
68. Maraḍa
69. Telāṭatta
70. Uttaravalli

Pañchālī
1. Dāgha
2. Deva
3. Korosoṭaka
4. Pushyagiri
5. Chikhali

Bhogas
1. Boṅkhāra
2. Bhiliṅgā
3. Mahendra
4. Hāmanī
5. Devī

Paṭakas
1. Guheśvara
2. Maṭchandra
3. Śubheśvara
4. Paṭjavāda
5. Khadira

Khaṇḍas
1. Paḍani
2. Lupattaraṇa
3. Santovardā
4. Machāda
5. Varadā
6. Ulo
Villages : ( Names of some of the villages as known from the inscriptions of our period ).

1. Chhavala
2. Rahanṣa
3. Kumbhārachh
4. Puipiṇa
5. Āṁba
6. Sā ( Ma ) la
7. Tamataḍā
8. Nivina
9. Śiva vivāsa
10. Usta-Vāṭaka
11. Madhu-Vāṭaka
12. Suvarṇaraloṇḍi
13. Dongī
14. Koṇḍedde
15. Endumara
16. Tendami
17. Soka
18. Muttarila
19. Murṣāpaka
20. Paunduru
21. Tala Cheruvu
22. Jaudirām
23. Varakaṭṭa
24. Varāva
25. Tānta
26. Rāka
27. Samsoka
28. Kaṇḍchavaram ( modern name Kaṇḍcharām )
29. Vimina
30. Tandaka
31. Somiyaya
32. Lankaraya
33. Nemi
34. Kalvarāyi
35. Hanmamgarika
36. Muringa
37. Varāta
38. Vanjarām ( modern name too Vanjarām )
39. Rega ( modern name Pusapāti Rega )
40. Jamva ( modern name Jāmi )
41. Bāṭareva
42. Gāra
43. Talatthira
44. Hemaśīṅga
45. Taṭapura
46. Vasantapura
47. Phumpalli
48. Soma-Vāṭaka
49. Dhāra-Vāṭaka
50. Sumangura
51. Supuchiru
52. Saptaparṇa
53. Vakratentalī
54. Vakaveḍḍa
55. Pāṣitalā
56. Māranja
57. Miorā
58. Talakajja
59. Chāndagrama
60. Delādelī
61. Luttarumā
62. Villa
63. Garasāmbhā
64. Toro
65. Vamaśitallo
66. Konateṅthi
67. Vāllāśīṅga
68. Timanḍīrā
69. Konkola
70. Jambūpadraka
71. Prasanna
72. Brāhmaṇavastī
73. Mācchaḍagrama
74. Rātāṅga
75. Mūlamāchāḍa
76. Komyāna
77. Tāsapaikerā
78. Kolamponka
79. Paḍāra
80. Īnḍeṅṛā
81. Rāhiyavaḍa
82. Vaṅiggotrā
83. Seḍāgrāma
84. Paviṣa
85. Vuravuḍā etc.

SECTION II

ROYAL SUCCESSION

Monarchy was the normal form of the government in Orissa during our period. Neither contemporary literature nor inscriptions nor foreign travellers' accounts disclose the existence of a non-monarchical form of government anywhere in Orissa during the period under review.

Kingship was hereditary. In the inscriptions the successor usually refers to himself as "meditating on the feet of his predecessor." Usually we do not come accross election of a king in Orissa during the period except one. The Māraṇjumara charter 1 of Yayāti II, issued in his third regnal year, reveals that the countries of Kaliṅga, Utkala and Koṅgoda voluntarily chose him to be their ruler. The clear implication of it is that there was some serious internal trouble in Trikaliṅga country before the accession of Yayāti in the middle of the 10th century A.D., and this led to his election. The term used here is "Kaliṅga Koṅgadotkalaka Koṣala Svayamvaraḥ Prasiddha", which has been as election by ministers.

Feudatories also had sometimes a determining voice in matters of succession. Tribhuvana Mahādevi 2 is said to have been requested by the feudatories to assume the reins of government in A.D. 726. But normally in our period the crown passed to the eldest son.

The advice of the Smṛtis that an heir-apparent should be selected in the lifetime of the ruling king was usually followed. Thus although Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva ruled till A.D. 1148, his son Kāmārṇava 3 was appointed in A.D. 1142.

1. JBORS., II, pp. 52-53.
2. EL, XXIX, part III, p. 82.
3. Ibid., XXXI, part II, p. 49.
If the king had no son and he was old, sometimes the younger brother was made the Yuvarāja (crown-prince). The Megheśvara inscription at Bhuvaṇēśvara¹ states that when the middle-aged king Rājarāja II (A.D. 1170–1194) came to the throne, he installed his younger brother Anāṅgabhīma on the throne to help him in his old age in governing the empire,² for he had no sons. We also find references to the practice of relinquishing the throne by the sitting monarch in favour of his relative and the Yuvarāja. When her grandson Loṇabhāra I (Gayāḍa II) attained majority, Gosvāminīdevī (Tribhuvana Mahādevī I) retired, making over the charge of the kingdom to him ³ (probably in the 8th century A.D.).

The Yuvarāja held a very high political status in the kingdom. He used to help the king in the administration of the kingdom. We find him exercising the royal prerogative of granting villages.⁴ Junior princes were often appointed to govern provinces. Rājarāja had a younger son who was appointed as a provincial governor by Anantavarman Chōḍa-gaṅgadeva.⁵

When the king was a minor, usually a relative, either male or female, was appointed to act as the regent. During the minority of her son’s son, Sāntikara II, Tribhuvana Mahādevī ruled the Bhausma-Kara kingdom for some years.⁶

Under the Bhausma-Kara rule in Orissa women played a very important part in administration. We find that several queens assumed the reins of administration in the absence of male heirs. From the Taltali plate ⁷ of Dharmamahādevī we know that after the death of her husband (i.e., Sāntikara III), his brother Subhākara IV became king. On the latter’s death the throne passed successively into the hands of the female members of the family, presumably in the absence of male heirs, i.e., to (1) Subhākara IV’s queen Gaurīmahādevī,

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¹ Ibid., VI, pp. 198–203.
² Ibid.
⁴ Ibid., XXXII, part V, pp. 204–6.
⁵ JAHRS., VI, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 216.
⁶ EL., XXVIII, part V, p. 213.
⁷ IHQ., XXI, p. 216.
(2) her daughter Daṇḍīmahādevī, (3) the latter's step-mother Vakulamahādevī, and lastly to Dharmamahādevī. Thus it clearly shows that in Orissa women played a very important and predominant part in the body politic. It further points to the unpopularity of the institution of adoption in Orissa during this period.

SECTION III

TITLES OF KINGS

The inscriptions contain a series of titles used by the rulers of different dynasties. We can begin with those of the Šailodbhaṇa kings. Their titles are paramamāheśvara, mātāpiṭkpadānudhyāta, paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajaṭādhirāja, sakalakaṇṭādhipati, etc. Thus Dharmarājadeva is called paramamaheśvara-mātāpiṭkpadānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajaṭādhirāja. But these titles except sakalakaṇṭādhipati are almost universal and may be explained one by one.

Paramamāheśvara means the devout worshipper of Śiva and is a Śaiva sectarian title. The monarch wants to show that he is a great devotee of Śiva. Mātāpiṭkpadānudhyāta literally means meditating on the feet of parents and seems to be a technical expression for the relation of a feudatory with his paramount sovereign. But the same term is used to indicate feelings of reverence towards parents also. Paramabhaṭṭāraka means the most worshipful one, and is a technical title to express paramount sovereignty. Maharajajadhiraṇa literally means the king of great king, which presupposes that the great king enjoyed the allegiance of smaller chiefs. While these epithets appear in the case of many North Indian kings, the title sakalakaṇṭādhipati was typical of the rulers of Orissa. It meant literally the lord of whole Kalinga. After the death of his overlord Saśāṅka, Mādhavarāja declared himself as sakalakaṇṭādhipati or the lord of whole Kalinga in his Khurda plates. But in his subsequent grants he never used this glorious title for a second time. The title was also used by the Gaṅga rulers.

2. IO., I, part II, p. 163.
3. Ibid., II, part I, pp. 182, 313.
Besides these titles, the Śailodbhava kings used certain titles which are not to be met with under other dynasties of Orissa during this period, viz., mahāmakha-vājapeyasvamedhāva-bhrthasañā纳irvartitapradhyāta kirtti. These are indicative of the fact that the Śailodbhava rulers performed the vājapeya and aśvamedha sacrifices and had become the paramount rulers of Kaliṅga by subduing vassal kings. It is remarkable that the early Śailodbhava kings assumed humble feudatory titles of mahārāja and mahāsōmanta, which clearly indicate that the early Śailodbhava kings were not independent and sovereign rulers.

The Bhauma-Kara, Somavamsī and Gaṅga rulers usually assumed the titles, paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahāraja-dhirāja-parameśvara, which were intended to assert their authority over lesser kings. These titles used (by the Orissa monarchs) were evidently on the model of the Imperial Guptas, with the difference that the kings in Orissa did not enjoy the authority and the same extent of territories as the Guptas did.

The Gaṅga inscriptions contain certain new titles such as rājaśīhā (lion of kings) and raṇabhīta (fearless in battles), which are first applied to Hastivarman ² in A.D. 574. They reveal that Hastivarman held complete sway over the whole of the Kaliṅga country. H. K. Mahtab says that perhaps Hastivarman defeated the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta and commemorated this victory by assuming the title raṇabhīta.³ The Śailodbhava titles generally ended with bhīta such as Sainyabhīta I alias Mādhavarāja, Ayaśobhīta II alias Madhyamarāja I, Dharmarāja alias Mānabhīta, etc. So it seems probable that Hastivarman may have adopted this title acquiring it from the defeated Śailodbhavas. No kings of the Gaṅga dynasty ever used this title of raṇabhīta after him, though the other title rājaśīhā was used by one more Gaṅga king Indravarman II (A.D. 580–595).

We come across another new titles, rājaśīhāraja-raṇapurameśvara paramabhaṭṭaraka paramavallīnava assumed by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅgadeva in the Vizagapatam copper-plates.⁴

². JAHRS., VI, part II, p. 76.
³. Mahtab, HO., I, p. 120.
⁴. IA., XVIII, p. 169.
These are old titles with slight modification, but we can take note of paramavaliṣṇava, which means a devout follower of Viṣṇu.

The Bhauma-Kara inscriptions use some new epithets as paramasaugata and paramatatāhogata, which are Buddhist sectarian titles and mean devout worshippers of the Buddha.

The most remarkable royal title in the Somavaiṣṇī and Gaṅga inscriptions is trikalīṅgādhvipati, also found in the eulogies of the kings of Kalachuri-Chedi dynasty. There is a good deal of controversy over the precise meaning of this epithet. According to B. Misra, ¹ trikalīṅgādhipati meant the overlord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala. But according to G. Ramdas, “Trikaliṅga means high or elevated hilly Kaliṅga and signified in those days the region of the eastern ghāts from the upper course of the Mahānadi to about the course of the Languliya river in the south. It cannot be understood to signify the country occupied by the Kaliṅga proper, Koṅgoda and Orissa, nor does the affix “tri” mean three. Researches with regard to the meaning of this “tri” will certainly show that it was used in the sense of “high” not only in the vedas but ever in some words found in Sanskrit literature and Prākrit dialects.” ² Thus he shows that the title trikalīṅgādhipati meant the lord of high or hilly Kaliṅga.

D. C. Sircar points out that Trikaliṅga may have comprised a tract of land between South Kośala and Kaliṅga and possibly included the present Sambalpur region. ³ According to R. C. Majumdar, ⁴ Trikaliṅga was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kaliṅga. He has drawn attention to some passages in which Trikaliṅga has been coupled with Vengi.

Rath suggests that at the time of Somavaiṣṇī king Mahābhavagupta, Trikaliṅga meant Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Odra. At the time of the Gaṅga king Indravarman it indicated Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Tosalī and at the time of Somavaiṣṇī
King Yayāti II it indicated Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala. Thus his view very much tallies with that of B. Misra.

But in our opinion the view of B. Misra does not seem to be correct. G. Ramdas’s argument seems to be more convincing and probable. Inscriptions show that Trikaliṅga did not include Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala. The Māraṇjāmura grant of the Somavamśi king Mahāśīvagupta describes him as the chosen lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kośala, and further as the lord of Trikaliṅga which he conquered with his own army. This makes it clear as pointed out by V. V. Mirashi that Trikaliṅga was different from the other countries named in it, that is, from Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kośala.

Further we see that about more than 500 years before the accession of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III (A. D. 1037–70), other two Gaṅga rulers named Mahārāja Indravarman (A. D. 520–59) and Mahārāja Mahāsāmantavarman (A. D. 561–62) assumed this title of trikaliṅgādhipati. Of these two the latter clearly seems to be a feudatory chief, as is evident from the very name Mahāsāmant. Had be been the lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala according to his title trikaliṅgādhipati, he would not have been a feudatory chief with the title mahārāja. It thus proves that trikaliṅgādhipati did not indicate the lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala as suggested by B. Misra. It may mean the lord of high or hilly Kaliṅga as pointed out by G. Ramdas or the hilly tract lying west of it, as held by R. C. Majumdar. But even if this term is applied to the hilly tract, we fail to understand why the word Trikaliṅga, three Kaliṅgas, should be used for it.

SECTION IV

DUTIES OF THE KING

From a study of the mass of inscriptions, it is perceptible that kings of Orissa during this period did not assert their

1. IHQ., XXX, p. 364.
2. JBORS., II, pp. 45 ff.
3. V. V. Mirashi, CHI., IV, part I, p. c, fn. 6.
4. IO., II, part I, p. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 10.
sovereignty only but were also conscious of their duties and responsibilities to their kingdom and their subjects. The Bambanghadi grant of Rajabhaṅjadeva mentions that he was ever attentive to the government of his realm and intent on his duties in works of peace like the king Yudhishthira. 1 This shows that it was considered the duty of Orissan monarchs to promote the general happiness of the people by attending to the affairs of the state. According to the Viṣṇu Dharmasāstra, one who digs a well for the public is saved from the fruit of half his sins, when the water has begun to flow forth. 2 There are several references to the construction of tanks, wells, bridges and roads. The famous bridge Atharavata near Puri on the Jagannātha road was constructed by a Kesāri king, Matsyakesari. 3

The kings performed religious duties. Most of them were religious-minded, and for the sake of the spread of religion they founded a number of temples and endowed them richly with gifts of land and money. Several Brāhmaṇas of distant places were encouraged by means of land grants to settle in Orissa for the spread of Vedic culture. The Korni grant 4 of A.D. 1081 records the gift of the village of Khonna by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍaganaṅgadeva to 300 Brahmaṇas, who were well-versed in yajñādi śatkarma (six religious rites).

Kings participated in religious rites and discussed religious doctrines. The Puri plates of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja mention that he sometimes discussed religious doctrines with the Brāhmaṇas. 5 Madhyamarājadeva 6 and Dharmarāja 7 of the Śailodbhava dynasty performed the mahāyajñas such as aśvamedha and vājapeya, as is evident from their titles maha- makhā vājapeyāsvamedhāvahṛtha snānirvartita.

1. JASB., XL, p. 169.
2. Ch. 91, 1–2; HDG., II, part II, p. 890.
3. JBORS., XIV, p. 303.
4. JAIBRS., VII, No. 1, p. 61.
5. JBORS., XVI, p. 184.
7. Ibid., p. 220.
ADMINISTRATION

The writers of legal texts enjoin the king to undertake tours of inspection to check administrative corruption and guard against oppressive officials. The duty prescribed by them was carried out by the Orissa rulers. Thus the charters were issued when they were on tour in various parts of their kingdom. Sāmantavarman, while camping at Śrīnivāsa, gave the village Pratishtāpura in the Dāghapañchāli vishaya to four Brāhmaṇas; Yajñaśarman, Gauriśarman, Agniśarman and Umaśarman. Dharmarāja, when camping at Kanakontala, gave the village Śiva-vivāsa in the Śrīrājatilaka vishaya to Bhaṭṭa Subhadeva, and from his camp at Vijaya Mātṛi-chandrapāṭaka he gave the village Usavāṭaka in Tanekaṇḍra vishaya, a land extending to five timpiras to Bhaṭṭa Trilochanasvāmin. Thus many more instances may be produced.

Further, they tried to enforce the Varnāśrama Dharma, which was the basis of the Hindu social polity. Each caste was to pursue its occupation and not compete with other professions. In the Teryndia plate dated A.D. 706 Śubhākara II claims to have established the order of the Varnāśrama in its golden age purity in strict conformity with the holy scriptures. Inasmuch as the ruler was himself a follower of Buddhism, it clearly indicates that the king did not allow his religious profession to influence the policy of the state, which was based on time-honoured precepts and conventions. Again the Jayapura copper-plate grant of the Nanda king Dhruvānandadeva states that he placed all the four castes in the positions they deserved and made them discharge their duties properly. Many other examples may be cited.

Promotion of trade and commerce also received royal attention. By means of gifts Vaiśyas were encouraged to come and settle in the state, probably to develop internal and foreign trade. From the fourth grant of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta V, recently published under the heading Chikkālavalasala plates,

1. Śukranṭti I, V, 374.
2. IO., II, part I, p. 10.
it is known that the king made a gift of the village of Kuddama to a Vaiśya named Mallapasreshti, son of Somanasreshti. This is the second instance of the Gaṅga kings making gifts to Vaiśyas, the first being that of Madhukāmārṇava. Such land grants to Vaiśyas are not found elsewhere.

Further some kings helped the people in distress and need. The Nagari plates of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III state that heaps of gold were granted by him to people in distress. Similarly, the Gajam plates of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja mention that his wealth was enjoyed by the distressed, helpless, poor and mendicants. Charitable houses (satra) were maintained by the state, as is shown by the Chicocole plates of Madhukāmārṇava belonging to the Gaṅga dynasty.

We find references to grants made for providing garments and medicines to mendicants, and for food and clothing to Brāhmanaṇas. It would appear that the king kept some reserve to meet contingencies such as famine, pestilence and war. This is proved by the existence of an officer called Mulabhaṅgaḍāramuḷa-Mudrāhasta (officer handling the seal of the Reserve Treasury).

The Orissan records, like the Chandella records, are silent about the judicial functions of the king. It is just possible that the usual judicial duties of the Indian monarchs were also discharged by the kings of Orissa during this period.

Another royal duty was to promote education and arts. It was always regarded the duty of Hindu monarchs to support learned Brāhmaṇas, to donate land to educational institutions and advance learning. We find numerous instances of the practical application of these ideas in Orissa during this period. The Bhauma-Kara king Subhākara II granted land for the upkeep of the mathas and mandapas established by the Brāhmaṇas in the native villages.

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1. Jahrs., VI, parts 3 & 4, p. 204.
2. El., XXVIII, part VI, p. 252.
4. Ibid., II, part I, p. 176, 1. 28.
5. El., XXIX, part VII, p. 211.
6. Ibid., XXVIII, part V, p. 216, 1. 21.
Sircar suggests that the words *mathas* and *mandapas* appear to mean here respectively a college and a public building. The Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvanmahadevi record that she made land grant to a Brähmana named Jagaddhara who was a student of Kaṇva Śākhā of the white Yajurveda. Again the Ganjām plates of the Gaṅga king Pṛthivivarmadeva state that he granted land to the bhattaputra Subhamākara of Vatsa gotra, who was a student of the Vājasaneyya Veda. Several such instances may be produced to show that the king patronised education.

The Orissan rulers extended the most generous patronage of art and architecture. Their greatness is attested by the magnificent temples and sculptures at Puri, Bhuvanesvara and Jajpur.

Thus royal duties were confined not only to the expansion of the state and preservation of peace but also extended to social, economic, religious and cultural affairs.

**SECTION V**

**POWERS OF THE KING**

The king seems to have exercised considerable power. He appointed viceroy, governors, ministers and important civil and military officers. The Gaṅga emperor Anaṅgabhīma-deva II appointed Govinda as the Prime Minister to bear the burden of the whole empire.

The king usually conferred titles and other distinctions such as *pāṇchamahāsūbda* upon officers and feudal vassala in recognition of their meritorious services, as is evident from various inscriptions of our period. The king stood at the head of the feudal hierarchy. He is often described as having his feet worshipped by dependent princes, who are mentioned in the official grants of almost all the dynasties of Orissa.

Royal consent was necessary for the alienation of villages either by the feudal chieftain or by the *Yuvarāja*. The Bada-

1. Ibid., p. 214.
2. JBORS., II, p. 423.
3. EL., IV, p. 199.
4. OHRJ., II, Nos. 3 & 4., p. 54.
khimedi plates¹ of Jayavarman state that Unmaṭṭakesarī ordered Jayavarman alias rūnaka Vishavāruṇava to record the grant of a village in favour of Nannaṭa Mahattara.

The king was also the commander-in-chief of the army and himself led important expeditions. The Gaṅga king Rājarāja II seems to have set out on several expeditions to subdue his enemies, who are, however, not specified.² In theory the king’s power was unfettered, but in practice there were several checks. These checks were of a different nature than those to which we are accustomed in the present age. Effects of careful and proper education, supremacy of established customs and usages in the realm of law, division of power with a ministry, and existence of powerful and privileged feudatories tended to limit the absolutism of the king. The princes were imparted such education as to make them self-controlled, learned, liberal, religious, impartial, and brave. Princes brought up in such traditions may have tried to maintain the high ideals in the realm of administration. Our epigraphic records give a glowing description of the attractive qualities and other merits of the reigning kings and their ancestors. The Jayapura copper-plates state that the Nanda king Dhruvānandadeva and certain inborn qualities as truthfulness charity, family-pride and politeness. He fulfilled all the desires of his friends and was agreeable to the good and fond of giving redress.³ The Gaṅga records show that Kāmārṇava was the abode of such noble qualities as justice, charity, mercy, valour, grandeur, truth and self-sacrifice.⁴ There may be some exaggeration in the description of the kings given by their panegyrists, but it undoubtedly indicates the ideal set forth before them.

The king could not rule arbitrarily by means of harsh and unjust laws because his powers were limited. He was enjoined to rule and administer justice according to the civil and criminal laws laid down in the Smṛtis. In ancient times when there was the supremacy of established customs and usages, few kings could have dared to defy it. Moreover,

1. IO., II, part I, p. 259, l. 7.
2. JAHRS., VII, part III, p. 186.
3. JBOŘS., XVI, p. 466, 1. 21.
4. JAHRS., IX, part III, p. 25.
ministers whose counsel the king was enjoined to take, must have exercised influence in controlling his arbitrary actions. The existence of powerful feudatories with considerable privileges, as known from several inscriptions of our period, must also have curtailed the royal power.

SECTION VI

THE MINISTERS

In mediaeval Orissa ministers were important and influential members of the Government. Sādhāraṇa, the mantritilaka or the chief minister of Somavāṃśi king Mahābhavagupta I, was an influential member of the government. The verses in the Kālibhanā copper-blate inscription 1 extol him as an able, administrator who shared to a considerable extent the burden of administration of his master. Chhichchhatisa, the foreign minister of another Somavāṃśi king Mahāśivagupta, was also on important personage in the state who is praised by the king himself. We are told that he could carry the heavy burden of the state by his intelligence without any difficulty. 2 He always held diplomacy and prowess as his intimate friends. Again, Govinda, the chief minister of Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma II, is stated to have played a conspicuous part in the expansion of the Orissa empire in the north, west and south. 3 In verse 12 of the Châteśvara temple inscription belonging to a time slightly later than our period, Viṣṇu, the chief minister of Anaṅgabīma III, is described as a second Viṣṇu, whose fame unified the empire of the lord of Trikaliṅga. 4 The whole inscription gives the impression that Viṣṇu was that type of a diwāna or chief minister who is all in all in a state while its ruler or chief acts as a mere figurehead.

In emergencies ministers wielded considerable powers; sometimes they even placed their nominee from amongst the members of the royal family on the throne. The Brah-

1. IHQ., XX, p. 250.
3. OHRJ., II, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 54.
4. JASB., LXVII, P. 321.
meśvara inscription \(^1\) states that Chaṇḍihāra (Yayāti II), son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravīra, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janamejaya, was installed on the throne of South Kośala and Utkala in the middle of the 10th century A. D. by all ministers evidently in the troubled situation.

Our records do not throw much light on the qualifications of ministers. The Chateśvara temple inscription, however, shows that ministers were expected to be learned and well-versed in Vedas. \(^2\) Some of the them such as Sādhāraṇa, the chief minister of Mahābhavagupta I, were learned and proficient in the Vedic lore. \(^3\) Another minister Govinda was also a sound scholar. The Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhima-deva II pays glowing tributes to his great qualities in these words. \(^4\)

"Govinda, who was superior to other Brāhmaṇas, took his birth in the Vatsa gotra. The Vedas voluntarily served him, i.e., he obtained a great proficiency in the study of the Vedas."

Military ability may also have been one of the qualifications of ministers. We find a number of ministers of the Gaṅga rulers who participated in warfare such as Banapati, Govinda, Viṣṇu etc. Further experience may also have been another qualification. The Chandella ministers possessed the qualities of learning, experience, power of judgement and capacity for leadership. \(^5\) The Orissan ministers also may have been required to possess all these attributes.

We find certain instances of hereditary appointment of ministers also in Orissa during this period. Malladatta, who was the son of Dhāradatta, served the Somavāsin ruler, Mahābhavagupta I from the sixth to the 31st year of his reign.

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1. Ibid., VII, p. 559 = Dhanyābhīmānuritiyabalaśabdhagopeśaśaḥ Svātāḥ Śrī Chaṇḍihāra ityabhūmaraṇaśaḥ sarvairamaṇaśaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ.
2. EI., XXIX, part V, p. 126.
3. IHQ., XX, p. 250.
4. OHRJ., 11, p. 64.
Malladatta was succeeded in the office by second Dhāradatta who was probably his son. ¹

Ministers were not people’s representatives but appointed by the king on the basis of merit. So from the constitutional point of view they held their tenure at the royal pleasure. However, we get no cases of removal of a minister in our records.

Some of the ministers belonged to the hierarchy of feudal chiefs. The Kālibhanā grant of Mahābhavagupta I shows that his foreign minister Dhāradatta was a Sāmanta. ² Chārudatta, foreign minister of Mahāśīvagupta, was a rāṇaka. ³ The mahāsandhivigrahaṇa mentioned in the Badakhimedi plates of the Gaṅga king Jayavarman was also a sāmanta. ⁴ It is not possible to state whether the king had to install a particular influential person holding a high feudatory rank as his minister or being pleased with a particular minister the king granted him a feudatory rank.

Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas were appointed as ministers. Sādhārana (the chief minister of the Somavāṃśī king Mahābhavagupta I), Banapati (the minister of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja), Govinda (the chief minister of the Gaṅga king Aṇāṅgbhīmā II) and Viṣṇu (the chief minister of Aṇāṅgbhīmā III) were all Brāhmaṇas. But Yasodatta, the foreign minister of the Nanda king Devānanda III, was a Kāyastha. ⁵ Malladatta, the Mahāsandhivigrahaṇa, was also a Kāyastha. ⁶ Vachchhapaya, the minister of the feudatory lord Dārarāja, was also a Kāyastha. ⁷

Consultations with the ministry before deciding upon a particular policy are not referred to in our inscriptions because copper-plate grants are not treatises on constitutional theory and practice. But it is reasonable to think that ministers were consulted by the kings.

1. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 146.
2. IHQ, XX, p. 250.
5. EI, XXIX, part VI, p. 189.
6. Ibid., VIII, p. 143.
7. Ibid., p. 224.
Military duties were one of the principal obligations of ministers. They often used to take a leading part in the warfare of the times. The Dirghasi stone inscription (A.D. 1075) states that Banapati, the Brähmana minister, commander and chamberlain of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja, conquered Veṅgi, Kimidi, Kosala, Girising and Oḍḍadesa Govinda, to whom we have already referred, was also the commander-in-chief. Viṣṇu, the chief minister of Anaṅgabhīma III, fought with the Muslim king heroically.

We have very little information about the actual strength of the ministry and the various portfolios of its members. Divergent views were held by the authors of the Smṛtis and the Arthasastra about the number of ministers. According to Manu, the king should have seven or eight members. Somadeva says that the departments entrusted to the ministers were those of revenue, expenditure, protection of the king's person and the army. According to an epigraph, the number of the Gaṅga ministry was sixteen. Even if it were true, the number would be too large for a kingdom such as that of the Gaṅgas. It is very difficult to say anything definite about the actual strength of the ministry in Orissa during this period.

There seems to have been the post of a chief minister or adviser. The Cuttack copper-plate grant of the Somavainśī king Mahābhavagupta I mentions that Sādhāraṇa was his mantritilaka the term mantritilaka used here probably means a chief minister. Besides the chief minister, there used to be other ministers in charge of various departments, as the word sakalamantrimandalamātya found mentioned in a Gaṅga inscription indicates. We often come across the title of

1. Ibid., IV, p. 316.
2. OHRJ., II, p. 54.
3. JASB., LXVII, p. 322.
4. MŚM., VII, V. 54.
5. NVA., XVIII, 6.
7. EL., III, p. 349.
8. IHQ., XX, p. 246, D. C. Sircar also holds that Sādhāraṇa was possibly the chief minister of the king.
mahāsandhivigrāhika or the great minister of peace and war in our records and see him usually entrusted with the drafting of the copper-plate charters for granting villages. This task was assigned to the foreign minister probably because the charters had to mention the genealogy and exploits of the donee and his family, and the foreign office had the most reliable and up-to-date information regarding the point. The title mahāsandhivigrāhika or chief foreign minister presupposes that he had ordinary sandhivigrahtkas under him.

Since many ministers and governors were military leaders, it may be reasonably assumed that the commander-in-chief was an important minister. The mahāsenāpati figures in a Gaṅga inscription. There is reference to the mahābalaḍhikṛta also which is equivalent to mahāsenāpati in the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman and the Soro plates of Somadatta. It shows that the term mahābalaḍhikṛta denoted a very high dignitary on the military staff and mahāsenāpati denoted the commander general of an army. It is curious that although the Gāḍaḍavāla kingdom was as large as the Orissa kingdom, the highest military functionary there was known as the senāpati and not mahāsenāpati. The mahāsenāpati must have been an expert in theory and practice of war and well-versed in the art of warfare. His function must have been to see that all the branches of the army were properly equipped and worked efficiently.

The purohita is mentioned in the epigraphic records of the Gaṅgas. In the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of Anantaśtarman Choḍagaṅgeśvara he tops the list of the official hierarchy. He exercised general superintendence over religion and morality, as the term dharmādhikaraṇa-purohita mentioned in a Gaṅga inscription indicates. In the Gāḍaḍavāla state also there was the purohita whose position was fifth in the

2. SII., VI, No. 958, 960.
4. Ibid., XXIII, pp. 197 ff.
5. IA., XVIII, p. 169.
official hierarchy. He was expected to perform all the religious ceremonies, sacrifices, yajñas, homas and dānas, chanting of the Vedas and the like, which a king should undertake for the prosperity and welfare of the state. The Orissa priests too may have been expected to discharge all these duties. They must have exercised considerable influence during the Gaṅga period, which was a period of the ascendancy of the Vedic religion.

The amūtya also figures in our records. In a Gaṅga inscription, he is found occupying the second position in the official list preceded by the purohita only. His duties must have been similar to those described by Somadeva (XVIII). Another term, mahāpātra, occurs in the Gaṅga inscriptions. According to some scholars, it was the designation of a revenue minister.

The collector, who is designated as samāhārtī by Kauṭilya, was probably another member of the ministry. It is remarkable that we come across this term only in the records of the Somavamśi dynasty. His designation might have undergone changes during the reign of other dynasties. He figures in the records of the Gaṅga dynasty bearing the title of Mulabhaṅḍarāmālā-Mudrāhasta, the officer controlling the seal of the Reserve Treasury. The duties of the samāhārtī or collector must have comprised general supervision and collection of revenue as well as its expenditure. Revenues were collected at that time mostly in kind. Therefore the function of the collector must have been an exacting one. The collector was an important minister, as indicated by the first position invariably given to him in the official hierarchy of the Somavamśi rulers. A somewhat similar post in the Gāhada-

2. HGD., pp. 149-50.
3. IO, II, part I, p. 45; El., XI, pp. 1 ff; JRASR., VI, 1888, p. 559 etc.
4. IA., XVIII, p. 169.
5. SII, VI, No. 922.
vāla state was held by the treasurer called bhāṇḍāgārika\(^1\) and in the Chandella state by the koshādhi-kārūndhipati;\(^2\) in one case he was designated as bhāṇḍāgārāpati, the superintendent of royal stores.\(^3\)

In the Somavāṃśi records\(^4\) the sannidhāṭri always figures with the samāhartṛi occupying the second position in the list of officials which shows his importance in the State. Literally the term means piler, and the sannidhāṭri seems to have acted as treasurer. The two designations samāhartṛi and sannidhāṭri are mentioned in the Arthaśāstra. D. C. Sircar\(^5\) points out that “Nilakanṭha (on Mahābhārata, II, 5, 80) refers to five village officers as praśāstr, samāhartṛ, saṃvīdhāṭr (sic. sannidhāṭr), lekhaka and sākṣi and explains samāhartṛa as prajābhyo dravyam = urgrhy = alikītya rājhe = ṛpayīta as saṃvīdhāṭa as prajāsamāhartṛor = ekavākyaṭa-ghaṭakah.” The sannidhāṭṛi was therefore an assistant of the samāhartṛi or collector of dues including the king’s share of the produce.

No definite reference to any minister of justice has been made in our inscriptions. S. C. De thinks that daṇḍanāyaka and mahādaṇḍanāyaka were designations of officers of the judicial department.\(^6\) But nothing definite can be said in the absence of epigraphic evidence. In any case in Orissa we find several high functionaries who managed the affairs relating to peace and war, religion, treasury, revenue etc. Some of them were evidently ministers; others may or may not have been consulted by the king.

The ministers at the centre had their designations according to their departmental duties. Some such designations have come down to us. They were called Mahāpātra, Pātra, Amātya, Sandhiṅgraḥa etc. In course of time these designations degenerated into mere titles, and we found them widely used in the Orissa of today.

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1. HGD., p. 152.
2. S. K. Mittra, op. cit., p. 156.
3. Ibid.
4. El., VIII, p. 141; Ibid., XI, p. 94; IHQ., XX, p. 247 etc.
5. IHQ., XX, p. 239.
SECTION VII
FEUDATORIES AND BENEFICIARIES

Feudatories were important elements in the body-politic of Orissa during this period. We find a large number of feudal vassals mentioned in our epigraphic records. Their number in Orissa was far greater than in the neighbouring regions. As laid down in ancient texts, the kings of Orissa followed the practice of converting princes into tributary chiefs. Kautilya \(^1\) ordains that the conqueror should not covet the land, things, sons and wives of the king killed by him, but should install relatives of the king slain in their places, and should place the son of the deceased on the throne of his father. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata enjoins the conqueror to place on the throne of a defeated country, the brother, son or grandson of the vanquished king and, in case none of these is available, a daughter of the late king. \(^2\) Manu, \(^3\) the Vishnuudharmasūtra \(^4\) and the Agnipuṇa \(^5\) also prescribe that the conqueror should place some relative of the king who is slain on the throne of the conquered country. This policy was specially adopted by the Eastern Gaṅga kings. The Somavarnāsīs were allowed to continue to rule in subordination to them. We find that though Viravarakesari was ousted by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, yet his relatives Karnaṅkesari and Raṅkesari were allowed to rule over Orissa as feudatories. \(^6\)

Another factor that led to the creation of feudatories was the allomnt of territories to brothers and relatives of the kings. The Somavarnāsī king Udyotakesari Mahābhavagupta IV made Abhimanyu a sub-king of the western part of his kingdom. \(^7\)

The increase in the number of feudatories was also because of royal reward of land to officers in lieu of various kinds of

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1. AS., VII, 16.
4. Vishnuudharmasūtra, III, 47-49.
services. The Ponduru plates mention that the Gaṅga king Vajrahastadeva granted villages to two persons named Gaṇḍa Nāyaka and Itana Nāyaka, grandson and son respectively of Bali Nāyaka in recognition of the valour of Bali Nāyaka, who saved the life of Vajrahastadeva in the battlefield. Some evidence of a grant to a Nāyaka is also found in an inscription of Anantavarman Choḍagānḍadeva, who made a perpetual grant of a tax-free village to his dependent Mādhava. Again the copper-plates of the time of Madhukāmārṇavadeva, son of Anantavarman Choḍagānḍadeva refer to the grant of three villages to a Vaiṣya officer Erapa Nāyaka, the son of Maṇcha Nāyaka. We find a few instances of land grants to civil officials also.

But the greatest factor that added to the number of landed intermediaries in Orissa during this period was the royal land grants made to a large number of Brāhmanas and temples. These Brāhmaṇas were invited into Orissa from different parts of the country by rulers of various dynasties and settled here by means of land donations. C. V. Vaidya says that the Kesari kings of Orissa, who were orthodox worshipers of Śiva, invited thousands of Śaivite Brāhmaṇas of Oudh and settled them at Jaipur, where they are still to be found in the enjoyment of lands given to them in fee more than a thousand years back.

Thus it is obvious that the monarchical power must have been weakened by the assignment of a vast area of land which was made along with the right to various taxation such as bhoga-bhāga-kara, kara-bhāga-bhoga, hiranya, uparikara etc. generally mentioned in our inscriptions. The nidhi and upanidhi (deposit or buried treasures and minor or excess deposit) of the granted village was also delegated to the donees. Even the weavers, brewers, cowherds and other

1. IO., II. part I, pp. 181-87.
2. IA., XVIII, pp. 171-72.
3. JAHRS., VIII, Nos. 344, p. 170.
5. Infra, ph. 112 ff.
7. Cf., XI, p. 94; IHQ., XX, p. 242 etc.
8. Ibid., VIII, p. 141; ibid., XxXV, part II, p. 64; IHQ., XX, p. 242 etc.
subjects (prakṛitikah) were transferred to them along with villages.¹

The chātas and bhātas or irregular and regular troops of the king were prohibited from entering into the granted village.² Moreover, the beneficiaries were granted the right to receive the proceeds of the fines for the commission of ten offences (daśāparādha)³ within the jurisdiction of the villages granted to them. It seems that they were empowered to try the offences committed by people in the countryside, which implied transfer of criminal administration to them. The ten offences consisted of three specified sins of the body, three of the mind, and four of the speech.⁴ But Jolly connects daśāparādha with a list of ten chief crimes mentioned by Nārada which comprised transgression of royal commands, killing a female, mixture of castes, adultery, robbery, pregnancy caused by another man than the husband abuse, insulting language as well as procuring abortion.⁵

Thus the surrender of these fiscal and administrative rights to the donees must have been a serious blow to the royal power, and such a practice contributed to the power and influence of the grantees of the land.

There were various categories of vassal land-holders in Orissa during this period as indicated by titles such as bhūpāla, bhogī, bhogirūpa, mahābhogī, bṛihad-bhogī, sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahāsāmantādhīpati, maṇḍalika, mahāmaṇḍalika or mahāmaṇḍa-leśvara, rājyanka or rāpanaka, rājaputra, rājavallabha etc. The relative status and rank of these feudatories cannot be definitely ascertained. However, we shall try to give an idea about them.

Bhūpālas literally mean the protectors of earth. They may have been important landed barons who alone were addressed in some land grants by the Bhanjas of Khijjiṅga⁶ towards the end of the 10th century A.D.

¹ Ibid., VI, p. 136; JBORS., XVI, p. 81.
² IO, II, part I, pp. 158, 183, 195 etc.
³ IHQ., XX, p. 242; EI., XXVIII, part VII, p. 290 etc.
⁴ Fleet, CII., III, p. 189.
⁵ Jolly, Hindu Law and Custom, p. 270; Nārada (SBE.), 234, verse 11, 12.
⁶ JBORS., IV, p. 176.
The term bhogī is frequently mentioned in the Bhauma-Kara and Bhañja land grants. Its literal meaning suggests that the bhogī did not have to pay any revenues for the land held by him. Probably he was granted assignments in lieu of some administrative duties. D. C. Sircar rightly says that the designation seems to have indicated an ināmdār. Sometimes he is regarded as a village headman, but this office was assigned to the mahattara, who worked under the supervision of the mahā-mahattara. Under a Somavāṃśi ruler the bhogīs formed a distinct body called bhogtjana.

The bhogi-rūpa was as good as a bhogī, but enjoyed limited rights. The bhogīs seem to have been attached to the revenue administration, and a few of them were mahā-ksapaṭālikas or chief accountants under the Bhauma-Kara and were entrusted with the drafting of land charters.

The mahābhogī, mentioned in an inscription of an unspecified family, was superior to bhogī, as is evident from the very term, but in this sense the brihad-bhogī occurs frequently in the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions. This officer is regarded as a village headman, but in our opinion he was a senior assignee enjoying more villages than a bhogī.

A graded relation existed between the sāmanta and the mahāsāmanta, which was probably regulated by the grant of land and the extent of the supply of military aid to the overlord. They figured as important elements in the kingdom of the Bhauma-Kara and their feudatories. In the Talcher plate of a feudatory Tuṅga ruler Gayāḍatuṅgadeva only the

1. BL, IX, p. 276; JBO RS, VI, p. 277; El., XVIII, p. 297; ibid., XV, p. 5.
2. Ibid. XXIX, p. 40.
3. Ibid., XV, No. 1, 11, 1. 10 cf. D. C. Sircar, ibid, XXIX, pp. 85-86.
4. IHQ., XXXV, No. 2, Balijhari (Narsinghpur) copper-plate, p. 102, 1. 36.
5. El., XXVIII, p. 323.
6. DMO. (Cal. 1933), pp. 102-3; El. XV, No. 1, 11. 33-34; JBO RS, II, pp. 426-27, 11. 40-42.
7. DMO., pp. 24-25.
8. IHQ., XXI, 221, 11. 27-40.
sāmantas are addressed \(^1\) which shows their importance in administration. The mahāśāmantādhīpati was the greatest of all in order of rank and importance—a title applied to Tuṅga feudatory Gayādatuṅga (11th century A.D.), \(^2\) who could make land grants in his own rights. Whether he granted fiefs to the mahāśāmantas and sāmantas cannot be said, but there is definite inscriptive evidence that the two successive Bhāṅja rulers of Khijjingga assigned villages to the mahāśāmantas Vaṭṭa \(^3\) whose father was a sāmantas. \(^4\) This is indicative of the system of sub-infeudation.

The māṇḍalika \(^5\) was the ruler of a maṇḍala or a province, and the mahāmāṇḍalike \(^6\) was the ruler of a bigger maṇḍala or province. They had the status of a vassal governor of a small and big province respectively.

The rāṇakas were a class of land-holders who possibly served as military vassals. They were synonymous with the rājyonaṅkas who were originally members of the ruling family and under the Bhāṅjas formed a class by themselves. \(^7\) Even persons not coming from the royal family came to be designated rāṇakas and were granted land. Mahābhavagupta II (A.D. 1000–15) of the Somavaiśī dynasty granted a village to a Brāhmaṇa rāṇaka whose grandfather had hailed from Srāvasti. \(^8\) Some rāṇakas were granted more than one village, as can be gathered from a land grant by which a rāṇaka under Vajrahasta III of the Gaṅga dynasty (A.D. 1037–70) re-granted a village. \(^9\) This class of vassals was entrusted with important administrative works, especially under the Somavaiśī rule. They acted as executors of charters. \(^10\) chief

\(^1\) JASB. (NS), XII, p. 295.
\(^2\) EI., XXXIV, p. 95.
\(^3\) JASB., XL, No. 3, pp. 166–68.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) IO., II, part I, p. 222.
\(^6\) Ibid.
\(^7\) Sva vamkṣaṃmudbhavāścheṣu rajaṃpa(ṇa)rgga, EI., XVIII, No. 29, 11, 17–18.
\(^8\) EI., III, No. 47, plate F, 11, 28–42.
\(^9\) Ibid., No. 31, p. 222.
\(^10\) DMO., pp. 102–3, Ins. No. 12.
accountants\textsuperscript{1} and ministers of peace and war.\textsuperscript{2} They held a high position in the feudal hierarchy of the Somavāṃśi.\textsuperscript{3} The position next to the rāṇakas and rājavallabhas was occupied by the rājaputras.\textsuperscript{4} They were royal favourites, who could not have been rewarded except in the usual way of being favoured with villages.\textsuperscript{5} Feudal relations in Orissa came to exercise such a great influence that Gaṅga king Anaṅga-bhīma III (A.D. 1211–38) declared himself as the Rauta (a feudatory) and as the son of Purushottama (son of Lord Jagannātha of puri).\textsuperscript{6}

The important feudatory chiefs were entitled to the use of five musical instruments (pañchamahāśabda), the names of which according to the Vivekachintāmāni were śrīṅga (horn), śaṅkha (conch), bheri (drum), jayaghaṇṭā (the bell of victory), and tammata or holiage, tabor or timbrel.\textsuperscript{7} Rāṇaka Puṇja enjoyed this privilege under the Somavāṃśi king Bhimaratha Mahābhavagupta II (A.D. 1000–15),\textsuperscript{8} and Mahāsāmanta Purṇadeva had also assumed this epithet under the Gaṅga king Jayavarman.\textsuperscript{9} This rank was enjoyed by the vassals of the Paramāras\textsuperscript{10} of Malava also. The feudatories performed several obligations towards the paramount power. General obedience to the orders of the imperial power was expected and exacted. The feudatories had to attend the imperial court not only on ceremonial occasions but also at periodical intervals. The epigraphic documents suggest that the feudatories assembled at the time of land grants and were addressed by the kings. Thus attendance in royal court and assistance in administration must have been one of the chief obligations of vassals. The Jirjingi grant of Indravarman mentions the following: “whose pair of feet made

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., p. 17, Ins. No. 10.
\item Ibid., pp. 66–67; El., XI, No. 8, p. 98.
\item El., III, No. 47, plate F, p. 357, 11. 33–34.
\item Ibid.
\item JIHR, XXXIX, part II, p. 303.
\item El., XXX, p. 17.
\item IA., XII, p. 96.
\item OHRJ., I, p. 292.
\item IO., II, part I, p. 251.
\item IA., XVI, p. 257.
\end{enumerate}
resplendent by the encircled red rays shed by the lustrous jewels placed in the diadems of the entire circle of the vassal kings of the earth, who had been prostrated by the edge of his flashing sharp sword." 1 This clearly proves that Indravarman I (A. D. 520-59) acquired a vast kingdom and levied tribute from a host of vassals. The Kendupatna plates tell us that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva exacted tribute from all the land between the Gaṅga and the Gotama-Gaṅga (Godāvari). 2 As in mediaeval Europe, they may have rendered military service to the paramount power. Moreover, they probably supplied elephants, men and materials at the time of war. The number of elephants possessed by the Gaṅga kings was so large that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva used the title of navanavati sahasra kuṇjarādhisvara or the lord of ninety-nine thousand elephants. 3 This is obviously an exaggeration, but it is likely that many elephants were presented to him by his vassals.

The measure of internal autonomy which the feudal vassals enjoyed depended partly on their status and partly on the strength of the paramount power. Smaller feudatories enjoyed less autonomy. They did not have the power of alienating any villages. Jayavarman alias rāṇaka Vishavārṇava, a Bhauma-kara feudatory, granted a village in Koṅgoda after obtaining permission from his powerful sovereign Unmattakesari. 4 The same practice we find with the Chālukya feudatory also. When Budhavarsha, a Chālukya feudatory of Govinda III, desired to give a village to a Jain sage, who had made him free from the evil influence of Saturn, he had to seek permission of his feudal lord. 5 But Vinītatuṅga, a feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara kings, issued a grant without referring to his over lord. 6 So everything depended on the strength and influence of feudatories. The absence of coins issued by feudatories does not enable us to judge whether feudal vassals in Orissa enjoyed the right of coinage.

1. JAHRS., III, p. 49.
2. DHNL., I, p. 469; EI., XII, pp. 150 ff.
3. III., V, No. 1347.
5. RAT., p. 266.
6. DMO., pp. 84-85.
The presence of so many feudatories, secular and religious, did not, however, lead to the formation of any feudal assembly which characterised the constitutional history of mediaeval England. The feudatories could not be fitted into any constitutional machinery.

But as a result of land grants to vassals and officials besides the Brāhmaṇas, forces of decentralization emerged. All this gave rise to some typical features of feudal land system in Orissa during this period. Most of the feudal chiefs served their time. They did not hesitate in deserting the cause of their hereditary overlord and declaring their independence. The Šailodbhavas, Somavarnasīs and the Gaṅgas of Svetaka were all feudatories at first, but later they became independent sovereign rulers. The practice of allowing the scions of the vanquished ruling family to rule in subordination became one of the causes of political instability.

But certain good results also came out. The land donation to the Brāhmaṇas led to the introduction of the Vedic culture. Cultivation improved with the advent of new knowledge. Perhaps the religious beneficiaries proved more serviceable to their patrons than the secular beneficiaries to their overlords. It seems that temples and Brāhmaṇas provided moral and ideological support to Hindu kings in the aboriginal state.

SECTION VIII

OFFICERS

The Orissan inscriptions of our period refer to a number of officers in connection with the royal land grants, but we cannot be always definite about the nature of their powers and functions and the departments to which they were attached. The list enables us only to form a general idea of the administrative machinery. However, we shall try to give an account of the officers in Orissa during this period as far as it is possible within the limits of the facts available.

The Šailodbhava charters notify the following dignitaries in the Kaṅgoda maṇḍala in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. about the land grants: antaraṅga, daṇḍanāyaka, daṇḍapūṣika, dauvrīka, kumārāṁśṭya, uparīka, pañchakarṇoparīka, vishāyapati, tadāyuktaka, ayuktaka, viniyuktaka, vyavahārin, vaisvāsīka, paṭṭa-lika, chāṭa-bhāṭa. A few more officers also occur in charters:
these are mahākṣapatañika, sāndhivigrāhika, dūtaka, peṭāpūla and akshaśāli. We may now discuss the position and functions of each one of these functionaries in the order in which they are mentioned in the land grants.

Antaraṅga: The word antaraṅga occurring in many plates probably meant a confidential secretary of the king or a member of the inner council. There may have been a separate section to deal with confidential and secret issues of the state. Pargiter translated the term as privy minister. N. K. Bhaṭṭāśāli rendered it as one of the intimate class of servants of His Majesty. But B. Misra takes antaraṅga to be a kinsman of the ruler. According to D. C. Sircar, he was a royal physician. It is very difficult to say anything conclusively, but he seems to be an officer intimately associated with the king (as the word signifies).

Daṇḍanāyaka: According to H. K. Mahtab, he was probably the head of magistracy stationed at different vishaya—headquarters to maintain law and order. But Hemachandra takes him to be the head of chaturaṅga senā. The word literally means rod-applier, that is judge. R. C. Majumdar interprets the term as judge, general or magistrate. But S. C. De takes it to be a judge only. In the Nagārjunakunḍa inscription of Sri Śānta-mūla Skandavīśākha Naga bears the titles mahāsenāpati, mahādaṇḍanāyaka and mahātālavara. From this it is evident that mahāsenāpati and mahādaṇḍanāyaka are not equivalent titles but indicate different officers. Since Orissa is not far away from the Telegu area, mahādaṇḍanāyaka or daṇḍanāyaka may have been the same type of officials in

2. JIH., XXXVII, p. 376.
3. JASB., 1911, p. 485.
4. El., XVIII, p. 78.
5. B. Misra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 96.
10. HB., I, p. 286.
11. JIH., XXXVIII, p. 374.
their regime as they were in the south in the 3rd century A. D. The *danda*naśyaka ¹ was not a police officer, who is designated as *danda*paśika. This official designation figures in the Kalachuri, ² Pāla ³ and Rashtrakūta ⁴ administration also.

_Danda*_paśika: This term is explained by Monier-Williams in his _Sanskrit Dictionary_ as one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment, i.e. a policeman. The modern village chowkidār is also called _danda_*saśi, which term is derived from _danda*paśika. In the _arthaśāstra_ the law relating to the suppression of crimes is called _danda*_pāśa. This officer occurs invariably in almost all the copper-plates of the period. Perhaps his main function was to bind down the criminals.

_Dawārika_: He probably performed the same duties as _pratihāra_. His function was possibly to fix up interviews with the king and escort visitors to royal presence. This officer is rarely met with in the inscriptions of the Śailodbhava dynasty. ⁵ We come across this officer in the administration of the eastern Chālu kyas of Vengi also. ⁶

_Kumārāmātya_: There is divergence of opinion among the scholars about the meaning of this designation. Fleet ⁷ holds that the term _kumārāmātya_ means minister of the Crownprince. Bloch ⁸ explains it as one who has been in the service of the king from the time when he was a boy. According to B. Misra, a _kumaṇa_ carrying on the function of a minister was called _kumārāmātya_. ⁹ These explanations are etymologically correct, but they are not supported by the internal evidence of the records in which the term is mentioned. It is also suggested by some scholars that _Kumārāmātya_ was an administrative officer corresponding to I. C. S. or I. A. S.

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1. JIH., XXXVIII, p. 347.
2. V. V. Mirashi, CII., IV, part I, p. exlic.
4. RAT., p. 263.
5. IO., I, part II, p. 175.
8. EI., X, p. 50, fn. 2.
officers of the present times. 1 According to R. C. Majumdar, 2 the term probably refers to one who had hereditary right to a high office of a state. D. C. Sircar thinks that kumārāmātya was an amātya or executive officer of the status of a prince of the royal blood. 3 V. V. Mirashi opines that it was a general term denoting officers of different grades. 4 It is difficult to say which of these views is correct, but the opinion of D. C. Sircar seems to be more plausible, as we find a reference to kumārāmātya, used in this sense in Bhasa’s Pratiṣṭhā Yaugandharāyaṇa, where it is stated that king Pradyota Mahāsena conferred the honour and dignity of kumāra on a minister (amātya) named Śālaṅkāyana for the distinguished act of capturing Udayana, the king of Kausāmbi. 5 Thus though Śālaṅkāyana did not belong to royal blood, yet by virtue of the royal decree he was called kumāra and became entitled to the status of a real prince of the blood in court etiquette; he was thus distinguished from the real princes by being called kumārāmātya. This seems to be the real significance of the term kumārāmātya.

Under the different royal dynasties of Orissa during this period, the kumārāmātya held high position among the officers. In some of the official lists of the Šailodhbhava, 6 Śulki, 7 Tuṅga 8 and Gaṅga 9 rulers, we find him occupying the first position. It is curious that we do not come across this officer in the official list of Somavamsi rulers, although his designation appears in the Pāla 10 and Kalachuri 11 records also.

Uparika: About this officer also there is a good deal of controversy. B. Misra opines that the uparika was probably a prime minister. A prime minister carrying on the function

1. JIH., XXXVIII, p. 397.
2. HB., I, p. 284.
3. EL., XXX, part IV, p. 68.
4. V. V. Mirashi, CII., IV, part I, p. cxl.
5. JBO., XVII, p. 399.
6. IO., I, part II, p. 158.
8. Ibid., IV, p. 237.
10. HB., I, p. 286.
11. V. V. Mirashi, CII., IV, part I, p. cxl.
of a Mahārāja was probably known as *Uparika-Mahārāja*. But this view does not seem to be correct because the term *mantritilaka* was used in a Somavāraśi record for prime or chief minister and the record also mentioned the word *uparika* separately. Therefore it did not mean prime minister as suggested by B. Misra. According to D. C. Sircar the *uparika* was a viceroy. H. K. Mahtab says that he may be ranked with a modern Commissioner of a Division. But R. C. Majumdar thinks that he was the provincial governor or a superior officer. In the opinion of Salatore the office of the *uparika* owed its origin to the fiscal term *uparikara* for the realization of which this officer may have been held responsible. Though there is nothing in our epigraphic records to connect any relation between the two, yet phonetic similarity between the words *uparika* and *uparikara* suggests that the uparika may have something to do with *uparikara*. Whatever may be the case, he must be a senior administrative officer. We find this officer mentioned in the Pāla and Kalachuri records also.

*Paṇcha-Karaṇoparika*: It may indicate the chief superintendent of five administrative offices. It is referred to in only one copper-plate grant. S. N. Rajaguru points out that most probably the term *paṇcha-karaṇa* denotes the five executive officers viz., *dutakotra*, *uparika*, *vaśivasika*, *bṛihada-bhogin* and *sāmanta*.

*Vishayapati*: He was the ruler of a *vishaya* or district. But B. Misra thinks that *vishayapati* was a chief of the tribe.
In support of his argument he says, "In Orissa, the headman of caste is called visoi which seems to be the contracted form of vishayapati. In the plates the Vishayapati is not associated with the officers of a vishaya." Misra's argument suggests that in Orissa the head of a district used to be the head of the tribe. But it is generally held that vishayapati was in charge of a vishaya or district. In our opinion also he appears to be the head of a district because it is well known that vishaya was a territorial unit. He corresponded to the modern Collector or Deputy Commissioner. He exercised probably considerable revenue powers, since he is invariably mentioned in the copper-plates among the officers who are requested not to disturb the possession of the grants of lands or villages donated. He must have been obviously responsible to the provincial governors or to the central government for the revenue administration of his district. This designation of officer occurs in almost all the contemporary records.

_Tadāyuktaka_: D. C. Sircar suggests that he was probably the ruler of a subdivision of the district appointed by the vishayapati and not by the Cown. \(^1\) Since officers with the term yuktaka in these designations were not placed in charge of territorial units, this may not have been the case with the _tadāyuktaka_ who was a revenue official. R. C. Majumdar thinks that this may be a class of officials called _āyuktaka_. \(^2\) This official designation is met with in the Pāla inscriptions also. \(^3\)

_Āyuktaka and viniyuktaka_: H. K. Mahtab says that most probably yuktaka, āyuktaka and viniyuktaka were the subordinate revenue officials of the state. \(^4\) S. C. De also points out that the _āyuktaka_ was probably the officer of the revenue department. \(^5\) In the opinion of V. V. Mirashi, subordinate officers were referred to as _āyuktakas_ and _viniyuktakas_ in the Kalachuri state. \(^6\) In Orissa also this might have been the

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1. EI., XXIX, part IV, p. 85.
5. JIH., XXXVIII, p. 376.
6. V. V. Mirashi, CH., IV, p. cxli.
case. B. Misra, however, says that he was probably the lord of tribal chiefs, 1 but there is no basis for such a view. Āyuktakas and vinīyuktakas were probably revenue officials. But we can hardly say anything definite about the nature of their duties.

Vyavahārīna: He was an officer specially appointed for the administration of justice, who was trained in law (Dharma-sāstra). 2 We do not find this official title mentioned in the records of the Kalachuris, Pālas, Chaulukyas, Gāhaḍavālas etc.

The words vaiśvāsika and paṭṭālīka are difficult to explain. D. C. Sircar says that vaiśvāsika may indicate a privy councillor or one in charge of secret and confidential communications; 3 the title survives in present days as viśvāsa.

Chāṭas-bhāṭas: They are mentioned in many copper-plates and are taken to be petty police functionaries such as constables. They might also be taken as soldiers. 4 B. Ch. Chhabra says that the chāṭas and bhāṭas belonged to the inferior staff. They have often been regarded as irregular soldiers and regular troops respectively. 5 Their duty was probably to maintain peace and order in the state and apprehend criminals. They were perhaps often harsh and exacting in their ways and were therefore forbidden to enter agrahāra villages. According to Bāṇa, they were hated by the country people on account of their cruelty and greed. At one place he describes them as talking and laughing with the slaves and servants of the nobles after taking plenty of grain from the fields, and at another place he writes that the poor grumbled at the cruelty and ill-treatment received at their hands. 6 Prof. Vogel shows that the office of chāṭa still exists in the Chamba state where the corrupt from chār is used, and while the chāṭa is the head of a paragaṇā, the bhāṭa is an official subordinate to the head of a paragaṇā. 7 The chāṭas and

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4. JIH., XXXVII, p. 374.
5. Ef., XXIV, p. 133.
bhātaṇas frequently appear in the early land grants of the Kalachuris also.¹

Mahākṣhapatalika: It literally means the great akṣhapataṇa-lika. According to Fleet,² this was a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the akṣhapataṇa-lika or keeper of the records. This shows that there was a separate department for the official records in the state headed by the mahākṣha-patalika. The Gāhaḍavāla,³ Kalachuri⁴ and Rāṣṭrakūṭa⁵ inscriptions also contain this term.

Sāndhivigrahika: He belonged to the department of peace and war corresponding to modern foreign department, which was in charge of a high official or minister designated as mahāsāndhivigrahika, who was originally called sāndhivigrahika. This officer is referred to in almost all the contemporary kingdoms such as those of the Gāhadavālas, Chandellas, Kala-churis, Rāṣṭrakūtas, Pālas etc.

Dūtaka: It was the technical title of an officer employed in executing the charters. His duty was to convey the king’s order to the local officials by whom the charter was then drawn up and delivered. Thus he was not a mere messenger or a lower grade official; rather he was one of the top-ranking officers of the state. This term is most commonly used in formal land grants. This officer is to be met with in Gāhadavāla⁷ and Pāla⁸ records also.

Peṭapāla: The term literally means keeper of the boxes containing documents.⁹ Thus the peṭapāla was a record-keeper. He may have acted under the mahākṣhapatalika, who was the head of the record department. We do not find this official in the Pāla, Gāhaḍavāla and Kalachuri kingdoms.

1. V. V. Mirashi, CII., IV, p. cxliii.
3. HGD., p. 155.
4. V. V. Mirashi, CII., IV, p. cxli.
5. RAT., p. 170.
6. Fleet, CII., Index, pp. 311-12.
7. HGD., p. 154.
Akshaśālī: He was the engraver of letters. This term is also taken to mean inspector of documents. ¹

All the officers discussed above are mentioned in the land grants of the Šailodbhava rulers, which shows that their government had a well organised machinery. Most of the officers functioning under this dynasty generally appear in the inscriptions of the other dynasties of Orissa during our period with certain changes, which we will consider now.

The new officers which figure in the Bhaua-Kara records in connection with land grants in Uttara Tosali and Dakshina Tosali and Konūgoda maṇḍala (8th-11th century A.D.) are mahākshapaṭalādhikṛīta, mahākshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛīta, rājasatka, sthānāntarika, mahāmahattara, pustakapūla, peḍapūla, kuṭakolasa, sūḍyādhikaraṇa.

Mahākshapaṭalādhikṛīta: He supervised work in gold and silver. ² This official designation does not occur in the charters of other dynasties. His subordinate was mahākṣapaṭalika. ³

Mahākshapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛīta: We come across this designation of officer only in one land grant. ⁴ Probably he performed the same function as mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛīta. This official designation figures in the Madhuban plate of Harsha also. ⁵

Rājasatka: The Santiragrama grant ⁶ of Daṇḍimahādevi contains this term, which is rarely found in our inscriptions. It literally means ‘belonging to the king’; but the meaning does not appear to suit the context. D. C. Sircar thinks that in place of rājasatka, other records of the queen Daṇḍimahādevī read antaraṅga probably indicating the royal physician. Rājasatka may also indicate the same office. ⁷ This officer does not occur in the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla, Chandella, Kalachuri and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi.

1. JAHRS., II, Nos. 3-4, p. 209.
2. B. Misra, op. cit., p. 98.
3. Ibid.
4. EL., XV, No. 1, p. 5, 1. 34.
5. Ibid., VII, p. 155; cf. HDS., III, p. 995.
6. Ibid., XXIX, part IV, p. 88, 1. 27.
7. Ibid., p. 85.
ADMINISTRATION

Sthānāntarika: B. Misra holds that he was probably the officer in charge of the criminal department, but D. C. Sircar suggests that he was probably a spy. It is very difficult to say anything definitely, but he seems to be connected with certain secret department. It is significant that we do not meet with this officer in the other parts of the country. Perhaps, this was found in Orissa only during this period.

Mahāmahattara: According to Fleet, mahattara is the comparative formation of mahat, “great” and is given by Monier-Williams the special sense of the head or oldest man of a village. D. C. Sircar opines that mahattara meant the headman of a village. If it be so, then mahāmahattara meant the great village-headman. R. Subba Rao holds that it meant great village elder. But it seems that mahāmahattara was the great village-headman and not the great village elder as suggested by him. We meet with the term mahattara in the Gāhādvāla and Kalachuri records, but not with the term mahāmahattara.

Pustakapāla: He was the record-keeper now called pañjīa. Peḍāpāla also indicates the same meaning. The word peḍā seems to be used in the Divyāvadāna in the sense of a basket. The peḍāpāla thus may have been a store-keeper of the king’s record department. D. C. Sircar thinks that he possibly served under the pustapāla or pustakapāla.

Kūṭakolasa: The word kūṭakolasa is difficult to explain. According to B. Misra and H. K. Mahtab, it indicated the garrison maintained in the fort. This shows that the troops enjoyed same importance in the body-politic like other

2. El., XXIX, part IV, p. 85.
5. JAHRS., VI, part II, p. 81.
7. V. V. Mirashi, CII., IV, p. cxxv.
8. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1899, S. V.
10. Ibid., part VII, p. 332.
officers under the Bhauma-Kara rule. This is also one of the typical official terms found in Orissa and not elsewhere during this period.

*Sādyadhikaraṇa*: This term meant the commander of the cavalry,\(^1\) which indicates that the Bhauma-Kara army comprised the cavalry also. Under no other dynasties of Orissa during this period, this official designation is to be met with.

The reference to various new officers in Bhauma-Kara epigraphic records points to the fact that they established a fairly well developed administrative machinery.

Under the Bhaña dynasty also, a few more new officers are mentioned in the charters of the Khiñjali *maṇḍala* such as *mahāpratihāra*, *kaṇḍapāla*, *vārgulika*, *durgadeva*.

*Mahāpratihāra*: Royal household affairs were probably managed by a department headed by this officer.\(^2\) Under him worked the *pratihāra* or the *dauvārika* as already referred to. His function was to be in constant attendance on the king. He ushered people into the royal presence and communicated royal orders to the officers concerned.\(^3\) The post of *mahāpratihāra* was a position of very high rank. In the Balasore and Kanas copper-plates\(^4\) Bhānudatta bears the titles of *mahāpratihāra*, *mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta*, which shows that the title of *mahāpratihāra* was no less dignified than the other two. The office is also mentioned in the Pāla and Kalachuri records.

*Kaṇḍapāla*: This term has been tentatively translated as superintendant of repairs and as superintendant of municipal wards.\(^5\) But R. C. Majumdar opines that it is probably identical with *kaṇḍarakhsa*,\(^6\) which the *Ardha-Māgadhi Dictionary* translates as customs inspector or superintendant of police. U. N. Ghoshal regards it as a military official of nearly the same status as *prāntapāla* and *koṭṭapāla*.\(^7\) In our opinion, *kaṇḍapāla* was probably the officer-in-charge of a *kaṇḍa*,

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1. B. Misra, op. cit., p. 98.
6. HB, p. 289.
which was a small administrative unit corresponding to a tōlukā as already discussed before. But about the nature of duties and the department to which he belonged nothing can be said with certainty. His function may have been the general supervisions, protection and preservation of peace and order in the khaṇḍa.

Vārgulika: Vārgulika appears to be an alternative term for dūtaka or messenger. If it is a derivation of the Telegu varga ledger, the official might have been a ledger-keeper of the land that was given. By analogy it seems to be supported by the Kanarese expression vargakoḍu, which means to deliver land to somebody as his property. Thus the vārgulika was probably a dūtaka. This official is mentioned in only one inscription of our period from Orissa and not known to have been found in the inscriptions of any other state during this period.

Durgadeva: The durgadeva was the commander of the fort.

We come across this official designation in the Gaṅga records also. His counterpart in the Chandella administration was durgādhikāri.

The four officers discussed above are not found under the Somavāṃsi rule in Kośala and Utkala between the 10th and the 12th century A. D. On the other hand they seem to have been supplanted by a series of new ones such as nīyuktakādhikārika, piśuna-vetrika, avarodhajana etc.

Nīyuktakādhikārika: In the opinion of D. C. Sircar, the nīyuktaka—was the governor of a territorial unit such as the āyuktaka, and the adhikārika was a superintendent. Nothing is known from the inscription about the duties and functions of these two officials. In the land grants they find the third and fourth position respectively. If the enumeration of officers in the chart indicates the real order of precedence, the two may have been important functionaries of the Somavāṃsi kingdom associated with the administration of land.

Piśuna-vetrika: There is difference of opinion as regards the interpretation of the two terms of which this designation

1. EL., XVIII, p. 285.
2. Ibid.
4. IHQ., XX, p. 246.
is made. Debal Mitra explains *piśuna-vetrika* as one who canes the wicked,¹ and B. Misra as a cruel caneholder or constable.² But D. C. Sircar regards *piśuna* as spy and *vetrika* as watchman.³ It is not possible to say anything definitely about the derivative sense of this word, but literally *piśuna-vetrika* means the cruel caneholder, which suggests that this officer exercised certain police functions in connection with the realization of a revenue or intimadation of the wicked.

*Avarodhajana*: This term is not found in any other inscription, *Avarodhajana* indicated the ladies of the harem, probably of higher officials and feudatories.⁴ Though they cannot be taken as regular officials, it seems that the ladies of high officials and feudatories also enjoyed some importance in state affairs under the Somavramaśis. In other grants the queen is addressed, but here women of feudatories and officials are also included. This may be due to the matriarchal influence of the tribal people in Kośala. So this is a new feature which we find in the administration of early mediaeval Orissa.

The inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and Svetaka mention several officials who are not known from the inscriptions of the other dynasties of Orissa. These officials are as follows:—

*Rahasyādhikāri, grāmapati, grāṁbhāta, ājñapti, śāsanādikāri, pañčapātra, yathākalādhyāśi, sarvādhikāta, hastyādhyaksha, aśvānayaka, Śaṅkaraśīlaka and rāṣṭrakūta.*

An attempt may be made to define the functions of the above-mentioned officials.

*Rahasyādhikāri*: Subba Rao holds that the *rahasyādhikāri* was the king’s private secretary.⁵ It may be mentioned that the role of this official in the Gaṅga kingdom was similar to his counterpart in the Pallava⁶ and Kadamba⁷ kingdoms.

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3. *IHQ.*, XX, p. 239.
4. Ibid.
5. *JAHRS.*, VI, parts 3-4, p. 207.
7. Ibid., VI, p. 13.
ADMINISTRATION

Grāmapati: Grāmapati occurs so frequently in ancient and early medieval inscriptions and literature that there can not be any doubt that in Orissa the post of grāmapati was offered to none but the headman of a village.

Grāmabhaṭa: Although the term grāmabhaṭa is not used so often it seems to stand for the servant of the village.

Ajñapti: Subba Rao argues that since the early Gaṅgas of Orissa came from the south some of their offices seem to have been of southern origin. It is apparent from the grants of the Pallavas, 1 Cholas 2 and Eastern Chālukyas 3 that the ajñapti used to communicate the order of a king regarding the grant of land to local officers. The ajñapti therefore performed the same functions as the dūtaka. The Parlakimedi plates 4 of Vajrahasta mention that the ajñapti of the grant was vachchhapa, a minister of Dāraparāja. This function was also performed by other officials in other areas. An inscription of the Bombay Presidency dated A.D. 610 refers to a durgapati or the commander of a fort working as the ajñapti of a land charter. 5

Śūsanādhikārī: Subba Rao wrongly takes the śūsanādhikārī to be an official in charge of royal rescripts. 6 Brihaspati, as quoted in the works of Mitra Misra and Nilakanṭha, 7 understood the term śūsana as a royal grant of land. But Vijñānesvīra takes the functionary to be a carrier of royal messages. 8 Thus the śūsanādhikārī of the Gaṅgas was possibly an official who communicated the royal grant of land. It is noticeable that the word does not occur along with either dūtaka or ajñapti, which suggests that he was not in charge of royal rescripts. Again, a rescript is a term for any royal order, not necessarily connected with land grant issued by the king to his ministers and officials. Very likely the expression

1. Grant of Pallava Siva Skandavarman, El., VI, p. 88; Grants of Charudevt, El., VIII, p. 146.
2. cf. HDS., III, p. 977; El., XV, p. 70.
3. Grant of Eastern Chalukya king Amma II, El., VII, p. 188.
5. JBFRAS., X, p. 365.
6. JAHRS., VI, parts 3–4, p. 207.
8. Tejāvalkya, I, p. 328—‘Śūsanādhikārī ājñapti bhāṣyate’.
śāsanahara used in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya I. XVI is not synonymous with the śāsanādhikārī. Kauṭilya mentions three types of ambassadors. The nisṛishtārtha enjoyed the greatest freedom in performing ambassadorial duties. The second class of ambassador was the parīmitārtha, and the śāsanahara was of the lowest rank. Kauṭilya adds that the śāsanahara was ardhaṅgahāna, that is, he possessed half the qualities recommended for the parīmitārtha. If we take the śāsanādhikārī to be identical with the śāsanahara of Kauṭilya, it would mean that our śāsanādhikārī not only performed the duties of an ambassador, but also issued royal orders. Usually ministers in charge of foreign affairs (sāndhivigrahikas) issued and drafted land grants. We have no instance of a low official such as the śāsanahara writing out or issuing royal grants.

Pañchapatra and yathākālādhyāsi: It is difficult to determine the nature of the offices of pañchapatra and yathākālādhyāsi. R. Subba Rao is of the opinion that the pañchapatra stands either for a military commander ¹ or five great chiefs. ² Pañcha no doubt means five, but no lexicon anywhere gives the meaning of pātra as military commander or chief. The Medānikosa and the modern Sanskrit dictionaries take pātra in the sense of rājyamantri. ³ We have to bear in mind that the term pañchapatra occurs along with pañchavishaya in the Mandasa plates, ⁴ which state that when rānaka Dharmakheḍi was pañchavishayādhipati, the pañchapatra was informed of a land grant. It is therefore likely that pañchapatra might stand for a group of five functionaries who were under the governor of five districts or the pañchavishayādhipati. G. Ramdas, the first editor of the Mandasaplates, gives a strange meaning of the word pātra, for he thinks that the term is a misspelling of the Oriya word pathhara which means a rock. Pañcha-pathhara in Oriya means five rocks. ⁵ It is not possible for us to

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¹. JAHR., VI, pars 3-4, p. 209.
². Ibid., p. 206.
⁴. IO., II, part I, p. 158, 1. 20.
⁵. JBORS., XVII, p. 183.
accept such a meaning of pātra because it will make no sense if five rocks are informed of the land grants.

The term yathākālādhyāṣi, occurring in the inscription of Indravarman (12th century A.D.), is deciphered by Subba Rao as yadhākālādhyāṣi and is interpreted in the sense of an official. But his reading is questionable. The correct term is yathākālādhyāṣi, which means those who were present at the time of the land grant. The expression is also found in the inscription of Prithvivarmadeva. The term is placed just before the names of the high dignitaries and officials mentioned in the land grants of Orissa. Nowhere have we been able to see that attendants are addressed first and precede mahāsāmanta, rājaputra, kumārāmātya etc. in the list of officials and functionaries.

Sarvādhiśkrita: The word sarvādhiśkrita figures in the inscriptions of South India as well as in the epigraphs of the Kalachuri and Rāṣṭrakūta dynasties, and also in the Rājatarāṅgini. An inscription of the Śīndā chief of Śīndavāḍi represents the sarvādhiśkārīn as the chief minister. In the Purle plates of the same king the land grant was issued under the command of a mahāmahattara but the grant was written by Sāmpapuropādhyāya, the sarvādhiśkrita. The chief adviser of the Yādava king Kannara is also designated as sarvādhiśkārīn. Purushottama was also the sarvādhiśkārīn of the Kalachuri king Prithvideva II. The Rājatarāṅgini also mentions the sarvādhiśkārīn as the premier. Since the sarvādhiśkārīn or sarvādhiśkrita appear as chief ministers in the states of mediaeval India, it is difficult to agree with the view of S. C. De that the sarvādhiśkrita was the head of all the offices and functioned as chief secretary or general secretary.

Hastyādhyaksha, aśvanāyaka and śālavasthānaka: The nature of the duties of hastyādhyaksha, aśvanāyaka and śālavasthānaka

1. JAHRS., VI, parts 3-4, p. 209.
2. IO., II, part 1, p. 282, 1. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 278, 1. 8.
4. EL., XIV, p. 270.
5. IA., VII, p. 304.
7. Rājatarāṅgini, VII, s68.
8. JIH., XXXVIII, p. 373.
is self-explanatory. They were respectively superintendent of elephants, commander of cavalry and superintendent of śaiva temples.

Rāṣṭrākūṭa: There cannot be any two opinions about the meaning of the word rāṣṭrākūṭa. On the analogy of the grāmakūṭa a rāṣṭrākūṭa should mean the head or governor of an area called rāṣṭra. 1 Altekar was of the opinion that the terms raṭhika, rāṣṭriya, rāṣṭrapati and rāṣṭrākūṭa are synonymous. 2 The Junāgaḍh inscription of Radradāman tells us that Pushyagupta was a rāṣṭriya. Several Gurjara and Valabhi records show that rāṣṭrapatis were in charge of rāṣṭras which may have been districts. 3 This seems to be true of the areas placed under the rāṣṭrākūtās in the Gaṅga kingdom, where they held charge of the vishayas as can be inferred from the use of the term rāṣṭrākūṭa in a grant of Anantavarman. 4 The Simhipura plates of Dharmakheḍi 5 clearly use the expression rāṣṭrākūṭa-vishaya-pradhāna. In no inscriptions of the Gaṅgas is there reference to both the rāṣṭrākūṭa and vishayopati. Hence the rāṣṭrākūṭa seems to have been a substitute for the vishayopati.

Conclusion: In early mediaeval Orissa are found some ministers and officials who figure in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya or in the Gupta inscriptions. Functionaries such as mahāmahiṭṭara, akṣaṭaḷin, hastyādhyaṅkṣa, nāyaka, pratihāra etc. remind us of Mauryan and Gupta times. But we also come across many other officials who are not mentioned in the earlier sources. The Bhauma-Kara and SomavamŚi kings introduced some officials such as sādyāḥikaraṇa, rājasatka, kuṭakolasa, piśunavetrika, avarodhajana etc. The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and Svetaka created the largest number of new officials such a rahasyāḥḍikāri, ājjāpti, paṅchapātra, rāṣṭrākūṭa, sasanāḥḍikārī, grāmakāḥta, etc., who are not known to any other dynasty of Orissa. We have seen earlier that most of these officials had their counterparts in South India. This is natural for the early and later Gaṅgas not only hailed from

1. JAS., Letters, XVIII, p. 48.
3. IA., X, p. 284; ibid., XIII, pp. 15, 77 etc.
5. Ibid., p. 140, 1. 18.
South India but also exercised sovereignty over some portions of Andhra.

Some of the names of the officials recorded in the inscriptions of the Pālas and Senas, Gāhāḍavālas, Kalachuris and Chandellas are to be found in Orissa, such as antaraṅga, daṇḍapāṣika, daṇḍanāyaka, dūta, grāmapati, mahāsenāpati, mahākṣapataḷika, mahāpratihāra, sāndhivigrāhika, sarvādhikṛita, taḍāyuktaka, uparika, viniyuktaka, vishayopati etc. Here we do not meet with such common officials of northern India as rūjasthōniya, mahādauṣūdhanīka, gaulmīka, sāulkīka. It is also peculiar that the guḍhaporushas, who are mentioned in the Pāla inscriptions, are not referred to in any epigraphic record of Orissa.

SECTION IX

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

(a) Revenue: The land grants of our period contain a number of revenue terms such as bhoga-bhūga-kara, kara-bhūga-bhoga, bhoga-bhūga-dikam, bhūga-bhoga, bhoga-bhūga, bhoga, kara, uparikara hiraṇya, pravaṇikara, kṣettrakara, lavanaśkara, nidhi- upanidhi etc. These fiscal expressions do not occur in the records of all the dynasties of Orissa during this period. Most of them are found in the land charters of the Soma- vaṁśī and Gaṅga rulers, and the revenue system reconstructed on their basis does not apply to the whole of our period. ¹

The terms bhoga-bhūga-kara, kara-bhūga-bhoga, bhoga-bhūga- dikam bhūga-bhoga, bhoga-bhūga and bhoga figure in the Soma- vaṁśī and Gaṅga records. The expression kara-bhūga-bhūga and bhoga-bhūga-dikam may be identical with bhūga-bhoga-kara and bhoga-bhūga-kara respectively. ² The frequent references to these different terms in the Somavāṁśī and Gaṅga inscriptions indicate that bhoga-bhūga-kara was one of the regular taxes in Orissa during this period. A slightly different term bhūga-bhoga-kara is mentioned in the records of the Raishtra-

¹. El., III, p. 348, 1. 18; ibid., p. 357, 1. 45; ibid., XXVII part VII, p. 324, 1. 16.
². IA., II, part I, p. 39, 1. 13; ibid., p. 44, 1. 14; ibid., p. 49, 1. 16; ibid., p. 54, 1. 14; ibid., p. 87, 1. 14; ibid., p. 203, 1. 19 etc.
kūtas, the Chālukyas, the Paramāras, the Kalachuris, the Gāṅaḍāvālas and others. Fleet suggests that the word bhāga-bhoga may perhaps be taken as one fiscal term indicating enjoyment of taxes, for its literal meaning is enjoyment of shares. If we accept his view that bhāga-bhoga is one word, then bhoga-bhāga is also one word; and its meaning will be share of the bhoga or enjoyment as is suggested by him.

But bhoga-bhāga and kara may be considered separately also. According to R. S. Tripathi, the word bhāga-bhoga-kara really signified three different taxes namely the bhāga (grain-share or share of the produce), bhoga (enjoyment of certain rights by the landlord when the land lies fallow) and kara (rent proper payable in cash or kind). This seems to be the correct position. Kauṭilya refers to the portion of the produce payable to the government as bhāga. D. C. Sircar also interprets bhāga as the king's share of the produce. If the term bhāga-bhoga is a compound formed by two independent words, bhāga and bhoga, which seems to be more probable, then bhāga may be taken as the royal share of the produce.

According to D. C. Sircar, bhoga was the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers etc. which the villagers had to furnish to the king. This view about bhoga seems to be more probable because such a custom was in vogue even in Harsha's reign and it continued to the days of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Bāṇa mentions how: fools of grant-holders, issuing from the villages on the route (of Harsha's army) and headed by aged elders with uplifted water-pots pressed furiously near in crowds with presents of curds, molasses, candied sugar, and flowers in baskets, demanding the protection of the crops.

1. Fleet, CII., p. 254, fn. 4.
2. Ibid., p. 120, fn. 1.
3. Ibid.
4. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, p. 348
5. AS., Bk. II, chap. VI, p. 58.
7. Ibid.
 ADMINISTRATION

Kara is frequently mentioned in the Gaṅga inscriptions. It has been differently interpreted by different scholars. According to their views it was (1) a periodical tax over and above the king’s customary grain share, (2) an emergency tax levied from the villagers over and above the normal grain share and (3) a tax upon merchant’s profits. Shamasastri translates it at one place as “tax paid in money”, and at another as “taxes or subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others.” But in our epigraphic records it appears to indicate a tax in general. It invariably forms a part of the term sarvakara (all taxes) in Gaṅga inscriptions, which clearly shows that it denoted a tax in general. In some records we find the word akarikṛitiya (making free from taxes), which again supports the view that kara did not signify any specific tax but was used in the sense of tax in general.

The frequent references to such terms as bhoga-bhāga and bhāga-bhoga in our land grants show that they were land tax levied by the government. The traditional 1/6th of the produce may have been the rate of taxation. In the Pāla kingdom 1/6th of the produce was the normal rate in the 9th century A.D., as is shown by the designation shashṭha-dhikṛita applied to the collector of the grain share.

Uparikara: We come across this revenue term frequently

1. IO., II, part I, p. 25, 1. 10; ibid., p. 30, 1. 12; ibid., p. 5, 1. 17; ibid., I, p. 210, 1. 42; ibid. p. 221, 1. 48; ibid., p. 232, 11, 3 & 4.
2. HRS., p. 293.
4. Ibid., p. oo.
5. IO., II, part I, p. 25, 1. 10; ibid., p. 3, 1. 12; ibid., p. 5, 1. 17 etc.
7. Ibid., II, part I, p. 54, 1. 14; ibid., p. 203, 1. 19; ibid., p. 214, 1. 23.
8. Ibid., p. 49; ibid., p. 64, 1. 14.
9. JAHRS., VII, part II, pp. 131-32—Subba Rao thinks that probably 1/6th of the yield was the king’s share.
in the Bhauma-Kara and Somavāṁśī records. Scholars do not agree on the interpretation of this term. Fleet takes it to be a tax levied from cultivators who had no proprietary rights in the soil. Ghoshal suggests it as a tax imposed on the temporary tenants. But according to L. D. Barnett, uparikara is the counterpart of the Tamil expression melvaram meaning royal share of the produce. Altekar regards it identical with bhoga-bhāga-kara. But both the views of Barnett and Altekar seem to be incorrect because in a Marāṇju Mura charter of the Somavāṁśi king Mahāśivagupta, the word uparikara figures along with the term bhoga-bhāga-kara. Hence uparikara can neither be similar to bhāga, the royal share of the produce, as indicated by Barnett, nor to Bhogabhāga-kara as suggested by Altekar. D. C. Sircar and V. V. Mirashi have explained the crucial term as an extra cess. According to the latter, it may have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay. This view seems to be possibly correct. The fiscal expression uparikara is obviously a combination of the two words upari and kara. The term upari means upon or extra in Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi, and it evidently implies that it was an additional tax or extra cess as distinguished from the bhoga-bhāga-kara, the regular tax of this period.

Hiraṇya: We find frequent mention of hiraṇya in the Somavāṁśi inscriptions. According to N. C. Bandyopādhyāya, it was a tax on the hoard or capital or on the annual income which means that it was a sort of income tax.

1. JBORS., V, pp. 567.
2. EI., VIII, p. 141; JBORS., II, p. 53; IHQ., p. 242; EI, XI, p. 94.
3. Fleet, CII., III, p. 98.
5. JRAS., 1913, pp. 165 ff.
6. RAT., p. 216.
7. JBORS., II, p. 53.
8. Select Inscriptions, I, p. 266, fn. 5.
9. V. V. Mirashi, CII, IV, p. cxli.
10. Ibid.
But according to Beni Prasad it symbolises the right of the state to gold and probably other mines as well. ¹ D. C. Sircar takes it to be the royal share of certain crops paid in cash. ² Ghoshal has shown that it was a tax in cash levied upon certain special kinds of crops as distinguished from the tax in kind which was charged upon the ordinary crops. ³ Senart ⁴ and Keilhorn ⁵ regard it as a tax in money. Thus it is generally held as a levy in cash.

We get certain instances of assessment in cash in Orissa. The Talcher grant of Šulki ruler Kulastambha ⁶ and the Telcher grant of Tuṅga ruler Gayāḍatuniga ⁷ suggest that assessment was made in money. In the first grant the revenue of the whole village granted to a Brāhmaṇa was estimated as 42 rupees and in another as 44 rupees. In Bengal money estimates first appear in the 11th century A. D. in the land grants of the Senas. But it is not definite whether actual collection was made in cash either in Bengal or Orissa during early mediaeval times.

Pravāṇikara: This tax is rarely met with in our inscriptions. It is recorded in a grant of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III, ⁸ which shows that it was not widely prevalent in Orissa during our period. But most of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions mention this term, which may lead us to infer that it was a popular tax in the Gāhaḍavāla state. According to R. S. Tripathi, pravāṇikara was a tax on turnpikes intended to preserve the peace of the village by discouraging the advent of a large number of visitors. ⁹ Ghoshal has explained it as a tax imposed on some class of merchants. ¹⁰ Some scholars hold that it may have been a kind of tax imposed on pravāṇis in the locality concerned, who may have been small or retail

¹ The State in Ancient India, p. 302.
² Select Inscriptions, I, p. 362, fn. 7.
³ HRS., p. 62.
⁴ El., VII, pp. 61–62.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 160 ff.
⁶ Ibid., XII, No. 20, 11. 27–28.
⁷ JASB., NS, XII, p. 295, 11. 22–36.
⁹ R. S. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 348.
¹⁰ HRS., p. 263.
dealers.¹ This view seems to be more probable because of the use of the word *pra* as an affix to *vaṇīk*, meaning possibly a small or retail dealer.

*Kshetракara:* This term occurs in a Gaṅga inscription along with *pravaṇīkara.*² The word *Kṣhetra* generally means a field. But Basak³ and Pargiter⁴ interpret *kṣhetra* as cultivable land. In the Amarakosha it is defined as a special type of land capable of producing all kinds of crops.⁵ Hence the *kṣet rakara* seems to have been a tax imposed on a special kind of land capable of producing all kinds of crops.

*Lavāṇakara:* An epigraph of the Gaṅga king Ananta varman Choḍagaṅgadeva refers to *lavāṇkaradīḥkāri,*⁶ which shows that a tax was levied on salt. But this tax does not seem to be popular as it is rarely mentioned in our records. This tax figures in the Gāhādvāla inscriptions also.

*Nidhi-upanidhi:* The terms *nidhi* and *upanidhi* which mean deposit or buried treasures and minor or excess deposit are often mentioned in our epigraphic records.⁷ The Gāhādvāla inscriptions use the term *nidhinikashepa,*⁸ which implies the same meaning. All the ancient lawgivers state that the king was entitled to a fairly large share of the treasurer trove except when they were discovered by a Brāhmaṇa. Yājñavalkya (II. 35, 36) holds that if persons other than Brāhmaṇas find a treasurer trove (*nidhi*), the king was entitled to 1/6th of it. Manu⁹ (VIII. 30–33) says that a king had the right to preserve a lost property for three years. Vijñānesvara, commenting on the Yājñavalkya (II. 33), observes that in the first year, if the real owner comes to the king and proves his ownership, he had the right to get back the entire property.

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3. Ibid., XVII, p. 348.
4. IA., 1910, p. 205.
5. Amar., I, 5, p. 70.
7. EI., VII, p. 141; ibid., XXXV, part II, p. 64; lHQ. XX, p. 242, etc.
8. HGD., p. 171.
If the claimant came in the second year, the king charged 1/12th of the property as the price for keeping it in his safe custody. If he pressed his claim after three years, the king took 1/6th of the property before it was returned to the owner. If no body claimed, the person who found the *nidhi* or treasure trove was given 1/4th share, and the rest was appropriated by the king.

Yājñavalkya (II. 65) and Nārada (as quoted in Mit. on Yāj. II. 65) define *upanidhi* as the deposit of an article in a sealed receptacle without counting it in the presence of the person to whom it is entrusted and without telling him what it contains. Kātyāyana makes *upanidhi* as a generic term for all bailments such as a sold article remaining in the hands of the vendor, a deposit. Fines were imposed on the bailee if he made use of the bailed article without permission of the bailer. Such a punishment to the bailee is recommended by Yājñavalkya (II. 67) and Nārada (V. 8). Kātyāyana (V. 601), and is also approved by Devanabhaṭṭa and Aparrāka. Thus treasure trove (*nidhi*) and deposits (*upanidhi*) constituted another source of royal income.

A study of inscriptions further shows that generally the king's right extended over all the sources of the villages which are indicated by the terms—*āmra-madhuka*, *garttoshara* and *jalasthala*. The *āmra* (mango) and *madhuka* (bassia latifolia) trees were regarded as royal property. *Garttoshara* meant the ditches, drains and trenches and barren land in a village. The term *jalasthala* may have referred to either marshy land or plain land and water-reservoir; these reservoirs probably included *kūpa* (well), *vṛpi* (pond), and *taḍāga* (tank). The king also enjoyed rights over fishing and hunting.

The Ratnagiri plates of the Somavamśi Karṇa refer to some dues of uncertain character which are unknown in the grants of other dynasties of Orissa. These are *ḥastidanda*, *varabaltvārdā*, *chittola*, *andharūḍa*, *pratyandharūḍa*, *adatta*, *pedati*—

1. HGS., Ill, p. 455.
2. Smrīti Chandrikā, II, p. 181; Aparārka, p. 663.
fīvya, antarāvadḍi, rintakūvadḍi, vasāvaki, viskayūli, ahidaṇḍa, hala-daṇḍa, bandha-daṇḍa, vandāpanā and viśayavandāpanā. Most of these occur in the Narasinghpur plates\(^1\) of Udyotakesari and the Kelga plates.\(^2\) Though the exact significance of these still remain to be determined, we can make some plausible conjectures only.

**Hasti-daṇḍa**: Debāl Mitra thinks that it may mean taxes on the maintenance of elephants.\(^3\) But B. Misra suggests that it meant the right of killing elephants.\(^4\) It is difficult to say anything conclusively, but the second interpretation seems to be more probable in view of the context of the grant.

**Ahidaṇḍa**: Debāl Mitra points out that it might have been a tax imposed on snake charmers who earned their livelihood by the exhibition of snakes,\(^5\) but according to B. Misra it meant the right of killing snakes.\(^6\) The view of Debāl Mitra seems unconvincing because imposition of tax on snake charmers does not seem to be possible in early mediaeval Orissa where several types of taxes were already in existence. Hence the term ahidaṇḍa seems to indicate the right of killing snakes like hasti-daṇḍa, which probably meant the right to kill elephants.

**Bandha-daṇḍa**: It meant the power of conviction and punishment.\(^7\) The king must have income from this power also.

**Varabālīvarddha**: It is taken to mean taxes on the maintenance of superior bulls,\(^8\) and compared to the naileruddu (good bull) of a South Indian inscription.\(^9\) But possibly it meant supply of bulls etc. for conveyance to royal agents, as we learn from the Vākāṭaka inscription.

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3. Ibid., XXXIII, part VI, p. 267.
5. EI., XXXIII, part VI, p. 267.
7. Ibid.
8. EI., XXXIII, part VI, p. 267.
Padāṭijīva: It seems to indicate subsistence for the infantry.¹ Probably the people had to contribute taxes towards maintaining infantry in the state by supplying provisions to the foot-soldiers when they passed through the country-side.

Vandōpanā and Vijayavandōpanā: Debals Mitra takes these two terms to denote tribute to the king paid after the king obtained a victory.² If this interpretation is correct, it would show that tribute was another source of royal income. But B. Misra thinks that Vijayavandōpanā meant the right of receiving presents on the occasion of welcome.³

Other terms as chiṭṭola, anḍhāruṇā, pratyandhāruṇā, udatta, antarvāḍḍī, rintakaṇḍāḍī, vasāvakti and vishayāli seem to be obscure, and it is difficult to throw any light on their meaning.

Sometimes we come across the word triṇodaka in our inscriptions,⁴ which literally means grass and water, but technically it indicated a cess or nominal rent fixed for gift of villages, officially declared in some cases as a rent-free holding.

Another important fiscal due was šulka, which term occurs in a land grant of Sulki ruler Jayastambha.⁵ But we do not know the items on which this šulka was levied. In the earlier law-books, it is a familiar revenue expression,⁶ and was probably used in a general sense. Kshirasvāmin, commenting on a passage of the Amarakosha,⁷ states that šulka comprises the ferry-duties, the tolls paid at the Military or police-stations and the transit duties paid by merchants.

Daśāparudha: Fines constituted another source of the king’s income and were paid by convicted persons. When a village was donated, the right to receive the proceeds of fines within jurisdiction of that village was also usually transferred to the

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2. Ibid.
donees. The usual expression dasāparādha ¹ is a technical fiscal term of constant use in our charters. Fleet ² interprets it as the donee's right to the proceeds of the fines imposed for the commission of ten offences. But Ghoshal holds that the term dasāparādha refers to the donee's right to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villagers. ³ The contention of Ghoshal does not appear to be right. Our land grants nowhere mention the grant of the privilege of exemption from punishment to the Brāhmanaṇas in case of the commission of an offence. It is therefore not possible to accept his view. Altekar ⁴ also regards his opinion as incorrect. He says that the expression figures not only in grants given to Brāhmanaṇas but also in those given to temples, and in such grants the use of the phrase in the sense of the exemption from penalties can hardly be sound. Again, the term dāsa parādha is mentioned along with other taxes, granted to the donees, so it is likely that it stood for the donee's right to the proceeds of fines for the commission of offences.

Our land grants ⁵ usually prohibit the entrance of chaṭas and bhāṭas into the donated areas. They were irregular and regular troops who probably used to collect oppressive extra impositions and were therefore unpopular with the people. Altekar says that the chaṭas and bhāṭas were the members of the police and military forces of the state, and when they were quartered in a village while on the march the villagers had to meet a number of demands of their unwelcome guests. ⁶ Hence they were forbidden to enter a donated village owing to the fear that they would harass the inhabitants therein by exacting probably unauthorised and unjust dues. ⁷

¹ IHQ., XX, 1944, No. 3, p. 242; EI., XXVIII, part VII, p. 290; JBORS., II, p. 53; EI., XXXV, part II, p. 64
² Fleet, CII., III, p. 189, fn. 4.
⁴ RAT., op. cit., p. 236.
⁶ RAT., p. 233.
⁷ Ibid., The Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants used the term 'chaṭabhāṭa-
pravēṣadanda'.

The Narasinghpur charter ¹ of Somavamsi king Udyottakesari Mahabhavagupta IV mentions a term margganika, which seems synonymous with the word margananaka found in the inscriptions belonging to the Pratihara dynasty ² and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. ³ B. Misra suggests that it was a tax levied by the king on ceremonial occasions. ⁴ We meet rarely with it in our records. It therefore seems that this tax was not in vogue in Orissa proper.

Thus from the above discussion we see that during this period there were several impositions such as uparikara, hiranya, pravanikara, kshet rakara, lavanakara, hastidanda, ahidanda etc. besides the regular tax bhogabhagakara.

(b) Expenditure: The epigraphic records of Orissa do not specifically mention the items of state expenditure during this period. Hiuen Tsang gives us an idea of the expenditure of the state in general during his time. According to him, under an Indian Government in the 7th century A.D., the income derived from the royal land was divided into four parts. One part was for "the expenses of government and state worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence, and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to the various sects." ⁵ In a way this arrangement seems to have applied to Orissa also. The Orissa inscriptions show that a vast amount of wealth was spent on religious activities, especially in settling in this area a large number of Brahmanas from different parts of the country. They were granted revenues of villages for observances of various religious ceremonies and sacrifices. The lands granted to them were almost always villages; sometimes even the whole of a vishaya was given away to them as indicated by our records. ⁶ The state also incurred a heavy expenditure in erecting a large number of temples and granting rich endowments to them for their maintenance.

1. JBORS., XVII, part I, pp. 17–18.
2. JASB., XXXI, pp. 120 ff.
3. IA., XVIII, pp. 90 ff.
5. Watters, I, p. 176.
A part of the revenue was also spent on the royal capital and other big towns such as palaces, roads, tanks etc.

In an age of aggressive warfare, military expenses also must have been heavy. The Orissan kings, particularly of the Gaṅga dynasty, maintained a large army for the sake of defence, conquest and consolidation. It is said that the famous Gaṅga ruler Anantavarman Chodaganga-deva had an elephant force, numbering ninety-nine thousands besides a large number of cavalry and infantry, (which were usually taken in various expeditions for the expansion of the Gaṅga empire). Thus a large proportion of the state's income must have been spent on the army and military operations.

Another important item of public expenditure was the remuneration to ministers and officials. The copper-plates of the period mention a good number of officials, but it is not definite whether they were paid in cash or kind. But a few epigraphic records show that civil and military officials were granted land for their services to the state.

A part of revenue was also spent in maintaining royal establishments. The king had to support a large retinue of palace servants, foreign envoys and the needy and the helpless who waited on him. He kept probably a reserve to meet the calamities such as famine, pestilence and war, as shown by the existence of an officer called Mūlabhanḍāramūla-Mudrāhasta.

Evidently our knowledge of items of expenditure in early medieval Orissa is sketchy. We also do not know anything about the percentage of the state income spent on different subjects. It seems the two items, probably religion and army, accounted for the heaviest expenditure during our period.

1. SII., V, No. 1347.
4. Ibid., p. 128.
CHAPTER III

AGRARIAN ECONOMY

SECTION I

LAND SYSTEM

The whole territory of Orissa was divided amongst the various ruling houses, which granted lands to feudal vassals, officials, temples and above all to Brāhmaṇas which led to the fragmentation of land in Orissa. The numerous copper-plate land grants show the existence of a considerable class of religious grantees and secular assignees.

The secular grantees consisted of vassals and officials. There are very few records of direct land grants made to feudals lords. ¹ Officials, who constituted another class of secular assignees, held quite a few villages. Devānanda III of the Nanda dynasty (A.D. 899) granted a village in the Cuttack district to Yaśodatta, his Kāyastha minister of peace and war. ² A ruler of the Bhaṭja dynasty of Khiṅjali granted a village to an astrologer in the second half of the 12th century. ³ The astrologer may have earned assignments from the Bhaṭjas for his services in making calendars. The Somavarmśi ruler Mahābhavāgupta I (A.D. 935-70) granted four villages in Kośala by three land charters to his Brāhmaṇa chief minister Sādhāraṇa. ⁴ The Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva (A.D. 1076-1148) assigned a village along with a hamlet in Kaliṅga to his trusty agent. ⁵

Military officials too were paid by grants of villages as discussed earlier. ⁶

But the Brāhmaṇa donees far outnumbered the secular assignees. Rulers of all dynasties in this period such as the

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¹ JASE., XL, No. 3, pp. 166-68; EL., III, No. 47, 11. 28-42 etc.
² Ibid., XXIX, part VI, p. 188.
³ Ibid., XVIII, p. 299.
⁴ EL., III, p. 545.
⁵ I., A., XVIII, pp. 173-74.
⁶ Supra. p. 53.
Śailodbhava, Bhauma-Kara, Śulki, Tuṅga, Nanda, Bhaṇja, Somavārī and the Gaṅga granted land to the Brāhmaṇas, who were invited to Orissa from different parts of the country. To begin with the Śailodbhava dynasty, Mādhavavarāja \(^1\) granted a village Chhavalakkhaya to a Brāhmaṇa named Chharama Svāmī in the Krishnagiri víshaya \(^2\) (district) of Koṅgoda. Another ruler Mādhavavarman \(^3\) donated a village named Ambagrāma in the Devagrāma víshaya to a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa. Again a village called Nivinā was assigned to a Brāhmaṇa in the Khidiṅgahāra \(^4\) víshaya. In this way about eight villages and forty-two timpiras of land were granted by the rulers of this dynasty in different víshayas of Koṅgoda such as Thoraṇa, Guḍḍa, Jayapura, Kaṭaka-bhukti, Khidiṅgahāra, Śrīrājatilaka, Vartini etc.

The Bhauma-Kara ruler Śivakara \(^5\) allotted the village of Vuvrada in the Anarudra víshaya of Dakṣiṇa Tosalī to the Brāhmaṇa Jālu Bhaṭṭa. Another king Subhākara I \(^6\) combined two villages in Uttara Tosalī into one and granted the unit to two hundred Brāhmaṇas. Again, Daṇḍimahādevī \(^7\) alienated a village named Garasambhā in the Arttani víshaya in the Koṅgoda maṇḍala in Dakṣiṇa Kośala in favour of the Bhaṭṭaputra Purushottama. Many such examples can be produced.

Under the Śulki dynasty its king Kulastambha \(^8\) donated the village of Siṅga in the Paśchima khaṇḍa of the Pūrva víshaya to Bhaṭṭa Viśvarūpa. The Puri plates \(^9\) refer to the grant of a village made by another ruler Raṇastambha to Bhaṭṭaputra Madhusūdana. Jayastambha, the next ruler gave the village of Chandrapura in the Koṅkula khaṇḍa of the Goilla víshaya, to the Brāhmaṇa Vavana, who came from Kolaṅcha. \(^{10}\) More examples may be cited.

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2. Ibid., pp. 174–76.
3. Ibid., p. 209.
5. EI., XV, pp. 1–8; B. Misra, op. cit., p. 4.
6. Ibid., VI, pp. 140–42.
7. Ibid., XII, pp. 156–59.
The Tuṅga ruler Gayāḍatuṅga distributed land in the Talcher area to the Brāhmaṇas from outside. In one case he granted the productive land of a village to eleven Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra, 1 in another he distributed a village among three Brāhmaṇas from Varendra. 2

The Nanda ruler Dhruvānand assigned a piece of land in the district of Jayapura to one Bhaṭṭa, son of Jidkabhaṭṭa. 3

Similarly the Bhaṭṭa ruler Raṇabhaṭṭa 4 alienated a village in the Khāṭiya vishaya of the Khiṅjalī maṇḍala in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. The Sonpur grant 5 of Śatrubhaṭṭa mentions the assignment of Milupādi Khaṇḍakṣhetra in the Royarā vishaya, in Udbhaya-Khiṅjalī maṇḍala, to Bhaṭṭaputra Kṛishṇa. The Ganjam plate of Vidyādharabhaṭṭa refers to the grant of the village of Mūla-Māchāḍa in Māchāḍa khaṇḍa vishaya to a Brāhmaṇa named Purandara. 6 There are several such examples of land gifts to Brāhmaṇas under the Bhaṭṭa dynasty.

The rulers of the Somavamśi dynasty also followed this practice. A few examples may be cited here. The Sonpur grant of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya records the gift of the village of Vakratentali belonging to the Lupattarā khaṇḍa to the Bhaṭṭaputra Jalarupa. 7 The Cuttack grant of Mahāśivagupta states that he donated the village of Chāndagṛāma in the Murada vishaya in the Dakṣiṇa Kośala to the Brāhmaṇa Śāṅkhapani. 8 Again, the Kudopali grant of his son Mahābhavagupta II refers to the grant of a village in the Giṃḍā maṇḍala to the Bhaṭṭaputra Nārāyaṇa, an immigrant from Hastipada. 9

The Gaṅga rulers granted the largest number of villages to the Brāhmaṇas. It was quite natural in view of the extent

1. JASB., ( NS ), V, pp. 347 ff.
2. Ibid., XII, pp. 293–94.
3. JBORS., XV, p. 88.
4. EI., XIX, p. 42.
6. Ibid., XVIII, pp. 296–98.
7. Ibid., XI, pp. 93–95.
of the Gaṅga state and the duration of the Gaṅga rule in Orissa during our period. The Ponnuturu plates of Sāmanta-varman state that he granted the village of Pratishṭhapura, situated in the district of Dāghpaṇchāli, to four Brāhmaṇas. 1 Similarly the Andhavaram plates of another Gaṅga king Indravarman record the grant of a village named Toṭavāṭaka, situated in the Kroshtuka Varttinī vishaya, to the Brāhmaṇa residents of Andorakāgrahāra. 2 Again the Chidivalasa grant 3 of Devendravarman refer to the grant of a village, situated in the district of Koluvarttinī, to different Brāhmaṇas named Ādityabhaṭṭa, Yajñabhaṭṭa and Khaṇḍidevabhaṭṭa.

Thus it becomes quite clear that the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries were far greater in number than the secular beneficiaries in Orissa.

Epigraphic records of land gifts to temples are also not inconsiderable. The Hindol plate 4 of the Bhauma-Kara king Subhākara II dated A. D. 839 registers the gift of the village Noḍḍilo in the Kankara vishaya in the Uttara Tosali at the request of a certain Pulindarāja in favour of the god Vidyānātha Bhaṭṭāraka enshrined in the Pulindeśvara temple, and his Dharakot plate 5 dated in the same year records the grant of the village Gundaja in Jayakāṭaka vishaya of Koṅgoda maṇḍala in Dakhshiṇa Tosali. Śivakara III's Talcher plate 6 executed in a Buddhist monastery named Jayāśrama dated A. D. 885 donates the village Kallani in Northern Tosali for the worship of Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka at the request of rāṇaka Viniṭatunāga. A Bhaṭṭa grant 7 dated the middle of the 11th century A. D. refers to the grant made in the name of Bhagavat Saṅkara Bhaṭṭārka, i.e. the God Śiva, by Mahanmadāhavabhaṭṭa. The Lodhia plates 8 of the Somavāṃśi king Mahāśivaguptarājadeva mentions the gift of the village Vaidya-

1. IO., II, part I, pp. 10–11; EI., XXVII, p. 216.
4. JBORS., XVI, pp. 69–83.
5. Ibid., IV, pp. 189–94.
7. EI., XXX, part VI, p. 225.
padraka in the subdivision of Oṣi by him for the offerings to an worship with music, dance and feeding, of God Śiva Isāneśvara enshrined in the temple at Pattana Khadirapadra-
tala and for the repairs and maintenance of that structure. It is known from the Visagapatam grants that the Gaṅga king Devendravarman III (A.D. 748) assigned some villages to the Holy God, the Bhaṭṭārka Dharmēśvara. An inscription of another Gaṅga ruler Vajrahasta I (A.D. 936) states that certain lands and twenty-four she-buffaloes were granted to the Vateśvara and Vīreśvara gods. In A.D. 1084 Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva gave away the village Sellada in modern Tekkali taluq for worship and services of the goddess Bhagavati. He further donated a village for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Kirttiivāsa in A.D. 1112. Many such instances of royal donations to temples may be furnished. Sometimes the king's queens and mother granted land for religious purposes. Mahādevī Vijyā, the queen of Rāṇabhaṅga, gave away lands for the worship of Vijayēśvara Śiva. The queens of Neṭṭabhaṅjadeva named Rājī Kshatridevī, Kaivartadevī and Rajaputrī Meghāvalidevī donated a village called Vandutuṅga situated in the Kamverālla vishaya to 14 Brāhmaṇas. They obtained permission from the king to issue the grant. The Roṇāṅki inscriptions record the donation of some land in the 19th year of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva in A.D. 1093 to the temple of Śiddheśvara by the queen Lakshmi-
devī. The mother of the Somavamsī king Mahāsivagupta named Vasta constructed a separate temple of Hari at Śripura, the capital town, and donated a number of villages to vedic Brāhmaṇas engaged in the worship of the deity. The Gaṅga king Rājendravarman's mother Lokamahādevī granted

1. IO., II, part I, p. 96.  
5. EL., XX, pp. 100 ff.  
6. OHRJ., I, No. 4, p. 269.  
7. MBR., p. 24, Nos. 392 and 393.  
two villages named Arali in Jāmbota pañchālī and Kṛiśasaṅkīra in Dāpu pañchāli to the goddess Kanchipoṭi Bhaṭṭārīka.

Land was granted for religious purposes also by feudatories and officials. The feudatory ruler Gayaḍatuṅgadeva donated the village of Vāmitālā in the Tunkera vishaya to three Brāhmaṇas. ¹ Another feudatory king Dhruvānanda endowed a piece of land at Śilodā in the district of Jayapura in the village of Jambubadā on a Brāhmaṇa. ² The māṇḍalika Purushottama in the 22nd year of Anantavarman in A. D. 1148 gave some lands. ³

A certain senāpati (commander) and mahāsāndhivigrahi (minister of peace and war) of Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva granted some land for the daily cake offerings in the temple of Nileśvara. ⁴ Govinda senāpati, an officer of Anaṅgabhīma II, donated 5 vāṭikas of land for making provision for sweeping the maṇḍapa thrice a day, white washing its wall once a year and repairing the roof once in every 12 years. ⁵ Śri Karaṇa Suru Senāpati, donated two pieces of land on Friday Phalgun bādi 1 in A. D. 1237 to the god Purushottama for making provision for the supply of one māṇa of rice possibly per day. ⁶

We have also instances of individual citizens who granted land for religious purposes. Lokimāni Seṭṭi donated a piece of land at Bhogapuram during the 31st year of Anantavarmandeva. ⁷ Thus we see that endowments of land were made not only by the kings but also by members of royal families, feudatories, officials and individuals during this period—a practice which obtained in India in the Gupta period also. ⁸

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¹ JASB., (NS), XII, p. 295.
² JBORS., XV, p. 88.
³ MER., p. 15, No. 180.
⁴ JAHR., VII, part II, p. 125.
⁵ EI., XXX, part I, p. 23.
⁶ Ibid., part IV, p. 203.
⁸ S. K. Maity, The Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period, p. 43.
There was a great variation in the nature of endowments made. The grant of more villages than one to a single individual or a group of persons, though rare, is not quite unknown. The Neulpur plate \(^1\) of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva I, assigned to the 9th century A.D. (on palaeographic grounds), records a grant of the villages of Parvata-droni-Komparāka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka, situated in the vishayas of Pāṇchāla and Vubhyudaya in Ṣūṭarə Tosali to two hundred Brāhmaṇas. The Nadagam grant of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta V refers to an assignment of the Brada vishaya containing the twelve villages of Velpūra, Trumumkā, Vappūḍām, Vallurama, Arṇago........... (tpennimīva), Konūraṇa, Poduru, Vāḍām, Muringām, Kanamarampa, Devaramachikīḍamba and Gudrapī having been (clubbed together and ) named Velpūra vishaya to one Pāṅgu-Sāmaya. \(^2\) Another inscription of Vajrahasta \(^3\) mentions the gift of the whole of Gorasatta vishaya together with its 35 villages to Iругana Māṇḍītīya Chota and Vīra Bhūrtīrāva.

We have also records of grants of two villages. The Sonpur plate of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti of the Somavāṃśi dynasty \(^4\) and the Pattali grant of Lokamahādevi, \(^5\) the queen mother of the Gaṅga king Rājendravarman, furnish some instances of such grants.

Grants of single villages are mentioned in numerous records. Although entire villages or groups of villages were often donated, it was no less usual to allot areas of a much smaller extent, such as parts of a village or plots of land. The Daspalla grant of the Bhaṇja ruler Netṭabhaṇja mention the endowment of a piece of land (vallak Khaṇḍakshetra) in the village of Drolladā in the Rāmālavva vishaya of Khiṅjali maṇḍala to a Brāhmaṇa Bhāṭṭa Purushottama. \(^6\) The Parikud plates \(^7\) of Śailodbhava king Madhyamarājadeva record the

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2. Ibid., IV, pp. 190–92.
3. Ibid., XI, pp. 147–58.
4. JBOII, II, pp. 45–49.
6. JBOII, XX, p. 100.
grant of some land extending to 12 timplas in the Kaṭaka-

bhukti vishaya of the Koṅgoda maṇḍala to Śila Svāmin and
eleven other Brāhmaṇas in the 26th regnal year. The Nara-
simhapalli grants of the Gaṅga king Hastivarman state the
assignment of only six halas of land to god Nārāyaṇa. 1 In
such grants of land special attention was paid to the measure-
ment of the land endowed, the settlement of boundaries and
also to the quantity of its produce.

Certain general procedures were followed in granting
land, and obviously on the eve of the donation certain for-
malities were observed. The declaration of the grant was
made known to the headman of the village, Brāhmaṇas, royal
officials, feudatories etc., as we see from the Vishamagiri
plates of Indravarmadeva and from the Dhenkanal plates of
Tribhuvanamahādevi and others. 2 The obvious object behind
this all was to ensure that no injustice was done during the
transaction. In the end, like other Hindu religious forma-
lism, the gift ceremony was finally completed with a libation
of water. 3

Land was sometimes granted for certain specific purposes.
It was given to defray the various expenses of worshipping
gods. The Hindol plate 4 of the Bhauma-Kara king Subhā-
karadeva, assigned to the 9th century A. D. mentions the
allotment of half of a village or making regular offering
(halt ) and performing the charu (rice or other corns boiled
with milk and mixed with clarified butter). Other objects
mentioned are worship with pure leaves, sandal paste, flowers,
light, aromatic smoke, the maintenance of servants (of the
deity ) and the repair of the temple. The other half of the
village is allotted for supplying garments, sacrificial materials
and medicines to the Śaivite ascetics and for their living on
rice water ( tanḍulodakāḥ ). Land was also granted for carrying
on worship with music and dance. 5 Moreover, lands were
sometimes donated 6 even for obtaining the rains.

1. IO., II, part I, p. 15.
3. Ibid.
4. JBORS., XVI, p. 81.
Land Tenure: We come across certain forms of land tenures which prevailed in the case of religious grants. These may be enumerated as (1) nivi-dharma, (2) akshayanivi-dharma, (3) bhūmichchhidrapidhāna-nyāya or bhūmichchhidrāpi-dhāna-nyāya.

Nivi-dharma: The Hindol plate of Subhākaradeva shows that in the Kankavira vishaya a village named Noḍḍilo was granted in accordance with this maxim. The technical term nivi-dharma is also found in other inscriptions. Indologists have interpreted the expression nivi and nivi-dharma in different ways. K. P. Jayaswal states that nivi is a technical word of the Hindu secretariat. It means a despatch, a document, a record, or a file. The term, like our modern red-tape, is derived from the string which is tied round the despatch or return. The nivi of the epigraphs has thus to be translated as document or despatch and akshaya-nivi as permanent document. But Basak strongly refutes this view. He points out that in reaching his interpretation of the term Jayaswal probably goes by the meaning vastra-bandhanam attributed to this word by lexicographers, and in support of his opinion he refers to some passages in the Arthaśāstra. Basak thinks that the meaning of the term nivi given in the lexicons of Amara and Hemachandra would suit the passages in the inscriptions and in the Arthaśāstra, and that it escaped the notice of Jayaswal. In the Amarakosha the expression nivi is put as a synonym for paripaṇa and mūladhana (i.e., the capital or principal in sale and purchase and such other transactions). Likewise Hemachandra uses mūladraṇya as a synonym of nivi. Thus it appears that a gift according to the nivi-dharma was to be maintained perpetually by the donee, but he could make use of the income arising from it.

1. Ibid., XVI, p. 81.
2. Ibid., II, p. 424.
3. IA., 1918, p. 51.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
7. AS., 11, 7, pp. 61, 62 and 64.
8. Amara., 9, 80, p. 218.
He could not have the right of destroying the perpetuity of the grant by bestowing it on another person.

_Akshayanivi-dharma_: We find reference to this type of tenureship in the plate of Lokavigraha _Bhatīraka_ assigned to the 6th century A.D. The land granted according to this maxim was to be treated as _akshayanivi_ where the original endowment was in no circumstances to be destroyed or diminished. The term _akshaya_ is added to the _nivi-dharma_ for giving more emphasis to the permanency of the donation.

_Bhūmichchhirdrapidhāna-nyāya_: This term occurs in the Sāntigrāma grant of Dāndimahādevi, the copper-plate charter of Tribhuvanamahādevi, the Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta III and many other land grants of our period. It is remarkable that in contemporary records outside Orissa we nowhere come across this expression. It appears as a typical word used in Orissa during our period. The inscriptions of the other regions mention the term _bhūmichchhidra-nyāya_, which indicated a custom according to which a person who brought a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation for the first time was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.

The expression _bhūmichchhirdrapidhāna nyāya_ is translated by H. P. Śāstrī as “leaving holes on earth through which no pen can pass”, but in our opinion this interpretation does not seem to be correct, because in certain inscriptions the expression _a-lekhani-praveśataya_ precedes _bhūmichchhirdpīdhāna-nyāya_ which also has the meaning as the one suggested by H. P. Śāstrī for the latter term. Hence the interpretation of Śāstrī does not seem to be plausible. Stenkonow renders it as the maxim of covering a hole in the ground. This meaning may be literally correct, but it does not throw

1. EI., XXVIII, part VII, p. 331, 1. 11.
2. Ibid., XXIX, part IV, p. 89, 1. 32.
7. EI., XXIX, part IV, p. 89, 1. 32.
8. Ibid., XI, p. 158.
light on the implication of the term bearing on tenure. D. C. Sircar ¹ points out that the word chhidra no doubt refers to the furrowing of the land. But the idea of chhidrapidhana or covering a hole seems to have developed out of an misunderstanding of the original meaning of the term nyāya. ² According to him, the whole term implies that the loss of lands probably (he means) of the donee owing to various causes was to be compensated by making free gifts of some of them. It may, however, also mean the custom of reclaiming fallow land. ³ The first interpretation suggested by D. C. Sircar as compensation of the loss of land probably of the donees by the grant of free gifts seems to be plausible in view of the implied sense of the expression bhūmichchhidrapidhana-nyāya.

Rights of donees: The land charters of our period enumerate the various rights transferred to the donees. We find that rights generally extended not only over land but also over water and everything else that existed on the land. The Dhenkanal plate of the Sulki ruler Kulastambhadeva ⁴ refers to the grant of a village together with land, water, forest etc. within its boundaries. Sometimes different kinds of land are specified. The Nibinna charter of the Somavāṃśi king Mahāśīvagupta ⁵ refers to marshy land, plainland, ditches and sterile soil. The copper-plate grant of Braṇja king Yaśobhaṇjadeva ⁶ of Khaṇḍalī states that a tax-free village with its trees, creepers, thickets, forests along with the rights to fishing and catching tortoise was donated. A charter ⁷ of the Somavāṃśi king Mahābhavagupta IV, who ruled over western Orissa and Kośala in the beginning of the 11th century A. D., mentions the grant of two villages along with the right of killing snakes (ahidanā) and

1. Ibid., XXIX, part IV, p. 86.
2. The Valīayanti explains bhūmichchhidra as uncultivable land. In the Kauṭilya also, the expression is used exactly in the same sense.
3. El., XXIX, part IV, p. 86.
6. Ibid., XVIII, No. 29, pp. 298-99.
7. JBORS., XVII, pp. 17-18, 11. 29-49.
elephants (*hastidanda*). The present grant carried rights to all future taxes (*bhavishyatkara*), which implies taxes to be levied by the king and his successors in future. Some new fiscal rights are mentioned in a grant of the last Somavânsi ruler Someśvaradeva who assigned plots of land (*khaṇḍakshetra*) with the rights of enjoyment of ivory (*hasti-danta*), tiger-skin (*vyāghra-charma*), various animals (*nāṇā-vana-chara*), as well as different trees such as tamarind and palmyra along with forests. Obviously this donation was made in a forest area. Thus it shows that certain fiscal dues such as rights to the trees, forests, hides, fish etc. were characteristics of land situated in backward areas.

But the fiscal rights enjoyed by the rulers and granted to the donees were different in developed areas. One of the striking features of the land grants made in settled areas was the transfer by the donors of not only villages with various kinds of dues but also with weavers (*tantuvāya*), brewers (*śawāḍika*), cowherds (*gokula*) and other subjects (*prakṛiti-kāh*), as the Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvanamahādevi indicate. This practice was followed not only by the Bhauma-Kara rulers but also by their feudatories, the Bhañjas and Tuṅgas, during this period. The assignment of land with weavers, brewers, cowherds etc. indicates that they were attached to the soil as artisans and husbandmen, and in case of oppression by the donees could not seek shelter in other villages. Such grants must have reduced them to the condition of semi-serfs, producing surplus for the benefit of Brāhmaṇa grantees. We find a similar provision in some 12th century Chandella inscriptions, which make over artisans, peasants, and traders to the grantees. But in Orissa this system obtained on a far larger scale and for a longer period. Here this practice may have been

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1. Ibid., 11. 37-49. Only the terms of the grant of one village are recorded. Terms of the second village may have been the same.


4. Ibid., XVI, pp. 81-83; E.I., XXIX, pp. 85-86, IHQ., XXI, p. 221.


6. Ibid., XX, No. 14, B. Plates, 1. 19.
necessary due to the scarcity of working population for running rural economy.

The dues granted to the donee along with land included fines, taxes, *nīḍhī-upanidhi* etc. Thus a Somavāṁśī record dated the 10th century A.D. mentions the grant of a village with *daśāparādha*, which means rights to the proceeds of the fines imposed for the commission of the offences, together with all revenues such as, *bhoga, bhūga, kara, hiraṇya, uparikara, nīḍhī-upanidhi* etc. This shows that practically the ownership of land was conferred upon the grantee. But this was not typical of Orissa, for the transfer of such dues and rights was a usual feature in the mediaeval grants of northern India.

Sometimes we come across revenue-paying grants called *karaśāsana* in our records. A copper-plate charter of the Somavāṁśī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya which records a *kara śāsana* (i.e. a revenue-paying grant and not a revenue-free gift) has the following interesting endorsement: *prativarṣhe ch-ātra śāsane kara/ṃ paṭcha rūpya-plāṇi nishṭaṇkya kara-śāsanāṁ= idāṁ dattāṁ yatra rū pla 5*. The annual rent of the village granted to some Brāhmaṇa by the Somavāṁśī king was thus fixed at five *palas* of *rūpya*. Another such example is furnished by the Talcher copper-plate inscription of Gayādattuṅga which mentions the grant of a village in favour of three Brāhmaṇas with the following terms: *rupya-pla chatvari aṅka rūpya pla 4* (four *palas* of *rūpya*). The practice that religious beneficaries were required to pay some dues to the donors did not prevail in northern India and seems to have been typical of Orissa.

However, a survey of the Orissan inscriptions of this period shows that a vast area of land was given away either to the individual Brāhmaṇas or to religious institutions or vassals or officers. In most cases, land was given free of all dues for religious purposes. This must have resulted in considerable loss to the state treasury.

The net result of land grant to Brāhmaṇas in Orissa was

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1. IHQ, XX, p. 242.
3. JASB. (NS), I, p. 13.
4. Ibid., XII, pp. 292–94.
the imposition of superior land holders upon ordinary cultivators. These were mainly Brāhmaṇas invited from outside Orissa. The grant of the usual fiscal dues to the Brāhmaṇa donees, together with the right of confining the working population to donated land, reduced the peasants and artisans to the position of semi-serfs, and paved the way for the rise of Brāhmaṇa feudatories. It gave power and prestige to priestly grantees. Whatever might be the intentions of the donors, the grants helped to create powerful intermediaries wielding considerable economic and administrative power. Thus the net result of land grants was the creation of feudal conditions in which superior landlords were imposed upon ordinary cultivators.

Land Sale: We meet with references to the system of land sale also in our period. An instance of an actual land sale is recorded in the Madras Museum ¹ plates of Narendravali, assigned to the 10th century A. D. It appears that a person named Seḍā purchased a village Tadesvaragrama from the illustrious Śilabhaṇjadeva as a kraya sāsana (deed of purchase) paying some rūpyaka, i.e. silver or money; the purchase seems to have been made through his rāṇaka Ghorighāka. The rūpyaka appears to have been paid through rājaputra Vīghraha. Some years later, the village was resold by Seḍā as a kraya sāsana to the three persons on receipt of an amount of rūpyaka, specified as pla 10 ā-māḍa 2 gu 4 that is silver weighing 10 palas, 2 masha and 4 guṇijas. In the Gupta period also this system prevailed. ²

Land-measurement: Orissa developed an elaborate system of land measurement. We find various kinds of land measurements mentioned in the records of different dynasties of our period.

Under the Śailodbhava, land was measured on the basis of timpira, which figures in most of their grants. The Orissa Museum plates ³ of Mādhavavarman record the grant of twenty-three timpiras of land. The Parikud plates ⁴ of Madhyamarājadeva mention the gift of a land extending

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¹ Eld., XXVIII, part II, pp. 49-50.
² S. K. Maiti, op. cit., p. 47.
³ IO., 1, part II, p. 190.
⁴ Ibid., p. 203.
12 timpiras in the village of Purva khaṇḍa (eastern part) in the Kaṭakabhukti vishaya in the 26th regnal year. In the Raṇapur charters of Dharmarāja five timpiras of land are referred to as having been donated in a single village.\(^1\) The same measure is reported in the Banapur\(^2\) and Puri\(^3\) plates of Dharmarāja.

These references point out the importance of timpira as the popular unit of land measure in the Koṅgoda maṇḍala in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. According to S. N. Rājaguru,\(^4\) the word timpira denotes a measurement of land probably equal to gocharman, i.e. 150 square cubit.\(^5\) Since we do not come across this expression timpira in contemporary records of other states, this was a land-measure typical of Orissa.

In the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions, māla is mentioned as a unit of measurement. Thus the Angul copper-plate\(^6\) of Dharmamahādevi records the donation of ten mālas of land. It occurs in the Tuṅga records also. The land charter of Gayādatungadeva, palaeographically\(^7\) assignable to the 11th century A.D. mentions the distribution of the donated village situated in the Venuṅga Vishaya in the Yamagarta maṇḍala in the following way: (1) 1/6th māla to Dādo, (2) 1/6th māla to Trivikrama and Purushottama, (3) 1/18th māla to five brothers, (4) 1/18th māla to Vishṇu, (5) 1/18th māla to Ghāllo, (6) 1/6th māla to Nārāyaṇa, (7) 1/12th māla to three brothers, (8) 1/18th māla to Trilochana, (9) 1/36th māla to Baladeva, (10) 1/12th māla to Manorava and Devārāma, and (11) 1/12th māla to Sadhovaṇa. Thus it shows that māla as a unit of land measure was commonly used in the Tuṅga rule.

The term māla may denote the same measure as ma (in South Indian measure) which is 1/20th of a veli.\(^8\)

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1. Ibid., p. 221.
3. Ibid., p. 232.
5. Ibid., p. 143.
8. EI., VII, No. 20, p. 143 note.
The Gaṅga inscriptions of our period contain several terms such as hala, vāṭi or vāṭika, puṭṭi, muraja or muraya, nala etc.

Hala: The plough-measure is technically called hala, which was current in many places, especially in the Gaṅga kingdom. The term occurs as a land-measure in the Narasimhapalli plates 1 and Urlam plates 2 of Hastivarman, the Achyutapura grants, 3 the Santabommali grants 4 and Tekkali charters 5 of Indravarman, the Siddhantam inscription 6 of Devendravarman and the Alagum inscription 7 of Anantavarman. The use of the hala in land grants meant as much of land as could be easily cultivated with one plough in a day. This measurement of land was in use in the different parts of northern India also. 8 In the works of Pāṇinī, Patañjali etc. hala is found used in the sense of a land-measure. Bāṇa 9 shows acquaintance with the application of this term as a land-measurement. It is apparent from his reference to the grant by Harsha of a “hundred villages delimited by a thousand ploughs.” This appears to denote that the extent of the given land measured 1000 ploughs.

Vāṭi: Vāṭi or vāṭika was another popular measure of land in Orissa during the Gaṅga rule. The Dasgoba plates of Rājarāja III 10 dated A. D. 1198, the Nagari grants 11 of Anaṅgabhima III dated A.D. 1230 and many other inscriptions mention this term. According to Wilson’s Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, a vāṭi of land in Orissa is equal to twenty māṇas. A māṇa seems to be equal to a bigha and is said to be equal to twenty-five guṇṭhas at Cuttack. 12 A guṇṭha (measuring 121 square yards or the fortieth part of

1. IO., II, part I, p. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 20.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. Ibid., p. 30.
5. Ibid., p. 59.
6. Ibid., p. 82.
7. EL., XXIX, part II, p. 47.
8. Puspa Niyogi, op. cit., p. 82.
11. Ibid., XXVIII, part VI, pp. 256–58.
12. Ibid., p. 244.
an acre in some places) is regarded as sixteen *biswas* while a *biswa* is said to be one-twentieth of a *bigha*. D. C. Sircar points out that this seems to show that a *vāṭi* is sometimes regarded as equal to $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land. But the *vāṭi* varies in area in different parts of the country, and there may have also been difference between the area of a *vāṭi* of the present day and that recognised by the Gaṅga kings of Orissa in the 13th century A.D. This is probably suggested by the fact that the *Promode Abhidhāna*, an Oriya dictionary published in 1942, regards a *māṇa* as equal to one acre of land and a *vāṭi* as equal to twenty acres.

The area of 18 *vāṭis* of land granted by the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhūma III to a Brāhmaṇa is referred to in the Nagari plates as a *gocharman*. D. C. Sircar points out that originally *gocharman* may have indicated that area of land which could be covered by the hides of cows slaughtered in a sacrifice, and which was granted to the priests as sacrificial fee. But different interpretations of the term are given by different authorities. According to Nilakanṭha's Commentary on the *Mahābhārata* it indicated a piece of land large enough to be encompassed by straps of leather from a single cow's hide. The *Parāśara Samhitā* and *Bṛhaspati Samhitā* appear to suggest that the *gocharman* was that area of land where one thousand cows could freely graze in the company of a hundred bulls. According to the *Vishnu Samhitā*, the area of land, sufficient to maintain a person for a whole year with its produce, was called a *gocharman*. There is a more specific determination of the area of the *gocharman* in the *Samhitās* of Sātātapa and Bṛhaspati, according to which it was ten times a *nivartana* which was the area of $300 \times 300$ square cubits (about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres). Unfortunately the area of the *nivartana* is not regarded the same by diffe-

1. Ibid.
2. Quoted in El., XXVIII, part VI, p. 244.
4. Ibid., p. 245.
5. Vide El., XXVIII, pp. 244-45 for the meaning of the term ‘*gocharman*’ in different *Samhitās* and in the works of Viśnūneśvara and Nilakanṭha.
rent authorities. Even according to the variant readings of Bṛhaspati’s text, referred to above, the nivartana, regarded as 1/10th of the gocharman, was the area of 210 × 210 square cubits (about 2½ acres). Bhāshkarāchārya’s Lilāvati¹ speaks of the nivartana as 200 × 200 square cubits in area (about 2 acres). D. C. Sircar thinks that all these differences were mainly due to the varying length of the cubit and the measuring rod of which there was no recognised standard.²

Putti: It was also used as a unit of measurement. The fourth Mukhalingam stone inscription³ of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III dated A. D. 1058 refers to a donative gift of five puttis⁴ of land for the supply of castor oil to God during the reign of Rājarāja III in A. D. 1198. One putti is known to have been equal to eight acres.⁵

Muraja or Muraya: We come across an interesting term muraja in the Gaṅga land grants. The Gautami plates of Indravarman mention the gift of four murajas of land.⁶ It seems to be a land measurement as suggested by N. P. Chakravarti.⁷ In some other Gaṅga inscriptions, we find the word muraya.⁸ S. N. Rajaguru is of the opinion that muraja or muraya are synonymous,⁹ which seems to be plausible from the standpoint of etymological affinity. However, nothing definite is known to us about the extent of land indicated by these terms.

Nala: The use of the nala-measure is also noticed during the Gaṅga rule. In connection with the measurement of the whole dominion, which was undertaken during the reign of the Gaṅga king Anangabhīma III, the land was measured out with rods called nala and padkeh.¹⁰ Nala and padika are the same standard of linear measurement.¹¹ Four nala

². El., XXVIII, part VI, p. 245.
³. JAHRS., VI, parts 3-4, p. 208.
⁴. S.l., V, No. 1273.
⁵. Mahtab, HO., I, p. 262.
⁶. IO. II, part I, p. 294, 1. 29.
⁷. Ibid., p. 294 fn. 3.
⁸. Ibid., p. 176, 1. 28.
⁹. Ibid. p. 294, fn. 3.
¹¹. Ibid. fn.
or *padikas* make one *kahan*. The length of the *nala* or *padika* differs in different regions of Orissa. In the Rahaṅga paraganah of the Puri district, *nala* is equal to 3 cubits, whereas in the Cuttak district *nala* is equal to 6 cubits. ¹ Pargiter ² thinks that in the past the number of cubits constituting a *nala* varied widely from 5 to 16. The *nala* was used as the unit of measurement in Bengal also under the *Pūla* and Sena kings. ³

During our period, the extent of the land concerned was also indicated by a term denoting the measure of seed which could be sown on it, as is shown by a record ⁴ in which the expression *droṇa-vāpa* is used as a term of land-measure denoting the area of land, possessed of the capacity of bearing one *droṇa* of seed. The word *vāpa* in the compound *droṇa-vāpa* derived from the root “*vap*” to “sow” clearly points to the extent of the seed bearing capacity of the land covered. We notice such terms as *droṇa-vāpa* or simply *droṇa, bhūdrona, kulyavāpa* etc. used as measures of land in this sense, especially in the inscriptions of Bengal. ⁵

Thus we find that in Orissa during this period, various units of land measurements were in currency. There was no uniform system of measure here. Perhaps, it was due to the rule of various dynasties. Of these measures *hala, nala* and *droṇa-vāpa* are also found in the Bengal inscriptions, but units such as *timpira, māla, vāṭi* or *vāṭikā, puṭṭi, muraja* or *muraya, gocharman* were typical of Orissa not to be found in Bengal.

**SECTION II**

**AGRICULTURE**

We have no adequate sources on the basis of which we can draw a picture of agriculture in Orissa during this period. However, the account of Hiuen Tsang, who visited Orissa in the 7th century A. D., supplemented by some references in the land grants and the Mānasollāsa yields some information on the subject.

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1. Ibid., p. 236.
2. IA., 1910, p. 216.
3. Puspa Niyogi, op. cit., p. 86.
5. IB. pp. 68 ff; 81 ff; 169 ff; EL., XIV, pp. 156 ff.
It seems probable that in the beginning both settlement and agriculture followed the courses of the great river system of the state which acted as a powerful fertilising agent of the soil in its neighbourhood. The Pherava grant of the Ganga king Sāmantavarman assigned to the 6th–7th century A.D., while describing the boundaries of the granted village, states that on the east is the dry (bed) of river running south, and on the west the river Meghāvati. The Almanda plates of Anantavarman (A.D. 770–801) show that in the south of the land donated to the Brāhmaṇas the Chatera river was flowing. Again, an inscription of the time of the early Gaṅga king Devendravarman IV mentions that to the north of the granted village was situated the Saśyotusa river. Thus many such examples may be produced to show that in the beginning the land was settled near the course of the river.

On account of the immigration of a large number of Brāhmaṇas from different parts of the country there came about a steady increase in the cultivated area, as is shown by the copper-plate inscriptions. Gayādatuṅga, the ruler of the Tuṅga dynasty, whose forefathers had come to Orissa from Rohtas in the Shahabad district of Bihar, played an important role in the allocation of land in the Talcher area to the Brāhmaṇas from outside. As stated earlier, in one case he assigned the fertile land of a village to eleven Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra, in another, he allotted a village to three Brāhmaṇas from Varendra. A Somavamśi charter of Mahābhavagupta IV records how the Brāhmaṇas were given land for cultivation in a forest region with the right of killing snakes and elephants. Thus from the grant of the land in a forest area, it is apparent that jungles were reclaimed and gradually brought under cultivation. These instances suggest that there came about a steady extension

1. IO., II part I, p. 313.
2. Ibid., p. 104.
3. Ibid., p. 199.
4. JASB., (NS.), XII, p. 292.
5. Ibid., V, pp. 347, ff.
6. Ibid., XII, pp. 293–94.
7. JBORS., XVII, pp. 1–24.
and improvement of cultivation and rural settlement. Some scholars hold that only during the Kesari or Somavamsi rule in Orissa thousands of Saivite Brähmanaśas were invited from Oudh and settled at Jaipur. The pressure of probably a growing population (mainly due to the immigration of the Brähmanaśas), the increasing desire of Brähmaṇas for material progress, and the religious zeal of kings—all served in various ways to bring the fallow land under cultivation.

Land and its fertility: There were vast tracts of fertile land in the state. Hiuen Tsang refers to the fertility of the soil and rich cultivation (both of grain and fruits) in Odra, Kongo.da, Kaliṅga and Kośala. With regard to Odra, he says, "The soil is rich and fertile and it produces abundance of grain and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here." It is evident from this statement that Odra or north Orissa was one of the most fertile parts of the state where the agricultural produce was abundant, and all kinds of fruits were grown more than in the other states of the country. About Kongo.da the Chinese pilgrim remarks, "The ground is low and moist. It is regularly cultivated and productive." From this account it seems that this part of the state was less fertile than Odra or north Orissa. However, regular cultivation was one of its features. Further with reference to Kaliṅga, he writes, "It is regularly cultivated and is fertile. Flowers and fruits are very abundant. The forests and jungle are continuous for many hundred lie. The climate is burning." This reveals that Kaliṅga was an important fruit-growing area like Odra. Lastly regarding Kośala, he points out, "The soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant crops." From this we learn that Kośala also produced grain in abundance like Odra or north Orissa. Thus a comparative study of the accounts given by Hiuen Tsang shows that Odra and Kośala were more fertile than Kaliṅga and Kongo.da.

1. C. V. Vaidya, op. cit. p. 325.
2. Beal, Buddhist Records, II, p. 204.
3. Ibid., p. 206.
4. Ibid., pp. 207–08.
5. Ibid., p. 209.
But there were some lands which were sterile and un-cultivable. The inscriptions often mention other types of land called sagartoshara ¹ and sajalasthala. ² The term gartta signifies hollow land which was unsuitable for cultivation and the word ushara denoted barren land. Some lands may have been unsuitable for cultivation due to loss of fertility or the rocky nature of the soil. Sajalasthala meant land which was filled with water, i.e. marshy land. It may be stated that the nature of the soil is further indicated in some records by two expressions śunya-kshetram and prastara kshetram-pramukham, ³ which according to D. C. Sircar purports to include a piece of land which was fallow and mainly rocky. ⁴ Thus both fertile and unfertile land existed.

Irrigation: Orissa possesses reservoirs of water other than rivers. The inscriptions of this period refer to words such as vāpi, tatāka, sarah, pushkariṇī etc., but we find no reference to irrigational projects. However, a close study of these epigraphs reveals to us the fact that while some of the tatākas, ⁵ whose names are given, were constructed possibly only for bathing purposes, other may have been utilised for irrigational purposes. The latter group of tanks was adjacent to the fields of donees. Inscriptions mention the grant of one plough of land near the Rāja-tatāka, ⁶ another plough of land near Tuṅgana-tatāka, ⁷ and one plot of land called Svalpa kālaṇjara khaṇḍa-kṣetra, whose boundary touched a Pushakariṇīya pond on the east and a sarah or lake on the west. ⁸ The Chicacoile plates of the Gaṅga king Satyavarman states that the eastern boundary of the village Tāmaracheruvu was a bridge over the tatāka called Trivita. ⁹ In ancient or mediaeval times we do not come across a bridge over a small tank. So it is likely that the tank men-

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., XXX, part VII, p. 278.
4. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 25, 11, 10, 15.
7. Ibid., p. 59, 1. 20.
8. Ibid. p. 254, 11. 15-17.
9. Ibid., p. 150, 1. 23.
tioned above must have been a lengthy one if not broad enough. As the water of the tank covered a long distance, a bridge had to be constructed in order that people might easily go from one village to the other. Inscriptions also tell us that a water course or stream ran by the side of some villages. The Kṣatriya-tātāka, a water shade named kṣa-
triya, ran on the northern and southern ends of the village of Haribhaṭa. That pond was possibly filled with water because the adjective qualifying the noun kṣatriya-tātāka is pariṇāha.1 Another trench called Kāṇagarita, which formed the northern boundary of the Chikkhalī village, was filled with water from a hilly stream.2 A locality called Oru-
baṅgapāda was situated by the side of a Jalamārga or channel.3 This channel ran through a forest tract. Evidently the water of the channel must have been used for irrigational purposes. The Pherava grant of Śāmantavarman assigned to the 6th– 
7th A. D. mentions a Khali called Kodrava on the north of the Phareva village.4 If Khaḷi is taken as equivalent to 
Khāḍi, as mentioned in a Sena inscription,5 the Kodrava Khali may be taken as a canal called Kodrava. Thus sometimes peasants could utilise water of the channel or sluice for irrigational purposes. The large ponds which had names of their own may have been erected either by some private person or some king.

Inscriptions do not help us to find out the names of those persons who constructed the tanks for the benefit of agriculturists. But this much seems certain that there were some reservoirs of water or stream, created either by natural process or human agency which added to the fertility of Orissan lands.

Products: It is not possible to compile a complete list of agricultural products of Orissa during this period. Very few inscriptions throw light on this subject. Even the account of the Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang does not specify the produce. It simply refers to abundant grain in a general

1. Ibid., p. 30, 1. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 92, 11. 26–27.
3. Ibid., p. 230, 1. 21.
4. Ibid., p. 313, 1. 15.
5. Sundarban copper-plate..., IB., III, p. 171.
way. It is, however, certain that paddy (dhānya) was cultivated from a remote antiquity as the staple food crop of the people. We find references to paddy (dhānya) in our inscriptions. The Hindol plate ¹ of the Bhauma-kara king Śubhakaradēva mentions the sowing of paddy (dhānya). An inscription ² of the Gaṅga ruler Anantavarman refers to the grant of a piece of land producing one hundred standard measures of paddy. It is remarkable that Kaliṅga was well known for its varieties of rice. The Mūnasollās speaks very highly of the virtues of the rice grown in Kaliṅga. ³ It refers to the inclusion of rice of the Kaliṅga country in the list of its varieties for the king’s dietary. ⁴ Probably due to the abundant produce of rice, it was sold very cheap. The price of six ādhekās of husked rice was four pānas or cowries during the Bhauma-Kara rule. ⁵ Assam and Bengal as now were another important rice producing area during this period. ⁶

Besides rice, we have a variety of other important crops in our period such as barley, wheat, sugarcane (yava-godhu-mekshu) ⁷ etc. These crops were also produced in other parts of the country. Barley was widely cultivated in all parts of northern India, ⁸ and wheat was grown in the Gwalior area and Uttar Pradesh. ⁹ Sugarcane, the commercial crop, was produced in its neighbouring state Bengal ¹⁰ and in between the Jumna and the river Narmadā. ¹¹

Another important commercial crop seems to have been cotton, which is an important product of India from the period of the Indus valley culture. Though our inscriptions do not make any mention of cotton, but from numerous references to weavers in our land grants we can legitimately

¹. JBORS., XVI, p. 83.
². IO., II, part I, pp. 163–64.
³. Mūnasollās, III, 1347.
⁴. Ibid.
⁵. B. Misra, op. cit., p. 92.
⁷. El., XXVIII, part VI, p. 287, 1. 147.
⁸. B. P. Maxumdar, Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p. 178.
⁹. Ibid.
¹⁰. Pupṣa Niyogi, op. cit., p. 29.
infer that cotton was cultivated here to feed an important industry of the state.

We learn from our inscriptions that silk cotton tree grew here (śālmali vrīkṣah). This tree was found in Assam also during this period. Cotton plants were grown in Bengal as well as in Central and Western India.

It is rather surprising to find that the Orissan epigraphic records do not refer to pulses. We may not therefore say anything definitely about it, but it may be reasonably assumed that pulses which are essential foodstuffs to be taken with rice must have been produced here, particularly when rice was the principal diet of the people of Orissa during this period.

With regard to the cultivation of oil-seeds also we do not possess any direct evidence, but from the numerous inscriptional references to the grant of perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temples we may reasonably infer that oil-seeds were cultivated. One land charter clearly records the grant of three puṭṭis of land for the supply of the oil to a god. This suggests that castor seed was produced during this period in Orissa.

The cultivation of betel leaf (tāmbūla) was also practised. An inscription mentions that the tāmbūla was to be daily offered to God Krittivāsa (Śiva worshipped in the Lingarāja) temple.

Fruits: Some epigraphic records ranging from the 6th to the 12th century A.D. tell us that various kinds of fruits such as mango, bassia latifolia (madhūka), banyan (vata), palm, coconut, bel (vilva) palmrya (jambu),

1. IO, II, part I, p. 71; EI., XXVI, p. 64.
2. JASB., LXVI, pp. 285 ff (Puspa Niyogi, op. cit., p. 29).
5. OHRJ., I, No. 4, p. 302.
6. EI., VIII, p. 141; ibid., XII, p. 241; ibid., XXXII, part V, p. 205, etc.
7. Ibid.
tamarind ¹ etc. were grown in Orissa. Of these mango and bassia latifolia frequently appear in our inscriptions, which show that these were probably the most common and popular fruits in Orissa in those days. It is remarkable that in Odra or North Orissa every kind of fruit was grown more than in other countries as mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang as referred to above. ² In Kaliṅga also fruits were produced in abundance, as known from the Chinese pilgrim's account. ³

Various kinds of flowers also grew in North Orissa, as is evident from Hiuen Tsang's statement that it would be difficult to name the famed flowers that grew in Odra. In Kaliṅga also he found flowers growing abundantly as mentioned above. We find references to various kinds of flowers in our inscriptions also such as pushparāja, blue lotus ⁴ etc.

Different types of trees are also mentioned in our records such as arjuna (terminalia arjuna), ⁵ nimba, ⁶ śālmali ⁷ (silk cotton tree), Kadamba, ⁸ jambu, (the rose apple), ⁹ timir ¹⁰ (Sanskrit translation of the Telegu chikati), karāṇja, ¹¹ tinduka, ¹² pindaṇa ¹³ (vikankata tree), aśvatha ¹⁴ (the holy fig tree), bamboo ¹⁵ (Beṇu guloṇa) etc.

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¹. IO., II, part I, p. 114.
². Beal, op. cit. II, p. 204.
³. Ibid., pp. 207–08.
⁴. OHRJ., I, No. IV, p. 302.
⁵. IO., II, p. 114.
⁶. EI., XXVI, p. 64.
⁷. Ibid.
⁸. Ibid.
⁹. Ibid.
¹⁰. Ibid., XIV, p. 362.
¹¹. Ibid.
¹². IO., II, part I, p. 65.
¹³. Ibid., p. 319.
¹⁴. JBORS., XVI, pp. 69–83.
¹⁵. IO., II, part I, p. 65.
CHAPTER IV
CRAFTS, COMMERCE AND CURRENCY

SECTION I
CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES

Although agriculture formed the predominant feature of Orissa's economy, several crafts and industries developed during this period. Detailed information about the crafts and industries developed during this period. Detailed information about the crafts and industries of Orissa is not available. However, we may discuss those which are known from the existing monuments, epigraphic records and such literary texts as the Mānasollāsa and the Yuktikalpataru.

Textile industry: The manufacture of textiles appears to have been carried on with great success in Orissa during our period. Since the time of Kauṭilya, Kaliṅga was one of the main centres of this industry like Bengal, Kāmarūpa, Magadha, Madurā, Aparānta, Kāśi, Vatsa and Mahiśa. The Kaliṅgas manufactured fine clothes which attained a special celebrity. The Mānasollāsa (A.D. 1127–38) refers to a long list of fabrics intended for royal use and mentions the places of their origin. The name of Kaliṅga figures in it along with other names such as Nāgapattaṇa (Negapatam), the Chola country, Aṇilāvāda (Anahillapātaka in Gujarāṭ), Mūlasthāna (Multan) and Vaiṅga. This shows that Kaliṅga produced clothes of high quality during this period. Sculptural representations on the great temple of Bhuvanesvāra show that fine brocaded fabrics were produced in Orissa. Referring to a specimen of this cloth R. L. Mitra truly remarks that "in neatness, elegance and richness of design and execution, it is in no way inferior to the finest production of the Benares loom of the present day." Such fabrics must have been highly prized articles of luxury which the

1. AS., II, 2.
2. B. C. Mazumdar, Orissa in the Making, p. 46.
4. RL. Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, I, p. 89.
rich section of the community alone could have afforded to use.

Different items of dresses were prepared e.g. dhotis, sādīs, chādara or scarf, pāyajāmā or drawers etc. as known from a survey of the sculptures of the period. Textile manufactures must have given occupation to a large number of people.

Iron industry: Orissa made considerable progress in the field of metallurgy. R. L. Mitra is of the opinion that iron was probably obtained from Talcher, where it is smelted to this day, and was of excellent quality. It was used for various purposes during our period, especially for building temples. Oriya architects used iron beams, which they could forge with ease and move with tolerable felicity. The most fascinating remains of their skill of this period are the iron beams, all of upwrought iron in the temple of Bhubanesvara and Puri. About 239 beams ranging upto 17 feet long and upto 6' by 4" or 5" by 6' section have been used in one of the Puri temples (‘the Garden Temple’) alone. Not a single wooden beam has been used in the Bhubanesvara temples, as observed by Stirling. Iron beams are also seen in the Konarak temple, which belongs to a later period. Percy Brown remarks that beams were forged, and that “the larger ones were evidently produced by welding together a number of ‘blooms’ of wrought iron by means of a hammer. However, this process of forging of beams seems to have been known only to Orissa.” The ruins of the monuments amply prove that there existed huge iron industries in different parts of Orissa during the period under review.

This was Orissa’s great age of temple building, and as such it may be assumed that these building activities must have helped the growth of such subsidiary industries as the manufacture of tools and implements necessary for building and stone carving and for preparing bricks, mortars and lime, and for stone quarrying. The fine workmanship on stone indicates that iron instruments of great fineness were used.

1. RL. Mitra, op. cit., I, p. 36.
2. SE., p. 519.
Iron was also probably used for the manufacture of weapons and armaments. Orissa's sculptures of this period afford examples of battle-axe, sword, dagger and its varieties etc. The various forms of battle-axe noticed at Bhuvanesvara show that it was made in large numbers. The size varied; many elaborate axes are seen in the hands of a statue of Ganesa in the Great Tower. 1

Kalinga had a reputation for producing swords. The Yukti Kalpataru of Bhoja states that Benares, Magadha, Nepal, Saurashtra and Kalinga were noted centres for the manufacture of swords. 2 Reference to swords is found in the epigraphic records also. An inscription 3 of the Sailodbhava king Madhavaraja mentions that he repulsed the armies of all the enemies by the sharp edge of his sword. A sculptural representation in the temple of Gauri at Bhuvanesvara shows a double-bladed straight sword. 4

Of the dagger or the short sword and its varieties, we find a great number of examples in the sculptures of Orissa. R. L. Mitra points out that in Orissa, this weapon seems to have been a great favourite. 5 On the Great Tower a number of statues in amatory positions is made to carry it in their waist hands.

Use of other metals: Our inscriptions mention the goldsmith (svarnakara). 6 This clearly shows that articles of different metals such as gold, silver, bronze and iron were manufactured in Orissa. The discovery of a large number of copper-plates indicates that copper industry must have provided employment to a large number of artisans in the state. 7 However, no statues or utensils or coins of copper have been discovered. Therefore nothing definite can be said at present about the use of copper in other articles. The art of making jewellery must have been very flourishing. 8

3. IO., I, part II, p. 158.
5. Ibid., p. 123.
6. EI., XXVIII, part VI, p. 256, 11. 131-34.
8. IO., I, part II, p. 284, 1. 35.
The sculptures of this period abound in representations of a variety of ornaments such as kundala (ear-ring), karnaphula (ear-flower), ratnahrara (necklace), chandrahara (necklace), katibandha (waist ornament), keyura (armlet), kinkini (leg and foot ornament), baju, tabij, tadb etc. A four-armed figure of the Hypaethral temple of sixty-four yoginis at Hirapur is seen adorned with various ornaments such as anklets, girdles, necklaces, armlets and kapa (ear ornament). Recently a life-size image, assigned to about the middle of the 11th century A.D., was found lying buried in a plot of land situated near the Brahmesvara temple of Bhuvanesvara. This statue has a four stringed necklace and a six stringed ratnahara around the neck. The other ornaments are katibandha, keyura with kirtimukha design in the centre and anklets of the nupur-type. Thus the profuse use of ornaments in the sculptures of the period attests the prosperity and advance of jewellery.

We do not come across any reference to the ornaments made of gold and silver, but as some coins of gold and silver were current in Orissa during this period, it may be assumed that most of the ornaments mentioned above may have been manufactured either from gold or silver.

Ornaments were also probably manufactured from pearls, which were available in Orissa during the 7th century A.D. The Chinese pilgrim states that pearls were used in commercial transactions in Koongoda. These precious ornaments set with pearls may have been used by the kings, queens, feudatories, great officers and the rich persons of the state.

Stone work industry: The remains of massive temples and stone images in the different parts of Orissa belonging to the period under review testify to both the volume and skill of the stone work. The construction of numerous temples in Orissa from the 7th to the 13th century A.D. apparently

1. OHRJ., II, No. 2, p. 25.
2. Ibid., p. 41.
3. EI, part III, p. 94; JAHRS., V, No. 4, pp. 249-50.
provided means of livelihood to a large section of the people. The building activity centred round the sacred city of Bhuvaneśvara, a temple town which alone contains hundred of temples, large and small, in various stages of preservation. Temples were constructed all along the coast in the north-east and south west.

The Bhuvaneśvara temples are all constructed either of reddish granite resembling sand stone, or else of the free stone which was plentifully provided by the neighbouring hills, ¹ and the Puri temple is chiefly constructed of the coarse granite, resembling sand stone, which is found in abundance in the southern part of Cuttack. ² It is creditable that the Oriya architects raised such heavy blocks of stone and iron beams to such a great height at a time when modern contrivances were not known.

In the sculptures also no less amount of efficiency is to be noticed during this period. The Buddhist sculptures of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitāgiri hills (Cuttack district) are masterpieces of sculptural art. ³ At Jaipur have been discovered the four big images of Bhodhisattva, Padmapāni and the mātrikās, which speak eloquently of the artistic activities of this part of the state during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. ⁴ Two huge rock cut statues of Vīshṇu Anantaśayana (respectively 50 ft. and 42 ft. 6 inches long) of Sarang and Bhimkand along the Brahmāni Valley in the Dhenkanal and Talcher districts ⁵ of Orissa show the existence of the craft of creating sculptures out of the parent rock in the 9th and 10th century A.D. In the temple of Rājarāpī of Bhuvaneśvara have been carved out eight cardinal deities, which are in a good state of preservation, and the statue of Varuṇa is a fine specimen of image sculpture. Kramrūsch rightly observes that “architecture in Orissa is but sculpture on a gigantic scale.” ⁶ We may therefore legitimately infer from the large number of temples and statues

2. Ibid., p. 274.
3. OHRJ. III, No. 2, p. 78.
4. Ibid., p. 77.
5. Ibid.
6. SE., p. 651.
that stone work industry in Orissa was profitable and prevalent on a large scale.

**Wood work industry**: Wood work industry was also in existence, as is apparent from the archaeological remains and inscriptive references. The Bhuvanesvara temples show that domestic furniture made of wood included bedsteads and stools. Referring to the bedstead of Oriyas, R. L. Mitra points out that it was ordinarily like the ancient Egyptians and modern Indian charpoy. ¹ For wealthy persons the framework was set off with mouldings and curved out, and the legs were cut into various forms. A figure from the Muktesvara temple exhibits a very simple form with a plain border and legs carved like lion's paws, ² whereas another figure ³ from the Great Tower exhibits the richest bedstead in the Orissan sculptures, as correctly remarked by Mitra. ⁴ Wooden stools and cane morās were, it seems, the ordinary form of raised seats. Wooden stools appear to be of different forms.

Doors of temples used to be made of sandal-wood, as evidenced by the only ancient door now to be seen in Orissa which occurs in the porch of the Great Tower of Bhuvanesvara. ⁵ It is made of sandal wood and carved in a pattern somewhat like the one on the famous gates of Somnath. There used to be a class of people who earned their bread by means of carpentry, as is evident from the term pāṭakara (splitter) used in an inscription. ⁶

**Boat-making industry**: Orissa has got a network of rivers, which made boat-making an important industry. At Puri the Bhoga-Mandapa of the Great Temple represents a boat. Purushottamadeva, in his lexicon Trikāṇḍāśeṣa gives the different names of boats plying in the rivers, used in coastal navigation. He gives a word Pāḍāraka for a kind of boat used by the Pulindas, who may be identified with Nulias, who are still to be seen in the coast of Puri and Ganjam

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3. Ibid., Wood Cut No. 30.
4. Ibid., p. 102.
5. Ibid., p. 36.
districts and whose hereditary profession is catching fish. It is well known from the account of Hiuen Tsang that Orissa maintained commercial relation with distant countries, which could not have been possible without boats.

Ivory work industry: Orissa was very rich in elephants, and we may therefore reasonably presume that it may have been a centre of ivory industry. An inscription mentions the grant of land including the donee’s privilege to enjoy hastidanta (ivory) which obviously suggests that luxury articles were manufactured from ivory for the richer households.

Pottery: Potters (kumbhakāra) are mentioned in the votive inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple of Bhuvanesvara. They used to supply cooking vessels to temples. An epigraphic record dated the 12th century A.D. refers to the grant of two vāṭis of land to a potter for providing pots daily to be utilised in cooking the bhoga to lord Liṅgarāja. This shows that potters were attached to the temples. It is obvious that such pottery was practised on an extensive scale and quite a number of people earned their living by making it. Old potteries have been discovered at various places in Orissa such as, Sālihundam, Mukhaliṅgam, Nagarikotakam, Dantapuram (all in Ganjam district) where the Gaṅgas ruled till 1132. A.D. Various types of Kalaśas (vases) were also probably made by the potters of this period. At least fifty different varieties are found on the temple of Yameśvara, to the west of the Great Tower of Bhuvanesvara. The sculptural representations of cups or goblets for drinking wine and water pots with a spout on one side are also noticed in Bhuvanesvara. R. L. Mitra thinks that the “bulk of them were of baked clay or terracotta such as are now so common in every part of India.” Thus it appears that pottery was a well-developed industry in this state during the period.

1. OHRJ., II, No. 3–4, p. 74.
2. EL., XXVIII, part VII, p. 327.
3. OHRJ., II, No. 3–4, p. 53.
4. Ibid.
5. JAHRS., V, part III, p. 199.
7. Ibid., p. 110.
8. Ibid.
**Mirrors**: We find certain sculptural representations of mirrors also during this period. In the nitch of the southern side of the Satrughnesvara temple (assigned to A.D. 600) in Bhuvaranesvara, there is a figure of six armed Naṭarāja, who holds a looking glass in the upper hand. ¹ Again, a female figure from Bhuvaranesvara in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is noticed holding a circular convex mirror by a cross strap on its back. ² These specimens may lead us to conclude that mirrors were probably manufactured in Orissa during our period.

**Tanning industry**: The land grants of our period refer to the right of the enjoyment of the tiger’s skin (vyāghra-charma). ³ It suggests the existence of the tanning industry in Orissa which is a very old Indian industry going back to Vedic times.

**Sugar**: We have already seen that the cultivation of sugarcane was practised in Orissa. The reference to the term gauḍika (maker of sugar) in an epigraph ⁴ dated A.D. 1230 clearly shows that sugar was manufactured from it in Orissa during this period. But we do not know anything about the process of its manufacture.

**Salt**: There is a mention of salt-tax officer (lavaṇakarādhikārī) in one inscription ⁵ of the Gaṅga king Choḍagaṅgadeva, which indicates the existence of the salt industry in Orissa during this period. It is generally believed that salt manufacture and trade were carried on in Orissa from very ancient times. But we have nothing to substantiate this on the basis of historical evidence during our period, except the Gaṅga epigraph referred to above.

**Oil Industry**: The manufacture of oil seems to have been an essential industry in our period. The great demand for oil for lighting lamps in temples probably gave an impetus to this industry. There are several inscriptionsal references ⁶

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1. OHRJ. IV, No. 12, p. 41.
4. Ibid., part VI, p. 256, 11. 131–34.
6. MER., p. 14, No. 152; p. 15, No. 166; p. 14, No. 151 etc.
to the gift of perpetual lamps to the temples under the Gaṅga rule in Orissa during our period. Consequently the oil pressing industry in Orissa must have been flourishing. Castor oil was generally used for temple-lamps, as can be gathered from an inscription which mentions the grant of land for the supply of castor oil to a temple.

**Perfumery** : Perfumery was also one of the industries in Orissa during this period. There are ample references to the offering of sandal paste and incense to gods. The word Gāndhika (perfumer) occurring in one of the inscriptions confirms that there were men in the state who were especially engaged in the occupation of perfumery. The perfumes may have been in demand by the rich and fashionable sections of society.

We find frequent mention of brewers (saunđika) in the land grants of the Bhaum-Kara kings who ruled in Uttara Tosali, Dakshina Tosali and Koṅgoda mandala between the 8th–11th century A.D. and in the grants of their feudatories the Bhañjas and Tüngas. They were transferred to the donees along with the other subjects of village. Thus transference may lead us to conclude that liquor-making was probably an indispensable rural craft in Orissa during those days.

Therefore the various crafts and industries practised in Orissa during this period included textiles, metal work, stone work, wood work, ivory work, pottery, tanning work, sugar, salt and oil industries, perfumery etc. There is nothing to show that the state itself played an important part in the industrial production, as we find in the Mauryan period; the iron beams of Bhuvanesvara and Puri, however, seem to have been made in a royal foundry, no doubt. But most of the crafts and industries seem to have been carried on by individual families.

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1. JAHRS., VII, part IV, p. 232.
5. Ibid., XVI, pp. 81–3; EI., XXIX, pp. 85–6; IHQ., XXI, p. 221.
SECTION II

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Our main source of information for the study of trade and commerce is the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. But this account is neither exhaustive on all points nor accurate in every way. The names of places in Orissa mentioned by it are written in the Chinese way, which creates a practical difficulty in their identification. The account, however, is useful in other ways, and it can be supplemented by some references from the inscriptions.

*Internal trade*: There used to be probably a market serving a number of villages, as is suggested by reference to a market (*hattah*)\(^1\) in an inscription from Jājpur assigned to the 7th–8th century A.D. The Puri copper-plate inscription of the Gaṅga king Bhānu II dated A.D. 1312 mentions a number of markets (*hattah*) in connection with the list of rent-paying subjects assigned to the charter.\(^2\) Here villagers probably sold a portion of their produce or purchased necessary articles, as we find today. Market may have also sometimes developed near a temple to meet the needs of pilgrims coming from distant places.

Through commercial activities certain places became important. A copper-plate grant\(^3\) of the Bhaṇja king Neṭṭa-bhaṇja assigned to the 8th century A.D. informs us that Aṅgulaka (identical with Angul of the present day) was made prosperous by the merchant’s community, who sold commodities of all descriptions on a large scale. Hiuen Tsang gives us a picture of towns and their business-transactions. Referring to Kong-u-To’ (koṅgoda’), he states that “within its limits there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. The cities themselves are strong and high...... This country, bordering on the sea, abounds in many rare and valuable articles. They use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. The great greenish blue elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyance

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1. EI., XXVIII, part IV, p. 183, 1. 10.
3. JBORS., XVII, p. 114, 11. 6–12.
and make long journeys." 1 It is likely that there might have been similar towns in the other parts of Orissa in the 7th century A.D. For the purpose of inland transport elephants were harnessed, as revealed by the above description given by Hiuen Tsang. There were other modes of transport also. An inscription 2 of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman, dated the 11th century A.D. informs us that bullocks, buffaloes and asses were also used for conveyance. Moreover, pack horses of an inferior breed must have been used for transport, especially in the hilly area. Since bullocks were used in carrying merchandise from one place to another, it may be assumed that carts were also engaged for the purpose of transport, though we do not get any reference to it in our inscriptions of this period. However, the Buddhist literature clearly refers to the fact that the Utkalas were coming to Gaya with goods loaded in carts for trade purposes. 3

For the water-born trade boats were used. A boat appears in the Bhoga Maṇḍapa of the Great Temple at Puri. Moreover, in the lexicon Trikāṇḍāsesha of Purushottama, reference is made to various kinds of boats namely bhelaka, vāriratha, nauḥ, tarikaḥ plavah, tarandhuh, vahanah, taraṇḍah and vāra-vatāḥ. 4 The Pulindas used a kind of boat named pūdaraka. 5 Again, the epigraphic references to the grant of right over landing places on the bank of the river (ghatā) and ferry places (naditarasthāna) to the beneficiaries suggest the use of boats on a considerable scale. The chief routes of internal trade were probably the waterways of the state in proximity to which stood the principal towns. The Vaitarni, Brahmani, Mahānadi, Godāvari and their tributaries served as arteries of commerce.

The articles of internal trade included all sorts of commodities. 6 The Nagari plates 7 of the Gaṅga king Anāṅga-

2. MER., No. 9, 1918–19.
5. Ibid.
6. JBORS., XVII, p. 114, 11. 6–12.
bhīma III dated A.D. 1230 mention the grant of a township situated in Purāṇagrāma and Jayanagaragrāma, which may actually be represented by the present village of Nagari, literally meaning a township which is about 11 miles from Cuttack. ¹ This township was inhabited by a number of artisans and merchants such as perfumers (gāndhika), workers or dealers in conchs (sankhika), splitters of wood (pātakara), goldsmiths (svanakāra), braziers (kāṃsyikāh), sellers of betel leaf (tāmbulika), dealers in sugar (guḍika), weavers (tantuvāya) potters (kumbhakāra) and the fisherman (kai-varttāh). Thus the contents of this important epigraph clearly indicate that fragrant substances, conchs, wood, ornaments, bronze goods, betel leaves, sugar, cloths earthen vessels and fish were some of the articles of internal trade. Further, commodities of everyday use such as food grain, vegetable, milk, oil, fruits etc. must have been chiefly sold in village-markets for local consumption. Frequent references to brewers ² in grants of villages to the donees show that liquor was also an article of local trade. Elephants and diamonds formed important articles of long distance trade. Kaliṅga produced the great tawny wild elephant, which was much prized by the neighbouring provinces, as told by the Chinese pilgrim. ³ Diamond was another valuable commodity of sale in Kaliṅga. ⁴ We know very little from our sources about the trade of Orissa with the neighbouring Indian regions. However, Hiuen Tsang’s reference to the much-prized elephants being sold in the neighbouring provinces makes it quite clear that Orissa must have had trade relations with the neighbouring states of the Pālas, Senas, Tummāna Kalachuris, Cholas, Eastern Chālukyas etc. In the earlier period Orissa maintained commercial links with Magadha and Madhyadeśa. ⁵

1. Ibid., p. 248.
2. JBORS., XVI, pp. 81–83; EI., XXIX, pp. 85–86; IHQ., p. 221 etc.
4. B. C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 78.
5. B. Misra, op. cit., pp. 80–81. It is mentioned in the Mahāvagga and the Majhima Nikāya of the Pāli literature that two merchants named Tapāsa and Bhallika of Utkal while on their way to Madhyadeśa with cart loads of merchandise met Buddha at Buddha Gayā and offered him food.
Foreign trade: From very early times Orissa seems to have commercial relations with different parts of the world. The people of Kalinga maintained commercial intercourse with the islands of Bali, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Malaya and others collectively known as Malayasi or Suvarnadvipa. R.C. Majumdar refers to the relation between Kalinga and Java in the ancient period. He observes that "there is the story preserved in the Chronicles of Java that the Hindus from Kalinga coast colonised the island. Similar traditions of colonists from Kalinga or Kalinga country are preserved in many other islands." 1 There was a Hindu kingdom in Central Java which the Chinese called Ho-ling or Kalinga. 2 In Khāravela's time the Kalingas had trade-relationships with Valabhi, Pātala and the Persian coast. 3 It is suggested on the basis of the Hathigumpha inscription that only the Kalingas carried on trade with the Persian coast. Probably Orissa had also commercial intercourse with Burma in ancient times. Niharranjan Ray 4 in his book "Brāhmaṇical Gods in Burma" says Lower Burma is the land of a people who were and still are called "Talaings". The term used as early as 1107 A.D. in Mon records is but a derivation of "Trilingana" or Trikaliṅga, a name used to mean almost the whole of Andhra Kalinga zone.

In our period too maritime trade was not less prosperous and extensive, as is indicated by the existence of a number of parts, which were the channels through which Orissa carried on her trade with the outside world. Hiuen Tsang 5 describes a city situated on the sea coast of Oḍradesa (North Orissa). The city was used as a harbour for trading and passenger vessels from distant countries. The walls of the city were very strong and lofty, where rare and precious commodities were to be found. The name of the city was Cheli-ta-lo (Charitra), which has been generally identified with Puri, for there is no other city or port in south-eastern Orissa. Charitra probably maintained maritime intercourse with

2. Ibid., p. 22.
4. JKHS., I, p. 519.
Ceylon, for standing on its shore Hiuen Tsang could think of the Tooth-relic of the Buddha preserved in that distant island. 1 A copper Chinese coin attributable to the 8th century A.D. has been found at Sirpur during the excavations, 2 which may lead us to infer that China was commercially linked with Orissa. We know that one of the Bhauma-Kara kings had copied with his own hand the Guṇḍa Vyūha, A Mahāyāna text, and presented it to the emperor of China. This cultural relation presupposes commercial relation. The next important port was probably Pālur. During the days of Ptolemy 3 Pālur was a prosperous port of Orissa. At that time there was no direct voyage from the Coromandal coast. A direct voyage to the east was made from Pālur near modern Chicacole. 4 It might have continued to be an important port in our period also. In the Marāṇja-mura charter of the Somavamśī king Mahāśivagupta dated the 11th century A.D. the Paṭṭana Suvarṇapura figures. 5 The word paṭṭana added to Suvarṇapura clearly shows that it was a port-town, which may be identified with the present town of Sonpur situated on the confluence of the Tel and the Mahānadi. 6 Furthermore, under the Gaṅga rule Kalinga-paṭṭana, 7 Viśakhapāṭṭana 8 and Bhimlipaṭṭana were centres of growing trade. 9 Thus we find that a number of ports existed in Orissa during this period, which bear testimony to its flourishing maritime trade with different foreign countries.

The natural resources and industries of our period can enable us to complete the list of exports. Cloth, various types of cereals, rice, wheat, barley, salt, incense, timber,
ivory, conchshells, stone, iron-products, diamonds, elephants etc. may have been the principal articles. Some of these are actually mentioned in contemporary literature and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's account. The export of cloth is indicated by the Mānasollāsa, which mentions the Kaliṅga fabric in the list of its varieties for the royal use, as stated earlier. Cloth was manufactured and exported in such quantities that Kaliṅga became the word for cloth in old Tāmil, and frequent sea voyages were made to the countries outside India, on account of which the Indians came to be called Kaliṅgas in the Malāyā peninsula in the early period. Elephants were also exported. The export of rice is confirmed by the reference in the Mānasollāsa to the Kaliṅga rice in the list of its varieties suitable for the king's dietary.

As regards articles of import, our sources either epigraphic or literary, are completely silent. Even Hiuen Tsang's valuable record does not help us. However, it seems that certain metals such as silver and copper were probably imported into Orissa; they may have been probably imported from the silver mines of Ceylon, where from it was supplied to the country (India) in the Gupta period. Since some spices such as cloves, spikenard and other fine spices are specifically mentioned as the native products of Jāvā and Sumāṭrā, they may have come to Orissa from these islands. The silk of China, which was very famous, may have been supplied to Orissa, with which she was culturally connected during this period.

SECTION III

CURRENCY

The inscriptions show that the metallic currency available during our period was mainly of gold and silver. It is significant that we do not come across any references to copper coins in our records. The Mādalā Paṇji also does not mention copper coins. This would suggest that metal

2. Beal, op. cit., p. 207.
5. SE., p. 522.
6. JASB., LXI, 1892, p. 47.
coins were not used by the common people. M. M. Chakravarti remarks that ‘most probably in Orissa such coins were not used in ordinary transactions. Their place was taken by the time-honoured cowries.’ We are in possession of a few gold coins of the Nala and Gaṅga dynasties. The coins of the Nalas have been assigned to the 6th and 7th centuries A. D. Most of these gold coins were discovered from the ex-state of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and Umarkot Ṭālukā of the Koraput district of Orissa. A tiny gold coin of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chodagaṅgadeva was found at Bālpur.

Maḍhas: Gold coins are known by different names in the inscriptions. Thus maḍhas or maḍas frequently appear in the inscriptions of this period such as the South Indian Inscription (A. D. 1137), the Bhuvanēśvara inscription of the Gaṅga prince Pramāḍi (A. D. 1142.), the Chikkālavalasa plates of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta V. etc. M. M. Chakravarti holds that maḍha was a weight of forty ratis Hunter takes it as 1⁄4 of a tolā. P. Mukherji in his article ‘Early Coinage of Utkala’ holds that Maḍha was a piece of gold of the weight of 40 ratis and not a stamped coin. D. C. Sircar, however, points out that it was a coin weighing forty ratis.

But it is difficult to assign any uniform weight to these coins, for the stone inscriptions of the kings of the later Gaṅga dynasty mention varieties of maḍas and other coins. These are maḍas, gaḍa maḍas, malla maḍas, matsya maḍas, gaṅga maḍas, chiruganda maḍas, padmavidhigaṇḍa maḍas, sasu-

1. Ibid.
2. OHRJ., VI, part II, p. 981.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., IV, No. 3–4, p. 58.
7. JAHS., VI, part 3–4, p. 205.
8. JASB., LXI, 1892, p. 44.
11. EI., XXX, part III, p. 94.
kāni taṇkas etc. In these stone inscriptions the word māḍa is probably the same as māḍha in Oriya. The Śrī Kurram inscription (S. 1086/A. D. 1174 ) refers to a kind of māḍa called Surabhī māḍa, the meaning of which is not clear. Gaṇḍa māḍa was called Kārhūpaṇa in the Telugu portion of two Sanskrit inscriptions at Śrīkurram. Gaṇḍa māḍa was called Nishka in two inscriptions (S’ 1208 ). Gaṇḍa māḍas were also known as Gaṇḍa Nishka. Gaṅga Mahādevi, the queen of Narasimha III, deposited 120 Gaṇḍa Nishkas in the Simhachalam temple treasury. It is not at present possible to determine the ratio between Māḍa and Gaṇḍa Māḍa “It appears”, writes Prof. R. Subba Rao, “that a Gaṇḍa Māḍa was a gold coin worth about a half Pagoda.” He has not substantiated his assumption by corroborative evidence. Thus in the present state of knowledge it is difficult to ascertain the exact weight or the meaning of the word māḍha. However, from its wide use in the Gaṅga inscriptions it may be safely inferred that the māḍha or māḍa was an important medium of exchange under the Gaṅga dynasty.

The Māḍa coins also prevailed in South India. In the later chola period we find mention of Māḍai coins with prefixes such as Rājendra Soḷan, Rājarāja, Kulottuṅga etc. chola mahādevi, wife of Anantavarman chodagaṅga, endowed the temple of Bhimesvara at Drākṣhārām with some kulottuṅga Māḍa coins.

Māḍas were also current in the Telugu district. Inscriptions mention Gandharvarman Māḍa Chamara Māḍa Gaṇḍahasti Māḍa and Uttama Gaṇḍa Māḍa.

1. JAHRS., VII, part II, p. 132.
4. Inscriptions of the Chalukyah Chief Vishwanath at Śrī Kurram-
5. SII., Vol. VI No. 932; No. 1137 dated S’ 1212.
10. Ibid., No. 227 of 1897—S’ 1060.
11. Ibid., No. 234 of 1897.
12. Ibid., 208 & 236 of 1897—S’ 1034.
Pala: The Šulki¹ and Tuṅga² inscriptions mention the term *pala*, which is used to denote the amount of the nominal rent derived from a specified plot of land donated by kings. The Talcher plate of Gayāḍatūṅga informs that the *triṇodaka* (nominal rent per annum) of the donated land was fixed at 4 *palas* of silver.³ It is difficult to bring out the value of a *pala*. D. C. Sircar holds that one *pala* was equal to four *Karshas* or sixty-four *māshas.*⁴

Paṇa: The Ningondi grant⁵ of the Maṭhara ruler Prabhāṇjanavarman, palaeographically assignable to the 6th century A.D., refers to the annual rent fixed at 200 *paṇas*. Evidently the *paṇa* was used in the sense of a coin. It is difficult to say whether there was any similarity in weight between this *paṇa* and the *kārshāpaṇa* known from the texts. Nor do we know whether this *paṇa* was a copper coin. If *paṇa* is valued at 20 *gaṇḍas* or 80 cowries,⁶ two hundred *paṇas* mentioned above as rent would mean 16000 cowries. In Bengal the *paṇa* is believed to mean a handful of cowries from *pōḻi* “the hand.”⁷ Cunningham draws up the following table of *paṇa.*⁸

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cowries</th>
<th><em>Paṇas</em></th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Weights</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>1 <em>paṇa</em></td>
<td><em>Paṇa</em> or <em>Kārshāpaṇa</em></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>1½ <em>paṇa</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>1¾ <em>paṇa</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>1½ <em>paṇa</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>2 <em>paṇas</em></td>
<td><em>Dwipaṇa</em></td>
<td>160</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rūpya: The Talcher copper grant⁹ of the Šulki ruler Kulastambha dated the 9th century A.D. and the Talcher

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¹ El., XXIX, part VI, p. 169.
² Ibid., XXXIV, part II, p. 100.
³ JASB., (NS. 196), XII, pp.291–95.
⁴ El., XXVIII, part I, p. 47.
⁵ Ibid., XXX, part IV, p. 118.
⁶ Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 45; El., XXX, part IV, p. 114.
⁷ Cunningham, op. cit. p. 45.
⁸ Ibid., p. 46.
⁹ El., XII, No. 20, p. 158.
plate 1 of the Tuṅga ruler Gayādatuṅgadeva dated the 11th century A.D. show that a type of coinage known as rūpya was in circulation in those days. Such coins have not yet been discovered in Orissa so far, and therefore nothing definite can be said about their weight and metal. The Arthasastra, however, refers to silver rūpakas as rūpyarūpa and copper ones as tāmrarūpa. 2

Chūrṇis and purāṇas: The Alagum inscription of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman dated the 12th century A.D. mentions that a hundred chūrṇis added by five purāṇas was deposited in the temple for providing an akhaṇḍa or perpetual lamp. 3 D. C. Sircar observes that "the word chūrṇi usually means a hundred cowrie shells, while Purāṇa was the old silver kārshāpaṇa usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. 4 Burnouf says that the purāṇa is "a piece of money belonging to a system purely Indian, and therefore anterior to the system of the Greeks of Bactriana." 5 Thus the purāṇa was one of the oldest native coins current in Orissa during this period.

Māshaka: The Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman, assigned to the 9th century A.D. mention that the pratyāya or rent of a piece of land (khaṇḍakshetra) granted to a Brāhmaṇa was fixed at ten māshakas. 6 Māshaka here may indicate either ten small coins or silver weighing ten māshakas. It is difficult to say anything definite. According to Manu (VIII, 135) and some other early scholars, a māshaka of silver has the weight of two ratis, i.e. 3.66 grains, although the Madras Museum plates of king Narendradhavala of Orissa assigned to the 10th century A.D. seem to speak of a māshaka of 5 or 8 ratis of silver as held by D. C. Sircar. 7

1. JASB., NS, XII, p. 294, 1. 33.
2. AS., II, 12, pp. 86-87.
4. Ibid., p. 48.
7. Ibid., p. 49.
Guṇja: The above grant of Narendraśhavala refers to annual rents in certain quantities of silver measured in palas, māshas and guṇjas. According to D. C. Sircar, guṇja, otherwise called raktika (modern rati), is 1/6th of a māsha. He is of the opinion that these terms actually indicated three varieties of coins.

From the account given above it is apparent that a few metallic coins were current in Orissa during this period, among which mādhās were in wide use during the Gaṅga rule in our period. Probably there was dearth of coined money here.

Cowries: Cowrie shells constituted the most popular medium of exchange in Orissa. Here the cowrie currency was as popular as it was in Bengal, Assam or in other parts of India. But it is not definitely known when this currency first came into use in Orissa. The earliest positive evidence regarding the prevalence of cowrie currency in Orissa is to be found in the account of Hiuen Tsang, who visited Orissa in the 7th century A. D. Next we find its reference in the copper-plate grant of Śubhākara II of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. The exact relation between silver coins and cowries in the old and early mediaeval period in Orissa is not known. M. M. Chakravarti has tried to ascertain the value of cowrie in the times of the later Gaṅgas and the Gajapati kings on the basis of the facts recorded in the Mādalā Pāṇji, which is believed to have been compiled about the beginning of the Mughal rule in Orissa. Hence much reliance cannot be placed on it. But cowries cannot be regarded as coins proper, because they did not bear any royal stamp.

The cowrie currency is now extinct in Orissa, but its influence is still to be noticed. It has left behind an indelible stamp on the culture of Orissa. The monetary tables and Śubhaṁ-

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2. Ibid., part I, p. 47.
3. Ibid.
6. JASB., LXI, 1892, pp. 43-49.
kari method of arithmetic that are taught to children in Orissan schools are all based on cowrie currency. ¹ The words koḍa, gaṇḍa, bodi, paṇa etc. connected with the cowrie currency are still in use in Bengal and Orissa. ²

The above discussion shows that, though different standards of coinage were in circulation under different dynasties of rulers, cowries constituted the most popular currency that were used along with metallic coins as the medium of exchange.

1. OHRJ., I, p. 2.
2. Ibid.
CHAPTER V

SOCIETY

SECTION I

BRĀHMĀNAS—THEIR GOTRAS AND PRAVARAS

The Brāhmaṇas, as usual, occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy. They were the leaders of thought and repositories of sacred learning and practices. They enjoyed great honour in society for their pious life and devotion to the studies of the Veddas. Royal patronage was bestowed upon them in the form of land grants, which were made to Brāhmaṇas versed in the study of the Veddas and Veddāṅgas, and capable of performing vedic sacrifices. Such gifts were supposed to confer spiritual merit (puṇya) on the donors and their ancestors, and hence made by both princes and people. In every case, the donors, especially the rulers, transferred all their rights and dues to the donees, and the land donated thus virtually became tax-free. Thus the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed both prestige and privilege in society.

It is interesting that the Brāhmaṇas were degraded by residence in Orissa. The Mātysa Purāṇa says that the Brāhmaṇas living in the mlechchha countries of Triśaṅku, Barbara, Odra (Orissa), Andhra (Telugu country), Ṭākka (Punjab), Draviḍa (Tāmil country), and Koṅkaṇa must not be invited to a funeral repast.

It seems that during this period many Brāhmaṇas were brought from outside. We find that a large number of Brāhmaṇa families migrated from the following places and settled in Orissa.

2. Ibid., XXXIII, part III, p. 146, 11. 49-56.
3. Ibid., XV, No. 1, p. 6; ibid., III, pp. 347-48; JBORS., II, p. 430 etc.
Ahichchhatra, modern Rāmnagar in the Bareily district of U. P.

Apilomuliri  
Baṅgakuti  
Bhaṭaparoli  
Gaṅgavādi  
Hasti  
Hastipada  
Jalambur  
Kāsīlī  
Khāduvāvalī  
Kolāṅcha  
Kommāpīra  
Koṅkaleḍḍa  
Madhura  
Mahuvāli  
Mutavasu  
Mūtharuthabhāṭṭagrāma  
Nidhati  
Nirola  

Mysore. in Madhyadeśa
in Śrāvastī (Korancha near Banaras)
in Madhyadeśa in Savatthi

in Varendra mandala.
in Madhyadeśa

1. EI., XXXV, part II, p. 102.
2. Ibid., XII, No. 36, p. 322.
3. JBORS., II, p. 430.
5. Ibid., XXIV, part I, p. 16.
6. JBORS., II, p. 54.
7. EI., IV, No. 35, p. 268.
8. Ibid., XXXIII, part III, p. 146.
9. Ibid., III, No. 47, p. 357.
12. JASB. (NS.), I, 1905, p. 6.
15. Ibid., XII, p. 240.
17. JASB., XII, p. 292.
18. JBORS., II, p. 401.
Oḍayaṣṭiṅga
Oudh
Palāsi
Pampāsarasī
Rāḍhā
Rāḍhāphāṃvallikandara
Rohitāsi
Salivana Daddapura
Śrāvalś
Śrīvallagṛma
Ṭakāri
Taremba
Tellangalabhāṭṭagṛma
Tirabhukti
Varendra

in Magadha called Magaha in the text.
Present Burdwan district of west Bengal.
present Rerhkhol.
modern Rohtasgarh in Shahabad.
in Madhyadeśa
modern Tarehi in the ex-state of Gwalior.
in the district of Rāḍhā.
Tirhut (Bihar)
( North Bengal ).

Thus the above list shows that the Brāhmaṇas were invited into Orissa from the different parts of the country including the South. But there are differences of opinion among the scholars with regard to the identification of some of these places such as Madhyadeśa, Ṭakāri, Śrāvalś etc.

1. BL, III, No. 47, p. 342.
2. C. V. Vaidya, op. cit., p. 325.
3. JBORS., VI, p. 484.
5. Ibid., XXVII, part VII, p. 330.
6. Ibid., XI, p. 94.
7. JBORS., VI, p. 236.
8. IO., II, part I, p. 141.
9. BL., XXVIII, part VII, p. 323; BL., III, No. 67, Plate F. lines 28-42.
10. Ibid., II, No. 47, pp. 352-53.
15. BL., XXIV, part II, pp. 99-100.
**SOCIETY**

*Madhyadeśa*: No doubt Kanauj was once called Madhyadeśa, and the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal and Orissa claim to have migrated from there, but B. C. Majumdar thinks that the tract covered by the northern portion of the district of Balasore and the subdivision of Contai constituted Madhyadeśa.¹ His reasons for this supposition are (1) that the Oriya Brāhmaṇas and those who live in the Contai subdivision call themselves the inhabitants of Madhyadeśa, i.e. the tract lying between Bengal and Orissa, (2) that the other charters of the Somavāṁśī rulers disclose the fact that the Brāhmaṇas who were given lands in the Kośala country and who bore the family name Kara were brought from the Oḍrādeśa and (3) that it was not likely that Brāhmaṇas came direct from Kanauj to settle in South Kośala to be associated with the Oriya-speaking Brāhmaṇas there.² D. C. Sircar³ holds that Madhyadeśa roughly comprised the present Uttar Pradesh with the eastern part of the Punjab, although sometimes Bihar and North Bengal were included in the division.

*Ṭakārī*: It was variously called Ṭarkārī, Tarkārika, Tarkāra, Ṭakārī and Ṭakkārika.⁴ Sometimes it is said to have been situated in the Madhyadeśa division of India. In one record⁵ the village is specifically described as situated within the limits of Śrāvastī.

*Śrāvasti*: Some scholars favour its identification with Setmahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the Uttar Pradesh while others suggest its location in the Bogra district in North Bengal. But usually the former identification is supported by scholars.⁶

The main distinctions recognised among the Brāhmaṇas were those of the gotras and pravāṇas. Gotra may roughly be translated as family or lineage, and pravara was probably named after some illustrious teacher or ancestor who had

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2. Ibid., p. 53.
4. Ibid.
contributed to the prestige of the family. 1 According to the Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra, “Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vaśishṭha and Kāśyapa are the seven sages and Agastya is the eighth; the progeny of those eight sages is declared to be gotra. These primary gotras are divided and subdivided to form other gotras. The landgrants of the different dynasties of Orissa during our period refer to a number of gotras and pravaras, a mention of which is made below.

GOTRAS


It is to be noted that Kāśyapa 5 and Bhāradvāja 6 gotras frequently occur in our inscriptions.

PRAVARAS

Vārhaspatya, Anīgirasa and Bhāradvāja for Bhāradvāja gotra; Gārgya and Ātreya for Prāśara gotra; Bhārmyaśva for Maudgalya gotra; Aghamarshaṇa Viśvāmitra, Devarātaj and Audala for Kauṣikī gotra; Paṇḍhārsha for Hārita gotra; Atri, Ātreya, Archanāna and Savāṣma for Kṛishṇātreyya gotra; Pāmṛyarishaya for Dālbhya gotra; Kāśyapa, Naidhrura, Āvatsāra and Vatsa for Kāśyapa gotra; Vaśīṣṭha for

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2. EI, III, pp. 352–53—Perhaps a branch of the Bhāradvāja gotra which was formerly settled at Takkāra.
3. Ibid., XXVIII, part VII, p. 325.
4. JBORS., XV, p. 96.
6. Ibid., XI, p. 96; JBORS., II, p. 150; EI., VI, p. 146; EI., XV, p. 278; EI., XIX, p. 44 etc.
Kapiśṭhala gotra; Paryārishi (Pañcharsheya?) for Uluka gotra; Vārhaspatya Jamadagnya, and Āsita for Sāṇḍilya gotra; Gautma, Āṅgirasa and Anthathy for Gautama gotra; Maitravarūpa and Vasishṭha for Kauṇḍinya gotra; Āṅgirasa, and Yauvanāśva for Kautsa gotra; Idhmavāha for Agasti gotra; Āṅgarasa Vārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja for Ṭakāra Bhāradvāja gotra; Dattātreya for Upamanyu gotra; Anu, Āṅgirasa, Bhārgava, Chyavana Jāmadganya for Vatsa gotra; Rohitāshṭaka Viśvāmitra for Rohitaka gotra; Āṅgirasa, Āmbarīsha and Yauvanāśva for Harita gotra; Vasishṭhāṭṭha (Vat) Jātukarṇa for Jātukarṇa gotra; Pañchārasabha for Nāvarchhasya gotra.

It is remarkable that during this period the subcastes of the Brāhmaṇas had not been formed, and their surnames based on the original residences had not come into vogue. The Brāhmaṇas of this period used different titles which indicate their rank and scholarship. These are the following:

- Bhaṭṭa
- Paṇḍita
- Upādhyāya
- Vandyā
- Svāmī
- Āchārya
- Pātra
- Sarmā
- Dikshita
- Varmā

Of these appellations Bhaṭṭa, Svāmī and Sarmā appear more popular. It is interesting that we find the assumption of the Varmā title by the Brāhmaṇas in Orissa during this period, which is recommended for the Kshatriyas by the Dharmāśāstra. There is much uncertainty about the epithet Vandyā applied to Devabhadra, a writer of a Bhaṭṭa charter. Whether the word Vandyā prefixed to the name of the writer is an integral part of the name or is a title cannot be determined. D. C. Sircar suggests that the appellation Vandyā

1. JASB., (NS.), I, p. 5 (1905); EL., XII, p. 240; IO., I, part II, p. 169.
2. IO., I, part II, p. 188
3. EL., XIX, p. 137.
4. Ibid., p. 44.
5. OHRJ., V, pp. 184–85.
6. Ibid., VI, p. 262.
7. Ibid., I, p. 68; EL., XXVII, part VII, p. 290.
8. EL., XXIV, part 1, p. 16.
10. Ibid., p. 61.
might have been identical with the family—designation or cognomen of a class of the Bengali Brāhmaṇas who are called Vandyopādhyāya.  

The main functions performed by the Brāhmaṇas were the study and teaching of the Vedas and performance of religious rites, as laid down in the Smṛitis. We have references to many famous scholars. The Dharmalingesvara grant 2 of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman I dated the 7th century A. D. mentions a royal preceptor (Dikṣāguru) Bhagavat Pattaṅga Śivāchārya, who was well versed in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Nyāya-vidyā. Purushottama Bhaṭṭa, 3 the best of poets, was another great scholar who edited the eulogy of the Somavarmā king Udyotakesari. He was learned in the Vedas, grammar, political Science, Poetry and Logic. Many such instances may be furnished. The records of the Tuṅga dynasty reveal that the villages were full of vedic Brāhmaṇas, who used to study the vedic literature and perform vedic sacrifices. The Talcher plate 4 of the Tuṅga ruler Gayādatunγadeva assigned to the 11th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds mentions that all the villages were fully purified by the sound of the Rig, Sāma and Yajur Vedas produced by the great Brāhmaṇas whose spiritual power was awakened, and therein the residences of the sages were made smiling by the accumulation of smoke arising from the constant offering of clarified buttur to the fire by the twice-born.

Some Brāhmaṇas kept themselves engaged in the performance of six-fold duties (šat-karma-nirata), 5 and many others officiated as priests. In the Vizagapatam copper plate grant 6 of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva the purohitā (priest) occupies the first position in the list of state officials, which shows that he enjoyed the highest status in the state. Some of the Brāhmaṇas served as astrologers (jyotishi) also. The Antirigam plates of the Bhaṭṭa 7

1. Ibid., I, No. 4, p. 267.
2. IO., II, part I, p. 70, 11. 8-12.
3. JASB., XIII, p. 70.
4. Ibid., XII, pp. 1292-93.
6. IA., XVIII, p. 169.
7. EL., XVIII, p. 299, 11. 19-70.
ruler Yaśobhaṇjaḍeva refer to the grant of land to an astro-
loger named Jagadhara Śarmā in the second half of the 12th
century A.D.

From very ancient times the Brāhmaṇas were allowed
to adopt the profession of a Kṣhatriya if they are unable to
maintain their livelihood by teaching, officiating as priests
or accepting donations. In our inscriptions there are some
instances of the Brāhmaṇas occupying influential positions
in the state. The Brāhmaṇas served as dūtakas of land grants. The
office of the dūtaka was a very high one. Some Brāhma-
maṇas are known to have filled with distinction the office
of the chief ministers also. The Brāhmaṇas named Sādhā-
raṇa, Govinda and Vishnu, were some of the learned and
capable chief ministers under the Somavāṁśi and Gaṅga rule,
as shown earlier. They are highly eulogised in our epigraphic
records. Some of them distinguished themselves in the
battlefield also and won important victories for their kings.
The Dirghasi stone inscription dated A.D. 1075 refers to
one Brāhmaṇa minister of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja named
Banapati who is said to have conquered Veṅgi, Kimidi,
Kośala, Gidrising and Oḍḍadesa. Thus the Brāhmaṇas
followed many vocations, both religious and secular during
this period.

SECTION II

KṢHATRIYAS

The Kṣhatriyas were next to the Brāhmaṇas in importance
and status in the social structure. Many rulers of the period
appear to have belonged to this caste. They claim to have
descended from the lunar race. The Somavāṁśi king Mahā-
bhavagupta claimed descent from the lunar race, as is known
from his Nagpur plates. Hiuen Tsang, while giving an
account of Kośala, states that its ruler was a Kṣhatriya by
birth and a follower of Buddhism.

The rulers of the Gaṅga dynasty also are said to have

2. El., VIII. p. 143.
3. Ibid., IV, p. 316.
descended from the Moon God. The copper-plate inscriptions of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva of the 11th century A. D. state that this dynasty was lunar in descent. They add that the sixth member Turvasu being childless prayed to goddess Gaṅga and had a son Gaṅgeya, and hence the dynasty was named after him. In the opinion of H. K. Mahtab the Gaṅgas were at first Brāhmaṇas, but in course of time they became Kshatriyas because of the elasticity of caste system in those days, but there is nothing to substantiate this view.

The origin of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty has been the subject of much speculation. R. D. Banerji holds that the Bhauma-Kara kings were descended from the non-Aryan Asuras of Kāmrūpa. But the praśasti of the grant of Daṇḍi-mahādevi has led H. Pandey to think that the Bhauma-Kara rulers belonged to the lunar race of the Kshatriyas. This is supported by the Neulpur grant of Subhākara whose family is described as somanvayādvāptajanma. From the genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara rulers it appears that the title of Kesari or Sinha is borne at least by one distinguished member of the family, viz., Unmatta Kesari or Unmatta Sinha. It may be presumed from this that the Kara kings belonged to the Kshatriya caste, as the title Sinha is being used in Orissa only by the Kshatriyas and Rajputs.

The rulers of the Bhaṇja dynasty also claim descent from the lunar race of the Kshatriyas. In the Bāṇatumva grant assigned to the 8th century A. D. the Bhaṇja king Neṭṭabhaṇja calls himself the scion of drumrāja kula (lunar race). According to the Śabdakalpadruma drumeśvara means chandra, the moon. If the term drumeśvara is taken as the same as drumarāja, the expression drumarāja kula will stand for the lunar dynasty, but so far this term has not been found in other epigraphs. All this raises doubt about the descent of the Bhaṇja from the lunar race.

1. JAHRS., V, p. 200.
3. JBORS., V, p. 569.
5. Ibid., V, p. 569.
6. OHRJ., No. 4, p. 268, 1. 10.
7. Śabdar-Kalpadruma, p. 475.
There was a tendency to ascribe respectable and ancient origins to the mediaeval dynasties of Orissa. Thus the Brahmaśvara inscription ¹ of Udyotakesarī mentions that his mother named Kolāvatī was a daughter of the solar and his chief queen of the lunar line.

Some scholars hold that several dynasties such as the Bhañjā and the Tuṅga were founded by indigenous chiefs and improvised into respectable Kshatriyas by Brāhmaṇical associations. ² It seems that many aboriginal chiefs were raised to the position of Kshatriyas, and the process began in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Mahābhārata states that the people of Kaliṅga were Kshatriyas who had been degraded to the rank of the Sudras and who had no religion. This shows that new Kshatriyas were regarded as of inferior race in society. A similar statement is made in the Manusāṁhitā regarding the Kshatriyas among the Oḍrās. ³

Whatever be the origin of the ruling dynasties of Orissa, the rulers of this period had matrimonial relations with the principal Kshatriya families of the age. The kings of the Gaṅga dynasty had their marriage connections with the Cholas, Chālukyas, Pallavas, Vaidumbas and Haihayas. ⁴ The commemorative inscriptions of Ananta Vāsudeva temple ⁵ at Bhuvanesvara mention that Chandrikā, the daughter of Anaṅga-bhīmadeva and the sister of Narasīṁha, was given in marriage by her father to Paramardī, the Kshatriya and the scion of Haihayā lineage. The Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III ⁶ (A.D. 1230) speak of Indirā, who was the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty and was another queen of Ananta-varman Choḍagaṅgadeva. Indirā’s father, who is mentioned as a king, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The same record states that Malhaṅadevi descended from the Chālukya dynasty was the queen of Rājarāja III. ⁷ The mother of

1. JASB., VII, p. 559.
3. In the Baudhāyana Dharmaśutra it is laid down that he who has visited Kaliṅga must offer a sacrifice in penance.
4. JAHRS., VI, No. 3–4, p. 214.
5. OHRJ., I, No. 4, p. 283.
Choḍagaṅgadeva was the Chola princess Rājasundarī, the daughter of Rājendra Chola. Thus we find that the Gaṅga rulers were matrimonially connected with important Kshatriya families of the period. It is remarkable that the Gaṅgas had little matrimonial connections with the kings of North India. The Somavānśī rulers, however, had some connections with the Kshatriyas of the North India. The mother of Bālārjuna Mahāśiva-gupta was a princess of the Gupta family of Magadha. Because of this respectable connection Bālārjuna came to be regarded as a genuine Kshatriya of the orthodox Aryan stock.

An important characteristic of the Kshatriyas of this period was their marriage relations with non-Kshatriya castes. The Bānatumva grant of the Bhaṅga king Neṭtabhaṅga ininforms us that he had thad three queens. Rājñī Kshatri-devī, Kaivarta-devī and Rājaputri Meghāvalidevi. From the names of Kshatri and Kaivarta it appears that they belonged to the respective castes indicated by their names. According to the Dharmaśāstra, Kshatri is a pratiloma caste sprung from a Śudra father and a Kshatriya mother. The Amarakosha takes Kshatri as a charioteer and a doorkeeper. In the Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (26, 63-66) Kshatri is also called nishāda, and he is described as an expert in catching deer by means of nets, as a forester and as one who kills wild animals also rings a bell at night to remind people of the hour.

As regards the Kaivarta, Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that this is a mixed caste. Manu X, 34, tells us that the inhabitants of Āryāvarta employ the name Kaivarta to denote the offspring of a nishāda from an ayogava woman, who is also called mārgava and dāsa (dāśa) and who subsists by plying boats. Śaṅkara, commenting on the Vedāntasūtra II, 3, 43, states that dāśa and Kaivarta are the same. Fick notes that fishermen who work with nets and baskets were

1. DHNL., I, p. 460.
2. JBORS., VI, p. 357.
3. OHRJ., I, No. 4, p. 269.
4. Baud., DH., S. 1. 9. 7; Kant. III, 7; Manu., X. 12, 13 and 16; Yaj., 1. 94; Nārada (Strīpūrā 112).
5. HDS., II, part 1, p. 79.
called in the *Jātakas* kevaṭṭa. The marriage of the Orissa-princes with Kshatriṛi and Kaivarta women clearly shows that they were free to marry in any caste they liked, but we have no instances of men of lower castes marrying Kshatriya girls.

Many of the important civil and military offices must have been held by the Kshatriya. Those state officials whose names ended in *sīnha*.¹ most probably belonged to the warrior caste. Some Kshatriyas seem to have followed peaceful vocations. In a few records the functionaries having title of *sīnha* are found working as scribes. Thus all the Kshatriyas were not fighters. Further, during this period we find that all the fighters were not Kshatriyas. The Brāhmaṇa-ministers of the Somavamśi and Gaṅga rulers took a leading part in military affairs. Some of the Military functionaries known as Nāyakas were Vaiśyas. The Chicacole plates ² of the Gaṅga king Madhukāmarāṇaya issued in the year 526 of the Gaṅga era mention a certain Erapa Nāyaka, the son of Manchi Nāyaka of the Vaiśya caste. Thus fighting was not the monopoly of the Kshatriyas in Orissa during this period; non-Kshatriyas also participated in it.

Kshatriyas as a caste are mentioned rarely in the Orissan records, which is also true of the Chandella inscriptions.³ Probably the practice of stating their caste was not popular during this period. The *kula* or family was apparently the here most important factor in their lives. It seems that the rise of the new dynasties in northern India in the middle ages mainly contributed to the importance of the *kula* or family.⁴ Of course, as required by Śāstric injunctions, the Kshatriya rulers took up the responsibility of upholding the social structure based on caste. This can be inferred from some of the inscriptions of the period under survey.⁵

**SECTION III**

**KĀYASTHAS : KARAŅAS**

The earliest reference to the Kāyasthas is found in *Smṛiti*.

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1. EL., XXX, part VII, pp. 268–69, 1. 45.
2. IO., II, part I, p. 175.
3. N. S. Bose, op. cit., p. 152.
4. IG., XIV, No. 2, pp. 52–53.
of Yājñavalkya, which speaks of the capacity of the Kāyasthas. In later times Uṣanas refers to the Kāyastha as a caste and gives an uncomplimentary derivation of the name by saying that it is “compounded of the first three letters of kaka (crow), yama and sthapati to convey the three attributes of greed, cruelty and spoliation (or paring), characteristics of the three.” The Vedavyāsa Smṛiti includes the Kāyastha among Śūdras along with barbers, potters and others.

The inscriptions of Orissa, however, do not indicate the existence of the Kāyastha as a caste earlier than the 10th century A. D. A Kāyastha minister is mentioned in the Daspalla grant of the Nanda king Devānanda II dated the year 184. According to D. C. Sircar the date of the inscription the year 184 is equivalent to the beginning of the 11th century A. D. However, this inscription records the grant of a village called Indeddā by the Mahārāja Rāṇaka Devānandadeva to Yaśodatta, a resident of Vanīggoṭrā, whose family hailed from a locality called Rāhiyavada. Yaśodatta is described not only as sattva-gehin (a virtuous householder), sāstropādhyāya (teacher of the śāstra) and Kāyastha but also as the sāndhiṣṭagrahin (minister for war and peace) in line 38. D. C. Sircar rightly observes that the donee's epithet Kāyastha “possibly indicates not his profession but actually his caste.” According to him the inscription supplies valuable information regarding “the crystallization of the professional community of scribes into the caste of Kāyasthas as well as their honoured social position in early Orissa.” Another illustration of a Kāyastha rising to the status of a minister is found in the Parlakimedi plates of the time of Vajrahasta V (assigned to the 11th century A. D.). The ajāti (or dītaka) of this grant was Vachchhapayya of the Kāyastha family who enjoyed the status of a minister of the feudatory lord Dāraperāja. Thus the Kāyasthas were en-

1. HDS., II, 1, 75-76.
2. Ibid., p. 76.
4. El., XXIX, part VI, pp. 188-89.
5. Ibid., p. 184.
6. Ibid., p. 186.
7. Ibid., III, p. 224.
trusted with highly responsible duties of the ministers and the high royal executives.

The Kāyasthas in Orissa functioned not only as high dignitaries and ministers but also probably as commanders of the army. During the reign of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta V a lady named Gundama Nāyakī, who endowed fifty sheep for burning a perpetual lamp in honour of god Madhukesvara, describes herself as belonging to a Kāyastha family and as wife of the king’s commander Madhuriya. We do not know whether her husband belonged to a caste other than that of the Kāyastha to which she herself belonged.

In many parts of northern India the Kāyasthas worked as scribes and wrote charters and documents, but in Orissa we have only a few instances of this type. The Kālibhanā copper-plate inscription of the Somavamsi king Mahābhavagupta I was written by the Kāyastha Koi Ghosha, son of Vallabha Ghosha. 2 Another charter of the same dynasty was drawn up by the Kāyastha Vallabha Ghosha, son of Kailāśa Ghosha. 3 B. C. Majumdar thought that the title Ghosha indicates the employment of Bengali Kāyasthas as court Officers. 4 But this view can be sustained only if it could be shown that the Kāyasthas of Bengal bore the title of Ghosha during this period. It is also likely that the Ghosha Kāyasthas migrated from this area to Bengal.

Karaṇas: Karaṇas, like Kāyasthas, also frequently figure in the Orrisan inscriptions of our period. In the early epigraphs they seem to be state officials. A record 5 of the Śailodbhava dynasty dated the 7th century A.D. informs the state officials including the Karaṇas of a land-grant by Śrī Chharamparāja of Koṅgoda. Similarly officials together with the Karaṇas are addressed in two grants of the Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman. 6 That the Karaṇas were officials like adhyakṣas (superintendents) is pointed out by Kshirasvāmin in his commentary on the Amarakosa.

1. JAHRS. VI, No. 3-4, p. 208 ( s. 11, v. ).
2. IHQ. XX, p. 244.
3. EL., III, p. 344.
4. Ibid., XI, p. 103.
5. IO., I, part II, p. 325.
6. Ibid., II, p. 30; ibid., p. 319.
In about the 10th century A. D. the Kāraṇas seem to have crystallized into a caste group, for two inscriptions of the Bhāṇja kings Neṭṭabhaṇja and Śilabhaṇja dated the 10th century A. D. inform the rājan, rājanaka, rājaputra, vishayapati, daṇḍapati and Brāhmaṇas, Kāraṇas and other persons of the land grants. In both these charters the form runs thus:

Brāhmaṇaṇa-Karaṇa-Puroga-niväsi.

D. C. Sircar, the editor of the charter of Śilabhaṇja, points out that the mention of the Kāraṇas together with the Brāhmaṇas at the head of the local population not only indicates their crystallization into a caste group but their rank in society. This view can be supported by the fact that the Kāraṇas appear as a caste in the old Sūtras and Smṛitis and perhaps also in the Mahābhārata. In spite of the fact that the Kāraṇas had formed themselves into a caste in the 10th century A. D. in Orissa, if not earlier, we are not sure whether the Orissan Kāraṇas were a sub-section of the Kāyasthas, although this appears to have been the position in Bengal and Bihar.

SECTION IV

VAIŚYAS

The Vaiśyas seem to have enjoyed some social prestige during the Gaṅga role, as is indicated by the royal grant of land called the Vaiśyāgrahāra. It seems that some Vaiśyas functioned as military officers, for the Vaiśyāgrahāra was granted to a Nāyaka. A Gaṅga inscription mentions the grant of land to Erapa Nāyaka, the son of Mañchi Nāyaka of the Vaiśya caste. The term Nāyaka here clearly shows that they rose to the post of military commander also. The Vaiśyas also performed some other functions. Several land charters were incised by them. The Baud grant of the Bhaṇja king Raṇabhaṇja and the Singharā plate were ins-

1. EI., XXVII, part VII, p. 239, l. 13.
2. Ibid., XXVIII, part VI, p. 277.
3. Ibid., p. 273.
4. HDS., II, part I, p. 75.
5. IO., II, part I, p. 176.
6. Ibid., pp. 175–76.
7. EI., XII, p. 328, 1. 58.
scribed by the Vañika Śivanāga and Padmanābhava respectively. The Khillinga plates ¹ of Kalyāṇadevi of the time of the Rāṇaka Dānārṇava of Ambabadi-maṇḍala were engraved by Hari, the vañikaputra (the son of a merchant).

Some of the Vaiśyas were rich enough to donate land to Brāhmaṇas and temples. The Chikkālavalaśa plates ² of the Gaṅga king Vajrāhasta III dated A.D. 1059 mention the gift of land to Brāhmaṇas by Mallaya Śreṣṭhin. A South Indian inscription ³ records the donation of a piece of wet land at Bhogapuram by Lokimāni Seṭṭi during the reign of the Gaṅga king Anantavarmadeva.

Very little information is available about the sub-castes of the Vaiśyas. Tailikas, (oilman) however, figures in our charters. ⁴ In the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi ⁵ also we find references to Tailikas, who had a communal association called ‘Telika thousand’ and they got certain privileges from the state. But in our records we do not find any mention of such association. However, the Vaiśyas as a caste seems to have enjoyed some importance in the Orissan state as well as society during this period, which may be attributed to their wealth.

SECTION V
ABORIGINES

Though at present Orissa contains a very large and varied tribal population made up of the Bhuiyās, Binjhals, Bhumijes, Goṇḍs, Hos, Juangs, Khariās, Khoṅḍs, Koras, Oramas, Santals, Šavaras and Sudhās, ⁶ only the Šavaras and Goṇḍs figure in the epigraphic records of our period. The earliest reference to Šavaras is to be found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 18), which states that the elder sons of Viśvāmitra were cursed to become progenitors of such servile races as the Andhras, Punḍras, Šavaras, Pulindas and Mutibas. ⁷ The implication of

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¹ IO., I, part I, p. 235, 1. 41.
³ EL., X, No. 655, p. 352.
⁴ EL., XXVIII, part VI, p. 266, 1. 133.
⁵ N. Venkataramanayya, The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi, p. 286.
⁶ Banerji, HO., I, p. 19.
⁷ IO., I, p. 305.
the Altareya passage seems to be that the Šavaras were a non-Aryan people dwelling somewhere in the Dakshinapatha. The Rāmāyaṇa states that they were met by Rāma in Central India. A pious Šavara woman met him near some lake. In the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata they are mentioned as practising some wicked customs along with the Dasyus. ¹ The Mātṣya and Vāyu Purāṇas describe them as dakṣiṇāpatha-vāśiṇah. ² They are several times referred to in the Bhagavati-sūtra, the oldest sacred literature of the Jainas, which describes their language as one of the Mlechchhabhāshās or barbarous tongues. ³ They have been identified with the Surai of Pliny and the Savarai of Ptolemy. One of the earliest inscriptions to mention them are the Udayendiram plates of the 21st year of the reign of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, (assigned to the 9th A.D.) who is said to have defeated the Šavara king Udayana and the Nishāda chief Prithivivyāghra. ⁴ The Šavaras are also referred to in the Sanskrit and Kanarese praśasti of the western Gaṅga chief Māra-Simha II, who was a vassal of the Rāśtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. This eulogy mentions that Mārasimha II (A.D. 963–74) defeated a Šavara chief named Naraga. ⁵ The Harśacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the Gaṅḍavāho of Vākpatirāja also speak of the Šavaras. Thus there are numerous references to Šavaras in early mediaeval sources.

Literate and epigraphic references suggest that the Šavaras lived in Central India and the Deccan. Naturally we may expect them in some numbers in the adjoining tracts of Orissa. References to Šavaras are found in several inscriptions from Orissa. The Narasinhapur charter of the Somvaṃśi king Udyotakesari Mahābhavagupta IV ⁷ dated the 11th century A.D. refers to the habitation of Šavaras in Orissa. It mentions that the old Šavara women having suppressed the tears in order to teach how to wander in the forest took pity on

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2. Mātṣya, 144, 46–48; Vāyu, 45, 126.
4. SIJ., I, p. 365, No. 74; IA., VIII, 1870, pp. 275–76.
5. EI., V, p. 176.
7. JBORS., XVII, part I, p. 16, 1. 20.
the females of Samavaṃśī ruler Naghusa’s enemy. A charter of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman contains reference to a Savaramahattara, 1 which shows that Savara elders carried on the village administration probably in Savara villages. According to a tradition, the images originally enshrined in the temple of Purushottama at Puri were worshipped by Savaras in the hill tracts of Orissa. It is also believed that a section of the Sevāyaṭas or servants of the temple of Purushottama originated from the Savaras. This shows how tribal religious practices were adopted by the the Hindus.

By the 7th or 8th century A.D. the whole area of the Savara land or an important part of it was called Uṭḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna comprising Zāhor, Lankāpūrī and Sambhala. 2 It was inhabited by another similar tribe called Uṭḍas (Sanskrit Uḍḍras). 3 From Sambhala comes the name Sambhalai or Sambhaleśvari and then the name Sambalpur. From Zāhor-Phulijhar 4 and Lankāpurī is the land between the river Tel and the Mahānadi. Even now the population of this area is mostly aborigines.

The Charyopadas and the Kathāsaritsagāra acquaint us with manner of life led by the aboriginal tribes such as Savaras and Bhillas. Savara men put on tiger skins and decked their bodies with feathers of peacock. Women were also clad in peacock-feathers and wore neckless of strings of the guṇja fruits. The songs composed by Sarvapāda show that the Savaras dwelt far away from human habitation; they were dressed in peacock feathers and adorned with guṇja fruits and ear-rings. Drinking of wine made the male Savara forget his female partner, and therefore the Savari had to search her husband and bring him back home. Betal leaves and camphor stimulated their conjugal love. The Savaras lived on hunting and went to distant places in search of quarry. The Savari experienced great difficulties in finding out her husband. 5 Some songs throw light on their domestic life.

1. IO., II, part I, p. 65, 1. 25.
3. Ibid.
4. Or it may be Kendujhar; or there might also be some other jhor or jhars in that area.
5. Baudha Gōna O Dohā and Charya gīti Padhohai, Pada No. 28.
The festivals of the Šavaras begin with the ripening of the chinā (kāgani) paddy. They protected their corn from vultures and jackals, who moved frequently, by erecting bamboo fencing.¹ The Bodhisattvā dōna kalpalatā further informs us that they sacrificed human beings and sometimes even their own children to their goddess Chaṇḍikā or Durgā.²

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa also throws some light on the life of Šavaras. It mentions parṇa Šavaras. Pargiter thinks that these were a tribe of Šavaras who lived upon leaves.³ But a forest tribe would hardly live solely on leaves. The Parṇa Šavaras were therefore those Šavaras who wore leaves. A girdle of leaves was the ordinary clothing of most of the aboriginal tribes. The literary evidence bearing upon the non-Aryan character of the original people of Orissa is supported by linguistic considerations. The Nāyya Śāstra by Bharata Muni shows that a corrupt form of the Māgadhi speech was adopted by the Oḍras as well as by their close neighbours—the Šavaras. It states that when the barbarians including the Oḍras and Šavaras have to be represented on the stage, they should be made to speak vibhāṣā.⁴

The Goṇḍs were another class of aborigines who inhabited Orissa during this period. The Bonai plate ⁵ refers to the Tuṅga ruler Vinātāṅgula as aṣṭādaśa-Goṇḍamādhapati, i.e., the lord of the 18 tribes known as the Goṇḍs. Again, the charter of the Śulki ruler Kulastambhadeva ⁶ addresses him as Sakala-goṇḍamahādhinātha, i.e., the lord of all the Goṇḍs. The two terms mentioned in these grants suggest the existence of Goṇḍs as an important element during our period.⁷

Among the aborigines of our period, the Bhūyāns may also be considered. The Mahāvagga and Majhima Nikāya

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1. Ibid., Pada No. 50.
4. Nāyya Śāstra, Chapter 17, ślokas 49, 50 etc.
5. JBORS., VI, p. 239, 1, 13.
6. Ibid., II, p. 401.
7. B. C. Majumdar thinks that the Goṇḍs were described as Šavaras in olden days, even though they belong to a separate tribe. (Orissa in the Making), pp. 87–88.
state that two Bhūyāns named Tapusa and Bhallika of the Utkala country, while on their way to Madhyadeśa with cartloads of merchandise met the Buddha at Bodha Gayā and offered him food. Then they were initiated in Buddhism by the Buddha himself. ¹ It can be gathered from this account that the Bhūyāns lived in the north-west hilly tracts of Orissa in the age of the Buddha. ² At present they stretch in a line from the state of Nilgiri to that of Gaṅgpur. ³ Hence they probably existed in our period.

As regards the part played by the aborigines in the political history of Orissa very little is known to us. All that we find is that in the 7th century A. D. a line of rulers of Hinduised Šavara origin established its rule in South Kośala with Sirpur in the district of Raipur as the capital. ⁴ Rājā Tivaradeva of this line was very powerful in the 8th century A. D. ⁵ Thus we find that in due course some aborigines came under the Aryan influence and assumed political powers and gradually became Aryanised in speech and were thus welded into an important Aryan-speaking people.

But these aborigines left their mark on the cultural life of Orissa. The aboriginal tribes mattered much in the life of Orissa shown from the number of non-Aryan words in use in the Oriya language, and from the geographical names of old days which are still retained by the hills, forests, rivers and villages. The aboriginal religious rites still respected by the Hindus furnish us material to measure the influence of the local tribes. We meet with a large number of such geographical names as Bah-munda, Munda-mal, Munder, Utu (Ata)-bira, Kulha-bira and many other names of Mundari origin; and also many such geographical names of other non-Aryan origin, as Guja (meaning hill, the name of a particular hill about 10 miles north-west of Sambalpur), Sir-guja (the name of a former state, now a district in Madhya Pradesh), Bheden (the name of a river as well as of a zemindārī in Sambalpur), Sir-girda (the name of a village), Jhar-sir-girda

2. B. C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 16.
4. JASB., VI, p. 357.
5. Ibid.
(Jharsuguda railway station), Loi-ra, Loi-sing (Loisriṅga of the epigraphic records), and so forth occur throughout this tract. The non-Aryan word “Kera” to indicate a cluster of villages is in use in modern Oriya to signify almost the same meaning; Goil-kera, Raur-kela, Jaman-kera, Kumar-kera etc. are common village names. The Kandha name Jorri for a river is retained even in the name of the river Katjorri, which is far away from Sambalpur and flows past Cuttack. The non-Aryan name Sāmlai (the name of a goddess) has been hinduised into the term Śāmaleśvarī. B. C. Majumdar observes that “many gods of the Goṅḍs have been accepted by the Hindus, and the gods like Budā Deo are worshipped in such names as Budā Rāja, Budā Śiva etc. by the Hindus.” Thus the cultural influences of the aborigines are great in Orissa.

SECTION VI
POSITION OF WOMEN

Our inscriptions show that women in Orissa played an important role in administration. Several queens of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty occupied the throne in the absence of male heirs. The epigraphic records of this dynasty indicate that after the death of Śubhākara IV the reins of the government was assumed by (1) his queen Gaurīmahādevī, (2) her daughter Daṇḍimahādevī, (3) the latter’s step-mother Vakulamahādevī, and (4) lastly by Dharmamahādevī. We do not come across such examples under other dynasties of Orissa during this period. It seems therefore probable that this practice of succession to the throne by women was confined to the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, which ruled between the 8th-11th centuries in North Tosalī and South Tosalī and Koṅgoda maṇḍala. It can be legitimately inferred from this that the rule of succession in this dynasty was not completely patriarchal.

Sometimes the queens in Orissa were empowered to registering land charters with a seal (laṅchhita). Jivalokemahādevī, who seems to have been a queen of the Bhaṅja king Netṭabhaṅja Tribhuvanakalasa, was assigned this work.  

1. B. C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 83.
2. IHQ., XXI, p. 215.
3. EI., XXVIII, part VI, p. 283.
This shows that the ladies of the royal household were trained in the art of government and given certain privileges. It is remarkable that in Orissa not only the queens but also the ladies of feudatories and officials were informed of land grants, as can be gathered from the use of the expression avarodhajana (ladies of higher officials and feudatories) in the Somavaṁśi charters. This suggests women were supposed to have some hand in land transactions. It is difficult to account for the importance of women in administration in Orissa, but perhaps the aboriginal background of many ruling dynasties which were improvised into Kshatriyas in early mediaeval times explains this phenomenon. Even when they were absorbed in the Brāhmaṇical society, they retained something of their patriarchal practice which gave a high position to women.

But patriarchal practices were becoming predominant. Polygamy was known and practised in the princely society. Many rulers of Orissa married more than one wife. The Bhaṣaṇa ruler Netṭabhaṇja had three queens named Rājī Kshatridevī, Kaivartadevi and Rajaputri Meghāvalidevi. The illustrious Gaṅga king Anantarvarman Choḍagaṇgadeva had several wives. The names of six are preserved in the inscriptions, viz., (1) Kastūrikāmodini, (2) Indirā, (3) Chandralekha, (4) Somalamahādevī, (5) Lakshmīdevī and (6) Prithvimahādevī. These names show that the princes married even women of lower castes.

The custom of dedicating maidens to the gods for services in temples also existed in society during this period. Several epigraphic records refer to this practice. They not only served the gods through music and dance but also made occasional gifts to them. This practice was typical of South India and seems to have travelled to Orissa from there.

3. IHQ., XX, p. 239.
4. OHRJ., I, No. 4, p. 269.
7. MER., p. 16, No. 214.
We do not get any reference to sati system, but we have some instances of widowhood in society during the period under review. We learn that the Bhauma-Kāra queens Dharmamahādevī and Gaurīmahādevī lived as widows after the death of their husband (Śāntikara III and Śubhākara IV). This indicates that sati system was not practised in Orissa during this period.

Our inscriptions do not throw much light on the education of women during this period, but it seems definite that female members of the royal family were highly educated, as is evident from their association with administrative affairs of the state. Some of the royal ladies were great philosophers also. Lakshmīkarā, the sister of the king Indrabhūti (A.D. 717), who is assigned to Orissa, preached her own peculiar theories on Tāntric Buddhism in an interesting work named Advayāsiddhi. Literacy probably prevailed among the women of genteel society. Some sculptures of Bhuvanesvāra depict women as writing love letters.

It appears from a perusal of the records that women were given a high place in society. More than half of the records are those of dedications made by them. They were certainly dependent upon their husbands nevertheless charitable acts and deeds were not wanting in them.

**SECTION VII**

**FOOD AND DRINK**

Vegetarian food seems to have been popular with the people. The cereals which were most commonly used were probably rice, wheat and barley. The Mānasollāsa shows that the rice of Kaliṅga was famous. The temples of Bhagavati and Muktesvara contain several figures in bas-relief with cakes of different kinds in their hands, but their contents cannot be ascertained. In all likelihood these cakes were made of wheat.

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1. IHQ., XXI, p. 215.
3. EI. XXVIII, part VI, p. 257.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
Sweets and milk preparations were very common in those days. The figure of Gjenis in the Great Tower of Bhuvanesvara is represented as holding a bowl in which are shown a number of globular lumps, each made up of a collection of small round grains exactly representing the sweetmeat now generally called motichur or broken pearl. R. L. Mitra remarks that the occasional delineation of sweetmeats, cakes and other articles of luxury indicate a state of considerable social refinement. 1 We have references to a special preparation of rice known as charu. 2 It was prepared from rice stuffed with milk and clarified butter and was offered to the gods. 3 Another inscription mentions the offer of cooked rice with curd and ghee. 4

Fruits were grown abundantly in the different parts of Orissa, as referred to by Hiuen Tsang, 5 and may have formed an important part of everyday food.

Non-vegetarian food was, by no means, unknown. People used to hunt animals, for we have references to the grant of hunting rights in the epigraphic records. 6 It is thus obvious that meat was taken by the people, but we have no idea of the extent to which this practice prevailed. We find mention of the delegation of the fishery rights also in our inscriptions, 7 which may lead us to infer that fish-eating prevailed widely among the people. In the Dalimba Kumara katha it is related how the Raghava fish has a good food value and is capable of restoring health. Fishing must have provided pleasure as well food. Thus rice, cake, sweets, fish, and meat, fruits and milk (in various forms) probably constituted the chief articles of food.

Drinking was also prevalent in society. Cups or goblets for drinking wine are found on the temples of Bhuvanesvara.

6. JBORS., XVI, p. 81.
7. Ibid.
8. OHRJ., I, p. 301.
1. Ibid.
2. OHRJ. Vol. V, No. 4., p. 209.
R. L. Mitra says 1 that “the religion of Śiva and that of his consort recognise the use of spirituous liquors as an element of devotion, and it is to be supposed that the people who followed those forms of religion did avail themselves of the license to a considerable extent.” The records of the Bhauma-Kara kings, who ruled in North Tosalī and South Tosalī and Koṅgoda manḍala between the 8th-11th century A. D., frequently refer to the distillers of wine (sauṇḍika), which suggests that liquor-making was an important industry and drinking a common custom in Orissa.

SECTION VIII
DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The sculptures of this period indicate that men in early mediaeval Orissa generally wore dhoti as under garment, and chādar or scarf as upper garment. The ordinary style of wearing dhoti does not differ from the mode of the present time except in the jewelled girdle with a pendant in front. This appendage, however, seems to have been introduced to heighten the artistic effect of the figures and was not in common use. It may, however, have been used by the princes, chiefs and priests. The images of Kārtikeya in the Great Tower of Bhuvanesvara is noticed wearing a dhoti tied firmly round the waist. Illustration Nos. 86 and 87 represent the dhoti used by common people and labourers. 2

The chādar or scarf figures plentifully in the sculptures of Bhuvanesvara, and the mode of wearing it appears to be the same as at the present day. It was invariably used either thrown over the shoulders or tied round the waist as a kamarband.

It is difficult to describe the exact form of dress used by women in Orissa during this period. It seems that women wore sādis, as we find in the figures of the amorous couples of the Vaitāl temple. 3 The sādis did not cover the upper part of the body, which generally remained exposed, though sometimes it was partially covered by a long narrow scarf. The

2. R. L. Mitra, op. cit., I, plate XXII, fig. No. 86, plate XXIII, Fig. 87.
breast was covered by a chauli, and in a few cases by a bodice which covered the body above the novel and a portion of the arm. Sometimes women were dressed in a close-fitting tunic or pâyajâma. This was undoubtedly the case with the dancing girls. In the Vaitâl temple at Bhuvanesvara a dancing girl is seen dressed in such a manner.

Gate-keepers and sanyâsis used to wear turbans in Orissa during this period, as the sculptures of Bhuvanesvara show. The forms do not differ from those in common use in the present day.

We find several specimens of richly decorated caps. A brocaded specimen of it occurs on the head of a dancing girl in the Vaitâl temple, which shows that the cap was born by dancing girls in Orissa during this period. Caps of different kinds are also noticed in the bas-reliefs of Sânchi, Amarâvati and Udayagiri.

The turbaned figures are all bearded, but those of rank and position are all smooth-chinned. This shows that the Ordinary folk grew beard, but members of high social strata did not.

**Ornaments:** The Bhuvanesvara sculptures of the period show a variety of ornaments such as, Karṇaphula (ear flower) ratnahâra (necklace), Bâju, tûbiṣa and the tûḍ. Khâru (wrist ornament), chandrahâra (necklace), kaṭibandha (waist ornament), kinkini (leg and foot ornaments) etc. as mentioned earlier. For the fore-arm the most important ornament in the present day is the bala, a ring of metal of a cylindrical form. But in Orissa the bala is replaced by the kharu, which differs from the former in being flat; this ornament is frequently represented in the sculptures. The most favourite ornament for the leg and feet was a chain band fringed with little bells or small metal shells with shots, called kinkini. It was worn by both sexes. It seems that jewellery was extensively used in Orissa. One of the Yogini images of

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1. Ibid., fig. No. 52.
3. Ibid., fig. No. 115.
4. Ibid., plate XXVIII—Illustration Nos. 138, 139 and 141.
Hirapur is bedecked with various kinds of ornaments such as anklets, girdle, necklace, armlets, kāpa (ear-ring) etc. An image of a dvārapāla (door keeper) in a temple at Bhuvarṇeśvara wears kundala (ear-ring), ratnāhāra (necklace), armlet, udarabandha and upavita. Thus the sculptural representations demonstrate that most parts of the body such as ears, neck, upper and lower arms, waist and anklets had their various ornaments. It is remarkable that the sculptures of this period do not depict any ornament for the nose. We may, therefore, conclude that the nose-ornament was not in general use.

Dressing of the hair: As early as the age of the Harappā culture varied types of dressing of hair were in vogue. The style of hair dressing in the Gupta period has become familiar to us after the discovery of the Rājaṅhāta terracottas. Women of the early mediaeval Orissa were equally fond of dressing their hair in different styles. The Bhuvarṇeśvara sculptaeres show that the simplest and the most natural style was the wearing of chignon. It occurs on a great number of heads, and is generally ornamented with a shield-like boss of gold on the coil, and three double strings of pearls or gold chains on the head. From its bulk it appears that some padding, or stuffing, probably with a profuse admixture of false or borrowed hair, was used to swell it out. In a figure, of the Mukteśvarā temple the ornaments are replaced by a single string of pearl encircling the head like a fillet, and the chignon proper has two gradually receding tiers of hair placed over it. On the Great Tower of Bhuvarṇeśvara several male heads are also seen having the same style of chignon, but without the curls. Some sculptures show that the chignon, instead of being placed behind the head, is brought to the left side, and made to rest on the shoulder. Thus different styles of hair dressing were prevalent among the Oriyas during this period.

1. OHRJ., II, No. 2, p. 25.
2. Ibid., IV, Nos. 1–2, p. 37.
4. Ibid., fig. No. 96.
5. Ibid., fig. No. 99.
SECTION IX

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

A number of scholars well-versed in the Vedas, the Vedângas, the Smrīis, and different branches of learning flourished in Orissa during this period. One of them was the poet Jambhala, 1 who was the author of the praśasti of Daṇḍi-mahādevī. He was the son of a great poet Jayātman. 2 Vāvana, 3 the son of Khambo, who was proficient in the three-fold knowledge and a student of Kauthuma Śākhā of the Sāmaveda during the šulki rule had been granted land by the Śulki ruler Jayasthambha. Another great scholar who lived in Orissa was Bhadresvara. 4 He was well-versed in the Śāstras, and was patronised by the Bhañja king Netībhañja. Sādhāraṇa, the chief minister of the Somavāṃśi king Mahābhavagupta, was a sound scholar having a good knowledge of the Arthaśāstra, Smrīti, Veda, Vedângas, Vidyā, Śīkṣā, Kalpa Itihāsa 5 etc. purushottam Bhaṭṭa 6 was another great scholar. Mentioned as the best of poets during the Somavāṃśi reign, he was learned in the Vedas, grammar, political science, poetry and logic.

The Gaṅga records mention several great scholars. Pat-ṭaṅga Śivāchārya, 7 the dīkṣāguru (preceptor) of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, was possessed a good knowledge of the Vedas, Vedângas, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Nyāyavidyā. He lived with his student (Śishyas) and student’s students (Parāśishyas) in the temple of Yogeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka near the village of Gurandi in the Māhendra regions. To the time of the same king belonged Pilla Śarma 8 and Tampara Śarmā, 9 who were learned in the Vedas and Vedângas. Another scholars 10 of

1. EI., VI, p. 139, 1. 39.
2. Ibid.
3. JBORS., II, p. 407, 1. 15.
4. JASB., VI, part II, 1837, p. 669.
5. IHQ., XX, pp. 249–50, 11. 40–42.
6. JASB., XIII, p. 70.
7. IO., II, part I, p. 70.
8. Ibid., p. 76.
9. Ibid., p. 82.
10. Ibid., p. 129.
his period was the donee of Tekkāli plates (of Devendra-
varman), son of a mahāpratiharā (whose name seems to have
been erased). He was a sukhavi or good poet. During the
reign of the Gōnga king Anantavarman we here of Vishnu
Somāchārīya and Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, who were learned
scholars, well acquainted with the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. Some
of the scholars lived in the temples, This Kamlāsana
Bhaṭṭāraka, who was a devasthāniya (temple-superintendent),
possed mastery in Paramārthatattva. The donees Narasimha
Bhaṭṭa and Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, sons of Droṇa Bhaṭṭa were
accomplished persons, and well-versed in the Vedas and other
Śāstras. Such instances can be multiplied. It is interesting to
note that an inscription of the Nanda king Devānanda II
(dated the 9th century A.D.) Describes a Kāyastha named
Yaśodatta as śāstropādhyāya (a teacher of the Śāstra). This
shows that in Orissa, not only the Brāhmaṇas, but also
members of other castes used to be learned in the Śāstras.

Such was the fame of the eucational institutions of early
mediaeval Orissa that scholars from other countries came
here for advanced study. This is evident from the visit of
such scholars as Prajñā, who was a native of Kapisa (Afgha-
nistan) and who had come to the Orissan monastery to study
Yoga philosophy after having visited the sacred places and
who finished his education in the well-known universities of
North India including Nālandā where he spent 18 years. He
probably studies at the monastery of Ratnagiri, which was
an important centre of Buddhist Yoga in the 8th century
A.D., where according to the Lāmā Tāranātha, lived
Āchārya Pito, a reputed teacher of Yoga. The eminence of
the monastery is apparent from the fact that Prajñā visited
this place after completing his training at other places. This
monk carried an autograph manuscript of the philosophical
treatise on Gaṇḍa Vyuha from the Buddhist king Śubhākara

1. Ibid., p. 87.
2. Ibid., pp. 103–04.
3. Ibid., p. 150.
4. Ibid., p. 203.
5. EL., XXIX, part VI, pp. 188–89, 11. 26–33.
6. OHRJ., III, No. 2, p. 76.
of the Bhauka-Kara dynasty to the Chinese emperor Tsetsong in A.D. 795. Thus the monastery at Ratnagiri under the Bhauka-Karas was as famous a centre of Buddhist learning in Orissa as Nalanda and Vikramashila in Bihar.

As elsewhere, so in Orissa also, both Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa scholars and teachers used to move about holding debates and disputationts, which may have improved the standard of philosophical and classical learning. Saṅkarachārya is said to have come to Orissa and carried on vigorous campaigns against Buddhism during the Somavaiṣṇa rule. Tāranātha tells us that a disciple of Saṅkarāchārya defeated the Buddhists in disputation in Orissa. Rāmānuja, the great exponent of Vaishnavism, visited Orissa when the famous Gaṅga king Anantavaraman Chodagaṅgadeva was ruling there. His visit naturally helped the progress of Vaishnavism in Orissa during the period.

Subjects of study: Our inscriptions mention the proficiency of scholars in different subjects such as the Rīgveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the Vedāṅgas, Iṣṭiṣa, Purāṇa, Nyāya, grammar, political science, Poetry, logic, Śāstras etc. Moreover, astronomy and Sūtras were also studied, as is obvious from the works of

1. Ibid., p. 78.
2. BO., Foreword, p. IX.
3. Tāranātha, p. 173.
4. OHRJ., VI, No. 4, p. 299.
5. EI., XIV, p. 363.
6. JBORS., IV, p. 169.
7. Ibid., II, p. 409.
8. EI., IV, p. 6.
9. IO., II, part I, p. 70.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. JASB., XIII, p. 70.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. IO., II, part I, p. 203.
The teaching of Yoga philosophy in particular was very popular in Orissa during the Bhauma-Kara rule. We cannot say whether these subjects were studied privately or as part of some regular curriculum in the educational institutions. As several scholars are stated to have been the masters of these subjects, they may have been taught in some educational institutions.

**Sanskrit Literature**: In spite of the fact that Orissa was Aryanised later than the adjoining regions, vedic studies were as widely cultivated there as in Bihar and Bengal. As shown above, many Brāhmaṇas had mastered the different *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*. Numerous land grants made to the learned Brāhmaṇas clearly show that vedic studies were encouraged in Orissa during this period. The records of the Tuṅga dynasty mention that the villages were full of vedic Brāhmaṇas, who used to study the various branches of the vedic literature. The inscriptions show that some of the Orissan kings contributed to Sanskrit literature. The Khurdā plates describe the Sailodbhava king Madhavarāja as the author of the *Kavyās* and *Dharmaśāstras*. The ornate and poetical prāstastis of the charters indicate the literary style of this period. Many of the prāstastis may be classed among the best specimens of the literature of the period. The well-known work *Jhānasiddhi* was written in A.D. 717 by Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, which is generally taken as Orissan. The famous *Gitagovinda* was composed in Orissa in the Jagannātha temple by Jayadeva, the great Vaishṇava poet, who is said to have flourished there during the reign of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja II in the 12th century. The lexicon named *Trīkāṇḍātesaṇa* was compiled by Purushottamadeva, who is said to have flourished in Orissa before A.D. 1130.

The notable work on astronomy called *Bhūṣyāvat* was written by Satānanda

2. JASB., XII, pp. 292–93.
5. Bhaktamāla by Chandra Dutta, Chap. XXXIX as quoted in OHRJ., III, No. 1, p. 20.
7. OHRJ., II, Nos. 3–4, p. 65.
Āchārya of Puri in A. D. 1099, 1 when the illustrious Gaṅga- 
king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva was ruling in Orissa. 
His other two important works were the Šatānanda Ratnamālā 
and the Šatānanda Sangraha, Of these two the latter was defini-
tely a work on Smṛti, as it is professedly quoted by the later 
Smṛti writers of Orissa. 2 The Šatānanda Ratnamālā was also 
a legal digest. Thus the Sanskrit language and literature 
seems to have made development in Orissa during this period. 
But the most remarkable feature of the learning of the period 
seems to have been the study of secular subject such as 
political science, history and logic.

1. Ibid., V, No. 3, pp. 184–86.
2. Ibid., p. 187.
CHAPTER IV
RELIGION
SECTION I
JAINISM.

Hiuen Tsang’s account throws some light on the state of Jainism in Orissa in the 7th century A.D. He states that “Kaliṅga had 10 Sanghārāmas with 100 priests and 500 Hindu temples with different sorts of unbelievers most of whom were Nigranthas.” ¹ It seems from this statement that the Nigranthas, who later came to be called Jainas, were numerous in Kaliṅga during the first half of the 7th century. But Jainism could not maintain its position later. In the whole range of Orissan epigraphs only a few record royal patronage extended to it. For instance, Kalyāṇadevi, ² the queen of Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta (A.D. 695–735), granted three timpiras of land to a Jain monk called Eka-sāṭa (probably one who wears only one piece of cloth-eka-chivara) Under the Somavāṃśi dynasty only one ruler named Udyotakesari was a patron of Jainism. The inscription in the cave of Lalāṇendu Kesarī ³ records that in his (Udyotakesari’s) fifth regnal year decayed tanks and ruined temples were repaired, and the images of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras were set up. Another epigraph ⁴ of the time of Udyotakesari reveals that in the 18th regnal year of this monarch a Jaina devotee named Subhachandra, who was a disciple of the famous Ācharya Kulachandra, came on pilgrimage to Khaṇḍa-giri. The inscriptions indicate that Udyotakesari held Jainism in great respect.

We do not find any reference to the patronage of Jainism by the Bhauma-kara, Šulki, Nanda, Tuṅga Bhāṇja and Gaṅga dynasties, although some individuals supported Jainism under the Gaṅgas. A South Indian inscription of the reign

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¹ Beal, op cit., II. p. 208.
² JAHRS., part I, p. 52; EI., XXIX, part II, p. 43.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 165–66.
of the Gaṅga King Anantavarmadeva mentions the construction of Rājaśā jainālaya (temple of Jain) in Bhogapuram and grant of land to the same temple by Kunnama Nāyaka. In spite of paucity of epigraphic evidence Jainism in Kaliṅga seems to have been deep-rooted, for its traces are to be found as late as the 16th century A.D. ¹

The different parts of Orissa possess Jaina sculptural and architectural remains of our period. Charampa, a village situated at some distance to the North of Bhadrak Railway station, was one of the Jain centres in the 7th century A.D.² A large number of images has been found here. Most important of them are three images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras; two, those of the Tīrthaṅkaras Ajitnātha and Śāntinātha, are alike. A peculiar feature of the statue is that a number of deep double-concave cutmarks are found on the body and the stone around. The feature is to be found in many of the images of Bhadrak.³ There are two chowrie-bearers on two sides. Two flying gandharvas are found on two sides of the plain halo around the head. Another standing figure of Rishavanātha is laying on the ground. It is one of the biggest images found in Orissa, about 6 in height.⁴

Another important centre of Jainism was Khaṇḍagiri. where exists the navamuni cave or the cave of nine saints. It is an ordinary cave consisting of two chambers with a common varandah. On the walls of the right hand room are carved in relief the figures of the ten Tīrthaṅkaras, each about 1 high seated in niches with Śāsana-devīs below them. Pārśvanātha, who is easily recognised by his serpent-hoods, occurs twice among them; but in one instance he has a flower as his symbol, and in the other a jar. On the right hand wall, on a level with the lower row, are carved two Tīrthaṅkaras. One of them is probably Pārśvanātha with seven serpent-hoods and a jar as the symbols. The other figure has a bull on its pedestal and probably represents Ādinātha. These figures together with Gaṃesa and a small

¹. M. Ganguli, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 19.
². OHRJ., I, No. 4, p. 264.
³. Ibid.
⁴. Ibid., p. 360.
figure on the left hand wall are now worshipped as pārśvanātha.  

This cave is noted for an inscription, written in the 18th regnal year the Somavāṃśī king Udyotakesarī, which refers to the Jaina Śramaṇa Śubhachandra,  

“the disciple of the lord of the illustrious Kulachandra, the Āchārya of the Deśigaṇa derived from Grahakula, belonging to the illustrious Ārya Saṅgha.”

About twenty yards to the South of the Trīśūla or Hanumān cave are found three Jaina figures, which belong to about the 8th–9th century A. D.  

The first figure on the right is that of a woman whose right hand is held by a child standing on the pedestal beneath. The other two figures are nude, and probably represent Rishavadeva, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, whose lāṅchhana (symbol), the bull, is carved on the pedestal. On either side of the saint’s figures are several attendants.

Moreover, in the Lalāṭendu Kesārī or Singh Rāja cave on the Khaṇḍagiri hill we find a group of Jain images of the Digambara sect. The date of this cave is uncertain, but it is said to belong probably to the mediaeval period. It may be assigned to our period, for it contains an inscription of the Somavāṃśī king Udyotakesarī dated the 11th century A. D.

The left and back walls of the upper storey of the cave are carved with eight nude figures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras standing in the niches in their characteristic attitude of absorption. Five of these (first, third, fifth, sixth and eighth from left) are canopied by seven-hooded serpents, their coils appearing behind the figures. These probably represent pārśvanātha.

Thus Khandagiri in the puri district appears to have been the most important centre of Jainism in Orissa, where digambara Nirgranthas were numerous. We do not find any

5. Ibid., p. 283.
reference to the Śvetāmbara sect. Hence nothing can be said about its position in Orissa during this period.

From the fragmentary pieces of sculptural and inscriptive evidence we can safely conclude that Jainism enjoyed some influence in the early part of our period. But subsequently it seems to have lost its vigour, as is indicated by rare instances of royal patronage received by it. It is probable that by encouraging Brāhmaṇas and patronising vedic learning the Somavāṃśī and Gaṅga rulers gradually paved the way for the decline of Jainism and Buddhism in Orissa.

SECTION II

BUDDHISM

In the beginning of our period Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in certain parts of the state. Huien Tsang\(^1\) states that the majority of the inhabitants of Oḍra (North Orissa) were Buddhists. There were some hundred Saṅghārāmas with 10,000 monks, all of whom were the followers of the Mahāyāna. The number of Hindu temples seems to have been small. Huien Tsang mentions Deva temples, which seem to have been Hindu temples. They numbered fifty and sectaries of all sorts worshipped together in their premises. A famous monastery named Puṣpagiri (Pu-se-po-ki-li) is mentioned by him.\(^2\) R. D. Banerji\(^3\) thinks that the ruins of this monastery can be seen above the big undeciphered rock-inscription at Udayagiri in the Cuttack district.

Huien Tsang found Buddhism in a thriving condition in South Kośala also. He narrates that the ruler of the kingdom was a Kṣatriya by birth, but he greatly honoured the law of the Buddha. There were about one hundred monasteries and somewhat less than 10,000 Mahāyānist monks.\(^4\) Just outside the capital of the country there was an old Buddhist monastery with stūpa built by Aśoka. The great Nāgārjuna was at one time a resident of this monastery.\(^5\) Thus in the

1. Beal, op. cit., II, 204.
2. Ibid.
middle of the 7th century A.D. Odra and South Košala were important centres of Buddhism.

But in other parts of the state Buddhism was on the decline, as is evident from the statements of Hiuen Tsang. Regarding the religion of Koṅgoda, he states that “the people greatly respected the teachings of heretics and did not believe in the law of the Buddha. There were some hundred Deva temples, and there were perhaps 10,000 unbelievers of different sects.” 1 About Kaliṅga he states that there were very few Buddhists. There were not more than ten Buddhist monasteries and five hundred monks, who belonged to the Sthavira school of Mahāyāna. But there were some 100 Deva temples with very many unbelievers of different sects, the most numerous being the Nirgranthas. 2

During the succeeding period this religion seems to have lost its vigour, which may be attributed to the lack of the patronage of the ruling dynasties. The Śailodbhavas, who ruled over Koṅgoda in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D., were strongly pro-Brāhmaṇic, and some of the leading rulers of this dynasty such as Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta, 3 Madhyamarājadeva 4 and Dharmarāja 5 performed Aśvamedha and other sacrifices. It is likely that the kings of this dynasty diverted their patronage from the Buddhist monasteries to the Brāhmaṇic temples and institutions, and it also appears from Tāranātha 6 that at this time the Śrāvaka monks dwelling in the south were dwindling in number.

With the advent of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty in Orissa in the eighth century A.D. Buddhism got back royal patronage. The first group of Bhauma-Kara kings consisted of ardent Buddhists. The first king of this group Kṣemaṅkara is called a lay worshipper (paramopūṣaka). His son Śivakara is styled the devout worshipper of the Tathāgat (Parama-tathāgata), and his son Subhākara is addressed as the devout Buddhist (parama-saugata). Subhākara zealously espoused

1. Ibid., p. 206.
2. Ibid., p. 208.
5. Ibid., p. 215.
6. Tāranātha, p. 201.
the cause of Buddhism. He 1 sent to the Chinese emperor Te-Tsong an autographed manuscript of the last section of the Avataṁsaka known as Gaṇḍavyūha, which was handed over to the emperor by the monk Prajakā in A. D. 795. Among the later Bhauma-Kara kings Śivakara III was a patron of Buddhism. His Talcher plate dated A. D. 835 records the gift of a village named Kallāṇi in northern Tosali for the worship of Buddhhabhaṭṭāraka at the request of a rāṇaka Vinīta Tuṅga. 2 The Dhenkanal plate 3 of Tribhuvanamahādevī (A. D. 896) eulogises the activities of her preceding rulers, “who exhausted treasures of their vast empire on religious works in order to enlighten their country and others who decorated the earth by constructing in unbroken continuity various maṭhas, monasteries and sanctuaries, which were like the stair cases to the city of Purandara.”

Thus under the patronage of the Bhauma-Kara kings a large number of religious institutions developed in many parts of Orissa, and more particularly the city of Virajā and its surroundings were adorned with famous monasteries and sanctuaries. A few specimens of Mahāyānic sculptures along with the Mātrika images of the 8th and 9th century A. D. are met with in Virajā even today. The Āśa range of hills runs about 12 miles to the south of this city and consists of Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Lalitāgiri and Ālatigiri, where Mahāyāna Buddhism greatly developed during the Bhauma-Kara period. There are even today magnificent remains of Mahāyānic sculptures, colossal statues of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tārās etc. on these hills. 4 These remains illustrate the vigour and prosperity of Buddhism in the early mediaeval period. To the South of the Āśa hills, the Dharmasalā area is situated. It was also an important centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the past. One can even at the present day see Buddhist antiquities in the old village of Gaṇḍiveṇha, which was probably named after the famous Mahāyānic text Gaṇḍavyūha. The remains of a large Buddhist stūpa are found in the Dubri hill, which is situated near the above-mentioned

4. MASI., No 44, p. 12.
village. Thus this area seems to be a prosperous seat of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the Bhauma-Kara rule. At solaṃpur, about two miles from Jājpura on the other side of the Vaitarṇī river, some inscribed Buddhist images are found embedded in the walls of the late Raghunāthji temple. D. C. Sircar thinks that the inscriptions must have originally belonged to the Buddhist religious establishment ascribable to the later part of the age of the Bhauma-Karas.  

1 It is the village where the donees of the Neulpur grant were settled by the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva.  

2 Khaḍipadā, situated at the distance of six miles to the north-west of Jājpura, was another great site of Buddhism, where a number of Buddhist sculptures including some colossal statues of the Buddhas has been found. These statues are preserved at present in the Orissan Museum, Bhuvanesvara. An inscribed image of Padmapāṇi found at the spot in 1940 shows that the same image had been enshrined in the monastery at Khaḍipadā by Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya Paramaguru Rāhularuchi during the regime of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva.  

3 Remains of Buddhist monuments are also met with in a forested area popularly known as Baidākhia, a few miles to the North of Khaḍipadā. It was once a famous place of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A few specimens of Buddhist images, together with the remains of chaityas, are seen there even now.  

Soro and Kupāri, close to Balasore, were the other important centres of Buddhism where Buddhist remains assigned to the 8th-9th centuries A. D. have been found. John Beams discovered at Kupāri extensive ruins of a Buddhist monastery as well as a great Buddhist temple which probably contained an image of the Buddha of a gigantic size according to his belief.  

4 Undoubtedly Kupāri (Kompārakāgrāma) was a favourite place in North Tosalt, which is referred to by the Neulpur plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva I.  

5 Thus Virajā (the modern Jājpura) and its surro-

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1. JAS., XVII, No. 1 1951, p. 15.  
3. Ibid., XXVI, p. 247.  
5. El., XV, p. 2 f.
unding areas were full of monasteries and convents great stūpas and sanctuaries.

The monastic establishments at Ratnagiri, which was renowned for its Buddhistic culture, developed by the 8th century A.D. into a great seat of learning. It was famous as an important centre of Buddhist Yoga. It is recorded in the Tibetan account that Bodhiṣṭī and Nāropa practised Yoga at Ratnagiri in Orissa. Great teachers and Āchāryyas resided here to teach Yoga and philosophy to scholars coming from the different parts of the country. According to the Lāmā Tāranātha, Āchārya Pito, who had his training at Sāmbhala and had acquired the siddhi of invisibility, was a renowned teacher of Yoga at Ratnagiri, where Avadhūti, Bodhiṣṭī and Nāro were his chief disciples. The famous institution of Yoga at Ratnagiri probably flourished under the patronage of the Bhauma-Kara rulers. Probably in this monastic institution, Prajñā had to study Yoga after completing 18 years of education in the different institutions of India including the University of Nālandā. There were some other monasteries also. The Jayāshrama monastery situated in northern Tosalī was in a flourishing condition in the middle of the 9th century A.D., and the Bhauma-Kara king Śiva-karadeva III, at the request of rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga, executed a copper-plate grant in A.D. 885 allotting the revenue of the village Kallāṇi for the god Buddhabhaṭṭāraka, whose sanctuary lay probably within the precincts of this monastery. Another monastery named Āghyaṇa Varāṭi was situated in the Dhauli area. According to the inscription this monastery was built in A.D. 829 during the reign of the Bhauma-Kara king Śantikaradeva. Thus under the Bhauma-Kara rule Buddhism made considerable progress in Orissa.

The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism was more widely prevalent in Orissa than the Hinayāna form in the 7th century A.D. as is evident from Hiuen Tsang’s account. Many famous Mahāyānic philosophers are also known to have propagated the tenets and thoughts of Mahāyāna in Orissa during

1. B. Misra, op. cit., p. 93.
4. Ei., XIX, pp. 263-64, I. 5.
the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. such as Dharmapāla, Chandragomin, Chandrakīrtti, Dharmakīrtti, Šāntideva etc. An account of each of these monks is given below:

Dharmapāla: Dharmapāla, who was a disciple of Dignāga, seems to have spent some part of his life in Orissa, where he popularised the yogācāra school of thought. ¹ He was an eminent logician, and his commentary on the Viśñaptimātrata-siddhi is a monumental work on the Viśñunvāda. ²

Chandragomin: He was a great philosopher. He was the disciple of Sthiramati and belonged to a Kṣatriya family of Varendra. ³ He lived for sometime in Orissa. ⁴ His remarkable work Chāndra Vyākaraṇa was once extensively in use in Bengal, Orissa, Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon. ⁵

Chandrakīrtti: Chandrakīrtti was a great Mādhyamika philosopher. According to Tāranātha, Chandrakīrtti was born at Śamanta in South India, and he is known to have preached the doctrine of Mādhyamika Śunyavāda for some time in Orissa prior to his visit to Nālandā. He was selected as the high priest of the Nālandā University. His famous work is Mādhyamikāvatāra. ⁶

Dharmakīrtti: Dharmakīrtti was an eloquent scholar. According to Tāranātha, he was a contemporary of the great Tibetan ruler Srong-tsān-Gampo, who flourished ⁷ from A.D. 627 to A.D. 698. By his exuberant philosophical discussions he defeated Kumārila Bhāṭa, the greatest Brāhmaṇical dialectician of his time, who had vigorously challenged his metaphysical theories. ⁸ He lived in Orissa for a pretty long time, and is said to have converted many people of different sects in that territory. He constructed a monastery in Kaliṅga, where he

¹ BO., p. 113.
³ Tāranātha, p. 148; Cordier - Cat. II, p. 302.
⁴ JASB., III, 1907, pp. 221-22.
⁵ HB., I, p. 299; Macdonell, IA., 1903, p. 379. HB., p. 114.
⁶ The Tibetan Text, ed. La Vallière Poussin, in Bible Buddhica, IX, 1912.
⁷ Tāranātha, p. 195.
passed his old age in calm meditation and philosophical contemplation and where at last he died surrounded by his disciples. ¹

Śāntideva: Śāntideva was the last great scholar of Mahāyāna Buddhism, who flourished in the 7th century A.D. According to Tāranātha, ² he came from the royal family of Saurāṣṭra, was for some time a minister of a king Pañcchama Simha, and became a pupil of Jayadeva, the successor of Dharmapāla Nālandā. But the Bṣṭānī ḥgyur mentions him as the king of Zāhor, the identity of which is at present a disputed point. ³

It is, however, difficult to say whether the well-known Mahāyānist Śāntideva, the author of Śikṣā Samuchchhya and Bodhicaryāvatāra, was the same as the Tāntric Śāntideva of the Bṣṭānī ḥgyur list to whom have been assigned three vajrayāna texts. R. C. Majumdar thinks that they were not identical. ⁴

Therefore we find many eminent scholars of Mahāyānic Buddhism in the 6th and 7th centuries A. D., and they may have helped the propagation of this faith in Orissa.

Some famous teachers appeared among the Hinayānists also by this time, who were a great source of inspiration to their co-religionists. Prajñā Gupta, who flourished in the late sixth century A. D., was a great champion of this sect. He composed a treatise in 700 ślokas against the Mahāyāna system. It was considered to be the most authentic work by the Hinayānic priests of Orissa and was presented by the writer to King Harsha as a boastful challenge.⁵

The Mahāyāna sect could not maintain its popularity in Orissa for a longer period. Sometime after the period of Dharmakīrtti it lost its prominent position and developed a new form of Sādhanā known as Tāntric practice. A number of Tāntric Sādhakas (monks) appeared in the 8th century A. D.

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1. Ibid.
2. Tāranātha, p. 162 ff; Sumpā agrees with this account and states that Śāntideva was known in his boyhood as śāntivarman, son of Kalyāṇavarman, and that he became a minister of Pañccha Simha, king of Magadha; IA., 1913, pp. 49-52, and JBOBS, 1919, pp. 501-5.
4. HB., I, pp. 331-32.
and gave wide currency to this aspect of the religion. Some of the eminent Tāntric Śādhakas of this period are discussed below:

Rāhulabhadra: An image of Padmapañi, preserved in the Orissa Museum, bears an inscription which indicates that Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya Paramaguru Rāhularuchi installed that image during the rule of the Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara-deva. 1 S. C. De dissociates the word Ruchinā from the name Rāhula and identifies the latter with the Mahāchārya Brāhmaṇa Rāhula of Tāranātha, and the Rāhulbhadra of the pāg Sām Jon Zāṅg. 2 This inscription is very important as it proves the historicity of the Siddha Rāhula, who was up till now known from legends and traditional accounts. Moreover, it also shows that he flourished in the reign of Śubhākara-deva, a ruler of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.

Indrabhūti: Another important Tāntric āchārya was Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna ( 8th century A.D. ), which is generally identified with Orissa. He organised the Mantrayāna Buddhism into what is called Vajrayāna. 3 He wrote a large number of works, and at least 23 among them are preserved in the Tibetan Bṛihī hgyur in translation. 4 At least two of his works in original Sanskrit have been discovered; one is the Kurukullāsādhanā which appears in the Sādhanamālā itself and the other is called Jñānasiddhi. The Jñānasiddhi is a famous work, which treats in a nutshell many leading doctrines and rites of Vajrayāna. In the Jñānasiddhi Indrabhūti 5 points out that emancipation cannot be obtained simply by mudrā, mantra and maṇḍala. It can be achieved only when a deeper knowledge of the five Tathāgatas or the Dhyāni Buddhas is attained by the Śādhaka. He further says that knowledge cannot be obtained without the kind offices of the Guru or the preceptor. Thus the Jñānasiddhi is a very important and informative text of the Tāntric Buddhism.

1. EI, XXVI, p. 247 ff.
3. IHQ., I, p. 469.
5. Ibid., p. lili.
Lakshmikarā: Indrabhūti was succeeded in the spiritual leadership by his sister and disciple Lakshmikarā. She showed remarkable boldness in preaching her own peculiar theories in a small but interesting work called the Advayasiddhi. Hitherto the Vajrayānists had advocated the worship of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their innumerable emanations, but the ignored their worship, encouraged her followers to violate the artificial rules of conduct and laid great emphasis on physical gratification. She declared that "there is no need of undergoing suffering, no fastings, and no rites, nor bathing nor purification and other rules of society. Nor do you need to bow down before the images of gods which are prepared of wood, stone or mud. But with concentration offer worship only to your body where all the gods reside." Thus Kakshmikarā preached certain revolutionary doctrines which sought to do away with the ritual ridden religion.

Virūpā: Virūpā was another Tāntric āchārya. He resided on the bank of the river Virūpā, which surrounds the Asia range of hills in Orissa, where Buddhist remains are seen in plenty. Tāranātha tells us that he showed various physical feats in Orissa, and preached powerfully against the Śiva worship. It is said that in the capital of Trikaliṅga he refused to pay reverence to the Śaivite deities, and when the king compelled him to bow before the Linga the statues of the gods magically broke into pieces. Several Dohā Collections are attributed to him.

Kṛṣṇāchārya: The next important āchārya was Kṛṣṇāchārya or Kṛṣṇapāda or Kāṁhupā. According to the Pāg-Sam-Jon-Zāṅg, he was born of a Brāhmaṇa family and was initiated into the mystic cult by Jālandhara. Rāhui Saṅkṛtyāyana states that Kāṇha-pā' a disciple of Jālandhara, was a writer (Kāyas the living at Somapūr during Devapālla’s reign who flourished in A. D. 900-950. Kṛṣṇa is credited with having introduced tee Tāntras in which the male and female divinities sit clasping each other. He was a prolific author. Altogether sixty-nine

1. Ibid., p. liv.
2. Ibid., p lv.
5. HB., I, p. 347, fn. 9.
Buddhist TANTRIC works are attributed to him in the Bṣṭan ḫyams. ¹ He wrote in Dohās in his own mother tongue, which was probably Uriya and had great affinity with the old Bengali language.² Twelve songs of his are published in the Baudhā Gān O Dohā.³

Pitṛpāda: Āchārya pitopāda was also one of the important TANTRIC Siddhas of Orissa.⁴ A teacher of esoteric Yoga in Ratnagiri monastery of Orissa.⁵ He is said to have introduced the Kālachakra Tantra in Buddhism. He was a renowned author of a large number of TANTRIC books on Kālachakra. Among his six great disciples, Avadhūti, Bodhisīrī and Nāsopa are well known. All of them learnt and practised Yoga philosophy in the monastery of Ratnagiri.

Jañanāmitra: Jañanāmitra was also a well-known monk in Orissa. “He learnt profoundly the collections on Yamāntaka, Saṃbāra and Heruka, the Gūhya Chandra-tilaka, Mahāpāṇi-tilaka and Kālachakra.”⁶ Thus he was a great scholar monk. Very often he used to visit the temple of Pure for the worship of Lord Jagannātha, where he performed various miracles. Tāranātha believes that when he was once ill-treated inside the temple, the image of Jagannātha lost their hands and feet as well as their former magical powers.⁷

Thus we notice a number of great TANTRIC Śādhakas, who popularised the TANTRIC Buddhism in Orissa during this period.

Numerous TANTRIC sculptures belonging to our period have been discovered in different parts of Orissa, viz., Udayagiri, Lalitāgiri, Ratnagiri, Solāmpūr, Baud, Narsinhapur, Chaudūr, Ayodhyā, Khiching and some other places. A short description of the TANTRIC Buddhist images of some of these places would give an idea of the extent of the prevalence of TANTRIC Buddhism in Orissa.

Udayagiri: Several law mounds consisting of the ruins Buddhist monument are found in Udayagiri. In 1928 R. P. Chanda found a colossal image of two armed Bodhisattava Ava-

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1. HB., I, p. 348, fn. 6.
2. B. Bhattacharya, op cit., p. llv.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 37.
lokešvara (7'10" by 2'10") with the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha seated in meditation in the head-dress. On epigraphical consideration the image may be assigned to the 8th century A. D. John Beams also found a few sculptures in the ruins of Udayagiri Four of them are now to be seen standing in the open ground near a modern shrine at Cuttack. One of these images is a four-armed standing Avalokitešvara (4'7" by 2'2") bearing an inscription, which is assigned to the 8th century A. D. There are two other Buddhist images in this collection: a twelve-armed seated prajñāpāramitā (2'8" by 1'9") and a seated Avalokitešvara (2'8" by 1'9") The fourth sculpture is an image of Gaṇḍa. Further, seated images of the Buddha in the bhūmisparśa mudrā (earth touching attitude) are found here. One fine image of the Buddha seated on a lotus throne in such a pose is seen flanked by Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. This statue is assigned to the 9th–10th centuries A. D. These images suggest that Udayagiri was a centre of Tāntric Buddhism from the 8th to the 10th centuries A. D.

_Lalitāgiri_: Three small hills—the Alashunī, the Lonḍā or Nandā Pathar and the parahari or parabhari—are collectively known as Lalitāgiri. On the top of Lonḍā-hill inside the compound of a _mātha_ a colossal image of the Buddha seated in earth-touching pose is found under a tree. Nearby is an unfinished modern temple. Large numbers of magnificent Buddhist images are found inside the niches of the walls of this structure. In one of the niches, a superb image of Maitreya (7'6" by 3'2") is standing gracefully on a lotus pedestal. Another, fixed on the southern wall, is a mitignant form of Tārā standing on two crouching figures and measures (5'9" by 2'6"). About two hundred yards to the North of the _mātha_ stands in the open a two-armed image of Mañjuśrī (6'8" by 2'9"). These images are assigned to the 8th century A. D. Thus several Buddhist images are to be seen at Lalitāgiri.

1. MASI, No. 44, p. 10, plate III, fig. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., plate IV, fig. 2.
5. Ibid., p. 9.
6. Ibid., plate II, fig. 1.
Ratnagiri: Ratnagiri is an isolated hill of the Asia range four miles to the north-east of Gopalpur, situated on the rivulet Keluā. The hill is remarkable for its rich antiquities comprising the colossal images of the Buddha and fine statues of Tārā, Bodhisattva and different Tāntric deities. A few yards beyond the temple of Mahākali, situated on top of the hill, are placed in groups a collection of about a dozen life-size Buddhist images. The standing Avalokiteśvara and Tārā images of this group are made to stand in the tri-bhaṅga (three bends) pose, the trunk of the body inclining towards the left and the head inclining towards the right.

Among the important Tāntric images found at Ratnāgiri, mention may be of a two armed Heruka (5'2" by 2'6""). It wears a garland of human heads and holding a Khaṭvāṅga in its left arm, dances with intoxication on a corpse, in the ardha-parāyaṅka pose. These statues are assignable to the 10th—11th centuries A.D.

Solaṃpur: Tāntric images are also found in Solaṃpur, situated to the north-west of Jāipur, on the other side of the Vaitaranī which is referred to in the Neulpur grant of the Bhauma-Kara king Subhākaradeva 1 (assigned to the 9th century A.D.) Among the several images found here, the Chlorite image of Vajrasattva 2 is worth noticing. It is a fine specimen of art. It is seated in the vajraparyāṅka attitude and carries the vajra (thunder weapon) placed against its breast on its right palm while its left hand, resting upon the thigh, holds the Ghanṭa, which is, however, damaged. At present the image is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Chaudiār: The antiquities of Chaudiār are found on the northern bank of the Virūpā, about four miles to the North of Cuttack. Its Tāntric Buddhist sculptures include two remarkable images of Vajravārāhi and Khadiravānī Tārā noticed by R. P. Chanda in 1928. The goddess Vajravārāhi is seen in the nude and amorous form dancing with dishevelled hair on two fierce looking corpses. She is two-armed and one-faced and displays vajra (thunder weapon) and tarajani in her right and holds a kapāla in her left hand, while a khaṭvāṅga tipped with

1. Ibid., p. 13.
2. Ibid., plate V, fig. 2.
3. BO., fig. 46.
*vajra* passes across her left thigh, bust and shoulder. She is worshipped by female devotees.1

The image of Khadiravana Tārā stands in the *tribhaṅga* pose holding the long stalk of lotus in the left hand and bestowing boon by the right hand. On its right and left sides are seen respectively the figures of Aśoka, Kāntā, Māricehi and Ekaṭā. Heavenly musicians are noticed hovering playfully in the sky.2

These image can be ascribed to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. The numerous Tāntric images found in the different parts of the state substantiate the wide prevalence of the Tāntric Buddhism in Orissa during the early period of our survey.

In course of time Buddhism received a set-back with the rise of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism during the rule of the Somavatī and Gaṅga dynasties which adhered to Brāhmaṇism. Somavatī rulers had strong Brāhmaṇic leaning and spread Śaivism at the cost of Buddhism. In order to spread vedic culture several Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in Vedas and vedic rituals, were encouraged to settle in Orissa by means of land grants. King Yayāti II alias chaṇḍihara Mahāśivagupta III performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice on the bank of the river Vaitarni3 and began the construction of the famous temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhuванeśvara. Another Brāhmaṇic temple named Brahmeśvara temple was constructed during the reign of Udyotakesarī by his mother Kolāvatī,4 in the 11th century A. D. Many other Brāhmaṇic temples were constructed during this period. It was during the regime of this dynasty that Śankarāchārya and his disciples carried on vigorous campaign against Buddhism,5 Tārānātha6 informs us that a disciple of Śankarāchārya defeated the Buddhists in disputatio in Orissa.

That Buddhists were murdered and harassed in those days has been referred to by Iswar Dās in his Chatttāya Bhāgavata, which was composed towards the end of the sixteenth century A. D. It is stated therein that there were seven hundred Budd-

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1. Ibid., fig. 59.
2. Ibid., fig. 60.
4. JASB., VII, p. 559.
5. BO., Foreword, p. IX.
hists during the reign of the Somavâmsi king, and six hundred and sixteen were killed by one of these rulers, but the name of the ruler is not mentioned. This may be an exaggeration, but this much seems to be true that efforts were made to root out Buddhism from Orissa during this period. The Aśokan pillar was converted into a Śivaliṅga at Bhuvaṇeśvar. R. L. Mitra had suggested in 1880 that the colossal liṅgam now enshrined in the temple of Bhāskareśvara at Bhuvaṇeśvara might have been a remnant of an Aśokan pillar. But since this suggestion was based on no other evidence save similarity, most of the later scholars writing on the monuments of Bhuvaṇeśvara took no notice of it, and some scholars like M. M. Ganguly, N. K. Bose and K. N. Mahapatra directly refuted it. But further searches in this connection have proved that the front portion of a colossal lion usually found at the top of an Aśokan pillar was found to have been laid in a pit with four sides to keep it in a position, which indicates that its burial was not accidental but deliberate. The name on the left side of the lion has been partially chiselled down. There are also chisel holes on the same left side which further show that deliberate attempts had been made to break it to pieces. Panigrahi remarks that "considered from all standpoints, the conclusion becomes unavoidable that the colossal liṅgam now in the Bhāskareśvara temple was originally an Aśokan pillar and that the lion discovered was its capital." Thus it appears that vandalism was wrought on the Buddhist monuments by the Saivas.

Like the Somavâmsis the Ganga rulers also extended patronage to Brāhmaṇical religion, which must have affected the position of Buddhism. During their rule several Brāhmaṇas, who had good knowledge of the Vedas and the Vedic rituals, were settled in Orissa by means of land grants. Besides several Brāhmaṇical temples were constructed. The famous Jagannâth

5. The Vaitarâni, X, pp. 52–59.
6. JAS., XVII, No. 2. 1951, p. 93.
8. Ibid., p. 100.
temple was constructed at Puri during the Gaṅga rule in the 12th century A.D., and became a centre of Vaishnavism. Thus as a result of the policy of patronising Prāhmanism followed by the rulers of the two important royal dynasties Buddhism suffered a decline in Orissa. But it lingered for a longer time. The image found lying buried in a plot of land near the Brahmaśvara temple of Bhuvanesvara and the Buddhist sculptures of Chauduār proved beyond doubt that Buddhism continued to prevail in Orissa as late as the 11th century A.D.

SECTION III

ṢAIVISM.

Ṣaivism attained an important position in Orissa during this period. This is testified to by the adherence of a large number of royal families to this faith and the building of a large number of temple dedicated to Śiva, some of which became very famous in subsequent times. The Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvanesvara ranks as the foremost architectural production of the state. The rulers of the Śailodbhava, Bhauma-Kara, Šulki, Nanda, Tuṅga, Bhaṅja Somavaiśā and Gaṅga dynasties patronised Śaivism in one way or the other.

The Śailodbhava rulers were great patrons of Śaivism Mādhavarāja I, 2 Madhyamarājadeva 3 Dharmarāja 4 and other rulers of this dynasty were devout worshippers of Śiva, as is obvious from their assumption of the title of paramatiheśvara. Śaivism became practically the royal religion in the Śailodbhava dominion of Koṅgoda in the 7th century A.D. But though the kings of this dynasty were staunch Śaivite, many of them performed Āśvamedha and other sacrifices 5 find made grants to the Brāhmanas.

Śiva is invoked as the highest god in the opening lines of the Śailodbhava inscription. The Ganjam plates 6 of Mādhavarāja describe Śiva as the blessed lord of the three worlds, the cause of existence, creation and destruction. The Banapur

1. OHRJ., II, No. 2, pp. 43–44.
2. IO., I, part II, p. 163.
4. Ibid., p. 209.
6. Ibid., p. 163. I, 16.
grant 1 of Madhyamarāja refers to Śiva as ‘greater than the sky, superior to the lord of immortal divine being (Indra); estab-
lisher of Dharmāpin the yajña of Daksha; winner of Rākshas;
deepen than the fathomless ocean; brighter and more luminous
than the sun; more pleasant in looking than the moon; the ruler
of all the three worlds.’

Although the early rulers of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty were
all devout Buddhists, 2 they were not intolerant. Mādhavīdevi,
the queen of the Buddhist Subhākaradeva I, was a Śāivite who
built a temple for the lord Śiva and installed the Mādhavēsvara
Śiva after her name at Jājapura, as is known from the Hamse-
vara temple inscription. 3

The later Bhauma-Kara rulers of Tosali adopted Śaivism as
their chief religion. The inscriptions show that Subhākaradeva
III, 4 Subhākaradeva IV, 5 Śivakaradeva III 6 and Daṇḍimahā-
devi 7 were all devout worshippers of Śiva. Subhākara III
was a great patron of Śaivism, According to the Hindol copper
plates 8 he granted the village of Noḍḍilo in northern Tosali
to god Vaidyanātha Bhataṭāka at the request of Pulindarāja.
Half of the village was given to Vaidyanāthā for tapanā,
scents, flower, lamps, incense, naivedya, bali, charu and pūjā as
well as for the maintenance of temple servants, and the repair
of the temple and the other half for the supply of satra, gar-
ments etc. of ascetics. Prithivimahādevi, 9 the queen of Subhā-
kara III, also donated a village named Koṭṭapura together with
Nānneśvara Tala pāṭaka for the perpetual offering of ablution,
sandel paste etc., to the deity Umāmahiśvara installed in the
temple constructed by Śaśilekhā and named Nānneśvara after
her father, for repairs to the temple, for providing garments
and medicines to mendicants, for food and clothing to Brāhmat-

1. Ibid., pp. 191–92, 11, 4–5.
2. EL., XXVIII, p. 180; JBORS., XVI, pp. 69–93; Eneerjee, HO., I,
p. 147.
4. JBORS., XVI, pp. 69–83.
6. Ibid., p. 44.
7. JBORS., V. p. 567.
8. Ibid., XVI, p. 78.
ñas and for the maintenance of the family of ḍanapatī. Śaivite emblems such as a couchant bull, the sun and the moon as well as conchshells appear on the seals of the copper-plate grants of this dynasty. Thus Śalvism received royal patronage and was gradually restored to its old position during the later Bhauma-Kara period.

The Śulkis, the feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara kings, were also great devotees of Śiva. Though Stambheśvarī was the tutelary deity of the Śulkis, yet their rulers Raṇastambha, Jayastambha and Kulastambha were all devoted worshippers of Maheśvara, and the Śulki inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śiva.

Some rulers of the Nanda dynasty also were followers of Śaivism. Devānanda II, the son of Vilāsatuṅga, was a devout worshipper of Śiva, as is known from his title paramamāheśvara. Similarly the record of the Tuṅga dynasty show that its rulers such as Vinītatuṅga and Gayādatuṅga were ardent devotees of Śiva (paramamāheśvara), though Vinītatuṅga was a patron of Buddhism also.

Under the Bhaṅja rulers of both the branches Śaivism was the predominant faith. Raṇabhāṅja, Rājabhaṅja, Mahan madāhavabhaṅja etc. of the Khijduṅga branch were all devotees of Śiva. The Khaṅḍadeuli inscription of Raṇabhāṅjadēva mentions that the celebrated Raṇabhāṅja and expiated his sins through the worship of the feet of Śiva. For the increase of the religious merit of parents and self he granted a village to a Bhāttaputra Rachho by pouring water and putting the deed on a copper plate in the name of Lord of Mahādeva.

1. JBOI.S., II, p. 399.
2. Ibid., p. 412.
4. JBOI.S., IV p. 169.
6. JBOI.S., VI p. 236 ff.
7. JASB. (NS.), XII, p. 291.
8. JBOI.S., IV., p. 176.
11. JBOI.S., IV, p. 176.
madāhavabhañja also made a grant in the name of Bhagavat Śankara Bhāṭṭārakā, i.e., the God Śiva. ¹

Among the Bhañja rulers of Khiñjali branch Neṭṭabhañja ² and Vidyādharbhañja ³ were devout worshippers of Śiva (paramāmūheśvara). The Orissa plate of Vidyādharbhañja opens with to verse which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invokes the pretension of the waves of the divine Gaṅgā. Śatrubhañja was also a follower of Śaivism, but in his earlier years he was a Vaishṇava. In the two known records of Śatrubhañja of Dhrítipura and Khiñjali maṇḍala he is represented as a devout worshipper of Vishnū, while Śatrubhañja of Jangalapada plates ⁴ is described as a devotee of the God Maheśvara.

During the Somavaṁśi rule Śaivism reached the zenith of its development and to enjoy predominance over the other religious sects in Orissa. The rulers of this dynasty were staunch Śaivites, as is indicated by the assumption of the title of parama-mūheśvara in their official documents. ⁵

Some Somavaṁśi rulers granted villages to the Śaivite temples. The Lodhia plates of Mahāśivagupta Bāḷārjuna inform us that he granted a village to the god Īśāneśvara (Śiva), installed at Khadirapadra, a place about two miles North of Seorinārayana, where a multilated inscription of about the 7th century A.D., referring to some grants made by the rulers of this dynasty, still exists. ⁶

According to tradition current at Bhuvaṇeśvara, Yayāti Kesārī built the Mukteśvara temple. K. C. Panigrahi states that in all probability the temple of Mukteśvara was built by

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1. EI., XXX part VI, p. 228.
2. Ibid., XXVIII, part VI, p. 262.
3. Ibid., IX, p. 273.
4. Ibid., XXX, part VI, p. 254.
5. OHRJ., I, pp. 63–64, Lodhia plates (Mahāśivagupta); EI., XI, p. 94, Vakratentali grant (Mahābhavagupta I); Ibid., III, p. 342, Parna Copper-plate (Mahābhavagupta I); Ibid., p. 382, Kataka grant (Mahāśivagupta); Ibid., XI, p. 96, Nibinna charter (Mahāśivagupta); Ibid., IV, p. 258, Kudopali plates (Mahābhavagupta II) etc.
6. OHRJ., I, p. 63–64.
Yayāti I also a great patron of Śaivism. He began the construction of the Great Temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaṇeśvara, which stands today as one of the famous Śiva temples of India. But he did not live long enough to complete the construction of this mighty temple. His son Mahābhavagupta Udyota Kesarī was also a great champion of Śaivism. He completed the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple. Moreover, it was during his time that many Śiva temples were built at Bhuvaṇeśvara including the magnificent Barhmeśvara, which was constructed by his mother Kolāvatī. Under the Soma-
m sceptic Jāipur, which was once a great centre of Buddhism during the Bhauma-Kara rule, became a very prominent centre of Śaivism. Thus the Somavāṃśī rulers were great supporters of Śaivism. It was in their time that Śankarāchārya came to Puri in the 9th century A.D. It is said that he introduced the Śaivite form of worship in the Jagannātha temple and added many new items of bhoga to the existing ones. His teachings definitely led to the growth of Śaivism, which acquired the predominant position in Orissa during the Soma-
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1. ARB., p. 159.
3. JASB., VII, p. 559.
5. Ibid.
6. IO, II, part I, p. 15.
7. Ibid., p. 25.
8. Ibid., p. 64.
9. Ibid., p. 87.
10. Ibid., p. 91.
11. Ibid., p. 149.
12. Ibid., p. 250.
13. Ibid., p. 275.
deva, Sāmantavarman etc. were all devout worshippers of Śiva, as is evident from their use of the title of paramamāheśvara in their various charters. All the Gaṅga copper-plate grants sing the glory of the Mahendragiri and the god Gokarṇesvara, their family deity. The later Gaṅga rulers were also followers of Śaivism, Kāmārṇava I and Vajrahasta invoked that deity in their inscriptions. Vajrahasta V granted land with the produce of 200 murakas of grain to god Koteśvara for bali, chūru, nāivedya, dipa (light), pūjā etc. Kāmārṇava II built the temple of Madhukesa. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva expressed his devotion to Śiva in his early records, viz., the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of A.D. 1081 and A.D. 1082. In A.D. 1081 he granted the village of chākīvāda in the Saṅvā Vishaya in honour of the deity Raja Rājeśvara (Śiva), whose temple lay in the village of Reṅgued. But, late in life, he come under the influence of Vaishnavism. The Korni plates of A.D. 1112–1113 describe him both as a paramamāheśvara and paramavaishnava, but the Vizagapatam plates of A.D. 1118–1119 omit the title of māheśvara altogether and represent Choḍagaṅgadeva as a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. This change of religious faith is attribute to his coming in contact with Rāmānuja (the great exponent of Vaishnavism), who perhaps visited Puri between A.D. 1107 to A.D. 1111. Afterwards Saivism seems to have lost its pre-eminent position, and Vaishnavism began to dominate religious life of Orissa.

The present survey would show that there was not a single dynasty in Orissa that did not come under the influence of Saivism at one time or the other during this period.

Many inscriptions record the grant of lamps to Śiva by the individuals. The Mukhaliṅgam stone inscription dated A.D. 1166 stated that the wife of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta, Vijayā-mahādevi, endowed god Madhukesvara with a lamp in perpetual

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1. Ibid., p. 303.
2. Ibid., p. 308.
3. EL., IX, pp. 94–98.
tuity. 1 Another Mukhariṇgam stone inscription refers to the endowment of 50 sheep for burning a perpetual lamp to the same deity by a lady named Gundame Nāyakī of the Kāyastha family, who was the wife of the king’s (Vajrahasta V) commander 2 as mentioned earlier. Again, another Mukhariṇgam stone inscription mentions that the chief queen of Vajrahasta named Prithvimahādevī made large grants for burning perpetual lamps to god Madhukeśvara (Śiva). 3 The Bhuvanēśvara inscription 4 of Rāghava dated the 12th century A.D. records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of the god Kṛittivāsa (Śiva) in the Lingarāja temple by a lady named Meḍamadevi. Another lady who was the gudisānti (a maid devoted to the service of the temple) made a gift of five mādas to the temple of Nileśvara or Nilakanṭhēśvara for burning a perpetual lamp. 5 Banapati, the Brāhmaṇa minister and commander of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, and his father Rājarāja I donated lamp and fifty she-buffaloes to god Bhimesa 6 (Śiva). Many such instances may be furnished. Thus shows that the custom of donating lamps to Śiva was regarded as a meritorious act, which was supposed to bring children and prosperity to the donors, who included not only members of royal families but also some ordinary individuals.

The popularity of Śaivism is further indicated by the numerous Śiva temples which were constructed in Orissa during this period such as those of Parāsurāmeśvara, Someśvara, Mukteśvara, Brahmeśvara, Lingarāja or Tribhuvanēśvara, Kedāreśvara, Megheśvara etc.

The Paraśurāmeśvara temple: The temple of Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvanēśvara is usually regarded as the oldest of the temples of Orissa. R. D. Banerji points out that, according to the palaeography of the inscriptions on its door, the Paraśurāmeśvara temple cannot be earlier than the 8th century A.D. and that there is no temple in northern, central or southern Orissa,

1. JAHRS., VI, parts 3–4, p. 207.
2. Ibid., p. 208.
3. Ibid.
5. JAHRS., VII, part II, p. 126.
6. Ibid., p. 127; SL., No. 1006.
which can be earlier than the Paraśurāmeśvara in date. But K. C. Panigrahi does not agree with this view and assigns the temple to the first or second part of the 7th century A. D. Whatever may be the exact date, the Paraśurāmeśvara is by far the most decorated of the early temples that have come down in a state of good preservation. It possesses numerous cult images and contains has-reliefs which depict several incidents in Śiva’s life.

The Someśvara temple: The Someśvara temple is the largest in the entire group on or near the banks of the tank at Rāṇipur Jhariāl, which contains the inscriptions of Gaganaśivāchārya. It records the constructions of this temple by this famous Śaiva ascetic. The main deity was called both Śrī Someśvaradeva and Śrī Someśvaranātha, as is clear from the inscription. At least four different deities viz., Soma, Svāmī (Kārtikeya), Siddheśvara (Buddha) and Lakshmī are found there. The temple has been assinged to the 9th century A. D. by Beglar on the basis of the characters of the inscription. Other scholars also place it between A. D. 850–880.

The Mukteśvara temple: As shown earlier, this temple is said to have been built during the Somavamśi rule by Yayāti I. It is regarded as an ancestor of the Brahmaśvara temple, which was built in about A. D. 1060. K. C. Panigrahi 7 thinks that the Mukteśvara temple was built about a century earlier, i.e. the beginning of the Somavamśi period. Whatever may be the exact date of the construction of this temple, it is regarded as one of most beautiful temple of India. Fergusson describes it as the “gem of Orissa architecture.”

The Brahmaśvara temple: This temple was created at Bhuva- neśvara during the reign of the Somāvaṃśi king Udyotakesari by his mother Kolāvatī. It is a pañcharatha type of temple

2. ARB., p. 28.
5. OHRJ., I1I, No. 2, p. 71.
6. ARB., p. 159.
7. Ibid., pp. 157–58.
8. SE., p. 541.
9. JASB., VII, p. 559-91
consisting of a vimāna and a Jagamohana. It stands on a plinth and is surrounded both inside and outside by two compound walls. The inner compound has four temples at the four corners.

The Līṅgarāja temple: The temple of Līṅgarāja may be considered to be the holiest of the Orissan Śaiva temples, and is still in religious use. The God enshrined in it is Śiva in its phallic form. The sanctuary is situated in the middle of a large quadrangular court enclosed by massive walls. Many other subsidiary structures cluster round the sanctuary pile.

As stated above, the Somavaiśī king Yayāti II started the construction of this famous temple and it was completed by his son Mahābhavagupta Udyotakesari, during the middle of the 11th century A. D. ¹

The Kedārēśvara temple: An inscription discloses that in A. D. 1142 Rājan Pramaḍīdeva who is said to have been the younger brother (sānuja) of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, gave a perpetual lamp to the god Kedārēśvara and granted a village in the paida vishaya for its maintenance.² The temple therefore may have been built earlier, but it acquired celebrity as an important Śaiva shrine during this period. Panigrahi observes that “in all probability it was built in the declining period of the Somavaiśī dynasty or in the early part of the Gaṅga rule in Orissa, and so the date of its construction should be placed in the last half of the 11th century A. D. or the first half of the 12th.”³

The Megheśvara temple: The Megheśvars temple was built by Śvapneśvaradeva,⁴ the brother-in-law of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja II in honour of Megheśvara, the, lord of Kailāsa. Śvapneśvara seems to have served as the commander-in-chief of the Gaṅga army under two Gaṅga kings, Rājarāja II (1170)⁵ and Anaṅgabhīmadeva II (1190–1198).⁶ It is possible that the temple was built during the reign of Anaṅga-bhima II in the closing years of the 12th century. This temple is built of a soft and gritty variety of sandstone and

1. JAS., XXIV, No. 2; 1658, p. 85.
2. EL., XXX., part III, p. 94.
3. Ibid.
4. EL., VI, pp. 198–203; JAHRS., VII, No. 3, p. 188.
6. Ibid., p. 266.
is situated in the furthest north-east corner of Bhuvañëvara. Besides these, there are many other Šaiva temples in Orissa, which clearly show that Šaivism was one of the popular religions in Orissa during our period.

The people of Orissa worshipped Siva under various names, viz., Maheśvara, 1 Koṭeśvara, 2 Gokarna, 3 Yogeśvara, 4 Madhukeśvara, 5 Iśānesvara, 6 Šulapani, 7 Brahmeśvara, 8 Vaṭeśvara, 9 Pinākipati, 10 Mahādeva, 11 Vaidyanātha, 12 Bhava, 13 Šaṅkara, 14 Hara, 15 Nilakanṭheśvara, 16 Nileśvara, 17 Rājarājeśvara, 18 Megheśvara, 19 Yamaliṅgeśvara, 20 Somesvara, 21 Someśanātha, 22 Kāmāntaka, 23 Somārdhaddārin, 24 Girīśa, 25 Kedāreśvara, 26 Bhīmeśvara, 27 Viṁśvara, 28 Kṛitivāsa 29 etc.

1. El., III, 221.
2. Ibid., IX, pp. 94-98.
3. IO, II, part I, p. 15.
4. Ibid., p. 70.
5. JAHRS., VI, Nos. 3-4, p. 208.
8. JASB., VII, p. 559.
10. OHRJ., I, part II, p. 179.
11. JBORS., IV, p. 176.
12. JBORS., XVI, p. 78.
15. JAS., XVII, No. 1, p. 17.
15. JBORS., VI, p. 483.
17. Ibid. 18. Ibid., part I, p. 60.
22. Ibid.
24. Ibid., XXXIV, part II, p. 95.
25. Ibid., XXVIII, part III, p. 112.
27. JAHRS., VI, Nos. 3-4, p. 209.
28. Ibid.
Śiva is represented in diverse forms, whic indicate the nature of Śaivite worship. In the Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhuvaneśvara is carved a figure of four-armed Śiva sitting and holding a long trident in the upper left hand and an *akshamātā* and a lotus bud in the right ones. It wears a snake *kundāla.* It is an anthropomorphic image of Śiva. We also find the *ugra* (terrific) form of Śiva. Such an image is to be seen in the Vaitāl temple. A skeleton-shaped male figure wearing a garland of skulls, and with sunken eyes, open mouth, protruding tongue and hollowed belly sits in a lighting posture, resting the weight of its body on the left knee and holding in the right hand a large knife, and in the left a *kharpāra* from which the flames rise on all sides. On the pedestal a female figure kneeling down holds some indistinct object with both hands, and by her side are to be seen a tripod with two human heads placed on it and a jackal eating a dead body lying prostrate.

Some other forms of Śiva appear in the Brahmeśvara temple such as Ekapāda Śiva, Andhaka-vadhamūrti, Naṭarāja etc. Ekapāda-Śiva holds a long trident, *damaru* and *akshamātā* in his hands, wears a garland of skulls and stands on a man lying prostrate. Andhaka-vandha-mūrti is seen standing in the pose of an archer wearing a garland of skulls and holning in the upper right hand a *kharpāra,* and lifts with the long trident the demon Andhaka who with the body upturned is found fixed on the prongs of the weapon. These are the images of fighting Śiva. Another noteworthy image of the fighting deity is found in the Mukteśvara temple—a Gaja-samhāra-mūrti. Two images of four-handed dancing Naṭarāja apper on the Brahmeśvara temple. One of them hold a long *viṇā* with two hands, and the other, a snake over the head. Nandī is to be seen in both of them. Several Images of Naṭarāja are found in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple also.

It is evident therefore that Śiva was worshiped in both the forms, viz., Mahādeva and Bhairava or Rudra, which are the two main aspects of Śiva according to Hindu literature.

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1. ARB., p. 72.
2. Ibid., Fig. 136.
3. Ibid., Fig. 58.
Mahādeva or Śambhu represents a god of mind disposition, and Bhairava or Rudra a god of terror.

We find specimens of composite sculptures also, viz., Śiva-Pārvatī or Hara-Pārvatī, Śiva’s marriage and Ardhanārisvāra mūrti. The composite images of Śiva and Pārvatī or Hara and Pārvatī indicate that Śaivites were influenced by the tāntric form of worship, whose characteristic was the worship of Śiva in company with Pārvatī or Śakti. Several varieties may be seen in such combined images. In one variety Pārvatī faces Hara and is seen seated on his lap. She holns a mirror in her left hand and encircles the neck of her partner with the right. The four-armed Hara embraces her with one of his hands and holds a trident in another. His other two hands are in the abhayamudrā and holds a Japamālā. A bull and a lion are generally found on the pedestal. We find this form in the Megheśvara temple,¹ and also in some other sites.

In another variety Hara and Pārvatī are sited side by side on a lotus seat below in which their respective mounts are seen, Hara has four hands, of which the normal two usually hold a long vīṇā and the remaining two a japamāla and a trident. Pārvatī is seated gracefully to left with her left hand on the seat and the right hand on the shoulder of the god with her face turned towards him. This form is to be seen on the Paraśurāmeśvara and on the Vaitāl, and also as detached sculptures within the Lingarāja compound.

Images depicting the marriage-scene of Śiva and Pārvatī are to be seen in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaṇeśvara. Śiva and Pārvatī are represented in the centre of the scene, dressed as the bridegroom and the bride. Agni, with flames rising on both sides, sits to the proper right of Śiva, and below him is found a foliated vase with a miniature Gaṇeśa by his side. To the right of Agni is shown Brahmā with the three heads, pouring water form a vase. To the right of Brahmā Sūrya is standing with the usual lotuses. Tow female attendants with swords in their hands stand to the left of Pārvatī. To the left of the last female attendant the four-armed Viṣṇu stands holding a vase with two hands and a conch-shell with the other two.² Thus this scene is interesting, but the figure of Gaṇeśa

1. ARB., Fig. 135.
2. Ibid., Fig. 43.
in this context seems to be an anachronism. This depiction of Śiva’s marriage is not similar to the illustrations on Kalyāṇa-sundara-mūrtis given by T. A. Gopinātha Rāo. Here we have a familiar scene of Hindu marriage. Probably it is an indication of the Purānic concept of family life of deities.

The Ardhanārīśvara mūrti is particularly interesting, as in this image Śiva and Śakti are merged in one body in a standing posture, as noticed in the Vaitāl and Brahmesvara temples of Bhuvanēśvara.

Another form of Śiva worship was Harihara — a composite image of Śiva and Vishnu. Such images are to be seen in the Vaitāl temple. One half of such an image represents Śiva with a japa-māla and the other Vishnu with a conch-shell. This shows that Śaivism was very intimate with Vaishnnavism, and the spirit of mutual respect for another’s deity led to the evolution of the conception of a joint deity Harihara, which was worshipped by both the sects.

Although Śiva was worshipped in different human forms in Orissa during this period, his worship in the Liṅga form seems to have been highly popular. This can be inferred from the existence of Gokarṇasvāmī on Mahendragiri, Vaṭeśvara and Vīreśvara in Pālur near Chitrapur, Madhukēśvara and Bhamīśvara in Mukhalingam and other gods in the Liṅga form with suitable temples all over the state. In the famous Śaiva temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhuvanēśvara we find Śiva being worshipped in the Liṅga form. The scenes of the Liṅga worship are carved at the bases of the southern and northern pitches of the Rāja-rāni temple (assigned to the 11th century A. D.). Further, several half-burled boulders and a Chaturmukhalinga a phallus with four faces, have been found in the village of Sitābinji, about twenty miles south of the district headquarters of Keonjhar. The boulders contain short inscriptions, which are ascribed to the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. This shows the prevalence of phallic cult in Orissa from an early period.

2. ARB., Figs. 132 and 133.
3. Ibid., p. 78.
4. JAHS., VI, Nos. 3-4, p. 209.
5. ARB., Fig. 63.
6. OHRJ., VI, No. 4, p. 282.
It is evident from the sculptural representation of Lakulîśa (propounder of the Pāśupata school) that the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism was also prevalent in Orissa. Images of Lakulîśa are seen in the Bhuvâneśvara temples in quite good numbers. These figures of Lakulîśa may be broadly classified under two groups. In one group Lakulîśa is seen as seated cross-legged with the legs firmly planted on the seat, and in the other the crossed legs are tied round with yogapattā, the knees being necessarily held aloft. The first type of images may be noticed in the temples of Paraśurâmeśvara, Vaitâl, Mukteśvara etc. A few specimens of the second type may also be seen in the Mukteśvara temple. Lukulîśa is usually shown single, but he is also found in the company of disciples, two, four or six. Lakulîśa is further represented in the company of the teachers of the Pāśupata sect. However, only two instances of such representations are known, one of the doorway of the Marichikunda near the Mukteśvara temple, and the other on the doorway of the Jagamohana of the Rājarâni temple.

It will thus appear that the Pāśupata sect was widely prevalent in Orissa during this period. The influence of the Pāśupata sect can still be traced here. The Pāśupata practice to set up a Liṅgam to represent a dead teacher and to erect a temple for it, as pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar, is still being followed in the Bharati Matha of Bhuvâneśvara.

What we have said above shows that Śiva was worshipped in various forms in Orissa during this period such as Rudra, Śiva, Paśupati etc.

SECTION IV

ŚAKTISM

Śaktism flourished in Orissa during this period, and come across several inscriptiveal references to the worship of Śakta divinities. The inscriptions mention the Sûti rulers as devoted worshippers of Stambhâśvari, which was their family-

1. ARB., Figs. 124–30.
2. Ibid., op. cit., Figs. 129–30.
3. EL., XXI, p. 1 ff.
4. ARB., p. 226.
5. JBORS., II, p. 404; EL., XXVIII, part III, p. 112; JASB., LXIV, p. 127 etc.
deity. The Bhañja rulers 1 also worshipped this goddess. Another deity called Lileśabhadra Durgā also appears in the charter 2 of a Bhañja ruler named Satrubhañjadeva. The Marañjamura charter of the Somavamśi king Mahāśīvagupta extols Bhagavati Pañchāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā of Paṭṭana Suvarṇapura. 3 The Madalā Pāñji 4 states that Yayāti Kesarī built a temple for the goddess Vimalā at Purī. The Gaṅga rulers were also votaries of Śāktism. The Pattali grant 5 of Yuvarāja Rājendravarman dated the 9th century A. D. records the grant of a village in favour of the goddess Kañchhipoṭṭi Bhaṭṭarikā in order to provide for her offering. A copper-plate dated A. D. 1084 of Anantavarman Chodagaṅgadeva mentions the land gift to a Brāhmaṇa for the worship, offerings of the goddess and land Bhagavatī. 6 Thus many such instances may be produced.

Numerous sculptural representations of various Śākta deities to be seen in different places also confirm the prevalence of Śāktism in Orissa during this period. Jāipur, which was its most important centre abounds in the images of the Mātrikas. Of the Mātrikas, Chāmuṇḍā seems to have been in special favour here. Her images are found scattered here and there. An inscription from Jāipur assigned to the 7th century A. D. mentions that Vatsadevi, probably the wife of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings, installed the image of Chāmuṇḍā apparently in a temple at Jāipur. 7 We find the images of the Saptamātrikas on the Vaitaranī (at Jāipur) and those near the Mārkaṇḍēśvara temple at Puri which are assigned tentatively to the 8th century A. D. 8 Even in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhuvanesvara, which is assigned to the 7th century A. D., there are images of Saptamātrikas. The Vaital temple (A. D. 775, which is a Śākta shrine, contains various Śakti images such as the four-handed Durgā, Arddhanārīśvara, Mahisha-

1. Ibid., VI, p. 482.
2. OHRJ., I, No. 2, p. 179.
3. Ibid., II, p. 52.
6. JAHRJS., VII, No. I, p. 64.
mardini, a group of Saptamātrikas, Māheśvari, Indrāṇi etc. besides Chāmūndā which is the presiding deity of the shrine. The image of Mahishāmardini is noteworthy. She appears holding a sword, triśula, vajra and śula in her right hands and a kheṭaka with a loop handle, a bow and a snake in the left. The snake forcibly draws out the tongue from the mouth of the buffalo-headed demon into whose breast the goddess thrusts the long trident held in one of the right hands. ¹

Tāntricism was the dominant feature of Śakti worship, and it was very popular in Orissa during this period. (1) The Kapālinī (2) the Mohini (3) the Uttarāyaṇī (4) the Gouri (5) the Rāmāyaṇī and (6) the Dakṣiṇa Chaṇḍī temples of Bhuvanesvara are regarded as famous Tāntric Piṭhas, and the existing temples of the first four deities are assigned to the 8th century A.D. ² Only in the temple of Kapālinī sixteen images, besides the images of Kapālinī who is the presiding deity of the temple, have been set in the walls inside the Garbha-griha.

Rânipur Jharīlal, where the temple of sixty-four Yoginīs is found, seems to have been another important centre of Tāntric worship in the early mediaeval period. It is ascribed to the 9th century A.D., by Beglar. ³ In 1953 another Hypaethral temple of 64 Yoginīs was discovered by K. N. Mahapatra at Hirāpur near the river Bhārgavī in the Puri district which has been assigned tentatively to the 8th or early 9th century A.D. ⁴ Among the figures of Yoginīs found at Hirāpur five represent Aindai, Varāhī, Vaishṇavī, Kanemāri and Brāhmaṇi which belong to the Saptamātrikā group. Thus the Tāntric Piṭhas found in the different parts of the state show the development of Tāntricism during this period. The Kālikā Purāṇa, which was written in Assam in the 11th century A.D., speaks in unmistakable terms that the first Brāhmaṇical Tāntric Piṭha in India originated and developed in Odra or Orissa, and its presiding deity was Jagannātha. The Śākta Tāntrists conceive Jagannātha as Bhairava and Vimalā as Bhairavi.

Thus the worship of Śakti seems to have flourished in Orissa during our period, but it was not as popular as the

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1. K. C. Panigrahi, ARH., Fig. 112.
3. Ibid., III, No. 2, p. 73.
4. Ibid., II, No. 2, pp. 23–40.
worship of Śiva, which received more patronage. The great number of Śaiva temples, records of land grants, and the mention of the followers of Śaivism bear witness to it. However, Śāktism existed along side Śaivism which was the main cult.

SECTION V

VAISHṆAVISM.

At the beginning of the period of our study Vaishṇavism was one of the religions professed in the kingdom of Māṭharas. The Ningōṇḍi grant ¹ of Prabhāṇjanavarman of the Māṭhara dynasty, assigned to the sixth century A. D. on palaeographical grounds, shows his devotion to the feet of Bhagavatsvāmī Nārāyaṇa, i.e. the god Vishṇu. In another inscription ² he is described as paramabhoḍagavata. Thus we find definite references to the worship of Vishṇu in Orissa in the early period. Although the Śailodbhavas, who reigned in the Koṅgoda maṇḍala in the 7th century A. D., were followers of Śaivism, some of them had Vaishṇavite leanings. The Puri plates ³ of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja state that his ever increasing fame “could not be contained in the three worlds, even as the legs of Hari in the Vāmana incarnation.” About his successor Madhyama-rāja III, the Tekkali plate ⁴ states that “Lakshmī, who formerly had taken shelter under Lord Madhusūdana enjoying sleep in the ocean of Milk, has today like a veritable house-wife taken shelter under the son of Māṇabhiṭa (Dharmarāja) and has forgotten all her previously enjoyed facilities.”

The earlier Bhruma-Kara kings, who ruled in the 8th century A. D., were ardent Buddhists. However, the later rulers were eclectic in their faith. The copper-plate grant of Daṇḍimahā-devī contains the usual Śaivite emblems, but it has also the representation in relief of a conch shell, ⁵ which is one of the iconic representations of Vishṇu. Tribhuvanamahā-devī, who was probably the grandmother of Daṇḍimahā-devī, was a

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1. IO., I, part II, p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 40.
4. Ibid., p. 242, 11. 9-12.
5. El., VI, p. 133.
paramavaiśnavi. 1 No other rulers of this dynasty are seen to be the followers of Vaishnavism.

But during the reign of the Bhaṭja kings Vaishnavism seems to have progressed. We find a number of rulers of this dynasty professing devotion to Vishṇu. Śatrubhaṭja 2 and Rāpaka Raṇabhaṭja 3 call themselves devout followers of Vishṇu (paramavaiśnavas) in their charters. Similarly the Jurada grant 4 describes Neṭabhaṭjadeva as paramavaiśnava, and the charter commences with an invocation to god Nārāyaṇa.

Under the Somavaiṣṇīs, Vaishnavism had a serious rival in Śaivism. However, the rulers of this dynasty expressed their reverence to Vishṇu also along with other gods. Their charters 5 contain their homage to Āditya, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, Soma, Ḥutāśana and Śūlapāṇī. The seals attached to their grants have the emblem of Gaja-Lakshmi. 6 Yayāti Mahāśivagupta is stated to have restored Jagannātha out of oblivion and built a temple for him. 7 From the Lakṣmanāna temple stone inscription 8 it is learnt that this temple of Hari was constructed by the mother of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. Thus though the rulers of this dynasty were not followers of Vaishnavism, they gave some patronage to it.

Practically the same state of Vaishnavism continued in the early period of the Gaṅga rule. The Gaṅga kings were at first paramasthēswara (devout followers of Śiva), but since the time of Anantavarman Choḍagangadeva they changed their faith from Śaivism to Vaishnavism. D. C. Sircar 9 thinks that the annexation of the Puri region to the Gaṅga empire may have had something to do with this change in the religious faith of Anantavarman Choḍagangadeva. But this change may also be attributed to the preaching of Vaishnavism by Rāmānuja,
who flourished in the 12th century A.D, He visited and stayed at Puri for some time between A. D. 1117 to 1117. Probably this converted Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva into a paramavaishnava from a paramamāheśvara.

Since the time of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva Vaishnavaism received royal patronage of the Gaṅgas and acquired a dominant position. It became a great force in the religious life of Orissa. Several Vaishnava temples came to be constructed in Mukhariṅgam, Śri-Kurmaṁ, Simhāchalaṁ etc., but the greatest Vaishnava temple built during the Gaṅga rule in our period was the famous Jagannātha temple at Puri. According to traditions recorded in the Mādala Pañji, the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma constructed in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. But the records of the family attribute it to his grandfather Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva (A. D. 1076–1148). In the copper-plates of Nṛsiṁhadeva IV of the Gaṅga dynasty we find a couplet which states that Gaṅgeśvara, i.e. Choḍagaṅgadeva, built the temple of Purushottama. D. C. Sircar points out that “the temple of Purushottama Jagannātha of Puri was constructed by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, and that the god was being worshipped there for a long time before the days of Anaṅgabhīma III. There is thus no question of Anaṅgabhīma III installing the god Purushottama at Puri. The god Purushottama installed by Anaṅgabhīma III must therefore be the god of the same name at Vārāṇasi-Kaţaka or Cuttack where the king granted a piece of land on the 5th January 1231. Probably the temple for this deity was completed and its installation effected in A. D. 1230–1231.” D. C. Sircar thinks that the confusion over the actual founder of the Jagannātha temple of Puri was due to the fact that Anaṅgabhīma III actually built a temple for a god of the same name at Cuttack, and so the statement in the Mādala Pañji cannot be accepted.

The temple contains a large number of figures of the deities of the Vaishnavaite pantheon. Among them the following deserve special notice:

1. OHRJ, VI, No. 4, p. 299.
2. JASB., LXVII (1898), part I, pp. 328–31 (M. M. Chakravarty).
(1) The figures of Jagannātha, Balkarāma and Subhadrā.
(2) The figure of Hanumāna, the monkey-god holding a branch of tree.
(3) The scene of Kāliya-damana.
(4) The figure of Nārāyaṇa on the shoulder of Garuḍa, his vehicle.
(5) The figure of Nṛsiṁha with Lakshmi flanked by two dvārpālas.
(6) The dual figure of Harihara provided with eight hands and flanked by Balkarāma.
(7) The figure of Kṛiṣhṇa with two cow-herd boys holding aloft the Govardhana-Śilā or mountain.
(8) The scene of monkeys with their lord Rāma.
(9) A small solitary figure of Sitā with the monkey scene. Hanumāna is represented as making obeisance to her.
(10) The figure of Nṛsiṁha flanked by Brahmā and Nārada on the right and left respectively.
(11) The figures of Vāmana, Varāha and Nṛsiṁha.

These various types of images show that Vaishṇavism was a popular sect in Puri.

Within the precincts of the main temple are a number of temples, of which the Lakshmi temple is the most important. It is supposed to have been constructed by Anantavarman Chodagaṅgadeva and therefore belongs to the period of the main temple of Jagannātha. R. D. Banerjee says that “the only structure of the same date as the Vimāna and Jagamohana of the Jagannātha temple is the temple of Lakshmi inside the inner compound”. ¹ The figure of Lakshmi with elephants pouring water over her from a kālaśa or pitcher is to be seen in this temple.

Thus the Jagannātha temple at Puri was the most important centre of Vaishṇavism in Orissa in the 12th century A. D., even now it is one of the holiest places of India. Generations after generations the Vaishṇavas or devout Hindus have visited the holy purushottama kshetra to offer worship and secure immunity from sins, and the institution of Jagannātha has influenced the life of the Oriya people from the earliest times to the present day.

¹. Banerjee, HO., II, p. 376
In South Orissa the Kurmeśvara temple at Śrī-Kurram and the Nṛsiṃha temple at Siṃhamāla were the other centres of Vaishnavism during the Gaṅga period. These temples are full of epigraphs, incised on stone slates which mention the gifts made to the gods. In A. D. 1135 Anantavarman Choḍagāṅga-deva visited the Kurmeśvara temple and gave rich presents to the deity. Several inscriptions refer to the donation of lamps. One Śrī-Kurram stone inscription records the gift of a lamp in the 4th year of Anantavarman — Madhukāmaṇava in A. D. 1149. Another Śrī-Kurram stone inscription records the gift of a lamp in the 7th year of Anantavarman. It was believed that the burning of a perpetual lamp would increase the spiritual merit of the donors as well as their ancestors.

Besides these temples, a few more temples dedicated to Vishṇu have been discovered. Mention may be made of the temples of Gopāla and Lakshmana.

*The Temple of Gopāla*: The quotation from the Vāmana Purāṇa (assigned to a date between A. D. 700–1000 by Hazra) in the Tīrtha Kāṇḍa of the Kṛitya Kalpataru shows that there existed a temple of Gopāla at Rāṇipur-Jhariāl in the southern portion of the Patna state, close to Temra, which can be identified with the ancient brick-temple existing here. At present the presiding deity of this temple is not noticed, but the outer surface of the shrine still contains the images of Varāha, Hanumāna carrying the Gandhamādana hill over his head, and Nṛsiṃha Killing the demon Hiranyakasipu, which all prove beyond doubt that this was a Vaishṇava temple. Since all the other temples of this place belong to Śiva, it appears as the solitary Vaishṇava monument in this centre of Saivism.

With regard to the age of the Gopāla temple, Beglar wrote as follows: "And although it is not possible with any certainty to assign its age, there can, I conceive, be little doubt that it must be placed a century anterior to the numerous small plain stone temples which dot the base rock. The basement moul-

1. SII., V. (Quoted from *Mediaeval Vaishnavism in Orissa* by P. Mukherjee), p. 185.
2. MER., p. 23, No. 383.
3. Ibid., No. 385.
5. OHRJ., III, No. 2, p. 73.
dings are plain, but massive and devoid of the elaborateness which became a principal feature in later temple architecture, and the existence in particular of the Kumbha-shaped moulding goes far to support the antiquity which I would assign to it." The opening in front is not in the usual style of a tall triangle, so that taken altogether the temple is a specimen of the Sirpur style of brick temples. 1 Thus according to Beglar, this is the oldest existing architectural monument of this place and belongs to the 7th or 8th century A. D., as he assigns the two notable monuments, viz., Someśvara temple and the circular Yoginī temple, to the 8th or 9th century. This Vishṇu temple greatly resembles the Lakshmaṇa temple at Śrīpur, which is also built of brick and stands on a platform made of stone (77' by 35') with a height of 7').

The Lakshmaṇa temple: This temple was dedicated to Vishṇu, as his Avatāras are carved on the door-jambs and there is a figure of Varāha on one of the broken plāsters. 2 The Lakshmaṇa temple stone inscription 3 reveals that this temple was caused to be constructed by the queen Vāstā, wife of Harshagupta and mother of Mahāśivagupta Bālārajuna, for both Harshagupta and his wife were great devotees of Vishṇu.

V. V. Mirashi 4 has assigned Mahāśivagupta Bālārajuna to the first half of the 7th century A. D. Hence the Lakshmaṇa temple, which was built during the first part of his reign by his mother, must be placed in the same period. The Vishṇu temple at Rāṇipur Jhariāl, which is stylistically the prototype of the Lakshmaṇa temple, was not much posterior to the latter, and therefore it may also be attributed to the same century. The Vishṇu temple at Rāṇipur Jhariāl was constructed during the rule of Mahāśivagupta Bālārajuna, who was a great temple-builder, and as such this temple served as a prototype of the Lakshmaṇa temple of Śrīpur.

As regards the nature of Vaishṇavism in early mediaeval Orissa, the Pañcharātra cult— a significant development in Vaishṇavism since the age of the Imperial Guptas— does not seem to have made much impression in Orissa. The chaturvyū-
havāda, a doctrine of the Pañcharātra cult, did not affect much the people of Bengal, and the Vyāhavāda fascinated the people of North Bihar not earlier than the end of the 12th century A. D. But in the inscriptions of early mediaeval Orissa we get hardly any trace of the Pañcharātra cult. There we find devotion to Viṣṇu and Kṛishṇa and the influence of Bhāgavatism. Several kings and queens of Orissa paid obeisance to Viṣṇu The Bhaṭja kings Satrubhaṭja and Rāṇakaraṇabhaṭja called themselves paramavaiṣṇava. The Bhauma-Kare queen Tribhuvanamahādevī called herself paramavaiṣṇavi.

As in Bengal and Bihar: so in Orissa we have a number of images which go to prove that the theory of incarnation of Viṣṇu was well known. We have images of Vāmana, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, and Rāma in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Vāmana is represented as standing with one leg on the ground and the other stretched upwards. The figure has four hands and a long conical head-dress. Varāha is sculptured as a four-headed figure with the chakra or discus and a female figure in the left and right upper hands respectively. The figure of Nṛsiṁha is represented as four-handed, taking out of the entrails of Hiranyakāśipu with two hands; the left upper hand holds a discus, and the right upper one a gadā or club. Rāma is shown in the scene of monkeys. In the temple of Gopāla at Rāṇipur-Jhariāl also the images of Varāha and Nṛsiṁha are to be found. The figure of the fish also occurs in many of the temple sculptures of Orissa. But whether the concept of all the ten avatāras was known to the people of Orissa cannot be said with certainty. In Bengal it is only in Jayadeva’s Gita-Govinda that we have references to all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu Keśava.

The Belāva copper plate of the 12th century A. D. shows

1. cf., HB., I, p. 402, which states “nor is there any trace of the Chaturvyṣṭha-vāda in the Vaishnavite inscriptions of Bengal which would betray the influence of the Pañcharatra system.”
3 JBOSS., II, p. 425.
that in the kingdom of the Varman of Bengal Kṛishṇa was recognised as one who had dalliance with hundred gopīs and was considered to be the key figure in the Mahābhārata. Some scholars see in the Paharapur sculptures the figures of Kṛishṇa and Rukmini and not Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. In Orissa we do not have any positive evidence of the Kṛishṇa-Rādhā cult. This much can be said with certainty that the Kṛishṇa cult had made a definite impress on the minds of the people of Orissa. The sculptures at Puri and Bhuvaṇesvara confirm this. The Vimāna of the Jagannātha temple bears representations of various incidents from the life of Kṛishṇa such as his holding aloft the Govardhana Śilā with two cowherd boys, the scene of Kāliya-damana etc. The scene of Kṛishṇa-Yaśodā of Gokula is depicted in the temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaṇeśvara. On the southern facade of the sanctuary of this temple is found the episode of Yaśodā churning curd and the child Śrī Kṛishṇa disturbing her. ¹ This scene can also be seen in a small temple at the north-east corner of the Brahmeśvara temple ² of Bhuvaṇeśvara. Thus there cannot be any doubt that legends connected with Kṛishṇa were popular among the people of Orissa during this period. It should be borne in mind that we do not have any definite grounds to think that the Śrimad Bhāgavata was popular in Orissa. In the Bhāgavata we find Kṛishṇa and Vāsudeva to be identical. As the figures of the Vāmāna and Kṛishṇa incarnations occur in Orissa, it is very likely that Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva and Kṛishṇa were worshipped during the period of our survey.

The two most significant trends in Vaishnavism of early mediaeval Orissa are the evolution of Rāma and Jagannātha cults. R. G. Bhandarkar ³ refers to a tradition that Narahari Tīrtha obtained from the king of Kaliṅga the ancient and sacred images of Rāma and Śītā and presented them to his Guru Madhvānanda-tīrtha. An inscription of A. D. 1293 mentions that Narahari Tīrtha set up images of Rāma and Śītā. ⁴ It is evident that Rāma was worshipped long before A. D. 1293 — the date of the above-mentioned inscription. He was

1. ARB., Fig. 83B.
2. Ibid., Fig. 83A.
4. DHNI., I, p. 486 fn. 5.
worshipped in the neighbouring kingdoms of the Kalachuria, Paramāras and also in South India. 1 Kulasekhara Alvar, who flourished in the 9th Century A. D., paid his devotion to Rāma. The Rajim inscription 2 of the Kalachuri king Prithvīdeva II dated A. D. 1145 also tells us of the establishment of the temple of Rāma. The Piplianagar grant of Arjunavarman, who belonged to the Paramāra dynasty, praises Rāma. 3 The worship of Rāma in Orissa does not clearly indicate whether Rāma was regarded also as the supreme deity. In other words, there is no doubt that Rāma was an incarnation, if not the supreme deity himself.

When Chaitanya visited the Jagannātha temple, Jagannātha was thought to be completely identical with Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa. The transformation of the Triad (Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadra) into Vaishnavaite deities is a intriguing and fascinating story. Jagannātha is not referred to in the inscriptions of the mediaeval dynasties of Orissa excepting in those of the eastern Gaṅgas. But to the people of early mediaeval northern India the Purushottama Kshetra was known as a place of pilgrimage. The Govindapur stone inscription 4 of poet Gaṅgādhara of the court of king Rudramāna of the Gayā area dated A. D. 1137 tell us that his father Manoratha went on a pilgrimage to Puri. Murari Misra and Kṛishṇa Misra refer to that place of pilgrimage in Anargharāghava Nāṭakam 5 and Prabodhachandroya Nāṭakam. 6 The Nāgpur stone inscription 7 of the rulers of Malawa dated A. D. 1104 also mentions the Purushottama Kshetra. Mehtab 8 states that reference to Purushottama is found in the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena and Madanpada copper-plate of Viṣvarūpasena. A close study of these inscriptions shows that Mahtab has wrongly presumed reference to Purushottama in these epigraphic records. In both these

2. IA., XVII, p. 140, 1, 10.
5. OHRJ., II, No. 3-4, p. 71.
epigraphs the words are velāyam dakshinābdhernusalamadhara-
gadāpāni samvāsvedyām kshetra, which may be translated as “on
the coast of the southern sea near the altar on which dwell
the club-handed God and the God with a mesh in his hand.” Thus
these inscriptions dilate on the virtue of king Viśvarūpasena and
do not refer to the Purushottama Kshetra.

The sixteenth century digest-maker Raghunandana gives a
high antiquity to the worship of Purushottama. In his Purusot-
tama-tattvā he quotes a verse from the Rigveda and draws atten-
tion to an identical verse in the Atharvaveda, which states “O
evil spirit, (with a wicked looking chin) have recourse to that far
off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings
and go to distant lands with it.” “Following Sāyaṇa’s interpre-
tation Raghunandana connects the above-mentioned verse of
the Rigveda with Purushottama, the image of which is made of
wood. Kane rightly points out that Sāyaṇa himself inter-
preted that verse of the Rigveda as addressed to an evil spirit.
Further, the verse of the Atharvaveda quoted by Raghunandana
can not be traced in the extant text. So Raghunandana’s
statement that Purushottama belonged to the age of the Rigveda
and Atharvaveda has to be discarded.

Hunter, Cunningham and R. L. Mitra all see in the images
of Jagannātha, Balārāma and Subhadrā the hidden worship of
Buddhā, Dharma and Saṁgha. Hunter tells us that “Vaishnva-
ism at Puri is but the successor of the older Buddhistic creed.”
Cunningham states: “I have found these same three rude
Jagannātha figures are used in all the Native Almanacs of
Mathura and Benaras as the representative of Buddha in the
Buddha Avatāra of Vishnu. This last fact seems to me to be
conclusive but I may add that the Jagannātha figure in Orissa
is universally believed, to contain a bone of Kṛishṇa. But as
Brāhmaṇas do not worship the relics of their gods I conclude
that this bone must be a relic of Buddha, and that the rude
figure of Jagannātha in which it is contained is one of the old Tri-Ratna or "Triple-gem" symbol, of the Buddhist Triad." R.L. Mitra also connects the Jagannātha cult with Buddhism. His arguments are that (1) Buddhism has a long history in Orissa since the days of Aśoka; (2) the Buddhist caves are found on the Khaṇḍagiri range; (3) the procession of the car of Jagannātha resembles the procession of Buddha’s Tooth relic as described by Fahien; (4) the three wooden images of Krishna, Subhadrā and Balarāma correspond respectively to Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha.¹ H. K., Mahtab adds that Dharma in Buddhism is believed to be a woman and so one of the images is a female, and that in the Saṁgha the relationship between the monks and the nūns is one of brother and sister.² According to him by the 12th century it was well established that Jagannātha was the Buddha incarnation of Viṣṇu....

The attempts of these scholars to identify the Jagannātha cult with Buddhism are hardly convincing. Mahtab himself tells us that the story recorded in the Dāthādhātuvāṁśa, which speaks of a tooth-relic of the Buddha being preserved in the image of Jagannātha, is neither historical nor consistent with the story of Jagannātha.³ The Dāthādhātuvāṁśa clearly tells us that the tooth-relic was taken away to Ceylon. At no stage we are told that the tooth was again brought back to Puri and placed inside the image of Jagannātha. Secondly, the argument of Mitra and Mahtab that there is a close resemblance between the car-festival of Jagannātha and the car-festival at Khotan are farfetched. B. P. Mazumdar has shown that in India itself there were car-festivals of Durgā and the Sun-god.⁴ Moreover, the car festival of Jagannātha is not referred to in any of the digests written till the 12th century A. D. Thirdly, it is difficult to understand how Saṁgha can be represented by Balarāma or Balabhadra, we fail to see how Balarāma, a constituent of the Pańcharātra cult, could be linked up with

² Mahtab, HO., p. 521.
³ Ibid., p. 514.
Saṅgha. Moreover, Subhadrā cannot be equated with Dharma. The Śavaras are not known to have worshipped Dharma in any period of ancient or early mediaeval Indian history. On the contrary according to the Purāṇas and the Nibandhas, they worshipped Śakti in the form of Durgā or devī.

Sewell¹ thinks that originally the image of Jagannātha was one of the triśulas or developed Taurus symbols. Such a view can hardly be accepted. No recorded tradition or even the Śaiva Purāṇas tell us that Jagannātha was one of the triśulas of Śiva.

P. Mukherjee and Sadāsiva Miśra believe that Jagannātha is no other than Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva although the former (P. Mukherjee) has not cited any proof to show that Śaṅkarashaṇa and Vāsudeva came to be known as Jagannātha and Balarāma in Orissa. But this argument that Subhadrā was introduced as the Śakti of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa has been challenged rightly by H. K. Mahtab.²

The nature and antiquity of the Jagannātha cult has to be studied on the basis of the Purāṇas, Kapila Samhita, Tāntric works and inscriptions. During the early phase Jagannātha did not enjoy the same importance as Viṣṇupāda in Gayā, Vīsēśvara in Benaras or the twelve Jyotirlingas. Vallālasena, Lakṣmīdharā & Hemādri do not at all mention Jagannātha. Bhoja in his Rājamārtanda³ tells us that the Jyaishthi festival or the Snānayātra of Jagannātha is observed only in Śrīkshetra or Puri, which show that this festival had not become popular till the 12th century A.D. But the fame of Jagannātha had spread to the distant regions, as is known from the inscriptions of the 12th century.

How old is the worship of Jagannātha Purushottama cannot be determined in the present stage of our knowledge. The Padma Purāṇa and the Utkala Khanda of the Skanda Purāṇa state that before the discovery of Jagannātha by Vidyāpati, the

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1. JRAS., 18., p. 402.
3. ABORI., XXXVI, ( 1955 ), p. 334a, verse 244.
minister of king Indradyumna, He was worshipped at the secluded place by the Śavari chieftain Viśvāvasu. The Brahma Purāṇa also states that Jagannātha was worshipped in a place very secretly. However, there is no doubt that at the time of the composition of the Brahma Purāṇa the Triad was known to the people and Jagannātha had become a Vaishṇavite deity. We have seen that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva either renovated or built a new temple of Jagannātha in the 12th century. The literary references to the temple of Purushottama can be found in the works of the 12th Century A.D. The earliest literary reference to Jagannātha can be found in Indrabhūti’s work Jñānsiddhi, which according to B. Bhattāchārya, was composed in A.D. 717.

The story of the installation of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā is recorded in the Brahma Purāṇa, the Bṛihannaradiya, the whole of the Utkala khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa etc. As the Bṛihannaradiya has many verses in common with the Brahma Purāṇa, let us summarise the story recorded in the Brahma Purāṇa. We are told that in Bhāratavarsha there is a country called Oṇḍra situated on the banks of the southern ocean extending northwards from the sea up to Virajā-manḍala (chap. 28. 1. 2.), where exists a place which destroys sins and bestows mukti (salvation). There is the well-known temple of Purushottama in the country of Utkala, which is very sacred due to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannātha. Owing to the residence of Purushottama in Utkala men who inhabit here are blessed like gods. Further, this Purāṇa tells us that Indradyūrna, the king of Avanti in Mālava (modern Mālavā), studied all the Vedas, Śāstras, vises Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras reached the conclusion that Vāsudeva was the highest deity. He left his capital and set out on a journey and reached the shores of the southern sea, saw the Kshetra of Vāsudeva, 10 yojanas in width and five yojanas in length, and stayed there.

2. Ibid., Chaps. 41–70.
Formerly a vata (banyan) tree existed on the shore of the southern sea, near which there was an image of Purushottama or Jagannatha made of sapphire which was lost in sand and hidden by creepers and plants. Indradyumna built a great temple after performing the Asvamedha wanted to establish a suitable image of Vasudeva in the shrine. He was told by Vasudeva in the dream to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the vata (banyan) tree growing just on the waterline with an age. The king acted accordingly in the morning, and then appeared two Brahmaças who were really Visnu and Visvakarma. Visnu informed him that his companion (Visvakarma) would make the image. Three images of Krsna, Balarama and Subhadra were manufactured and given to the King. The king thereafter installed the three images in the shrine constructed by him.

A slightly different account is given in the Kapila Samhita according to which the images of Jagannatha, Balarama and Subhadra were fashioned by the divine carpenter Visvakarma. Further, no one was allowed to see them till they were ready, and that in spite of this the queen of Indradyumna looked at them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when they were unfinished. The incomplete images, which the queen noticed, began to be worshiped by the devotees since then.

These legends give us the impression that Indradyumna worshipped the images of Krsna, Balarama and Subhadra. The Brahma Purana repeatedly states that Krsna was no other than Jagannatha. In the Trikandaasha one of the sixty-six forms of Visnu is stated to be Jagannatha. The Jain scholar, Hemachandra of Gujarat in his Abhidhanachintamani tells us that Jagannatha who resides on the bank of the ocean was the

3. Trikandaasha, I, 32—‘Vardhhanamah Samanando Jagannathah Susamunoh’.
upholder of the Govardhana. 1 The *Brahma Purāṇa* 2 ont only identifies Purushottama with Madhushūdana but also with Kaṁśāri, Yadunandana, Krśṇa and Danujadamanā. It defines Purushottama as the best of the Purushas. 3 So these references indicate that Purushottama Jagannātha was thought to be identical with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

That Baldeva or Balarāma was worshipped along with Jaganātha is not surprising, for the *Pañcharātra* cult provides the worship of Vāsudeva and Balarāma.

The inclusion of Subhadrā in the Triad raises some problems. Scholars such as Mahtab think that Subhadrā is nowhere worshipped, but we have information to this effect. The Nārāyaṇī Stūti of the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* describes Devī as the sister of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Varāhamihira 4 refers to the worship of a female deity Ekaṇāmśā along with Kṛṣṇa. and Balarāma and states that her image should be installed in between the two gods. According to the *Harivamśa* 5 Ekaṇāmśā was the sister of Vāsudeva. These passages clearly indicate the prevalence of the worship of Vāsudeva and Balarāma along with their sister. However, the *Padma* and *Brahma Purāṇas* show that in Orissa the sister of Vāsudeva was known as Subhadrā and not as Ekaṇāmśā.

The Anantavāsudeva temple of Bhuvanesvara also has in the *garbhagṛiha* the image of a female goddess in between Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Apparently in Orissa Vaishnavism had become thoroughly imbued with Śāktism. The syncreticism between Vaishnavism and Śāktism can be proved by the formula of

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3. Ibid., Chap. 56, verse 25 –*purushottavam jagadekapī purushādapi-eshottamaḥ*.
5. *Harivamśa*, Viṣṇuparva, Chap. II and IV.
worship of Subhadrā in the Brahma Purāṇa. We are told that Subhadrā was identical with Kātyāyani. The evolution of a syncretic cult in Orissa, as in other places, in not impossible. Orissa is a land of Pañchopāsanā. In this state we find that Puri or Śrīkshetra was sacred to the Vaishnavas, Bhuvarasvara or Ekāmra Kshetra to the Śaivas, Yājapur or the Virjā Kshetra to the Śaktas, Konārka, or the Arka Kshetra to the Śauras, and Kapilas Road Station near Mahāvināyaka hill or the Gaṇapati Kshetra to the Gaṇapatyas.

Thus the concept of the Triad is wholly a Vaishnavite conception and represents the harmonious existence of Vaishnavism and Śāktism. The element of Śāktism cannot be denied. We should not forget that Jagannātha or all the members of the Triad were worshipped by the Śavaras. The reference to unfinished images of Kṛishna, Balarāma and Subhadrā in the Kapila Saṁhitā can be explained by the fact that they were worshipped by the Śavaras. The Śavaras were not so civilized as the Hindus. Naturally they carved crude and uncouth images. The totems of ancient tribes are not pointed or carved with all the limbs. So it is probable, though by no means certain, that the Śavaras worshipped the unfinished image of Jagannātha.

As we travel from the 12th to the 16th century A. D. the antiquity of Jagannātha ceases to be of any importance to the Vaishnavas. Sarlā Dāsa described him as the Buddha. Some writers took him to be Brahmā. Yet to the Vaishnavas Jagannātha was the pre-eminent deity. Vāchaspati Miśra of north Bihar quoted many pages of the Brahma Purāṇa in has Tirthachintāmaṇi. Chaitanya further popularised the Triad in the Jagannātha temple of Puri. When northern India passed into the hands of the Turko-Afghans, Mithila and Orissa were like islands in the vast ocean of Moslems. It is not unnatural therefore that Chaitanya spent a considerable portion of his life in the safe temple-city of Puri and made it as holy as Vrindāvana and Mathurā in the 16th century A. D.

1. Brahma Purāṇa chap. 57, verse 58—namaste savage devi namaste subha saukhyade, trāhi mām padmapatrākshi kātyāyaṇi namastute.

SECTION VI

MINOR RELIGIOUS SECTS

Some Purānic gods and goddesses, whose sculptural representations are found in the state, were not considered as Vishnu, Śiva and Buddhist divinities. We get images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Brahmā, Sūrya, Nāga, Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, etc. during our period, but we have no detailed knowledge of cults associated with them.

Gaṇeśa: The sculptures of Gaṇeśa, a member of the family of Śiva, are met with in the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāla, Śiśireśvara, Uttareśvara, Liṅgarāja, Mukteśvara, Brahmaśvara, Kedāreśvara, Meghesvara, etc. but there is no evidence to prove that Gaṇeśa was worshipped independently in Orissa during this period. Gaṇeśa is represented as holding in the four hands a radish, a japāmāla, an upraised kuṭhāra and sweets and is shown with a snake as his sacred thread. He is depicted in a dancing pose also.2 The existence of the images of Gaṇeśa in most of the Orissan Śaivite temples belonging to our period shows that he was considered to be an important member of the Śaivite pantheon.

Kārttikeya: The images of Kārttikeya, another god of Śiva’s family, are also found in the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāla, Śiśireśvara, Uttareśvara, Liṅgarāja, Mukteśvara, Brahmaśvara, Kedāreśvara and Meghesvara; which clearly shows that like Gaṇeśa Kārttikeya was also a popular deity in Orissa. He is usually shown four-armed and in a standing pose, though two-armed seated representations are also found. The two-armed specimens appear on the Mukteśvara temple.3 A beautiful stone image of Shaṅmukha (six-faced god) or

1. ARB., Figs. 106–107.
2. Ibid., p. 141.
3. Ibid., Fig. 99.
Kumārasvāmi seated on a peacock was found in January 1933 on the eastern bank of the Godāvari.¹

*Brahmā* : The sculptural representation of Brahmā, an important member of the Purānic Trinity, may also be seen in the temples of Orissa. We come across a figure of Brahmā in the scene of Śiva-marriage depicted on the lintel of the central niche on the eastern wall of Paraśurāmeśvara temple. He is represented there with three heads pouring water from a vase.² The charters of the Somavaiśāi rulers frequently refer to Brahmā along with the other gods.

*Sūrya* : From the inscriptions it appears that the sun-worship was prevalent in Orissa from early times. The Sumandala plates³ of Dharmarāja of the time of Prithivīvigraha (A. D. 570) informs us that he was a devout worshipper of Sahasrarāśmin (the Sun-God). The sun-worship could not flourish on account of Buddhism. When Buddhism was supplanted by Śaivism, which reigned Supreme in Orissa from about the 8th to the 11th century under the Somavaiśāi dynasty the sun cult became prominent. The Somavaiśāi records⁴ frequently speak of homage to the Sun God —(Āditya) Varuṇa, Vishnu, Soma, etc.

The stone inscription of the Nīlaśvara temple⁵ in Nārāyaṇapurām shows that an image of Āditya or Sun was enshrined there in the reign of the Gaṅga king, Rājarāja I. This is the earliest instance to show that sun-worship was practised by the Gaṅgas. It reached its culmination in the 13th century A. D., when the temple of Koṭāraka was built. The figure of the Sun appears in the Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāl and Mukteśvara temples of Bhuvanesvara. He is represented in the usual fashion with lotuses in hands and armour on the body. In the Vaitāl temple Aruṇa is seated in front of him holding in the left hand the reins of seven horses carved on the pedestal and a dāṇḍa in the right.⁶ Several figures of Navagrahas (nine

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1. JAHRS., VII, part III, p. 177.
2. ARB., Fig. 43.
4. EI., XI, p. 97; ibid., VIII, p. 142, etc.
5. JAHRS., VI, part 3 & 4, p. 211.
6. ARB., Fig. 24.
planets), which are intimately associated with the solar cult, are also found in the Orissan temples such as Liṅgarāja and Mukteśvara. Evidence, however, is not clear to show that the Śaura cult prevailed independently on a large scale in Orissa during our period.

Nāga: We have a few specimens of sculptural representations of Nāgas. On the door jambs of the Śiśireśvara temple they are noticed holding foliated vases with both hands. Two images of Nāgas are found in the two small temples standing in the Mukteśvara compound, and two others are now kept in the Jagamohana of the Vaitāl temple. They are all represented as human figures with conopies of serpents over their heads, and not as half serpents and half-human beings as is the case with the later representations in the Mukteśvara temple. The Nāgas are always represented in pairs with their female counterparts.

Apart from the representations of the serpent-god in reliefs and decorations we have their figures as cult images. Sometimes there are two snakes in the two hands of these images, and sometimes the right hand is shown in the varada pose and the left hand holds a snake. Two such images are identified as Manasā and Sashṭhi. Manasā is situated in the lalitāsana and holds a pot in the left and shows the varada mudrā with the right hand. Around her head the hoods of a snake are spread out in the form of a nimbus. Sashṭhi has a child on her left thigh whom she supports with her left hand. In the right she holds a cobra. A seven-headed snake forms a canopy over her head. Recently two anthropomorphic images of Nāgas have been discovered in a village (Sundarāpada) near Bhuvanesvara. They are assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era on stylistic grounds. Two Nāga images, found near the Khaṇḍagiri hill, are attributed to the time of Khāra-

1. Ibid., fig. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 116.
4. OHRJ., II, No. 1, p. 46.
vela. ¹ A terracota Nāga image has been recently found at Sītabīṇji, a historical place in the district of Keonjhar in Orissa.² All these go to show the prevalence of Nāga cult in Orissa since a very long time.

B. Miśra thinks that of the Nāgas worshipped in Orissa Maṇināga was probably very popular. This is because his worship has survived at Raṇapur up to this day, because his name figures in a copper-plate record of Orissa of the sixth century A. D.,³ and because at Jāipur the image of the goddess Virajā, wearing on the head cobra with the lower part coiled and the raised hood expanded, is called Maṇināga even now.⁴ In any case it seems definite that serpent-worship was prevalent in Orissa during our period.

In the temples of Brahmeśvara and Rājarāni the images of Ashtā-dikpālas (guardian deities of eight directions), namely, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nāriṣṭita, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Iśāna, are found. Of them Varuṇa and Agni find mention in the inscriptions.⁵

Some icons of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, standing respectively on makara and tortoise and holding vases in their hands, are noticed on the Orissan temples. They occur in the usual position of the jambs on both sides of the doorway of the Parasurāmeśvara temple. Again, they appear at the Mukteśvara temple in the door jambs of both the Jagamohana and the sanctuary.

Another goddess, Sarasvatī, is also met with. In the Mukteśvara temple of Bhuvanesvara she is seen sitting on a lotus and holding a long viṇā in both hands and with two women attendants on both sides.

The account given above thus shows that different gods and goddesses were worshipped in Orissa during the period under review.

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¹ Ibid. These images are preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubanesvara.
² Ibid.
⁴ OHRJ., II No. 3 & 4, p. 45.
⁵ EL., XI, p. 97; ibid., VIII, p. 142, etc.
SECTION VII

RELIGIOUS ELECTICISM

Though diverse sects existed in Orissa during this period, the religious temper of the period was by no means sectarian. Wide and sympathetic toleration was the general characteristic of our age. There were a few persecutions here and there; in the Chaitanya Bhagavata one of the Somavamshi kings is alleged to have killed six hundred and sixteen Buddhists\(^1\) and the colossal Lingam now placed in the Bhaskaresvara temple at Bhubanesvara is said to have been a remnant of an Ashokan pillar as mentioned earlier.\(^2\) But cases of persecution were exceptional and did not represent the spirit of the age. Toleration was displayed by several Orissan rulers, who were followers of different religions.

The Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahadevi, though a Parama-vaišaḥavī compared herself with Kātyāyanī,\(^3\) a Śākta deity. Further, she donated a village in Tamāla Khaṇḍa Vīshaya in the Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala of Uttara Tosali for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal-paste, etc., to the deity Umā-Maheśvara installed in the Nanneśvara temple constructed by Śasilekha of the Vīrāṭa lineage.\(^4\) Śubhākara was a Buddhist king, but we find the figure of bull, the mount of Lord Śiva on his seal.\(^5\) The emblem of conch-shell, which is a representation of Viṣṇu, appears on the seals of the Śaivite Bhauma-Kara kings.\(^6\) The Śulki rulers such as Raṇastambha and Kulastamba\(^6\) were devout worshippers of Śiva, but at the same time they worshipped the goddess Stambheśvarī. The Tuṅga ruler

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1. P. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 53.
5. Ibid., XV, pp. 393-64
7. Ibid., II, pp. 399,400.
8. Ibid., pp. 400-405.
Vinītatuṅga was a devotee of Śiva, but he was a patron of Buddhism also. The Bhañja kings such as Śatrubhañja and Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja were parama-vaishṇavas or devout followers of Vaishṇavism, but they did not omit to insert the customary verses in honour of Śiva in their charters. The Śaiva symbols are also noticed on the seals of their grants. Again, though the Somavaṁśī kings were Śaivites their seals bear the figure of the Gaja-Lakshmī and their charters pay homage to the various gods such as Āditya, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Soma, Hūtāśana, etc. The Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Bālarjuna was a devout worshipper of Śiva, but he patronised Buddhism also. He was a symbol of religious toleration, as is indicated by the Mallar plates. Another Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti is said to have restored Jagannātha out of oblivion and constructed a temple for him. Thus we find the spirit of catholicity in the Somavaṁśī kings also.

Similarly the eastern Gaṅgas were also catholic in their religious tastes. Like other early Gaṅga kings, the Gaṅa king Hastivarman was a great devotee of Śiva (Parama-māheśvara), but he was tolerant of Vaishṇavism, as is evident from his donation to a Vishṇu temple. The later Vishṇuite Gaṅga kings continued to worship the Śaiva god, Gokarnaśvara and thus did not neglect their older Śaiva faith. The Śaiva temple of Megheśvara was built during their rule. Still more interesting are the instances in which a king openly declared his devotion to more than one religious faith. The illustrious Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva described himself both Parama-māheśvara and parama-vaishṇava.

1. Ibid., VI, p. 236.
2. B. Misra, op. cit., p. 44.
4. JBO, VI, p. 269.
6. El., XXIII, pp. 120-121.
10. JAHRS., I, p. 44 (Korni plates of 1112–13).
The sculptures of Orissan temples also display the spirit of toleration. Though the temple of Liṅgarāja is dedicated to Śiva, the choice of ornaments is by no means confined to emblems peculiar to the deity of the place. We find the Vaishnave symbols Gadā, padma, Śaṅkha and Chakra or mace, lotus, conch-shell and discus associated with the Śaiva cult. The figures of Harihara or personification of the two gods Śiva and Vishṇu in one image in the Vaitāḷ temple (A. D. 775) of Bhuvanēśvara is another illustration of the same spirit. The front entrance of the Śaiva temple of Muktesvara shows the image of Mahālakshmi carved on the door sill. 1

Further, we find members of the same royal family as votaries of different religious cults. From the Haṁseśvara temple inscription 2 it is learnt that Mādhavī, the queen of the Bhauma-Kara king Šubhākaradeva I, was a devotee of Śiva, although her husband is known from his own Neulpur 3 plate as well as the records of his successors to have been a Buddhist. The Nanda ruler Devānanda II was a devout worshipper of Śiva, and another ruler named Dhruvānanda of the same dynasty was a Buddhist, as is known from their respective titles paramamāheśvara and paramasaugata mentioned in their grants. 4 Again, some Bhaḷaja kings were Vaishnavaś and others were Śaivas. Śatrubhaṇja 5 and Rāṇaka Raṇabhaṇja 6 were Vaishnavas, where as Vidyādharbhaṇja 7 and Neḷḷabhaṇja 8 were Śaivas.

It seems that there was no cultural difference between different religious sects, and that is why the rulers found it possible to support all sects.

2. EI., XXVIII, part IV, p. 183.
4. EI., X XIX, p. 181, 1. 26; JBORS, XV, p. 92, 1. 4.
6. JBORS., VI, p. 269.
7. EI., IX, pp. 271-73.
8. Ibid., XXVIII, p. 262.
SECTION VIII

CULTURAL LIFE IN THE TEMPLES

During our period a large number of temples was erected in Orissa, and as such it has been rightly observed that "there are perhaps more temples now in Orissa than in all the rest of Hindustan put together."1 Numerous Śaiva, Śaktia and Vaishnava temples belonging to this period have been discovered in the different parts of Orissa, particularly in Bhuvanesvara, Puri and Jajpur. This prolific and sustained architectural activity was largely due to the patronage of the rulers of the different dynasties, and the preservation of so many fine examples may be attributed to the comparative immunity of the state from the Moslem onslaughts till a late period.

The temples in Orissa were important centres of cultural activities. Great festivals and marriages were celebrated here. The Bhuvanésvar (Bhubaneswar) inscription 2 of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III mentions that the maṇḍapa (temple) was used for performing parvotsava (festivals on auspicious days), mahotsava (the great festival, probably meaning the Śivarātrī) and ceremonies such as marriages. The famous Jagannātha temple was especially noteworthy for the rathayātra or car-festival, which was celebrated each year. The festival is still celebrated each year with pomp and grandeur.

Dance and music were also held in temples, and every important temple had its mandira (Hall of dance and music) and dancing girls. 3 Many inscriptions mention the dedication of women attendants to gods. The Brahmānḍara temple inscription states that the mother of the Somavamsi ruler Udyota-keśarī named Kolāvatī dedicated to God Śiva some beautiful women whose limbs were adorned with ornaments set in gems. 4 Another epigraph mentions that Svapnaśvarā, the

1. SE., p. 535.
3. Worship to gods was offered with music and dance, for which land was especially assigned (EI., XXVII, part VII, p. 324-25).
4. JASB., VII, pp. 559-60
brother-in-law of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja II (A.D. 1170-1194) founded the temple of Megheśvara and gave a number of women attendants. Again, a South Indian inscription dated A.D. 1153 refers to the grant of land for the worship of the god and maintence of dancing girls etc. The origin of this custom may be traced to the need for good music at the time of God's worship and popular festivals. It is difficult to say when the practice began. The Greek historians do not refer to it. The Arthaśāstra, which contains a detailed account of prostitutes, does not connect them with temples. The Jātakas too do not refer to the dancing girls. Even the Chinese travellers do not say anything about them. But at about this time the custom appears to have arisen, for a reference to it is found in the Matsyapurāṇa and the Srīśti-Khaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa. Although the custom may have begun earlier, even in the 7th century A.D. it was not important enough to attract the attention of the Chinese traveller.

Besides the dancing girls, there used to be the temple maids called Guḍiśāni for fanning the gods.

The temple was also the seat of learning where Brāhmaṇas resided and studied the different branches of Vedic culture. Apparently they recited the Vedas and Purāṇas in temples. Thus, besides being centres of worship, the temples were the fostering ground of fine arts and learning and contributed much to the advancement of culture.

One writer has rightly observed that "Orissa's dance, drama and music too have originated from these temples of Bhuvaneśvara and Konāraka. They practically epitomise the social and cultural life of the Oriyas, including even their style of cooking. In mediaeval times Oriya poets wrote their ornamental Kāvyas with the pattern of Orissan temples in mind. To them each Kāvyā was like a temple, architecturally solid, covered thickly with sculpture from start to finish."  

1. Ibid., VI, pp. 278-88; JASB., LXVI-1897, pp. II. 23; EL., VI, pp. 198-203.
3. RAL., p. 296.
We get some idea of the details of the daily temple life from the epigraphic records of our period. Daily offerings or *naivedya* to the gods enshrined in the temples consisted of various articles such as milk, clarified butter, rice, curds, cake, pure leaves, betel-leaf, sandal paste, flowers, light, aromatic smoke etc., all of which are referred to by our inscriptions. \(^1\) There used to be the special provision for the supply of flowers \(^2\) and garlands. \(^3\) The provision seems to have been made also for the *aṅgabhoga* (or decoration) of gods. In the Puri inscription \(^4\) of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva—the epithet *aṅgabhoga* is applied to a village, the income from which appears to have been utilized for the *aṅgabhoga* or the decoration of the deity.

Some temples were daily cleaned thrice a day. The Bhuva-neśvara inscription of the Gaṅga king Anuṅgabhīma III records the grant of land by his *senāpati* named Govinda for making provision for sweeping the *maṇḍapa* (temple) thrice a day and white-washing its wall once a year. \(^5\) This shows that particular care was taken to keep temples neat and clean. Perhaps in no other states such a provision was made for their cleanliness as is in Orissa. The same record mentions the provision made for repairing the roofs once in every twelve years. A votive inscription \(^6\) in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuva-neśvara mentions the grant of land to a potter for supplying pots to be utilised in cooking the *bhoga* (ceremonial offering of food). Thus we find that separate provisions were made for various services in the temple by means of land grant. Endowments received by the temples also included cattle, cash, grain and many other things. An inscription \(^7\) dated A.D. 1081 refers to the gift of lamp and fifty she-buffaloes to god Bhimesa

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1. EI., XXX, part V, p. 201. 1. 5–7; JBORS., XVI, p. 81; OHRJ., I, No. 4, p. 302; JAHRS., VII, part II, p. 125.
2. Ibid., p. 203, 11. 4–10.
3. IA., XVIII, p. 180, 1. 11.
5. Ibid., XXX, part I, p. 23.
6. OHRJ., II, No. 3 & 4, p. 54.
by Banapati, the Brāhmaṇa minister and commander of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva and his father Rājarāja I. Another inscription \(^1\) records the gift of five cows for a twilight lamp. Epigraphic evidence shows that cash was donated to the temples. The Alagum inscription (assigned to A. D. 1141) of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva \(^2\) mentions that a sum of money was deposited with the local adhikārins (possibly superintendents of the temple) for providing a perpetual lamp to the Pallideva, literally village-deity (possibly meaning Gariteśvara). The amount granted in this connection is described as a hundred chūrṇis added by five purāṇas. Again another inscription \(^3\) dated the 12th century A.D. states that a person named Virāṇḍi made a provision for the perpetual lamp in favour of the god Kirtti-vāsa (Śiva) by granting five mādhas of gold with the cognizance of the following person: (1) Sāmu Kavirāja (possibly a physician, (2) Kākva, (3) Māṇḍalika, (4) Devadhara, (5) Keśava, (6) Piṇavāmi, (7) Āditya and (8) Sulabhakara. Similarly in A. D. 1173 a lady called Viņjama made a gift of five mādhās to the temple of Nīleśvara or Nilakaṇṭhaśevara for burning a lamp in perpetuity. \(^4\) Many such examples of cash grant may be quoted. An inscription \(^5\) dated A. D. 1237 refers to the grant of land in favour of the god Purushottama for making provision for the supply of one māna (probably the same as mana equivalent to 40 seers) of rice possibly per day to the deity with the cognizance of Mahādeva Pāthin. These instances suggest that some temples may have amassed huge property composed of land, cash money or gold, cattle, grain etc. Sometimes money was deposited with the secular parties, who undertook to serve the needs of the temple out of the interest accruing from the deposited amount. The Puri inscription assigned to A. D. 1114–1115, mentions that Sādhu Bhīmadeva as well as Ruda and Hari accepted some amount or coins of gold for one

1. Ibid., p. 125.
2. El., XXIX, part II, p. 44 ff.
3. Ibid., XXX, part I, p. 32, 1. 4–9.
Chhayadipa meant to be a perpetual lamp to be burnt before the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The responsibility of Bhīmadeva and his two colleagues, says D. C. Sircar, was no doubt to supply oil for the lamp in lieu of the interest of the gold deposited with them.

We get scanty information from our inscriptions regarding the temple staff and their tenure. A temple seems to have been placed in charge of an employee designated differently as sthānadhikāri, sthānapati or sthānaka, who was probably the superintendent of a temple. The Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman III (A.D. 748) informs us that the temple of Bhāttāraka Dharmeśvara (Śiva) was under the sthānadhikāras or superintendence of the holy Brāhmaṇa Somāchārya. The epithet sthānapati occurs in a South Indian inscription which records the conferment by Erāpolā Nayaka of the office of sthānapati of the temple of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva of Tālaṇḍa on Kaḍapāka Purushottama Bhāṭṭa and his son. Reference to sthānaka is to be found in the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga king Satyavarman, which mentions the grant of land to the Śaiva sthānaka. The Puri inscription of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva refers to the Pujaḥāris of the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. Pujaḥāri is the same as Pujaḥari meaning a priest. We come across another term Bāhika in the Pārvaṭi temple inscription at Bhuvaneśvara. Among the employees of the Liṅgarāja temple those who carry the god in palanquin on ceremonial occasions are called Bāhika, which seems to have been the case in earlier times. The temple also maintained its maids, musicians and dancing girls.

The temples must have been served by decorators of the idols, strewers of flowers, cooks, guards, grooms and artisans of every sort, at present thirty-two different kinds of services

1. EI., XXXIII, part IV, p. 184–85, 1. 1–4.
2. Ibid., p. 183.
3. I., XVIII, p. 145, 1. 28.
4. SII., X, Nos. 709, p. 370.
5. IO, I, p. 180, 1.21.
6. EI., XXXIII, part VI, p. 185, 1.5.
7. OHRJ., II, No. 3, p. 147.
are performed by various castes in the temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhubanesvara.\(^1\) In the temple of Jagannātha at Puri in A.D. 1847 "there were as many as 6,000 male adults, priests, warders of the temple and pilgrim-guides. The number has probably increased since then; and including the monastic establishments their servants and hired labourers along with the vast body of pilgrim hunters...it is probable that no less than 20,000 men, women and children live directly or indirectly by the service of Lord Jagannātha. The immediate attendants on the god are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes."\(^2\) It is likely therefore that the temple of Jagannātha had a large number of attendants in early mediaeval times.

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CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our task of giving a picture of different aspects of Orissan life in the early medieval period has now come to an end, and only a few words are necessary by way of epilogue.

The political structure of Orissa was based on kingship, which was normally hereditary. We rarely come across the election of a king. The only case is that of Somavāṁśī king Yayāti II. The heir-apparent was selected in the lifetime of the ruling king. Usually the choice fell upon the eldest son, but sometimes the younger brother was made the crown-prince, if the king was old and had no son. There was also the practice of relinquishing the throne by the reigning king in favour of his sons and relatives.

The yuvraja (crown-prince) enjoyed a very high political status in the state. He assisted the king in administration and exercised the prerogative of granting land. Junior princes were often entrusted with the administration of provinces. During the minority of a king, usually a relative, either male or female, was appointed to act as the regent.

The king exercised considerable power. Appointment of governors, ministers and important civil and military officers lay in his hands. He conferred titles and other distinctions upon officers and feudal vassals. His consent was necessary for the alienation of villages either by feudal chieftains or by the crown-prince. Thus he had great power in theory, but in practice customs and usages in the realm of law, the sharing of power with a ministry, existence of powerful and privileged feudatories circumscribed royal power.

The king did his duties by the subjects also. Many tanks, wells, bridges and roads were constructed in Orissa. For the poor and helpless charitable houses called satra were set up. Mendicants were provided with garments and medicines.

In religious matters the king maintained a catholic and tolerant attitude. He gave liberal patronage to Brāhmaṇa
scholars, who cultivated different branches of learning.

During this period ministers were very influential personas of the state, and bore the heavy burden of administration to a considerable extent. Some of them played an important part in the expansion of the state.

Feudatories were another important element in the body-politic of the period. Many feudal vassals figure in our inscriptions. Their number in Orissa exceeded that in the neighbouring regions many times. This may be attributed to the allocation of territories by kings to their brothers and relatives, the grant of land to officers in lieu of various kinds of services, and above all the gift of land to a large number of Brāhmaṇas for spiritual progress.

Vassals of various categories were known as bhūpāla, bhogī, bhogirūpa, mahābhogī, bṛhad-bhogī, sāmanta, maha-sāmanta, mahāsāmantādhīpati, mūndalika, maha-mūndalika or maha-muṇḍa-leśvāra, rājyanka or rāṇaka, rājyaputra, rājyavallabha etc. They attended the royal court, paid tributes and helped the kings in war etc. The important feudatory chiefs were conceded certain privileges such as the right of using five kinds of music (Pañchamahāśabā). The control exercised by the paramount power varied according to the status of the feudatory and the strength of the paramount power.

Besides these ministers and feudatories, there was a large number of officers in the state to run the government under different dynasties, which shows that the administrative machinery in mediaeval Orissa was well organized. It is remarkable that some of the functionaries occurring in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya or in the Gupta inscriptions also find mention in our records such as mahāmahattara, akṣhasālin, haṣṭādhyakṣa, nāyaka, pratihāra etc. No doubt, the Bhauma-Kara and Somavaiśā charts refer to certain new officers such as saḍyadhikarana, rājasatka, kuṭakolas piṣumavetrika, etc. The largest number of new officers figure in the Gaṅga Charters. Some functionaries of the Pāla, Senā, Gāhadaśāla, Kalachuri and Chandella states are found in the Orissan state during this period, but some of the common officials of North India such as rājasthāniya, mahādauṣadhanika, gaulnika, saulkīka do not at all figure in our records.
As regards economic conditions, cultivation in Odra or North Orissa, Koṅgoda, Kaliṅga and South Kośala was rich due to the fertility of the soil. But Odra and South Kośala were more productive than Kaliṅga and Koṅgoda, as appears from Hiuen Tsang's account. Irrigational facilities enhanced the productivity of the Orissan soil. Various kinds of crops were produced in abundance, and the rice of Kaliṅga was famous. It was of a very fine quality, fit to be eaten by royal persons. Fruits were also grown in plenty in Kaliṅga. Odra produced more fruits than the other countries.

A number of crafts and industries such as weaving, dyeing, metal-work, jewellery, ivory-work, wood-work, stone-work, pottery, tanning etc. were practised. Among them weaving, metal work and stone working made progress during this period. Kaliṅga was one of the main centres of textile since the time of Kauṭilya. It was renowned for the manufacture of fine clothes. In metallurgy Orissa had made considerable progress, as is attested by the iron beams in the temples of Bhuvanesvarā and Puri. The remains of several massive temples and sculptures show the efficiency achieved by the Orissan artisans in the field of stone industry also.

Internal trade seems to have been flourishing during our period, particularly under the Somavamsīs and the later Gaṅgas. There were markets (haṭṭāh) which served the needs of several villages. In Koṅgoda existed many small towns bordering on the mountains as well as contiguous to the sea, where rare and valuable articles were sold. In Charitra (Puri) as well rare and precious commodities were found. Elephants, bullocks, buffaloes, asses, bullock carts and boats were the means of conveyance.

Fragrant substances, conch-shells, wood, ornaments, goods of bronze metal, betel-leaf, sugar, cloth, earthen vessels and fish, besides food grain, were articles of trade. The elephants of Kaliṅga were much prized by the neighbouring provinces. Diamond was probably one of the valuable commodities sold at Kaliṅganagara. There were several ports in Orissa during this period such as Charitra, Pālur, Paṭṭana Suvarṇapura, Kaliṅgapaṭṭana, Viśakhapaṭṭana, Bhimlipaṭṭana etc. Of these Charitra, situated on the sea coast in the south-east of Odraṇḍeṣa, was an important port in the 7th century
A. D., as may be known from the Chinese pilgrim's account. Pālur was an important port of Orissa since the days of Ptolemy. It may be presumed that in our period also it might have continued to be a flourishing port. A direct voyage to the east was made from this place. Paṭṭana Suvarṇapura (identified with Sonpur) existed during the reign period of the Somavaṁśi king Mahāśivagupta dated the 11th century A. D. Kaliṅgapaṭṭana, Viśākha-paṭṭana and Bhimlipaṭṭana seem to have been important ports during the Gaṅga rule in Orissa.

In the social hierarchy the Brāhmaṇas stood on top. They exercised tremendous influence on the minds and faiths of the people. In the main they were supposed to engage themselves in learning, rituals and worship, and they received royal patronage in the form of land grants. A large number of Brāhmaṇas belonging to different gotras and pravaras had settled in Orissa during this period. Though they hailed from different parts of the country such as Madhyadeśa, Tirbhukti, Rāḍha, Vaṅga, Varendra, Śrāvasti etc., their sub-castes had not been formed.

Next to the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas enjoyed a high social status, and many of the rulers belonged to this caste. The Kshatriyas must have held important civil and military posts. But they had not the monopoly over fighting; even the non-Kshatriyas took to this occupation during our period.

The Kāyasthas and Karanās, who seem to have occupied the position next to the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, too occupied a high social position. They wrote not only documents but also held high responsible posts in the state. They seem to have been a class of professional scribes.

The Vaiśyas also enjoyed some position in society. It is striking that like the Brāhmaṇas they were sometimes granted land. Probably they were settled in Orissa to promote the cause of trade. They were also associated with the administration of the state under the later eastern Gaṅgas.

During the period under study, society did not rigidly follow the rules prescribed by the lawgivers. Some Brāhmaṇas took part in warfare, and some Kshatriyas followed peaceful vocations. The Vaiśyas also did not stick to their traditional profession. The Kshatriya rulers married non-Kshatriya women.
Aborigines such as Savaras, Gonds, Bhuyans etc. inhabited Orissa during this period. They were far down in the scale of civilization, but in due course they came under the Aryan influence and gradually became Aryanised in speech. They also exercised great influence on Orissa which can be partly ascertained from the number of non-Aryan words in use in the Oriya language, and from the geographical names of old days which are still retained by the hills, forests, rivers and villages.

The position of women in society seems to have been high. They sometimes played a dominant part in the political affairs of the state. Several women members of the royal family under the Bhauma-Kara dynasty assumed the reins of government in the absence of male heirs. Polygamy was prevalent in the princely society. There was no sati system. The practise of dedicating dancing girls to temples was in existence but the institution of adoption was not popular. Education was prevalent among the ladies of the genteel society.

Our age was an age of religious eclecticism. Though different sects such as Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism existed in Orissa during this period, their followers tolerated one another. Members of the same royal family are noticed as votaries of different religious sects.

Jainism was not popular in Orissa during this period except in the first half of the 7th century A. D., when its position was somewhat better than in the later period. Similarly Buddhism occupied an important position under the rule of the early Bhauma-Kara kings, but gradually it suffered a decline with the rise of Saivism and Vaishnavism under the Somavamshi and Gupta rulers. Saivism was the most popular religion, adhered to by the rulers of almost all the dynasties, and under the Somavamshi rulers it reached the height of its progress. The conversion of Anantavarman Chodagaangadeva to Vaishnavism in the beginning of the 12th century A. D. underlined its position and exalted Vaishnavism, which was further strengthened by the popular belief in Jagannatha.

The donation of land to the temples for the worship of gods and to the Brahma纳斯 for their religious services were considered acts of great spiritual merit. Pilgrimage to holy places or tirthas developed as an important religious practice, and the temples emerged as cultural centres.
# APPENDIX I

*Inscriptions of the Šailodbhava dynasty*

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