

**SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL LIFE IN ORISSA
FROM A. D. 800-1300**

by

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled Some Aspects of the Social Life in Orissa from A.E. 800-1300 submitted by Shri Laxman Chandra Hota is in fulfilment of eight credits out of the twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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CONTENTS

| Chapters | | Pages |
|----------|---|-------|
| I | Introduction | 1-4 |
| II | The Category of Varna: Theory and Practice | 5-52 |
| | The Brahmanas | |
| | The Ruling Dynasties | |
| | The Vaisyas | |
| | The Sudras | |
| | The Kayasthas - Karanas | |
| | Appendix: The existence of unassimilated groups: The tribes of Orissa | |
| III | Condition of Women | 53-58 |
| IV | Conclusion | 59-63 |
| | Charts | 64-79 |
| | Bibliography | 80-85 |

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

1

The present work deals with some aspects of the social life in Orissa from A.D. 800 to 1300. We have tried to examine the extent to which the Varna concept had made its impact on society in Orissa during the period under study and the social identity and role of the communities mentioned in the inscriptions. As our evidence indicates, it was a period of transition for a predominantly tribal area which gradually came under the influence of the expanding brāhminical culture. We find that brāhminical settlements proliferated during this period and brāhminical influence increased. The full story of this process has to be gleaned from the inscriptions and supplemented by contemporary literary sources.

The political scene in Orissa was one of confusion up to the middle of 12th Century A.D. We find several sets of dynasties ruling in different parts of Orissa, some of them acknowledging the authority of a superior ruler. Again, it is difficult to demarcate the exact boundary of a particular kingdom. As regards the nomenclature of a particular place, conflicting versions have been presented even in the epigraphs, as is evident from the fact that both the Sulkis as well as the Nandas claim to have ruled over the "Gondrama" region.

The present State of Orissa during the early medieval period was not a homogeneous one, it was known as Kalinga, Tri-Kalinga, Odra, Utkala, Daksina Kosala, Tosala, Kaṅgodamaṅgala, etc. A portion of Andhra, the present Srikakulam district was included in Kalinga and a portion of Midnapur district was

included in Utkala as the copper plates reveal. It was Chodaganga, the Ganga monarch, who unified Orissa in the middle of 12th Century A.D. It was only then that a centralised empire came into existence.

Some useful works on Orisean history have been published covering our period such as, R.D. Banerjee's History of Orissa, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1930; B. Mishra's Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa, Calcutta, 1933, and Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, Calcutta, 1934; H.K. Mahatab's, The History of Orissa, Vol. I, Cuttack, 1959; N.K. Sahu's (ed.), A History of Orissa, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1956. However, these works deal mainly with political history. D.K. Ganguly's book Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa continues to follow the same tradition of political history but provides very useful information on historical geography. It covers up to the rise of the Gangas and was published in 1976. In recent times the only author to have dealt with the social life of Orissa in this period is A.P. Sah. His book Life in Medieval Orissa, Cr. A.D. 600 to 1200, Varanasi, 1976, is a commendable attempt. However, it has certain limitations. Sah has not utilised all the sources available and has not been able to explain the available sources in a historical perspective. We do not get much light on the occupational groups in his book. Thus, there is ample scope for further study on the subject.

We are mainly relying in this study on epigraphical sources while taking note of literary sources in so far as they corroborate the epigraphical evidence. The number of inscriptions found in Orissa during this period is more than those found in

Bengal and Bihar taken together. The Gāngas have issued the largest number of inscriptions. Some of the inscriptions have not yet been edited. The inscriptions in this period throw considerable light on the activities of the brāhmanas and some occupational and professional groups. Also, they provide some information on the tribes. As the inscriptions are mainly documents of the ruling classes, we have more details about them and only casual reference to lower groups. Because of these limitations of the sources we cannot claim that we have a complete picture of Orissan social life during the period under study.

Our main literary source for Orissan social life is the Utkala Khanda of the Skanda Purāna (Cir. 900 to 1300 A.D.). It throws considerable light on the social life of Orissa. The other literary works like Matsya Purāna, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna only make stray references to certain social groups of Orissa. It is by now well established that the Mādala Pāñjī is a work not earlier than 16th century A.D., and cannot be utilised for this period. But there are a few references to the social, religious and economic life of the people of Orissa in the account of the Chinese traveller Hiuēn Tsang who paid a visit to this land in the 7th century A.D. Therefore, inscriptions, literature and foreign accounts give us certain glimpses of the social life of Orissa of this period. However, these sources are not sufficiently informative in every aspect and the relative value of the sources differs; and of all these epigraphical sources have been the most useful for the purpose.

The major aspects of the social life in Orissa to be covered in this work are the brāhmanas, the internal structure of this community viz the institution of gotra and pravara, and its status, functions, etc.; the social roots of the ruling dynasties, some non-brāhmanic groups such as the vaiśyas, sūdras, kāyasthas and some occupational groups; the tribal peoples and as well as the general condition of women during the period under our study in Orissa.

Chapter II

THE CATEGORY OF VARNA: THEORY AND PRACTICE

THE CATEGORY OF VARNA, THEORY AND PRACTICE

The traditional Indian society was functionally divided into four varnas, namely, the brāhmanas (priests), the kshatriyas (warriors), the vaisyas (those engaged in mercantile activities and farming), and the sūdras (those rendering the services to the Dvijas). It appears that in actual operation of this varna system, the Orissan society of this period was still at a nascent stage and this is reflected in the efforts made by the rulers of Orissa to encourage the system. It is evident from an inscription¹ of the 8th century A.D. where the first ruler of the Bhaumakara dynasty Kshemankaradeva claims that he established Varnāshrama dharma.

As a concrete step towards this goal the rulers of Orissa during this period invited brāhmanas from outside where the varnāshrama system was widely prevalent. It appears that the brāhmanas who came from outside, (mainly north-India) tried to stabilize the varna system in Orissa. Orissa before the influx of the brāhmanas from outside seems to have been largely tribal and it was only after the brāhmanas came to Orissa from outside with the active support and encouragement of rulers that the varna system began to gain further ground in Orissa.

However, this period witnessed a somewhat confused state of affairs in the actual operation of the Varnāshrama dharma notwithstanding the efforts that must have been made by the brāhmanas and the ruling chiefs. There was no clear cut

1 E.I., vol. XV, no. 1, p. 3.

functional division of the varnas in practice and there was often overlapping of functions. A number of occupational groups are mentioned but their varna identity is not specified in the inscriptions and we have to rely on the literary sources. Perhaps this shows that the varna concept was not indigenous to Orissa, it was imported from outside and only the brāhmanas formed a compact varna group.

The Brāhmanas

The brāhmanas in Orissa during the period under study occupied the highest status in society. Though the period witnessed the rise of a number of so-called mixed castes which may have been of non-Aryan origin the position of the brāhmanas was never threatened by any caste or group. The brāhmanas received land donation from kings and feudatories and thereby consolidated their position economically as well. They were at the top of the social hierarchy and with the gain of economic power, i.e., land, they could further strengthen their position. In a period characterised by a closed agrarian economy the brāhmanas on the whole came to form a landholding class. Many of them also occupied such administrative posts as that of a Minister, Commander-in-Chief, etc., as we shall see later.

The Skanda Purāna provides us valuable information as regards the status and condition of brāhmanas in Orissa during this period. While referring to the Purushottama Kshetra (i.e., Orissa), the Utkala Khaṇḍa¹ of this purāna says that a

1 Skanda Purāna, Utkala Khaṇḍa, VI, 38-42.

brāhmana is the 'Guru' of all varnas but does not lay down any essential qualifications for him. The brāhmanas were the first in the creation of the Brahmā. All other varnas were his later creations.

Orissa, witnessed the progress of brāhmanism from Cir. 4th century A.D. though politically Orissa came into prominence in the 3rd century B.C. With the Kalinga war of Ashoka, the area at the time seems to have been inhabited by the tribal peoples and we do not come across any positive evidence of the brāhmanisation of Orissa before the Mātharas who are recorded to have given landgrants to brāhmanas. Again, before 4th century A.D., all the inscriptions of Orissa found so far were written in Prākṛit. The Korasonḍa copper plate¹ (Cir. 357 A.D) of Visākhāvarman is the first landgrant made to a brāhmana donee and is written in Sanskrit.

The 4th century A.D. marks an important stage in the brāhmanisation of Orissa. The Śailodbhava kings who were ruling during 6th-8th centuries A.D. in Kaṅgodamaṇḍala gave landgrants to brāhmanas. It is during the period of the Śalidbhava kings that for the first time brāhmanas were invited from outside. The tradition of inviting the brāhmanas continued in Orissa up to 12th-13th centuries A.D.

We notice some Purāṇic prejudices as regards the Brāhmanas of Orissa. The Matsya Purāṇa² (4th-6th century A.D.) says that

1 JBORS, vol. XIV, p. 282.

2 Matsya Purāṇa, 16-16.

brāhmanas who dwell in the Mleccha countries, in Trishanku, Barbara, Odra (Orissa), Andhra, Takka, Drāviḍa and Koṅkaṇa are not to be invited at 'Srāddhas'. It is very likely that during this period, the brāhmanas of the north looked down upon the brāhmanas in eastern countries like Magadha and Orissa.¹ Why the brāhmanas of Orissa were not to be invited at Srāddhas has not been mentioned in Matsya Purāna. Probably, the Purānic prejudice regarding the brāhmanas of Orissa was due to the tribal blood of some local brāhmanas. Also, the spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of superiority might have contributed to their degradation.²

The brāhmanas of Orissa, subsequently, by the 9th-10th centuries A.D., were recognised as one of the five major sub-section of brāhmanas in north India.³ This reveals that by the 9th-10th centuries A.D., the status of brāhmanas in Orissa was no longer questioned and looked down upon by the North-Indian brāhmanas.

Migration

According to tradition, migration of learned brāhmana families took place into the distant regions of Gujarat, Bengal, Orissa,⁴ etc., during the early medieval period upon the

1 P.V. Kane, History of Dharmasāstras. Poona, 1930, vol. 11, part 1, p. 103.

2 Ibid.

3 E.I., vol. XXXII, no. 4, p. 29.

4 V. Upadhyay, The Socio-Religious Conditions of Northern India (700-1200 A.D.). Varanasi, 1964, p. 42.

invitation of their rulers. We notice a large number of brāhmaṇa families migrating to Orissa from different places. We have records of landgrants to nearly three hundred brāhmaṇas,¹ most of whom seem to have been brought from outside. The lists of the donees show that they were invited to Orissa,² mainly from Madhyadesa, Tirabhukti, Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Varendra.

Brāhmaṇas from distant places also migrated to Orissa. The records of Mahāsivagupta II mention the brāhmaṇa donees who³ migrated to Orissa in the 10th century A.D. from Madhyadesa,⁴ Śrāvastī Mandala⁴ and Kolāñcha⁵ (Kanauj).⁶ The Kūḍapali grant of Mahāsivagupta II states that some brāhmaṇas who had migrated to Orissa hailed from Hastipada (Madhyadesa).

The brāhmaṇa settlement of Takāri (with the limits of Śrāvastī) had acquired considerable celebrity by the 10th-11th centuries A.D. A number of epigraphs reveal that learned brāhmaṇas from this locality migrated to Orissa, Bengal, Gujarat,⁷ etc. and became the recipients of royal gifts.

1 B. Mishra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa. Calcutta, 1933, p. 1.

2 JBORS, vol. XIV, p. 70.

3 E.I., vol. III, p. 351.

4 JASB (NS), 1, pp. 8-12.

5 JBORS, vol. II, p. 405; Kolāñcha has been identified with a place named Korāñcha near Banaras, see A.P. Sah, Life in Mediaeval Orissa (600-1200 A.D.). Varanasi, 1976, p. 119.

6 E.I., IV, p. 254.

7 V.S. Pathak, Ancient Historians of India, Asia Publishing House, 1966, p. 1.

Rulers of different dynasties of Orissa are known to have invited brāhmanas of Bengal, from time to time, to settle in their territory where they were endowed with gifts of villages and lands.¹ On some occasions they were also appointed to responsible posts. One of the reasons for the patronage extended by the Somavamśi kings (Cir. 8th-11th centuries A.D.) to brāhmanas of Bengal was their connection with Vaṅga as claimed in some of their records.²

Brāhmanas of Varendra were also invited to Orissa. Reference may be made to the Cuttack copper plate of Mahābhava-³ gupta for instance. It is recorded that Mahattama Sādharana who received a landgrant from the king was an immigrant from Takāri and was also appointed as his chief minister. In another copper plate,⁴ mention is made of the brāhmana donee named Bhaṭṭa Brahmadhara who came to Orissa from Puṇḍravardhana. In the Talcher plate⁵ of Gayāda Tuṅḡadeva is recorded the gift of a whole village received by three brāhmanas. According to Sircar these three donees were immigrants from North Bengal.⁶ In the Chakradharpur plates,⁷ of Raṇa Bhañja the donation of a

1 P. Niyogi, Brāhmanical Settlements in Different Sub-divisions of Ancient Bengal. Calcutta, 1967, p. 48.

2 Mishra, op. cit., p. 1.

3 E.I., III, p. 323 ff.

4 JPASB (NS), XII, pp. 291-5.

5 R.D. Banerjee, History of Orissa. Calcutta, 1930, vol. I, pp. 203-4.

6 E.I., vol. XXIV, p. 91 ff.

7 JBORS, VI, p. 269.

village in favour of Padmakara, a brāhmana from Pecipātaka in the Varendra Maṇḍala is recorded.

Brāhmanas of Rāḍha were also patronised by the kings of Orissa. In an inscription belonging to the reign of Mahābhavagupta I, reference to a gift of land to Bhaṭṭaputra, Jāturupa, an immigrant is recorded.¹ In another inscription king Devendra Varman of the Gaṅga dynasty made the gift of a village to an immigrant from Uttara Rāḍha named Govinda Śarman.²

Brāhmanas from Magadha³ and Tirabhukti⁴ (Bihar) also were invited to Orissa, during the period under study. From one copper plate grant⁵ we know that a brāhmana donee from Rohitāsa (modern Rohtas in Shahabad) was the recipients of the royal grant. Also, brāhmana families from Ahichchhatra,⁶ Gaṅgāvādī⁷ (Mysore) were invited to Orissa. Thus, the above evidence reveals that the brāhmanas were invited to Orissa from different parts of the country including the South.

Brāhmanical Settlements

The brāhmanical settlements during this period in Orissa cannot be ascertained fully. The ruling families gave land donations to brāhmanas, but as the areas under their control are

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- 1 E.I., XI, pp. 101-2.
 2 E.I., XXIII, p. 77.
 3 JBORS, VI, p. 484.
 4 Ibid., XVIII, p. 17.
 5 JBORS, VI, p. 236.
 6 E.I., XXXV, p. 102.
 7 E.I., IV, no. 35, p. 253.

quite often uncertain, and it is often difficult to establish identifications. Again, the number of landgrants to the brāhmaṇa donees is so numerous that all the places mentioned in the charters have not yet been satisfactorily identified. Generally, the brāhmaṇas were given landgrants within not more than 100 miles of their original homes.¹

A brāhmaṇa settlement known as an 'Agrahāra' is often mentioned in our inscriptions. Some of the brāhmaṇa settlements have been shown in the chart given at the end of the paper. The brāhmaṇas who were brought from outside were given landgrants both in backward areas and settled areas. Land grants were made in forest areas under the Bhañjas, the Somavaṃśis and the Gaṅgas. Yasobhañja Deva of Khiñjali Maṇḍala granted a tax free village called Patikmyana to a brāhmaṇa with its trees, creepers, thickets and forests, along with the right to fishing and catching tortoise.² The village in question was obviously surrounded by forests. A Somavaṃśi charter of Mahābhava Gupta IV, who ruled over Western Orissa and South Kosala in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. granted two villages, which were given along with the right of killing snakes and elephants.³ Probably the area abounded in elephants, for the district in which the two villages were situated was called Airāvattamāṇḍala.⁴

1 R.S. Sharma, Social Changes in Early Medieval India. (Cir. 500-1200). Delhi, 1969, p. 5.

2 E.I., vol. XVIII, no. 29, p. 11.

3 JBORS, XVII, 1, 11, 29-49.

4 Ibid., 370-9.

The locality was inhabited by the Śavaras (now Saros), noted for their knowledge of elephants and huge snakes living in holes and caves of the hills.¹ In one of the grant of the Gaṅga king Ananta Varman the donated village was described as practically surrounded by jungles, trees and rocks,² which shows that it was situated in a forest area.

The significance of landgrants in backward areas to brāhmaṇas is not difficult to appreciate. Brāhmaṇas, who settled in these backward areas must have brought new lands under cultivation. The settlements of the brāhmaṇas in these areas led to the introduction and spread of brāhmaṇical culture during this period in Orissa. Also, they must have inculcated in the aborigines a sense of loyalty to the established order and towards their ruler-patrons.³

A striking feature of the charters recording donation of settled areas is the fact that the donors transferred villages not only with various kinds of dues but also with weavers (Tantuvāya), brewers (Śaundhika), Cowherds (Gokuṭa) and other subjects (Parkritikah), as the Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvana Mahādevi indicate.⁴ This practice was not only followed by the Bhaumakara rulers but also by their feudatories, the

1 Ibid., 18-21.

2 E.I., vol. XXVIII, no. 50-11-3-8.

3 R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism. Calcutta, 1965, p. 281.

4 JBORS, vol. II, pp. 426-7.

Bhañjas¹ and the Tungas² during this period. The assignment of land with weavers, brewers, cowherds, etc., suggests that these were landgrants of settled areas.

From the Nagari copper plate³ we learn that king Anaṅga-bhimadeva 111 (1121-38 A.D.) granted a township to a brāhmaṇa named Śankara Chandra Śarmaṇa, along with a number of merchants such as perfumer (Gāndhika), dealer in conch shells (Śāṅkhika), splitter of wood (Paṭakāra), goldsmith (Swarnakāra), brazier (Kansika), dealer in sugar (Gudika), etc. It shows that the brāhmaṇas were given lands not only in backward areas and villages but also townships as well.

Types of Brāhmaṇas

From very early times the brāhmaṇas had been divided on the basis of gotra, pravara and śākhā, which are usually mentioned in the inscriptions of Orissa during this period. Distinctions were also made on the basis of occupation, learning, religion, locality and family, some of which later gave rise to a number of sub-sections among them.

A study of the sub-sections of the brāhmaṇas reveals the existence of five classes of North Indian brāhmaṇas on a territorial basis during the period under study.⁴ These five classes of North Indian brāhmaṇas are Śārasvata (of the region of the

1 I.H.Q., vol. XXI, p. 221.

2 E.I., vol. XXV, no. 14, pp. 11, 12-20.

3 E.I., vol. XXVIII, no. 40, pp. 235-58.

4 E.I., vol. XXXII, no. 4, p. 29.

river Śārasvatī), Kanyakubja (of the region of Kanauj), Utkala¹ (or Orissa), Maithila (of the region of North Bihar) and Gauda.

During this period, brāhmanas of Bengal were divided into two sections - Rādhiya and Varendra - according to their place of residence.² The sub-sections among the brāhmanas of Bengal originated in this period. But, sub-sections among the brāhmanas of Orissa like Jājapuriā and Dākshinātya³ have originated in later times. We do not find mention of these sub-sections in the inscriptions available to us.

The main distinction recognised among the brāhmanas were those of gotras and pravaras. The term gotra may roughly be translated as family lineage, and pravara was probably named after some illustrious teacher or ancestor who had contributed to the prestige of the family.⁴ According to the Baudhāvana-Śrautasūtra,⁵ Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vaśiṣṭha and Kāśyapa are the seven sages and Agastya is the eighth, the progeny of these eight sages is declared to belong to the gotra founded by them. The primary gotras are divided and sub-divided to form other gotras. The landgrants of the different dynasties of Orissa, during this period, refer to a number of gotras and pravaras. We have shown these in the chart

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- 1 I.H.Q., vol. XXVIII, p. 133.
- 2 R.C. Majumdar, History of Bengal. Dacca, 1943, p. 580 ff.
- 3 J.N. Bhattacharya, Hindu Castes and Sects, p. 47.
- 4 U.N. Ghosal, Studies in Indian History and Culture. Orient-Longsman, 1965, p. 6.
- 5 J. Brough, The Early Brāhmanical System of Gotra and Pravara. Cambridge, 1953, p. 6.

given at the end of the paper. Marriage was not allowed among the brāhmanas belonging to the same gotra.

We find mention of a number of gotras and pravaras in the epigraphs of this period in Orissa. The gotras mentioned in the epigraphs are as follows: ¹ Kāśyapa, Sāṅḍilya, Jānadha Parāśara, Parāśara, Vātsa, Goutama, Kauśika, Autathya, Jātu-karṇa, Kaundinya, Kṛishnātreya, Bhāradvāja, Vaśiṣṭha, Kautsa, Udovāhi, Māṅgalya, Agasti, Kāpiñjala, Rohitaka, Viśvāmitra, Uluka, Gārga, and Kumāra Hārīta. The number of brāhmanas having ² Bhāradvāja and ³ Kāśyapa gotras was larger than that of the brāhmanas of any other gotra in the epigraphs of the period.

It is significant that the eastern Gaṅgas, who ruled in Kalinga (which is the region comprised by the present Srikākulam and Ganjam districts) mention the gotras of the brāhmanas concerned in most of their charters without referring to the pravaras. ⁴ Besides, there are frequent deviations in those charters in respect of the pravaras of particular gotras. ⁵ How did these deviations arise? It is by no means clear. One possibility is local influence.

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- 1 See the Chart at the end of the Paper.
- 2 Ibid., nos. 20, 22, 30, 40, 42, 43, 55, 70, 73, 75, 76.
- 3 Ibid., nos. 1, 3, 10, 15, 21, 26, 29, 41, 54, 61, 62, 65, 68, 77.
- 4 Ibid., nos., 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16-18, 21, 25, 29, 30-32.
- 5 Ibid., nos. 2, 3, 13, 36(d), 58, 59.

Distinctions were also made on the basis of the Vedas studied by the brāhmaṇas. Our inscription mention brāhmaṇas belonging to all the four Vedas.¹ As the chart given at the end of this paper shows the majority of the brāhmaṇas were Yajurvedin.² The Sāmavedin comprised the second largest group.³ The number of those devoted to Ṛgveda was small still.⁴ We have shown below the affiliation of the different gotras to the śākhās.⁵

| <u>Śākhā</u> | <u>Gotra</u> |
|-------------------|--|
| Kāṇva | Vātsa, Jātukarṇa, Kāśyapa, Parāśara, Bhāradvāja, Kaundīnya, Kauśika, Rohitaka, Sāṅdilya, Māngalya. |
| Kauthama | Kautsa, Vātsa, Sāṅdilya, Kṛishna-treya, Jātukarṇa, Bhāradvāja, Kaundīnya. |
| Vāhvṛcha | Udovahi, Bhāradvāja, Autathya, Vaśīstha, Gārga. |
| Rāṇayaniya | Vātsa. |
| Maitrāyaniya | Kāpiñjala. |
| Gautama | Kauśika. |
| Mādhyandīna | Kāśyapa, Gautama, Mudgalya, Parāśara, Bhāradvāja. |
| Mādhyandīna Kāṇva | Kumāra Harita. |

Again, we find brāhmaṇas of different caranas, such as

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- 1 E.I., XIV, p. 263; JBORS, IV, p. 169; E.I., IV, p. 5.
 - 2 See Chart nos. 6-10, 13, 14, 20-24, 30, 33, 34, 36-38, 40, 41, 47-50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61-63, 66, 71-73, 75-77.
 - 3 Ibid., nos. 2, 18, 26, 28, 31, 35, 36, 42, 52, 58, 74.
 - 4 Ibid., nos. 11, 12, 23, 25, 32, 39, 67, 70.
 - 5 See Chart.

Vājasaneyā, Chhāndoga, and Vāhvṛcha.¹

The prefix Bhaṭṭa was commonly used in referring to a brāhmaṇa during this period.² A number of suffixes such as Svāmī,³ Śarmā, Dikshita, Āchārya, Pātra, and Upādhyā^{ya} were also used. The brāhmaṇas in Orissa no longer use the suffix Svāmī. All other suffixes continue to be used. The prefixes and suffixes used do not in themselves indicate the rank and status of the brahmanas of that period.

ROLE - TEACHER, PRIESTS, LANDOWNERS AND STATE OFFICIALS

The main functions of the brāhmaṇas as laid down in the smritis, were the study and teaching of the Vedas and performance of the religious rites.⁴ But our sources reveal that brāhmaṇas followed many vocations, both religious and secular during this period in Orissa.

We have reference of many brāhmaṇa scholars who were quite famous during this time. The Dharmaliṅgeśvara grant⁵ of Devendravarman I mentions a royal preceptor Bhagavata Paṭṭaṅga Śivāchārya, who was well versed in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Nyāyavidyā.⁶ Purshottama Bhaṭṭa the best of poets

1 See the Chart.

2 Ibid., nos. 1, 13, 20, 22, 27, 28, 34, 39, 40, 45, 47.

3 Ibid.

4 Kane, Op. cit., p. 100.

5 S.N. Rajguru, Inscriptions of Orissa. Bhubaneswar, 1960, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 8-12.

6 JASB, XIII, p. 70.

was another great scholar during the reign of Somavah̄si king Udyotakeśari dated the 10th century A.D. He had sound knowledge of Vedas, grammer, political science, poetry and logic. The records of the Tunḡa dynasty (9th century A.D.) reveal that the villages were full of vedic brāhmanas, who used to study the¹ vedic literature and perform vedic sacrifices.

Some brāhmanas kept themselves engaged in the performance of six-fold duties, some others officiated as priests. We have a number of copper plate grants made in favour of temples by kings, vassals and other well to do persons. From the later part of the 12th century A.D. temple worship became widely prevalent in Orissa.² It seems that with the popularity of temple worship the temple priests (i.e. brāhmanas) must have become very influential as they received land donations.

In the Chicacole plates³ of Satyavarman (Cir. 10th century A.D.) one Kamalāsana Bhaṭṭāraka, who received the Tarugrāma, has been mentioned as a Devasthāniya, i.e. superintendent of religious institutions. It seems that he was a priest. Again, the Markandesvara temple inscription⁴ speaks of Mārkaṇdeśvaradeva and Koṇḍanāthavaradeva as Pujāris (priest).

1 JBORS, XXXI, p. 70.

2 The temple of Jagannath at Puri (Cir. 1135 A.D. the Lingaraj temple of Bhubaneswar (Cir. 1060 A.D.) and the temple of Konarka (Cir. 1250 A.D.) and so many other temples were erected during this period.

3 I.A., vol. XIV, pp. 10-12.

4 S.N. Rajguru, Inscriptions of Orissa. Bhubaneswar, 1960, vol. III, pt. I, p. 134.

From the Pillar inscription of Rallivalasa we know that one Mādhava Bhaṭṭa was the Pujāri and Vāḍuva.¹ The word 'vāḍu' is still used in the temple of Jagannatha, which was built by Choḍagaṅga after he captured Utkala. Vāḍu is also a title used by the 'Pandās' in the Lingaraj temple of Bhubaneswar. The above evidences show that many brāhmanas officiated as priests in temples.

There were the family priests of the kings and feudatories, who had acquired considerable property and prestige on account of their position, and the landgrants and other kinds² of gift made to them. In the Vizagapatnam copper plate grant of the Gaṅga king Ananta Varman Choḍagaṅga Deva the pūrohita (priest) occupies the first position in the list of state officials. It is very likely that he enjoyed the highest status among the state officials.

Madhyamarāja³ and Dharmarāja⁴ of the Śailodbhava dynasty performed the Mahāvaiṅgas, such as Aśvamedha and Vājapeya, as is evident from their titles "Mahāmakhya Vājapeyaśvamedhavābhṛtha Suanankrvarttita". It seems that the pūrohita of the kings assisted in the religious sites of the Mahāvaiṅgas.

As pointed out already, landgrants to brāhmanas in Orissa are not so numerous before the 6th century A.D. From

1 Ibid., pt. II, p. 279.

2 I.A., XVIII, p. 169.

3 Rajguru, op. cit., pt. II, p. 202.

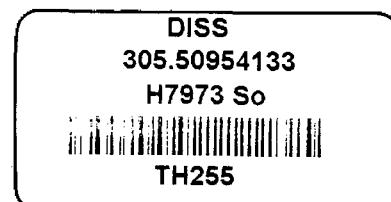
4 Ibid.

the 8th century A.D. onwards brāhmanas from various parts of the country came to Orissa, received landgrants and emerged as landed intermediaries. Generally individual brāhmanas were granted land, but sometimes they received it collectively, their number varying from two to two hundred. In Cir. 790 A.D. Subhākamadeva granted the village Komapāraka, Dāṇḍaki and Yoka¹ to two hundred brāhmanas.

The period witnessed an increase in the number of land owning brāhmanas. Comparatively the brāhmanas received more landgrants than the temples. Some rulers of Bhaumakara and Imperial Gaṅga dynasty donated lands to temples.² But against this the eastern Gaṅgas, the Tuṅgas, the Sulkis, the Bhañjas³ mainly donated lands to brāhmanas. Thus, during this period, brāhmanas seem to have emerged as important intermediaries in the land system of Orissa.

Compared with the secular feudatories of kings the brāhmana landowners were placed in a better position. The brāhmana donee was not expected to render military service to his benefactor and rulers⁴ were not expected to cancel the landgrants, made earlier in the favour of brāhmana donees. The resumption of land would have been a great sin as is indicated by the imprecatory versus invariably inserted in the grants.⁴

- 1 E.I., XV, pp. 1-18.
 2 JBORS, XXIX, p. 267.
 3 Ibid.
 4 Ibid., XVII, pp. 104-8.



TH-255



The brāhmana beneficiaries enjoyed several other privileges. Royal soldiers could not enter their estates.¹ The donees were exempted from the payment of taxes.² The donees were given control over fines accruing from ten offences.³ Besides they were empowered to collect taxes from "the weavers, cowherds, Śaundhikas and all other tenants and with the rivers, landing places, ferry places, forests and hamlets being exempted from all imposts".⁴ The brāhmana donees were empowered to settle disputes within the donated areas. Evidently the brāhmana donees enjoyed judicial authority. In some cases the brāhmanas were authorized to award specific punishment for various offences.⁵

All this gave the brāhmana donee complete authority over the land or village granted to them. Thus, the surrender of these fiscal and administrative rights to the brāhmana donees must have been a serious blow to the royal power, and as such the practice contributed to the power and influence of the brāhmanas in Orissa.

Although brāhmanas mainly received landgrants for religious purposes, there are some cases which suggest that some brāhmana donees received land not on account of their varṇa but

1 E.I., XXXIV, pt. II, p. 91 ff.

2 JBORS, II, pp. 405-9.

3 B. Mishra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings. Calcutta, 1934, p. 32.

4 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

5 E.I., XII, pp. 156-8.

for secular purposes by virtue of their position in the feudal hierarchy. The Somavaṁśī ruler Mahābhavagupta II (1000-15 A.D.) granted a village to Rāṇaka Rāccho, the grandson of a Bhatta brāhmaṇa, who had emigrated from Srāvasti Mandala.¹ That the rāṇaka occupied a high place in the feudal hierarchy of this ruler is evident from the list Rāiñi-Rāṇaka-Rāiputra-Rajaballa-bha-Ādin, who are addressed in this charter.² Although it was made on a religious occasion at the time of a solar eclipse, the title rāṇaka attached to the name of the beneficiary suggests that the donation may have something to do with his administrative and military services as a vassal. Incidentally the grant shows that this title, originally applied only to the members of the ruling family, now came to be extended to the brāhmaṇa vassals.³

Brāhmaṇas were also appointed as ministers, during this period, in Orissa. The Somavaṁśī ruler Mahābhavagupta I (933-70 A.D.) granted four villages in Kosala by three land charters to his brāhmaṇa Chief Minister (Mahāsandhivigrahin) Sādhāraṇa.⁴ Bāṇapati was another brāhmaṇa Chief Minister of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja.⁵ Govinda and Vishnu, Chief Ministers of the Gaṅga kings Anangabhimadeva II and Anangabhimadeva III

1 E.I., III, no. 47, II, 28-42.

2 Ibid., II, 33-34.

3 Sharma, op. cit., p. 277.

4 E.I., III, no. 47, B, 11, 4-5.

5 JBORS, XII, pp. 147-9.

respectively were brāhmaṇas.¹

From the Kālibhāna plates² of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (Cir. 11th century A.D.) we know that the king is said to have donated a village named Konnayilla in favour of Bhaṭṭa-putra Devu. It is interesting to note that the brāhmaṇa donee is described as kāladasin. The word kāladasin seems to mean an astrologer,³ who predicted good and bad times. It seems that Devu was an astrologer attached to the king's court. Two Bhaṅja rulers of Khijīṅga, both brothers, each granted a village to an astrologer in the second half of the 12th century A.D.⁴ The astrologer was a brāhmaṇa. The astrologer must have occupied a high status in the list of dignatories and may have earned assignments from the Bhaṅjas of Khijīṅga for his services in deciding suitable days and time for all activities of the king.

From the Kendupāṭṇa plates⁵ we know that the king is said to have made over 100 vāṭikas of land in favour of Bhimadeva Śarman of Kāśyapa gotra. Bhimadeva Śarman has been described as Kumāra Mahāpātra in the first set of the plates, and mentioned as Brihad-Kumāra Mahāpātra in the second and third

1 H.K. Mahatab, History of Orissa. Lucknow, 1949, vol. I, p. 280.

2 I.H.Q., XX, pp. 237-50.

3 Ibid.

4 E.I., XVIII, no. 29 II, 19-29.

5 E.I., XXVIII, no. 33, pp. 185-95.

set of plates. Mahāpātra means no doubt a minister and Kumāra Mahāpātra, like Kumāra-Amātya, of the older records, a minister of the rank of a Kumāra i.e. a prince of the royal blood. The word brihat suggests that Bhimadeva Śarman was a Kumāra-Mahāpātra of the foremost rank.

The Allānpur copper plates¹ records that the donee Halāyudha, a brāhmana of the Vatsya gotra was the koshādhyaksha (treasurer). The Nagari copper plate² of Anāṅgabhimadeva speaks of a record keeper (sāsana-adhikārin) named Gaṅgādhara Ārya of Putimāsha gotra, who was paid two vātikas of land, out of the fifty-six vātikas of land which was made over to the brāhmana donee. Again, Allalanatha, a brāhmana of the same gotra was the head of the record department and was the writer of the charter.³ Thus, brāhmanas also held such posts as head of the record department and writer of the charters.

Thus, not only the brāhmanas enjoyed a high status in the social hierarchy they also played a very important role in the body politics of Orissa, during the period under study.

The Ruling Dynasties

The history of Orissa during the period under study presents a confused picture of several sets of ruling dynasties, some were independent rulers and some feudatories nominally

1 E.I., XXXI, pp. 17-24.

2 Ibid., XVIII, no. 40, pp. 235-58.

3 Ibid., XV, no. 1, p. 3.

acknowledging the authority of a superior ruler. The extent of their dominions is quite uncertain, therefore the exact demarcations of boundaries for any of the kingdoms is a highly complex task. The lack of communications and the natural boundaries formed by the mountains as such helped their sustenance for a considerable period of time. The major dynasties which ruled during this period were the Śailodbhavas, the Bhaumakaras, the Śulkis, the Nandas, the Tūngas, the Bhañjas, the Somavamśīs and the Gaṅgas. Some of these dynasties were contemporaneous.

It is generally assumed that the ruling dynasties of this period were kshatriyas. However, the designation of the ruling dynasties as kshatriyas does not appear in any of the inscriptions of Orissa during this period. However, while referring to the Purushottama Kshetra (i.e. Orissa) the Utkala Khaṇḍa¹ of the Skanda Purāna uses the word kshatriya for ruling dynasties and enumerates the qualities of the kshatriya rulers. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang also refers to the existence of kshatriya rulers by stating that the ruler of Kosala (i.e., a part of Orissa)² was a kshatriya. While literary evidences specifically refer to the existence of kshatriya rulers in Orissa, the epigraphical evidence does not throw much light in this regard.

1 Skanda Purāna, Utkala Khaṇḍa, VI. 10-15.

2 Samuel, Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World. London, 1906, p. 209.

The Śailodbhava dynasty ruled from Circa A.D. 600 to 730¹ in Kaṅgodamaṇḍala. The origin of this dynasty has been a subject of controversy among scholars. The legend of their origin, which seems to date back to the late 4th century A.D., is known from several inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.² In one of their inscriptions the Mahendragiri mountain is called the "family mountain" (Kula-giri).³ It is related that Pulindasena, king of Kalinga, asked the lord Śiva to hand over his rule to a younger successor. Śiva granted this boon to Pulindasena, and Śailodbhava, the founder of the dynasty, who appeared out of the cleft pieces of a rock (Śila-Sakala-Udbhadi).⁴ Both names, Pulindasena and Śailodbhava, suggest a tribal origin of this dynasty. Pulinda is the name of a well-known ancient tribe in central India.⁵ From his name it appears that Pulindasena might have been a military chief (Sena) belonging to this tribe. The name of his successor, Śailodbhava (i.e. born from the mountain) indicates that he was able to leave the mountaineous region and to conquer the nuclear area of Kaṅgoda.⁶

The Bhaumakara dynasty ruled from Circa A.D. 736 to 950

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- 1 N. K. Sahu, Oriyā Jātira Itihāsa (Oriyā). Bhubaneswar, 1974, p. 246.
- 2 E. I., XXIX, p. 32.
- 3 JBORS, XVI, p. 176.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 176-88.
- 5 B. C. Law, Tribes in Ancient India. Poona, 1943, p. 174.
- 6 W. W. Hunter, ed. N. K. Sahu), A History of Orissa. Calcutta, 1956, vol. II, p. 347.

in Kaṅgoda and Tosali, which would roughly cover the adjoining areas of Cuttack, Ganjam, Puri and Balesore. We find nearly twenty-five inscriptions issued by the Bhaumakara kings. The earlier kings of this dynasty have stated that they belonged to the Bhauma¹ or Kara² family. It was called Bhauma, because it claimed descent from Bhumi or earth. It was further designated as Kara, for the names of all the members of this dynasty ended in Kara. In the view of R. D. Banerji³ "most probably they (the Karas) also claimed descent from Naraka, like the early kings of Kāmarupa". There is hardly any evidence to show that the Bhaumakara dynasty of Orissa was in any way connected with the Naraka dynasty of Kāmarupa, for it is stated in the Chaurāsi plate⁴ of Śivakara that the Bhaumakara family emanated from amongst the people of Utkala. Only a solitary member of this dynasty has used the title Keśari or Siṃha and on this basis A. P. Sah presumes⁵ that the Kara kings belonged to the kshatriya caste. However, the argument put forward by Sah is not convincing in view

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- 1 B. Mishra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings. Calcutta, 1934, p. 17.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 1-18.
- 3 E.I., vol. XV, pp. 1-18.
- 4 JBORS, XIV, pp. 292-306.
- 5 A. P. Sah, op. cit., p. 216.

of the fact that none of the members belonging to this dynasty have claimed to be kshatriyas in any of the inscriptions. The Purānas refer to several ancient ruling kshatriya families but the name of the Bhauma family does not occur anywhere.¹ The Vishnu Purāna refers to Mahendra Bhauma along with Kalīnga and Mahishika as being protected by Guha (or Guhas).² These 'Bhaumas living in Mahendra hill may be regarded as the ancestors of the Bhaumas of Orissa. Furthermore, the argument is strengthened by the fact that the capital of this dynasty was called Guhadevapāṭaka or Guhesvarapāṭaka, apparently named after Guha (or the Guhas, with whom the Bhaumas are associated in the Vishnu Purāna.³ B. Mishra⁴ rightly suggests that the Bhuyāns, now inhabiting the northern hilly tracts of Orissa are the representatives of the Bhaumas and the word Bhuyān can be taken as the variant of Bhauma. Moreover, a certain class of people 'living to the south of the Mahānadi river, call themselves Matī-Vāṃsa (family sprung from the earth).⁵ All this clearly suggests a tribal origin of this dynasty.

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- 1 Cited in Yadava, Society ... op. cit., pp. 36-37.
 - 2 F. E. Pargiter, Dynasties of Kali Age, p. 54.
 - 3 R. C. Majumdar, ed., The Age of Imperial Kanauj. Bombay, 1955, p. 63.
 - 4 Mishra, Orissa ... op. cit., pp. 80-81.
 - 5 Ibid., p. 82.

The Śulki dynasty ruled in the riverine territory of the Dhenkanal-Talcher area of Kōṣāṅgalaṅka Maṅḍala at a time when the Bhaumakaras were ruling in the coastal region. It seems very likely that they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Bhaumakaras. Though there are some copper plate grants issued by the rulers of this dynasty, nothing is said about their family. The kings of this dynasty are said to have received their kingship through the grace of the goddess Stambhesvari (Pillar-goddess)¹. All kings of this dynasty combined their names with that of their tutelary deity (e.g. Raṅga-Stambha, Kula-Stambha, etc.)². The goddess Stambhesvari is not mentioned in any of the Purānas. The goddess seems to be a local tribal deity. The mention of Stambhesvari as their tutelary deity again indicates that the Śulki dynasty derived from an aboriginal tribal stock.³

We notice another dynasty ruling over the territory lying to the chiefdom of the Śulkis of the Dhankanal-Talcher area,⁴ they are known as the Tuṅgas. From the Talcher plate⁵

1 JBORS, vol. II, pp. 405-9.

2 B. Mishra, Dynasties... op. cit., pp. 29-30.

3 My thanks are due to Prof. Herman Kulke, Heidelberg, who kindly allowed me to go through his unpublished manuscript, State Formation and Royal Legitimation in Orissa, pp. 1-25.

4 E.I., XXXIV, pp. 91-104.

5 Mishra, Orissa... op. cit., p. 51.

of Śivakara III, dated in the year 149 of the Bhaumakara era, we know of a chief called Vinitatuṅga who was subordinate of the Bhaumakara king. From the grants of Gayādatuṅga,¹ we learn that he issued his charters from the hill called Mahāparvata situated in the Yāmagartāmandala and that he belonged to the Tuṅga family of the Śāṅḍilya gotra hailing from Rohitagiri, also that he was the son of Solanatuṅga and a descendant (probably grandson) of Jagatatuṅga. The Rāshtrakūṭa kings used the title of Tuṅga as their cognomen.² S. N. Rajguru is of the opinion that the Tuṅga kings, who lived in Yāmagartāmandala in the province of Odra,³ might have originally descended from the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. But there is no evidence to support this view. According to another scholar,⁴ the Tuṅga dynasty was founded by an indigenous chief.

The Nandas, another dynasty, also flourished during the period under our study. They ruled over the Gondrama region; Gondrama denotes the entire hilly tract extending from Bonai and Bamra in the North up to Jeypore in the Visakhapatnam district in the South.⁵ From the Jayapura copper plate grant⁶ we learn that Jayānanda was Nandobhava-Vaṁśa-Sambhava and Dhruvānanda is described as sri Nanda-Kulam Vājakara Vanih.

1 E.I., XXXIV, pp. 91-104.

2 The Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna II's second name was Subhatuṅga and his son was called Jagat Tuṅga.

3 Rajguru, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 390.

4 Sharma, op. cit., p. 274.

5 JBONS, XVI, pp. 462-3.

6 Ibid., pp. 457-72.

Therefore, the rulers of this dynasty simply claimed to belong to the Nanda-Vamśa. Kalinga was a part of the Imperial Magadha during the Nandas, in the 4th century B.C.,¹ which is borne out indirectly by line 12 of the Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravēla.² Narayana Tripathy³ argues that the Nandas or Nandodbhavas who had the title of Ānanda affixed to their name were connected with the renowned Purānic Nandas of Magadha, most probably from the daughter's side of the latter. Furthermore he argues that "during the prosecution of the latter (the Nandas of Magadha), a scion of the family found shelter in the hilly tracts of Kalinga and that in course of time his successors rose to power and established a line of kings and kingdom at Jayapura".⁴ The arguments put forward by Narayan Tripathy do not seem convincing. However, if we accept the view of Tripathy that the Nandas or Nandabhavas of Orissa were somehow or other related to the Nandas of Magadha, they were not kshatriyas. It is well known that the Nandas of Magadha are said to be of sudra origin.⁵ It is very likely that the dynasty was founded by an indigenous chief like the Tuṅgas.

1 Sahu, op. cit., p. 62.

2 IHQ, XLV, pp. 479-80.

3 JBORS, XLV, pp. 457-72.

4 Ibid.

5 Kane, Hist. Dh., vol. II, part 1, p. 121.

From a number of copper plate grants issued by the Bhañja rulers, we know that they claimed themselves as belonging to the Bhañja-race and Andaja-Vaṃśa.¹ It is explained in greater detail in Khiching grant,² which says that the founder of the dynasty Virabhadra was born in the great tapovana at Kotyasrama by breaking open a pea-hen's egg. The Ādi-Bhañja³ of Khichinga claims descent from Ganadaṇḍa Virabhadra. The Bhañjas of Mayurabhañja as well as of Ganjam seem to have venerated peacock which may have been their totem.

A. P. Sah⁴ has expressed the possibility of the Bhañjas having claimed a lunar origin. His view is based on a grant of Nettiabhañja which describes him as the scion of drumarāja-kula. A. P. Sah points out that according to Sabdakalpadruma drumesvara means Chandra, the moon. If the term drumesvara is taken as the same as drumarāja,⁵ the expression drumarāja-kula should stand for the lunar dynasty. It seems that the Bhañjas also like the other ruling dynasties of Orissa had a tribal⁶ origin, but later they claimed a higher social status and described themselves as descendants of the lunar line.

1 JBORS, 11, pp. 167-71; E.I., XI, no. 8.

2 E.I. XXX, no. 37, pp. 220-5.

3 Ibid.

4 A. P. Sah, op. cit., p. 126.

5 Ibid.

6 JIH, XXXIX, part 11, p. 303.

The records of the Somavaṁśī¹ dynasty state that they belonged to the great family of moon(chandra).² The Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta belongs to an earlier period of this dynasty. This record gives us the legendary account of the origin of the Somavaṁśī kings. It says "there was the unequalled crest-jewel of the lunar race whose wealth was wonderful on earth.... He was indeed of manifold virtues, (and) famous on the earth by the name of Chandra-guptarāja".³ In their later inscriptions we find this dynasty⁴ being mentioned as 'Soma Kula'.⁵ The Bahamani plates of king Bharatabala, also described them as belonging to Pāṇḍava-Vaṁśa.⁶ In the stone inscription of the Somavaṁśī king Nannaraja the family is mentioned as Pāṇḍava-Vaṁśa. The Somavaṁśī rulers had matrimonial relations with the kshatriya families of North India. We learn from one inscription that the mother of Bālārjuna Mahāśivagupta was a princess of the Gupta family of Magadha.⁷

1 I.A., vol. XVIII, pp. 179-81.

2 E.I., vol. XI, p. 190.

3 Ibid.

4 JASB, vol. 1, p. 124.

5 E.I., XXVII, p. 132.

6 Bhārata Kaumudi, part 1, p. 215.

7 JBOAS, vol. VI, p. 357.

Thus, taking into consideration all the inscriptions found in Mekala, Kosala and Utkala regions, it can be inferred that the Somavaṁśī kings also called Pāṇḍava-Vaṁśī claimed origin from the moon. Thus, the Somavaṁśī kings undoubtedly claimed a kshatriya origin.

The Gaṅgas¹ also trace their origin to the moon. It has been rightly suggested² that the Gaṅgas of Orissa were the descendants of the Western Gaṅgas, who were ruling in Kolāhala-pura. Again, the kings of this dynasty had matrimonial relations³ with the Cholas, Chālukyas, Pallavas, Vaidumbas and Haihayas, who were already recognized as kshatriyas during this period. Although we do not know much about the real antecedents of the Gaṅgas, their attainment of the kshatriya status during this period is hardly in doubt.

Thus, most of the dynasties which ruled Orissa during this period had a tribal background. One may even assert that most of the tribes inhabiting this region had belief in totemism, that is they had animals, plants or some other natural object such as a hill in special veneration and traced their descent from such totemic objects. However, already in the inscriptions we have evidence of their alienation from their

1 JASB, pt. 1, no. 2 (1896), pp. 229-72; Ibid., vol. LXIV, pp. 128-54; JAHRS, vol. 1, p. 44; For further details see S. N. Rajguru's History of the Gaṅgas, Bhubaneswara, 1968, part 1, pp. 1-23.

2 JAHRS, vol. VI, p. 214.

3 Ibid.

tribe and their rise in social status. Their totemic past provided rich material for a fanciful interpretation of their origin giving it a halo of the supernatural. Marriage alliances with the established kshatriya families of the times must have further facilitated their rise.

The process of state formation which went on in Orissa during this period provokes interesting comparisons with the situation prevailing in Central India in mediaeval times and analysed by Surajit Sinha in his illuminating article.¹ According to Sinha the formation of tribal kingdoms started around A.D. 12th century in Central India. Herman Kulke sets the date to an earlier period in case of Orissa.² In his view, small kingdoms and principalities were scattered in Orissa stretching from the Bay of Bengal to the hilly hinterland from the 6th to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. Subsequently the imperial Gangas unified the tribal principalities at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. They provided a centralised state, instead of the tribal principalities of the earlier period.

There were two dynasties which had clear kshatriya status, the Gaṅgas and the Somavaṁśís, and each of them claimed to be of lunar race. If these dynasties had any tribal past our sources

1 Surjit Sinha, "State Formation and Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India", Man in India, vol. 42, p. 36.

2 Herman Kulke, State Formation..., pp. 1-25.

do not give us any indication of the fact, but in the case of other ruling dynasties their tribal origins are barely disguised and they seem to have been going through a process of kshatriyisation.

The Vaiśyas

The inscriptional evidence showing the activities of the vaiśyas during the period under study is very meagre. While referring to the Purushottama kshetra (i.e. Orissa) the Utkala Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāna¹ says that agriculture, trade and cattle rearing is the regular means of livelihood for the vaiśyas. Further information regarding the vaiśyas in Orissa is available from some of the charters of the Gaṅga rulers. These depict some vaiśyas as military chief who received land grants from kings. A grant of Madhukārnava tells us that a vaiśya-agrahāra comprising three villages was granted to one vaiśya, Erapa Nāyaka, the son of Manchi Nāyaka. Vajrahasta III also granted a village in favour of Gaṇapati Nāyaka.² Though this grant does not mention the donee as a vaiśya, on the analogy of the previous grant it may be assumed that Gaṇapati Nāyaka was a vaiśya.³ It shows that the vaiśyas also received land grants from the king. The title 'Nāyaka' implies a military chief and it indicates that at least some vaiśyas also had military functions. It is likely that these vaiśyas received grants of villages either as rewards for services

1 Skanda Purāna, Utkala Khaṇḍa, VI, 8-11.

2 S. N. Rajguru, op. cit., vol. 11, part 1, p. 176.

3 Madras Report on Epigraphy, 1918-19, Appendix A, no. 3, quoted in R. S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, p. 165.

4 Sharma, op. cit., p. 165.

already rendered or in anticipation of such services in times of war or any other crises.

It is generally assumed that merchants belonged to the vaiśya varṇa. Some of the landgrants of this period speak of merchants but do not term them as vaiśyas. The Khilor inscription¹ (saka 1075) names Padulakatama as a rich merchant (sādhu) of Kaliṅga-desa. It is also stated in this grant that Padalukatama purchased a piece of land from a merchant (sādhu-prajā)² of Khellaudesvara. We learn from one inscription that a merchant (sādhu-pradhān)³ named Jayadeva made a perpetual lamp in favour of the God. We also know from another plate that a sresthin⁴ named Mallaya donated a piece of land to brāhmaṇa.⁵ The Bhubaneswara inscription of Rāghava (saka 1090) refers to a sresthin of Dasapura.⁶ It is generally held that the sresthina were vaiśyas, but we do not know whether the sādhu or sādhu-prajā mentioned above were vaiśyas or not. The inscriptions do not tell us anything about the trade followed by these merchants.

The prevalence of a closed agrarian economy and the paucity of coins during this period suggests the decline of trade and commerce. The vaiśyas who were mainly the trading class apparently suffered a setback and hence we do not have many references to them in the inscriptions.

Śūdras

The śūdras formed the lowest strata in the social hierarchy.

1 E.I., XXV, no. 15, pp. 115-17.

2 Ibid.

3 E.I., XXX, no. 28, pp. 158-61.

4 Ibid., XXXIII, pp. 150-8.

5 Ibid., XXX, no. 28, pp. 158-61.

6 S. P. Gupta, "Two Urbanisation in India: A Side Study in Their Social Structure", Puratattva, no.7, 1974, pp. 53-55.

During the period of our study, we do not find the use of the word śūdra in the epigraphical sources. Nārada includes the kināśa (peasant), among those who are not fit to be examined as witnesses,¹ and this term has been interpreted as referring to the śūdras by a commentator of the 7th century A.D.² Hsuan Tsang³ says that the śūdras were mainly agriculturists, a fact further corroborated by Alberuni nearly four centuries later.⁴ The Utkala Khanda of the Skanda Purāna⁵ while referring to the Puru-shottama kshetra (i.e., Orissa, also talks of the śūdras in this region as being soft spoken and having^a religious bent of mind. It also says that out of their own accord the śūdras⁶ serve the brāhmanas. It does not, however, give much information regarding their activities and speaks of them only in general terms.

⁷ It has been suggested that "the fourth varṇa of the śūdras was not at all a homogeneous caste but a vast heterogeneous community comprising the majority of agricultural labourers and petty

1 Nāradasmṛti, I, 181.

2 HCIP, III, 299.

3 T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India. London, 1904, vol. I, p. 169.

4 E. C. Sachau, ed., Alberuni's India. London, 1910, vol. II, pp. 134-5.

5 Skanda Purāna, Utkala Khanda, VI, 14-16.

6 Ibid.

7 Yadava, op. cit., p. 38.

peasants, artisans and craftsmen, and also some venders; manual workers, servants and attendants; and those following low occupations." The śūdras who were considered similar to the slaves in the later vedic period had considerably improved their status around 7th-8th centuries A.D. Some mediaeval text¹ put the vaiśyas and the śūdras in the same order, a fact corroborated by Alberuni.² The śūdras were allowed to resort to the same vocation as that of the vaiśyas and pursue various crafts.³ Almost all the medieval texts allow a śūdra to follow the vocation of a vaiśya.

We do get references to a number of occupational groups (i.e. artisans and craftsmen) from the inscription during this period in Orissa. The Dhenkanal plate⁴ of Tribhubanamahādevi (9th century A.D.) informs us that the queen granted a village named Kontasaparā to one Bhaṭṭa Jagadhara with the right of collecting additional taxes, such as taxes from the weavers (Tantubāya), cowherds (Gokuṣa), Saundhikas and all other tenants. The Nagari plate⁵ of Ananḡabhimadeva III (1231 A.D.) says that a piece of land was also allotted to the Tāmārasilpin (coppersmith) Mahānada, who was apparently the engraver of the plate and

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- 1 P. V. Kane, History of Dharmasāstras, vol. 11, part 1, pp. 120-21.
 - 2 E. C. Sachau, ed., Alberuni's India, London, 1910, vol.11, pp. 134-5.
 - 3 Kane, MDS, 11, 1, pp. 120-21.
 - 4 B. Mishra, Orissa... op. cit., p. 30.
 - 5 E.I., XVIII, no. 40, pp. 235-58.

received a piece of land as fees. Again, from the same plate we come to know a number of occupational groups inhabiting an Oriya township, such as a perfumer (Gāndhika), a splitter of wood (Paṭākāra), a goldsmith (Svarnakāra) and a brazier (Kāśyika).² Also, the same plate informs us about the sellers of betel (Tāmbulika), named Mahānada, the florist named Manu, a Gaudika named Mahādeva, the milkman named Dhuru and Gabhi, the weavers named Nagu, the oilman named Manu, the potter named Arjuna, and the fisherman (Kaivartta) named Raji, Vasu and Padma. It also speaks of a craftsman, a barer and a washerman.³ This interesting list of the people inhabiting an Oriya township of the thirteenth century A.D. throws considerable light on the social stratification and specialization of crafts during this period.

The Kendupatana plate of Narasimha II (saka 1218) states that along with the donated land four rent paying subjects were allotted to the Śāsana. They were Kumbhakāra Sādhu, Gopia a milkman, Kalo an oilman and Deval a potter. One of the striking features of land grants was the transfer by the kings to the donees of not only villages with various kinds of dues but also of weavers (Tantuvāya), brewers (Saundhika) cowherds (Gokuṭa) and other subjects (Prakritikah), as the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhubanamahādevi indicates.⁵ This practice was not only followed by

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 E.I., XXVIII, no. 33, pp. 191-5.

5 Ibid., XX

the Bhumakara rulers but also by their feudatories, the
¹ Bhanjas and the ² Tungas during this period. The assignment of
 land with weavers, brewers, cowherds, etc. indicates restric-
 tions on the mobility of these people.

Thus the above facts show that in Orissa, during the
 period under study, there were many occupational groups (i.e.
 artisans and craftsmen). According to the law givers of this
 period they occupied the status of the ³ śūdras.

Thus we get a large number of occupational groups among
 the śūdras. We cannot say definitely when these groups crystal-
 lized into castes. Prof. R. S. Sharma says that the "process
 which led to the multiplication of śūdras caste was the trans-
 formation of crafts into castes."⁴ Elaborating further he says
 that the stagnancy in trade and commerce and the emergence of
 craft guilds in the post-Gupta period led to their further localisa-
 tion into closed groups in the form of castes.⁵ It appears that
 this process was going on in Orissa during the period under
 study.

1 B. Mishra, Orissa..., op. cit., p. 30.

2 E. I. XXV, no. 14, p. 11.

3 Quoted in B. N. S. Yadava, Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century, pp. 39-45.

4 R. S. Sharma, Social Change, op. cit., p. 18.

5 Ibid.

Some of the occupational groups were considered degraded and were included in the category of antyaajas. The Dharma-sāstras refer to seven types of antyaajas, such as the Rājaka (washerman), carmakāra (worker in hides), Nāṭa (dancer caste), Baruḍa (worker in bamboos), Kaivarta (fisherman), meda and bhilla.¹ However, the inscriptions in this period do not mention all the seven types of antyaajas, they only refer two of them, the fisherman and the washerman in Orissa.

Nevertheless, some other sections of the sudras had a general improvement in their condition.

Kāyastha/Karāṇa

The rise of a community of kāyasthas in Orissa, as elsewhere, was due to the frequent transfer of land by princes to priests and officials. The process of transfer necessitated the need of drafting and maintaining records and the kāyasthas did this work, while they mainly served as scribes, they also occupied the post of commanders, ministers, etc. However, this professional community of writers could not be fitted in the varṇa system.

The first reference to the term kāyastha is found in the Yainavalka Smṛiti (cir. 100-300 A.D.) in the sense of a professional class, while the minor Smṛitis of Vaḍavyasa and Usanas, which belong to the early medieval period have mentioned the kāyasthas

1 P. V. Kane, HDS, vol. 11, part 1, p. 70.

2 Yainavalka Smṛiti, l. 336.

as a caste.¹ It has been rightly pointed out that from the 2nd down to the 8th century A.D. the word kāyastha was used as referring to an official title or designation throughout India in books and epigraphs.²

The kāyasthas were serving mainly as scribes and record keepers; the brāhmaṇas on the other hand were the assignees. It appears that kāyasthas must have caused constant trouble to the brāhmaṇas. Hence brāhmaṇical literature generally shows them in an unfavourable light.³

Our sources do not give us any indication of the varṇa status of the persons employed as kāyasthas in Orissa. We do have many instances where brāhmaṇas and kshatriyas were recruited as kāyasthas in other parts of India during the same period.⁴ It appears that, unlike other parts of India, in Orissa the kāyasthas were not recruited from the brāhmaṇa varṇa. The inscriptions of this period do not mention the gotrapravara of the kāyasthas. Again, the titles frequently used by the brāhmaṇas in this period such as Bhaṭṭa, Śvamīn, Śarmā etc, have not been used by the kāyasthas. The meagre number of brāhmaṇas in Orissa and the migration of brāhmaṇas from outside also suggests that it was unlikely for the brāhmaṇas to adopt the

1 P. V. Kane, HDS, vol. 11, part 1, p. 76.

2 R. M. Shastri, "A Comparative Study into the Origin and Status of the Kayasthas", Man in India, vol. X, 1, 1931, p. 159

3 R. S. Sharma, Social Change, op. cit., p. 10.

4 Cited in B. N. S. Yadav, op. cit., p. 52.

profession of kāyasthas. It is more probable that the kāyasthas were recruited from communities other than the brāhmaṇas, such as the vaiśyas and the sūdras.

The formation of the kāyasthas in Orissa into a caste¹ by 10th-11th century A.D. is evident from the Dasapalla grant of Devānanda. The above land grant states that the donee was a kāyastha named Yasodatta. He is described as Sattva-gehin, sastraopadhaya and kāyastha. Again, the grant reveals that he was the sandhivigrahin (Minister for War and Peace) of king Devānanda II. His epithet kāyastha here indicates his caste and not his profession. Thus, the above evidence shows that a professional community of scribes crystallized into the caste of kāyasthas.

The kāyasthas during this period served as scribes as in² the case of Koighosa, who had written the Kalibhana copperplate. In the sphere of learning and literature also the kāyasthas were in the forefront. Tathāgataraksita, a native of Orissa, who belonged to a family of physicians by profession and kāyastha by caste, was a reputed professor of lantra in the Vikramasila Uni-³versity during the period under our study.

Karaṇa

The word karaṇa also occurs in our inscriptions. It

1 E.I., XXIX, no. 26, pp. 183,89.

2 IHQ, XX, pp. 237-50.

3 P. Bose, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, Madras, 1923 pp. 91ff.

has been held that kāyas̥tha is synonymous with karaṇa.¹
 To Yadava Prakasha also kāyas̥tha and karaṇa were synonyms both
 meaning a scribe.² Again, the karaṇa-kāyas̥tha constituted
 a separate sub-section of the kāyas̥thas in Bengal.³ The
 karaṇas as well as the kāyas̥thas were using the same surnames
 such as Datta quite frequently in Orissa, during this period.
 This suggests that the two were either synonymous or at least
 the karaṇas were a sub-section of the kāyas̥thas.

The karaṇas in the beginning of the 8th century A.D.
 were a professional group. The Neulpur grant of Subhākaradeva⁴
 (790 A.D.) states that the duṭaka of the plate was Mahākṣa-
patalādhikaraṇa-adhikṛta Samudradatta. The word karaṇa here
 refers to the office and not to the caste. But by the 10th
 century A.D. the karaṇa community had already formed into a
 caste.⁵ The Pettasara grant (10th century A.D.) states that
 while making the grant the king orders and addresses the
rājanaka rājaputran, viśhayaṇatī, daṇḍapāsika etc. along with
brāhmaṇa-karaṇa-purogāmnivāsi.⁶ Again, the plate of Silabhañjakalasa

1 E. B. Cowell, Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Co-Lebroke, vol. 11, p. 161.

2 Cited in Yadava, op. cit., p. 52.

3 Bhandankar's List, no. 1828-29.

4 B. Mishra, Orissa..., op. cit., pp. 1-17.

5 E.I., XXVII, no. 53, pp. 337-40.

6 Ibid., no. 44, pp. 272-8.

(10th century A.D.) speaks of brāhmaṇa-karaṇa-purogāmivāsi along with state officials. The mention of karaṇa along with brāhmaṇa indicates that the karaṇa community in Orissa had already crystallized into a caste.

From a Puri inscription we learn that a person named Suru was both the Commander (senapati) as well as karaṇa. Thus the karaṇas also like the kāyasthas held high positions in the state.

1 Ibid., XXX, no. 34, pp. 197-203.

THE EXISTENCE OF UNASSIMILATED GROUPS:
THE TRIBES OF ORISSA

Orissa has the largest tribal population in the country.¹
The number of tribes found today in Orissa is 62.² These tribal
peoples form almost one-fourth of the state's population.³ The
coastal tracts have an insignificant proportion of tribal popu-
lation compared to the mountainous and forested districts in the
interior. The north-eastern and the south-western part of the
state appear to be the real homeland of the tribal population
today. Out of the 62 tribes in Orissa 25 tribes are enlisted
as major tribes; they are as follows: Kond, Gond, Santal, Saora,
Munda, Kolha, Shabar, Paroja, Bhattada, Bhuyan, Oraon, Kisan,
Bhumiji, Bathudi, Kharia, Binjhal, Koya, Bhumiya, Kol, Sounti,
Gadaba, Ho, Juang Mundari, and Jatapu.⁴

Concentration of tribal population is mostly confined to
Konaput, Ganjam, Baud Khandamal, Sundergarh, Keonjhar and Mayur-
bhanj districts.⁵ The coastal region and the valley of the
main rivers viz the Mahanadi and the Brahmani are mostly devoid
of tribal population.

The inscriptional evidences do not shed much light on the
activities of the tribal population during the period under
study in Orissa. The Savaras are mentioned in some of the

1 Census of India, 1961, vol. XII, Orissa, Part V.A., p. 13.

2 Ibid., 11.

3 Ibid., p. 13.

4 Ibid., p. 11 (referred table).

5 Ibid., p. 17.

epigraphs. Gonds find mention indirectly only in a few inscriptions. Again these inscriptions do not tell us anything about their way of life. However the literary sources provide valuable information as regards the Savaras.

The term mleccha which finds mention in the literary sources of our period includes the tribes in that category and the tribal peoples were considered outside the pale of the brāhmanical culture.¹ The literary sources contain stray references to the primitive life, food and dress habits and also the anti-social activities of some of the aboriginal tribes, the Bhillas, Pulindas and Savaras, etc.² The Utkala Khanda of the Skanda Purāna³ refers to an interesting story in which a brāhmana named Vidyāpati visits a Savara village in search of the idol of Nilamādhava. The treatment meted out to him by the Savaras and the description of their way of life give us some idea of their culture. The account shows that the Savaras were a patriarchal tribe which was headed by a male chief. The Savaras spoke a tribal dialect and had different food habits. They lived in mountainous areas and their way of life presented a contrast to those of the inhabitants of the township as mentioned in this story.

One inscription⁴ speaks of a Savaramahattara. The title

1 Yadava, op. cit., p. 56.

2 Kathāsarita Sāgara, XIII, 39f.

3 Skanda Purāna, Utkala Khanda, VII, 80-95.

4 S.N. Rajguru, Inscription of Orissa, II, part 1, p. 65.

Mahattara suggests that the Śavara was a village headman or elder who helped in the village administration. The Narasinghpur charter¹ (11th century A.D.) refers to a habitation of Śavaras in Airāvattamandala. In an inscription² of the early 12th century it is stated that the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty, Kāmārnava, after his arrival in Kalinga, climbed to the Mahendragiri mountain and worshipped Gokarnasvamin. It further says "out of grace (prasādat) the god bestowed on Kāmārnava all symbols of kingship (sāmaraiva-cihna) who descended (ava-tirya) from the mountain, killed the chief of the Śavara tribe (Śavaraditya) and conquered Kalinga"³. It shows that the Śavaras were inhabiting the mountainous region of Mahendragiri and their chief was defeated by Kāmārnava. Here we have corroboration of the literary sources with epigraphical evidence.

Two Śulki kings viz Kulastambha and Jayastambhadeva called themselves "Sakala-Gondrama-dhinatha" i.e., the supreme lord over the whole of Gondrama.⁴ A King Jayasimha by name of Jāmagartāmaṇḍala called himself "Sakala Gondramādhipati" i.e., the lord over the whole of Gondrama.⁵ The Jayapura grant of Devānandadeva states that the king overpowered the whole of

1 Ibid., IV, 232.

2 S.N. Rajguru, History of the Ganges. Bhubaneswara, vol. I, p. 148 f.

3 Ibid.

4 JBORS, 11, p. 401.

5 Ibid., VI, p. 239.

6 Ibid., XVI, pp. 457-72.

Gondrama in his prowess (Svavikramakranta Samasta Gondrama). It appears that the word 'Gondrama' referred to a place where possibly the Gonds were inhabiting. However we know little about their ways of life, their social structure and other aspects.

We have already argued earlier that probably the Śailobhava dynasty was founded by a member of the Pulinda tribe and the Bhaumakara dynasty was founded by a Bhuiyān.¹ If this line of argument is accepted, the process of kshatriaisation was obviously limited only to those kings and their families and it did not affect their tribal subjects significantly. Thus, the process of assimilation of tribes in the brāhmnical order could have been a limited one, affecting only a small section of the tribe.

As regards the indoctrination and integration of these tribal peoples into the Hindu society, we can draw certain inferences on the basis of our sources. We have a number of inscriptions indicating that the brāhmaṇas were given land donations in forested and mountainous regions.² This must have led to a process of acculturation and gradual assimilation of tribal peoples in the brahmanical society. The majority of these must have been accommodated in the śūdra varṇa. However, those who did not take agriculture or resisted brāhmaṇization must have receded to mountainous areas where their descendants are found to this day.

1 See Chap. II, p. *Supra*. pp. 27-29

2 E.I., XVIII, no. 29, 11, 16-22; JBORS, XVII, 11, 29-49.

The process of acculturation and assimilation of the tribal peoples have not completely wiped out the strong tribal roots of the people of Orissa and even today many social and religious customs prevalent in Orissa show their links with a tribal past. Several villages and townships still retain their tribal names.¹ Religious tribal rituals are still preserved in religious tradition of Orissa.² Thus, the tribal impact on Orissan social life has a continuity down to the present.

1 Quoted in A.P. Sah, Life in Mediaeval Orissa. (Cir. A.D. 600-1200), Varanasi, 1976, pp. 137-8.

2 Ibid.

Chapter III

CONDITION OF WOMEN

CONDITION OF WOMEN

The data at our disposal for a general study of the condition of women, during the period under study, are scanty. In view of this fact, it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion on the condition of women.

The Utkala Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāna dealing with the inhabitants of Utkala (i.e. Orissa), approvingly describes the nature and character of women and thereby throws some light on the values and norms accepted by society as regards women. It says ¹ that the women should be highly religious, shy, mild and extremely devoted towards their husband. Again, another important quality which they possessed and the society presumably approved was their chastity. ² Besides this, there is no other useful literary source on the condition of women during the period under study in Orissa and we have to depend on the meagre data available from contemporary inscription. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that although the duties of men differ according to their Varna, the Skanda Purāna does not make any distinctions in the condition of women of different Varna and speaks of them in general terms. Apparently women functioned within the domestic sphere from the point of view of this purāna the ideal was the same for women of all varnas.

According to ancient law-givers women should never remain

1 Skanda Purana. Utkala Khanda, VI, 6-7.

2 Ibid.

independent. The Baudhāyana Dharma Sutra¹ declares that women are always dependent on men in all matters. In the childhood, after marriage and in the old age they are to be guarded by the father, the husband and the son respectively. The subordination of the female sex most probably stemmed from the fact that they were economically dependent on the male members of their family. However, we learn from a number of land charters that during this period the queens were empowered to register land charters with a seal (lanhhita).² Even wives of feudatories and officials were informed of landgrants as can be gathered from the use of the expression avarodhajana (ladies of the harem probably of the feudatories and officials) in the Somavāṁśī charter.³ From one Bhubaneswar inscription⁴ of 1170 A.D. we know that the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of Kirtti-vasesvara (Śiva worshipped in the Lingaraja temple) was made by a lady named Madamadevi, apparently for the merit of herself and her parents. There are many more instances where women are found to have made religious grants to temples and brāhmanas independently. This may suggest that at least women of the ruling families enjoyed some economic independence and privileges. We have also some evidence of the participation of women of royal families in the work of administration, especially

1 Baud-Dh-S. 11, 52, Also, Manu. IX. 2-3. Quoted in P.V. Kane's, History of Dharmasastras, vol. II, pt. 1, p.77.

2 E.I., XXIX, no. 26, pp. 189-94.

3 I.H.Q., XX, p. 239.

4 E.I., XXX, no. 28, pp. 158-61.

in the kingdom of the Bhaumakaras. Usually we do not find mention of the succession of a wife or daughter to the throne of the deceased king. If the deceased king had no male issue it was a practice that the chief queen often adopted a male child who succeeded the throne. Sometimes a dead king's throne passed to his brother's son or occasionally even to a distant relation. But the records¹ of the Bhaumakara dynasty of Orissa (8th C. to 10 C.A.D.) tell altogether a different story. We have the evidence of the fact that six queens adorned the Bhaumakara throne in spite of the fact that adoption was not unknown to this family.² Five of them were the wives of the deceased kings and one the daughter of a king and a ruling queen. We do not come across such examples under other dynasties of Orissa, during this period.

From the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevi³ we know that the reign of an earlier queen of Orissa, named Gosvāmini was remembered by the Bhaumakara subjects apparently with approval and admiration. The Talcher plate⁴ informs us that after the death of Kusumahāra his mother Tribhuvana Mahādevi became the ruler of the kingdom, but abdicated, in favour of her grandson Lonabhāra (alias Shāntikara II), when the latter was grown up enough to bear the burden of government.

1 I.H.Q., XXI, p. 215.

2 D.C. Sircar, Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India. Calcutta, 1967, vol. I, p. 237.

3 JBORS, vol. II, pp. 419-27.

4 B. Mishra, Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings. Calcutta, 1934, p. 32 ff.

The above inscription has been taken to indicate that after the death of Bhaumakara king Subhākara III, his mother Tribhuvana Mahādevī ruled the Kingdom for some years during the minority of her son's son. Again, queen Prithvi Mahādevī alias Tribhuvana Mahādevī II, who issued her charters in the year 158¹ ascended the Bhaumakara throne with the assistance of her father, the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupha Yajāti V. The Bhaumakara throne was successively occupied by no less than four queens. The first of the four ruling queens referred to above was Gaurī Mahādevī,² wife of Subhākara V, the last known male member of the Bhaumakara family. She was succeeded to the Bhaumakara throne by her daughter Dandī Mahādevī.³ We know from a charter⁴ that Dandī Mahādevī was succeeded by her step mother Vakula Mahādevī. Queen Vakula Mahādevī was succeeded by Dharma Mahādevī,⁵ who was the wife of her husband's elder brother. In the present state of our knowledge we are unable to say anything why none of the queens, who ruled successively adopted a son. Probably, the rule of succession in this dynasty was not completely patriarchal.

As regards the education of women during the period under study, in Orissa, evidences are meagre. From the Trilingi

1 Ibid., p. 23.

2 E.I., XXIX, p. 79 ff.

3 Mishra, op. cit., p. 57.

4 E.I., XXXVI, p. 307 ff.

5 Sircar, op. cit., pp. 242-3.

1

inscription of Devendra Varmana we know that a village named Navatulā was granted to one Pillaśarman along with his sister Pillikāsvamīni. Pillikāśvamīni is being mentioned as a Brahmachārin, which suggests that she was well-versed in various subjects. Barring this inscription, we do not have any other evidence which can throw light on the education of women. It is very likely that female members of the royal family who were associated with the administration of the state must have been educated. We are completely in the dark as regards the literacy of women belonging to the lower strata of the society. It seems literacy prevailed only among the women of genteel society.

The institution of 'Devadāsis' is linked with temple worship. With the development of purānic religion and the regular worship of Śhiva and Vishnu and their spouses, there arose great temples all over India, which is true of Orissa also. A number of inscriptions² of Orissa, during the period under study shows that many temples had Devadāsi maidens in their service. As regards their recruitment, remuneration, etc., our sources are silent.

The general effect of the institution of "Devadāsis" was that the fame of the shrine was identified not with the greatness of the deity to whom it was dedicated, rather with the charm of his voluptuous attendants who attracted more pilgrims.

1. I.H.Q., XX, pp. 232-6.

2 JASB, VII, pp. 559-60; Ibid., XVI, 1897, pp. 11-23.

than the diety.¹ Though nowadays we do not find the 'Devadāsis' in temples of Orissa, the 'Śital-Ṣaṣṭhi' festival of Sambalpur reminds of the institution of 'Devadāsis' which was well-established during the period under study.

The sources at our disposal, i.e. literacy as well as epigraphical, do not refer to the custom of sati or widow burning. From the 7th century A.D. onwards the custom of sati² began to gain ground in some parts of India. We have several instances of widow burning in the royal families of Kashmir³ and the regions of Rajasthan.⁴ However, in Orissa, we find that two widows, Gauri Mahādevi and Dharma Mahādevi occupied the Bhaumakara throne. Although we do not have enough data to make a positive assertion, it appears that attitude towards women was more liberal in Orissa during this period. It is likely that the ruling families with a tribal past had not completely given up earlier tribal norms and practices. Hence, although brāhmanic influence is unmistakable women continued to enjoy greater respect and authority during this period.

1 For example, it is a well-known fact that the 'Śital-Ṣaṣṭhi' festival (the marriage of Siva-Parvati) which draws a large number of people to Sambalpur in the month of May-June every year is not due to the greatness attached to the diety, but because of the charms of the dancing girl.

2 A.S. Altekar, Position of Women in Hindu Civilization. Banaras, 1938, pp. 148-9.

3 Rajatarangini, V. 226-7.

4 Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 457. Quoted in B.N.S. Yadav, Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century. Allahabad, 1973, p. 72.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages, some aspects of the social life in Orissa from A.D. 800 to 1300 have been covered. Notwithstanding the parallels the society in Orissa had with other parts of India in several respects, it had peculiarities of its own. The focus is on the various groups forming the social fabric of Orissa, their interactions within themselves and with the outsiders.

We have examined the varṇa system and the extent to which this system functioned in Orissa. We have also tried to see whether the pattern of the varṇa system in Orissa differed from other parts of India.

The period under study witnessed the growing influence of the brāhmanical order over a semi-tribal society which was slowly going through a phase of transition. The assimilation of two different types of societies, the tribal as well as brāhmanical created a different social structure in Orissa which was not exactly a replica of the four-fold varṇa system but contained traces of tribal culture in several aspects.

As we have already seen, the society in Orissa came under brahmanical influence around 5th-6th centuries, A.D. and the influence steadily grew up to 12th-13th centuries A.D., as a result of the influx of the brāhmaṇas from other parts of India at the invitations of the rulers of Orissa. In this context, we can ask as to why brāhmaṇas came to Orissa notwithstanding the fact that Orissa was then considered by them as an impure country. Presumably the competition among the growing brāhmaṇa population in

other parts of India (mainly north India) may have led them to seek an outlet in Orissa which offered them status and position under royal patronage. It also appears that after settling down in Orissa, they must have tried to preach the varna ideology and thus helped in brāhmanizing the erstwhile tribal peoples. This would also legitimise their status at the top of the social hierarchy in the varna system.

In the actual operation of the varna system during this period, we have found some interesting features in the case of Orissa. The brāhmanas, as in other parts of India, were at the top of the social hierarchy and the next major group of significance were the various occupational groups (i.e. artisans and craftsmen) of the śūdra status, forming the lowest strata in the social hierarchy. The rulers in Orissa mostly had a tribal past and in any case their number was limited. The vaiśyas similarly formed a small section in the society and their functions were mainly limited to trade. Thus, the main interaction in the society was between the two sections, the highest and the lowest in the social hierarchy. Groups of intermediary social status being not significant could not play a major role in the society. This situation of interaction in the society principally between the two social groups resembles the one described in the Brhadharma Purāṇa (13th century A.D.) It divided the society into two major subdivisions, the brāhmanas and the occupational

1 Brhadharma Purāṇa, III, 12-20.

groups (i.e. artisans and craftsmen), all described as mixed castes of the sudra status.¹ It did not mention about the existence of any intermediary social group between these two.

The brāhmaṇas in the period under study played an important role in giving legitimacy to the rulers, most of them presumably of tribal origin. It is the brāhmaṇical influence which facilitated the process of kshatriyaisation, the process of improving the social status of the rulers of tribal origin by justifying the disintegration of the tribal society and helping the king and his kinsmen to rise above these tribesmen. Further, although under the varṇa system the brāhmaṇas are supposed to remain engaged in the study and teaching of the vedas, they by occupying important positions such as Ministers, duṭaka, writer of charters, etc. improved their worldly status, and thus diluted the nature of their functions as envisaged in the varṇa theory.

The reference to vaiśyas is very meagre in epigraphical sources of the period. It was a period which witnessed the decline of trade and commerce as evidenced by the paucity of coins, Thus, the main functions of the vaiśyas were consequently restricted and some vaiśyas who were unable to stick to the functions defined in the varṇa system, began to seek alternative sources of livelihood. We have already referred to some vaiśyas serving as military chiefs (Nāyakas) and they received land donations from the rulers.

1 Ibid.

Thus, the vaiśyas who were unable to subsist on trade and commerce and had to join the royal militia.

In our epigraphical sources the word 'śūdra' does not occur though literary sources do speak of them. A striking feature of the period was advancement of some sections of the occupational groups (i.e. artisans and craftsmen) then occupying the status of śūdras according to the law givers of the period. Also the period witnessed the narrowing down of differences in functions as regards the vaiśyas and the śūdras, with the śūdras performing some of the functions assigned to the vaiśyas in the varna system. Notwithstanding the upward mobility of some sections of the śūdras, it appears that majority of them were still lowly placed. This is evident from their relationship with the brāhmanas. The dominance of the brāhmanas even in the field of economy is evidenced from two situations. The brāhmanas during this period were empowered to collect taxes, a function beyond their jurisdiction in the varna system. Secondly along with land, weavers, cowherds, brewers and other subjects were transferred to the brāhmaṇa donees. The domination of the brāhmanas over the sudras is clearly manifest and the majority of the śūdras continued to be under complete subjugation of the brāhmanas and the ruling classes.

The process of transferring land to the brāhmanas led to the emergence of a class of writers known as kāyasthas/karaṇas during this period. The kāyasthas crystallised into castes afterwards. However, they could not be fitted within the frame-

work of the varna system. As they worked as the scribes and kept the records of the assignments made to the brāhmaṇas they (kāyasthas) must have troubled or may have come in conflict with the brāhmaṇas and consequently are depicted in an unfavourable light in the brāhmaṇical literature of the period.

The period under study saw the induction of the tribal peoples in the brāhmaṇical order. The land grants given to the brāhmaṇas in the mountainous areas as is evident from the inscriptions must have led to the assimilation of these tribal peoples in the Hindu society. While many of them came under the influence of the brāhmaṇas, those who refused to be assimilated were confined to the forested regions. Even today the tribal influence has not been completely eliminated; these continue in certain religious customs and is also evident from the names of certain villages and townships.

As regards the condition of women, we know more about those of the royal families enjoying some economic independence and privileges. There were also instances of women of the royal families participating in the work of administration, especially in the kingdom of the Bhaumakaras where some widows are found as rulers. We do not come across the prevalence of the sati system. In this period the institution of Devadāsīs had been well established. On the whole, the attitude towards women was more liberal in this period. They seem to have enjoyed respect and even limited authority.

CHARTS

CHART SHOWING THE LOCALISATION AND OCCURRENCE OF GOTRA, PRAVARA AND SAMHA SPECIFICATIONS
OF THE BRAHMANAS BASED ON OISSA BRIGADES (A.D. 800-1300)

| Inscriptions | Donee | Gotra | Pravara | School | Purpose and Occasion | Gifts: land/village Remarks |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. The grant of Kulastambha JBORS, 11, pp. 400-5 M.H.P. Shastri (Cir. 7th-8th Century A.D.) | Bhatta Brihaspati | Kāśyapa | Three Pravaras | Mādhyandina Śākha Yajurveda | - | Bhatta Brihaspati had migrated from the village of Vidhati of the middle country. It records the grant of the village of Jharabada in the Coyilokhanda of the Samkhajotivālaya Mandala. |
| 2. The grant of Jayastambha JBORS, 11, pp. 405-9 M.H.P. Shastri (Cir. 8th Century A.D.) | Vavana | Sāndilya | Asita and Devala | Chāndoga carana Kau- thama Śākha | - | The donee had migrated from Kolāṅka. It records the grant of the village of Chandrapura in the Konkula Khanda of the Goilla Vishaya of Kodālaka Mandala. |
| 3. The grant of Jayastambha pp. 409-12 | Asivaka | Kāśyapa | Naidhruva | - | On the occasion of a solar eclipse | The donee had migrated from Mutāvasu |
| 4. The grant of Jayastambha Deva pp. 412-17 | Gobarahuti Sarma Citra- diksita | Jājñadha Parāśara | Gārgya | - | - | He seems to have migrated from a place named Dastipada |
| 5. Neulpur plate of Subha- karadeva CUPBA, Pl A, pp.1-17 (8th Century A.D.) B. Mishra | 200 brāh- maṇas | - | - | - | For the religious merits of parents | The village Komapānaka in Pāncala Vishaya and the villages Dandanki and Yoka in the Vubhūdāya Vishaya in Northern Tosali were granted to 200 brāhmanas of different gotras and caranas. Dandanki and Yoka were combined as one village under the name of Solanapura. Komapānaka has been identified with Kupari in the Balasore district. Pāncala-Vishaya has been identified with Panamala Perganna in the Balasore district. Solanapura has |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|----------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| | | | | | | been identified with Solanapura on the north bank of the Vaitarani near Jaipur. Tubbyudaya has been identified with Jaghuadi about 15 miles northeast of Jaipur. |
| | | | | | | The majority of population of Solanapura is formed by the brahmanas even today. |
| 6. Tekkālī Plates of Indravarman E.I., XVIII, pp. 307-11 Dr E. Hultzsch (Cir. 8th Century A.D.) | Skandaśarman | Sāṅḍilya | - | Vājasaneyā Carana | Solar eclipse and for the increase of the spiritual merit of (my) mother | It records the grant of a piece of land in the village of Tuṅganna which may be identified with the village Tuṅgam near Tekkālī |
| 7. Goutami Plates of Indravarman E.I., XXIV, pp.180-3 K. G. Goswami (Cir. 8th Century A.D.) | Vinayakaśarman and ... Sarman | Parāśara | Sakti, Vasiṣṭha and Kanva | Vājasaneyā Carana | - | The village Salavanika was made over to the donee |
| 8. Badakhemundi Plates of Jayavarmadana I.E.C., vol. XIII, pp. 489-93 B. Mishra (Cir. 8th Century A.D.) | Sri Nannata Mahattara | Vātsa | - | Vājasaneyā Carana Kanva Sākhā | Solar eclipse | The village in question which was made over to the donee was called Kalasaringa |
| 9. Kamanakapur Plates of Jayavarman UNAJ, vol. VII, no. 2, pp. 83-86 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 8th Century A.D.) | Vishnuśarman | Goutama | - | Vājasaneyā Carana | For the increase of the merit of our mother, father and relatives | The village called Bhāsandā was made in favour of the donee. The village Bhasanda can be identified with the village Bhāsunda in the Badakhemundi Taluk of Ganjam District |
| 10. Badakhemundi Plates of Jayavarmadeva E.I., XXIII, pp.361-3 S. N. Chakravarty (Cir. 8th Century A.D.) | Śivaśarman | Kāśyapa | - | Vājasaneyā Carana | Installation of the God Guneshwara Bhattaraka | The inscription records the grant of a village called Bhusunda, which has been identified with a village of the same name situated in the Badakhemundi Taluk of the Ganjam District |
| 11. Puri Plates of Indravarman E.I., vol. XLV, pp.360-3 G. Ramdas (Cir. 8th Century A.D.) | Bhavadattaśarma | Kauśika | - | Rigveda | - | The village of Bhukkukura in Kurakarastra - Vishaya was made over to the donee |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|-------------|-------------------------------|--|---|---|
| 12. The grant of Jayasimha JBONS, II, pp. 417-19 M.H.P. Shastri (Cir. 8th-9th Century A.D.) | Mahendri Swami and Skanda Swami | Autathya | | Rigveda | - | The grant registers the grant of the village of Karyati |
| 13. Bisangiri Plates of Indravarman E.I, XIX, pp. 134-7 T. C. Ratha (Cir. 8th-9th Century A.D.) | Bhattaputra Yakshaswami sarma | Jātukarna | Vasiṣṭha and Jātukarna | Vājasaneyā <u>Carana</u> Kāṇva <u>śākhā</u> | Increase of merit of parents and self | A piece of land in the village Amenasringa was made over to the donee. |
| 14. Daud Plate of Nettabhānja JBONS, vol. XVII, pp. 104-18 S. Mishra (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Madhavasvami | Pārāsara | - | Vājasanayā <u>Carana</u> Kāṇva <u>śākhā</u> | For the merit of the deceased queen Basatadevi | The village Lauṇḍaka was made over to the donee. It has been identified with Ramudi in Hindol Taluk. |
| 15. Kumerakela Charter of Satrubhanja JBONS, vol. II, pp. 429-35 B.C. Majumdar (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Manoratha and Narayana | Kāśyapa | Gārga, Apanya, Aṅgīrasa | - | Kartika- Sukla Dvadari | Two villages made over to the donees were namely Kumarkela and Jaintamura. The villages have been identified with Janamaira and Kumanakali respectively. The donees were immigrants from Vangakuti. |
| 16. Santabommali Plate of Nandavarman JAHNS, vol. II, pp. 185-9 G.E. - 221 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Adityasarma, Matrsarma and Durggasarma | kaundinya | - | - | Solar eclipse | It records the grant of the village of Cikkhali grama in Phareyabhukti |
| 17. Dharmalingesvara Plate of Anantavarman JAHNS, vol. II, pgs. III and IV, pp. 271-76 (G.E.-204) S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Vishnison- chārya | Perāsara | - | - | The occasion of the gift was a marriage ceremony (Kanya Dan) | The inscriptions record the gift of the village Talatt-hena situated in the Vishaya of Kroshtuka. The Donee hailed from Srngatika-agrahāra in the Kāmarupa Vishaya. |
| 18. Chicacole Plates of Devendravarman E.I., III, pp. 130-4 (G.E. - 183) Dr E. Hultzsch (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Chharampasarma, Bhanasarma, Sivasarma, Vishnusarma, Somasarma and Kumana Sarma | Krshnātreyā | - | Chhāndoga <u>Carana</u> | For the increase of the religious merit of parents and of ourselves | It records the grant of the village of Poppangika in Saravtamba of Kroshtukavartani. The village Poppangika may be identified with Poppangi in the Sirkakulam District. |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----|--|---------------------------------|------------|---|--|---|---|
| 19. | Dharmalingesvara Plate of Devendravarman JABRS, vol. II, pp.275-6 (G.E - 184) S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 9th Century A.D) | Bhagavata Patāṅga Sivāchārya | - | - | - | Religious merits of parents | It records the grant of the village of Haduvaka which may be identified with Aḍava in the Parlakimedi Taluk of the Ganjam District |
| 20. | Dhenkanal Plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi OUPK, Pl.G, pp.23-31 (9th Century A.D) B. Bishra | Bhaṭṭa Jagad- dharā | Bhāradvāja | Āṅgīrasa, Varhaspa- tya and Bhāradvāja | Vājasaneyā <u>carāṇa</u> Kāṇva <u>śākhā</u> | The object of the gift was to bring down the rain | The document registers the gift of the village Kontāspā in the Olarsama vishaya in Tosali. Kontasapara has been identified with Kantāpara in the Cuttack District |
| 21. | Two Ganga grants from Ganjam OrhJ, VI, part II, pp. 82-90 (Cir. 9th Century A.D) S. N. Rajguru | Vishnuśar- man | Goutama | - | Vājasaneyā <u>carāṇa</u> | - | It records the gift of the land named Svalpa-kalanjara khanda-kshetra of the Bhasāṇḍa village in the Samantabhukti. The village Bhāsāṇḍa has been identified with Bhāsāṇḍa village situated in the Badakhimundi Taluk of Ganjam District |
| | 2nd. | Narayana- śarma | Kāśyapa | - | Vājasaneyā <u>carāṇa</u> | - | We do not find the mention of either village/land, which was donated in favour of the donee. Probably it was in the same village (Bhasand village) mentioned in the 1st plate. |
| 22. | Pettasara grant of Nettabhanja EI, XXVII, no. 53, pp. 337-40 C. C. Dasgupta (Cir. 9th Century A.D) | Bhaṭṭa Kesāvardra | Bhāradvāja | Āṅgīrasa, Varhihaspa- tya | Vājesaneyā <u>carāṇa</u> | - | It records the grant of the village called Pettasara in Mandidda-vishaya |
| 23. | Chaurasi Plate of Sivakaradeva OUPK Pl. B, pp.8-9 (9th Century A.D.) B. Mishra | Jalubhaṭṭa | - | Vaisva- nara | Mitrākotha- khila <u>śākhā</u> of Rīgveda | - | The village Vuvrada in the Antaruda vishaya in Dakshina Tosali was granted to the donee The village Vuvrada has been identified with Bhuhuruda about ten miles north-east of Puri. Antaruda has been identified with Antarodha, a pergenna in the Sadar sub-division of Puri |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------|--|--|--------------------|---|
| 24. Ganjam Plate of Netribhanja E.I., XVIII, pp.293-5 Rai Bahadur Hiralal (Cir.9th Century A.D.) | Golasarma Shovada | Kausika Vatsa | Aghamer- sana, Visvā- mitra Tryarsi (Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Jamadag- nya | Vājasaneyā <u>carana</u> Kāṇvā <u>śākhā</u> | - | It records the grant of the village Rataṅga which has been identified with Rottongo in the Ghumsar Taluk of Ganjam District |
| 25. Trilingi inscription of Devendravarman G.E - 192 IHQ, XX, pp.232-6 R. K. Ghosal (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Pillasarman and Pillikasvamini | Vasiṣṭha | - | Bāhvya- <u>śākhā</u> of Rigveda | - | The donees of the grant were a brother and a sister, who were residents of Kalingapura situated in the district (vishaya) called Gumdra. The village Navatula which was granted to the donees has been identified with the hamlet Nautala situated about six miles to the southwest of Parlakimedi. |
| 26. Sonpur Plates of Satru Bhanja E.I., vol. XI, Pl. no. 8, pp. 99-101 B. C. Majumdar (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Krsna | Kāśyapa | Tryarsa | Sāmaveda | Akshya- Tritiya | The village Milupadi was granted in favour of the donee |
| 27. Badakhemundi Plates of Bhupendravarman E.I., XXIII, pp.265-7 S. N. Chakravarty (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Bhattaputra Manikadeva | Vāsta | Five-fold (Pancharishi) | - | - | The village Vaḍode of the Khaluga-khanda-vishaya was made over to the donee |
| 28. Sanakhemundi Plate of Indravarman E.I., XXIII, pp.78-80 P. N. Chattacharya (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Bhattaputra Durgakhandi | Vāsta | Aurva, Bhrigu, Cyāvana, Apnuvan, Jamadgni | Chhāndo- ga <u>carana</u> Rāṇayaniya <u>śākhā</u> | Solar eclipse | The village Tanaraḍa was made over to the donee |
| 9. Kamanalinaksapura Plates of Samantarman OHRJ, vol. VII, no.2, pp.82-86. (S.N. Rajguru) (Cir. 9th Century A.D.) | Narayana- sarman | Kāśyapa | - | Vājasaneyā <u>carana</u> | - | The village Badaribhashthi was made in favour of the donee |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|------------------------------|------------|--|--------------------------|---|--|
| 30. Dhanantara Plate of Samantavarman E.I., XV, pp. 275-8 T. C. Ratha (Cir. 9th Century A.D) | Govinda-sarman | Bhāradvāja | - | Vājasaneya carana | For the increase of the merit of parents and self | The village Vatagrāma was made over to the donee |
| 31. Copper Plates of Indrarvarman I.A, vol. XIII, pp.123-4 J. F. Fleet (Cir. 9th Century A.D) | Skandasarma and Lalita-sarma | Kautsa | - | Chhāndoga carana | | The village Talamulā was made over to the donees. |
| 32. Sidhantam Plate of Devendravarman E.I., vol. XIII, pp. 212-16 G. Ramdas (Cir. 9th Century A.D) | Tampara-sarmadiksita | Udovahi | - | Vāhvra carana of Rigveda | - | The village named Siddharthaka was granted to the donee |
| 33. Palajhadi Plates of Ranak Jayavarmadeva E.I, XXIII, pp.267-9 S. N. Chakravarty (Cir. 9th Century A.D) | Bhattaputra Padma Mahā-patra | Vātsa | Pancharishi | Kāṇva sūkhā | Visuva-Samkranti | The village called Padalasnaga was made in favour of the donee |
| 34. Dharakota Plate of Subhakaradeva O.I.3k, Pl.F, pp.21-22 (9th Century A.D) B. Mishra | Bhatta Nārāyana | Māngalya | Angirasa (Aurva and Savarnnasa has been mentioned as Anu-Pravaras) | Vājesaneya carana | - | The charter records the gift of the village Guṇḍaja in Jayakataka viśhaya of Kaṅgoda Mandala in Southern Tośāli. The village Guṇḍaja seems to be identical with Guṇḍivadi about ten miles north west of the headquarters of Dharakota Taluk. |
| | Bhatta Deva-kantha | Kausika | Viswamitra (Audaliacarana and Deva-rata have been mentioned as Anu-Pravaras) | Vājasenya carana | - | The gift village Guṇḍaja was received by both the donees. |

4

5

6

7

a Maitravaru-
na and
Vasiṣṭha

Chhāndoga
carana

For increas-
ing the merits
of our parents
and ourselves,
it was made on
the occasion
of Visva Sam-
anti
kro

The donee was granted
the village of Vakratentuli
which has been identified
with Banatentily near
Sonpur. He is an emi-
grant from Radha.

9
Anirasa,
Ambarisha
and Yau-
vanasva

Kauthama
sākha of
Samaveda

The village Vakvedda was
granted to brāhmanās. It
has been identified with
Vankavira near Sonpur

10
Anirasa
(Anuprava-
ra-Syavasva)

Kāṇva
sākha of
Yajurveda

Angirasa
(Anuprava-
ra Barhas-
patya)

Kāṇva sākha
of Yajur-
veda

Idhmavaha
(Anupravara
Chyāvana)

Kāṇva sākha
of Yajur-
veda

Audala,
Devarata
and Viāvā-
mitra

Kāṇva
sākha

For increas-
ing the merits
of parents
and oursel-
ves

The village Pasitala was
granted in favour of the
donees which has been
identified with Pointala
near Bolangir

Gautama,
Angirasa,
Autatthya

Vājasaneyā
carana
Madhyndina
sākha

The village Satallama was
granted to the donee.
This has been identified
with Satlma in Bargarh
Tehsil of Sambalpur dis-
trict.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|-------------------------------|------------|--|--|---|---|
| 39. Gaintala Plates of Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta R.Y. - 17 OHarJ, vol. XI, no. 3, pp. 192-97 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 942 A.D.) | Bhattaputra Sri Tiku | Vātsa | Bhārgava, Chyavana, Apnuvan, Aurva and Iamadagni (Anupravara, Yamadagni, Aurva, Apnuvan, Chyavana and Bhārgava) | Vānricha <u>śākhā</u> | - | The village called Rishigrāma was granted in favour of the donee. The donee migrated from the village of Saluvi situated in Madhya Desha and resident of Lopusoddagrama in Kosola Desa |
| 40. Chandwar Plates of Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta R.Y. - 31 Inscriptions of Orissa vol. IV, no. 23, pp. 138-44 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 956 A.D.) | Bhatta Mahattama Sādharana | Bhāradvāja | Barhaspatya and Angirasa | Vājasaneyacarana | - | The village of Mandā and Alanda were donated to the donee. Here the donee is said to have migrated from Takari. The village Mandā has been identified with modern Renda near Bolangir |
| 41. Patna Museum Plates of Mahasivagupta R.Y. - 8 I.O., vol. IV, no. 27, pp. 167-75 (Cir. 968 A.D.) | Sri Kāmadeva | Kāśyapa | Kāśyapa- Vātsa Naidhruva | Vājesaneyacarana Mādhyandina <u>śākhā</u> | - | A plot of land in the village of Telakajja was made in favour of the donee. The village has been identified with modern Telagajja in the Bolangir district |
| 42. Cuttack Plates of Mahasivagupta Yayati R.Y. 9 I.O. vol. IV, no. 28 pp. 176-83 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 969 A.D.) | Sri Sankhapani | Bhāradvāja | Angirasa, Varhaspatya and Bhāradvāja | Chhāndoza carana Mahattama <u>śākhā</u> | - | The village called Chandagrama was made over to the donee, who was a resident of Silabhanjapati in the Odra Country. The village in question Chandagrama has been identified with modern Chandgan, 32 miles south-east of Cuttack |
| 43. Nibinna Charter of Mahasivagupta Yayati R.Y. - 15 E.I., XI, pp. 95-98 B.C. Bazumdar (Cir. 975 A.D.) | Pundarikasarma Dikshita | Bhāradvāja | Angirasa, Varhaspatya and Bhāradvāja | - | - | The plates record the gift of the village of Nibinna, which has been identified with modern Libina in Bergarh Tehsil |

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| 48. Almand Plate of Ananta-varman E.I., vol. III, pp.17-21 E. Hultzsh (Cir.10th Century A.D.) | Sridhara- bhatta | Kausika | - | Vājasaneya <u>carana</u> | - | The village Medelaka was made in favour of the donee |
| 49. Plates of Shilabhanja Tribhuvana Kalasa E.I., XXVII, no. 44, pp. 272-78 D. C. Sircar (Cir.10th Century A.D.) | Lumvadeva | Kaundinya | Kaundinya, Vasistha, Maitrāvā- runa | Vājasaneya <u>carana</u> Kāṇva <u>śākhā</u> of Yajurveda | - | It registers the village of Deuladda in the Salvada vishaya was granted in favour of the donee |
| 50. Ganjam grant of Vidya-dharabhanja E.I. vol. XVIII, pp. 296-98 Raj Bahadur Hiralal (Cir.10th Century A.D.) | Purandara | Rohitaka | Rohitas- taka Viśvā- mitra | Vājasaneya <u>carana</u> | - | The village Maṅghada-grāma was made in favour of the donee. The village has already been identified |
| 51. Angul Plate of Dharma Mahadevi OUPK, Pl.K, pp.52-56 (10th Century A.D.) B. Mishra | Bhatta Art- tihāra | Sāndilya | Vārhaspatya, Yamadagni and Devalya | - | - | It registers the gift of the village of Desala. The donee immigrated from Kalāṅcha |
| 52. Dashpala Plate of Ranabhanja JBRs, voll. II, pp. 269-73 Senoytosh Bhattacharya (Cir. 10th Century A.D.) | Padmakara | Kṛṣṇtraya | Atreya, Archanavasa, Savama | Chhāndoga <u>carana</u> Kauthama <u>śākhā</u> | - | It registers the grant of the village Hastilēnda |
| 53. Ganjam Plate of Dandi Mahadevi OUPK, Pl. L, pp.57-58 (10th Century A.D.) B. Mishra | Dhavala | Viśvāmit- ra | Devarāta (Anḍala has been mention- ed as Anu Pravara) | Kāṇva <u>śākhā</u> | Sankranti | It records the gift of the village of Vilva in Purvva Khanda of the Varada khandā vishaya in Kāṅgoda Mandala. Vilvagrāma has been identified with Belgan in Athagarh taluk of Ganjam. The donee was an immigrant from Ven-gipataka |
| 54. Ganjam Plate of Dandi Mahadevi OUPK, Pl.M, p.59 (10th Century A.D.) B. Mishra | Bhatta Puruṣhot- tama | Kāśyapa | Kāśyapa, Avatsara and Nai- dhruva | Vājasaneya <u>carana</u> Kāṇva <u>śākhā</u> | - | The village Rasambha in the Arttani vishaya of Kāṅgoda Mandala in Dakshina Tosala was granted to the donee |

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| 44. Patna Plates of Mahasivagupta Yayati N.I. - 24 I.O., vol. IV, no. 30, pp. 190-95 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 984 A.D.) | Mahodadhi | Kausika | Devarata, Anjala Visvāmitra | Goutama <u>śakhā</u> | - | The village of Deladoli was made over to the donee which has been identified with modern Dedil, a few miles from the Tel river in the Bolangir district |
| 45. Mahakosala historical society plates of Mahabhavagupta N.I. - 11 I.O., vol. IV, no. 33, pp. 212-17 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 999 A.D.) | Son of a Bhatta Brāhmana named Chakradhara | Nāpinjala | Vasiṣṭha | Maitrā- yaniya <u>śakhā</u> | Simha- Sankranti | The village named Linjira-grama was made in favour of the donee. Linjira may be identified with modern Linjira near Sarangagarh. The donee was an immigrant from Madhya Desa |
| 46. Ghumsur grant of Netribhanja JASB, vol. VI (1837) pp. 667-70 James Prinsep (Cir. 10th Century A.D.) | Indradeva and Aditya- deva | Vātsa | Pryarsa (Bhargava, Chāvana and Jāmadag- nya) | - | For the merits of parents and himself | It registers the grant of the village of Machhodari. It has been identified with Machhua jungle in Dashpalla, ten miles northeast of Dashpalla. |
| 47. The grant of Manastambha JBOAS, 11, pp. 396-400 (10th Century A.D.) A.H.P. Shastri | Bhatta Sudārsana | - | - | Vājasan- eya <u>carana</u> | With a view to the increase of merit of father, mother and self, with a view that Vedic sacrifices may be offered to men, gods, guests Brahmanas, and Gurus, and also both with a view that fire offerings, recitation of the vedas, repetition of austerities may be perpetuated. | The inscription records the grant of the village of Kolapnka in the M Kodālaka Mandala. The donee was probably a local brāhmana as there is no mention of his residence and place of immigration. |

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| | Ravika | Kausika | Anḍalya, Viśvāni- tra and Devarāta | Vājasaneya <u>carana</u> Kārvā <u>śākhā</u> | | The donee Purushottama made over half of the village to Ravika. Ravika was not a relative (brother) of Purushottama because the gotra of Purushottama is Kāśyapa and that of Ravika is Kausika. Of the localities mentioned in this plate, only Rasambhā can be identified with Rambha in the Khalikote Taluk of the Ganjam District. |
| 55. Kumurang Plate of Dandi Mahadevi OUPJK, Pl. N, pp.60-67 (10th Century A.D.) B. Mishra | Kaka, Dugada, Vankulla, Vaivova Isvara, Sarvva deva and Vanga- svara | Shārad- vāja | - | - | garaha vishaya in the | The document registers the gift of the village Kamtsaranagari in the Khidina-Kaṅgoda Maṅḍala in southern Tosali. The village Kamtsara is probably identical with Ghantsila, the find spot which is about 5 miles west of the Chilika lake. Khidina-grahara can be identified with Khedajhari which is about 10 miles north-west of the find-spot. |
| 56. Two grants from Dasapalla E.I. XXIA, no. 26, pp.183-99 D. Sircar (Cir. 10th Century A.D.) | Bhatta Aja- palā | Maṅḍalya | - | Vājasaneya <u>carana</u> Mādhyandina <u>śākhā</u> | - | The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been Bhattagrama Khaduvavalli in Madhya Desa. But he was settled in a locality called Santosa Madhava. The inscription records the grant of the village of Konkira in the Paschima Khanda in the Ramalava-vishaya |

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| | (Plate 1) | | | | | | |
| 57. | Kalibhana GPs of Mahabhavagupta Janamajaya (Meghal Year -6) Ili., XX, pp. 237-50 D.C. Sircar & P. C. Nath | Bhaṭṭa Putrā Govinda-son of Bhatta Putra Konda | Parāśara | Vasiṣṭha, Sakṭī and Parāśarya | Vājasaneyā carana Mādhyandina śākhā | - | It registers the grant of the village called Jambu-grāma which was situated in the Vishaya Pota. Jambu-grame is very probably the same as modern Jangaon |
| | (Plate 2) | | | | | | |
| | (Cir. 10th Century A.D.) | Bhaṭṭa Putrā Deva | | | | | Bhattaputra Deva has been described as Kāladasin. The word Kāladasin seems to mean an astrologer who indicated good and bad time. It is not improbable that Deva was an astrologer attached to the king's court. |
| 58. | Grants of Gayadatunga I.I. XXXIV no. 15, pp.91-104 D. C. Sircar (Cir. 10th Century A.D.) | Bhaṭṭa Bhairadeva son of Gokula Deva | Jātukarna | Vasiṣṭha (The Jātukarna goṣṭha pravara, i.e. Jātukarna, Vasiṣṭha and Atri, but here we find mention of Vasiṣṭha only) | Chhāndoga carana Kauthama śākhā | - | The charter records the grant of the village called Konnayilla. It records the grant of the village of Svalpa-komapi. The donee is further described as hailing from a Traivedya (i.e., Trivedin) family residing at a place called Srichhatra |
| 59? | Jurerpur Plate of Devananda Deva I.I. XXXII, no. 51, pp. 325-30 D. C. Sircar (Cir. 10th Century A.D.) | Brāhmaṇa Kula Devapala Bhaṭṭa | Uluka | Paryarisi (The word Paryarisi seems to be a mistake for pancharshaya referring to the five pravaras attached to the gotra. It should be pointed out | | | The village Palamung which was granted in favour of the donee cannot be satisfactorily identified. The donee or rather his family is said to have originally hailed from Raḍha and was living at a place whose name ended with 'word' Pura. |

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| 60. Grants of Gaḥadatunga E.I. XXXIV, no. 15, pp. 91-104 D.C. Sircar Asiatic Society Plate (Cir. 10th Century A.D) | Bhaṭṭa- putra Paḍo | Kausika | that the gotra- pravara-Niban- dhakadamba reco- gnises only three Pravaras for the Uluka go- tra i.e., Udala, Deva- rāta and Vis- wamitra). | Three Pravaras - (The Kausika gotra has three pravaras i.e. Viswāmītra, Devarāta and Audala) | Bhaṭṭaputra Paḍo belonged to a family hailing from Ahichchhatra (Modern Ram Nagar in the Bareilly District of U.P.) and was a resident of Bhaṭṭagrāma called Kusuva in Odra Vishya |
| 61. Talcher Plate No. 2 (Cir. 10th Century A.D) | Bhaṭṭa- putra Devaśar- mana | Kāshyapa | Avatsara and Kāṇva Kaidhruva (The <u>śākhā</u> three Prava- of ras of the Yajurveda kāshyapa, Ava- tsara and Kaidhruva, | - | Devaśarmana belonged to a family hailing from the Bhaṭṭagrāma called Muthautha in Varendra Mandala (i.e., North Bengal) and was a resident of the Bhaṭṭagrāma called Saivara in Odra Vishaya (Orissa) |
| 62. Singhara Plate of Manabhanja JBOAS, vol. II, pp. 481-86. J. C. Majumdar (Cir. 10th-11th Century) | Bhaṭṭa putra Vasudeva | Vātsya | Pravaras of the five sages, i.e. Bhāra- gva, Chyā- vana, Aurva and Janca- gnya | Kāṇva <u>śākhā</u> of Yajur- veda | It records the grant of the village Singhara in favour of the donee, the village has been identified with Sugura |
| | Vone | Kāshyapa | Vachchhaya Kaidhruva | Yajurveda - | |

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| 63. Kudopali Plates of Mahabhavagupta N.Y - 13 I.O., vol. IV, no.37 pp. 237-41 S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 1001 A.D.) | Bhatta- putrā Sri Nā- rayana | kaundinya | Mitrā- varuna | Kānva śākhā | | The village called Loisarā was made in favour of the donee, which has been identified with modern Loisara in Bargash Tehsil. The donee was an immigrant from Hastipada |
| 64. Orissa State Museum Plates of Mahasivagupta Yayati II N.Y. - 4 I.O., vol. IV, no. 26, pp. 159-66 (Cir. 1005 A.D.) | Sri Kāko | Kausika | Pririsi | - | - | The village called Kudukulo-Khandakshetra was made in favour of the donee. The donee was an emigrant of the village of Likhadiya of Srāvasti |
| 65. Khandapara Plates of Mahasivagupta Dharmaratha N.Y. - 11 I.O., vol. IV, no. 33A pp. 280A-280F S. N. Rajguru (Cir. 1012 A.D.) | dana Sri Abhimanyu | Kāśyapa | Tryarsha | - | - | This inscription records the grant of a village called Shilligrāma in favour of the donee |
| 66. Jatesinga and Dugri Plates of Mahasivagupta Yayati N.Y - 3 I.O., vol. IV, no. 34, pp. 218-24 (Cir. 1027 A.D.) | Svarodayi Sri Yasa- kara | Parāśara | Atreya | Kānva śākhā of Yajurveda | - | Two villages named Vrihat-Bhusayi and Mananjamurā were granted in favour of the donee. The donee was an immigrant of Hastipada of Madhya Desa |
| 67. Narsinghpur Charter of Udyotakesari, Nos. 1-4 JBOHS, vol. XVII, pp. 1-24 B. Mishra (Cir. 1064 A.D.) | Sri Shankara Sarmā and Balabhadra | Gārga | Tryarishi | Rigveda | - | The village Kotalanda was made in favour of the donees. The village has been identified with modern Kuntilo in Khandapara. He was an immigrant from Palasa in Tivabhukti-Mandala. Palasa may be identified with the modern Palasa in Srikakulam District. |
| 68. Dahnagir Plates of Somavansi Karna N.Y. - 6 JBOHS, vol. XVI, pp. 206 Narayan Tripathi (Cir. 1091 A.D.) | Udayamati and his sons | Kāśyapa | - | - | Rula Sankranti | The village Konagrāma was made in favour of the donee |

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| 69. Khandadeli Inscription of Ranabhanja JBONS, vol. IV, pp.172-7 M. M. Haraprasad Shastri (Cir. 11th Century A.D) | Ranch- chhi | Sāṅḍilya | Sāṅḍilya | - | The grant was made in honour of Mahadeva-Bhaktaraka (Lord Siva) | It records the grant of the village Bonula or Bontala which has been identified with Bontala |
| 70. Arang Plates of Bhimasena II E.I., IX, pp.342-45 Hiralal (Cir. 11th Century A.D) | Harisvami Bappasvani | Bhāradvāja | - | Vāhriḥa śākha | - | The village of Vatapallika was made in favour of the donee |
| 71. A single copper plate inscription from Kelga I.C., vol. IV, no. 43, pp. 276-80 | Abhabhaka- ara Sarman, son of Udayakara | Kumāra- Harita | Pancharisa | Mādhy- ndina- Kāṅva śākha | - | The village of Varavudagrama was made in favour of the donee |
| 72. Sonpur Plates of Kumara Somesvaradeva E.I., XII, pp. 237-42 S. C. Majumdar (Cir. 11th Century A.D) | Bhattaputra Udayakara, Bhattaputra Bhavakara (brother of Udayakara) | Kumāra- Harita | Pancharisi | Mādhy- ndina- Kāṅva śākha | - | Two villages namely Gudhavamala and Kāṅhapura were made in favour of the donees |
| 73. Taspakera grant of Ranabhanja JBONS, vol. II, pp.167-77 S. C. Majumdar (Cir. 11th Century A.D) | Sridhara | Bhāradvāja | Āṅgīrasa Vārhaspatya | Mādhy- ndina śākha | - | The village Taspakera situated in Utrapalli Vishaya was made over to the donee. Though the Utrapalli visaya has been identified with Utrapali, the village Taspaker. has not yet been identified. |
| 74. Cuttack plates of Mahabhava Gupta Bhimaratha E.I., III, pp. 355-59 Dr Fleet (Cir. 11th Century A.D) | dānaka Sri Nāḥho | Kauśika | Viśvami- tra, Deva- rata and Audala | Chhān- doga carana Kauthama śākha | Solar eclipse | The village called Gandasainilligrāma was granted to the donee. It has been identified with Gaisama in Bargarh subdivision in the Sambalpur district. Here the donee has been described as a dānaka, probably he received the village as a reward for his service in the capacity of a dānaka. |

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| 75. Antigam Plate of Yasabhanja E.I., vol. XVIII, pp. 298-99 Rai Bahadur Hiralal (Cir. 12th Century A.D.) | Jagaddh- ara | Bhārad- vāja | Āṅgīrasa, Varhaspa- tya and Bhāradvāja | Mādhyan- dina śākhā of Yajurveda | - | It records the grant of the village Komayana which can be identified with Komoma in the Chhatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam District |
| 76. Antigrama Plates Jaya- bhanja Deva E.I., XIX, no. 5, pp. 41-45 Taninicharana Nath (Cir. 12th Century A.D.) | Sri Jaga- dhara | Bhārad- vāja | - | Mādhyan- dina śākhā | - | It registers the gift of the village Renagarada situated at the centre, of the province Khinjaliyagada vishaya The village Rengarada has been identified with modern Gereda in the Ghumsur Taluk |
| 77. Kendupatna Plates of Narasimha II Sets II and III Saka - 1217 E.I., XXVIII, no. 33 pp. 185-95 D. C. Sircar (13th Century A.D.) | Bhimadeva- sarman | Kāśyapa | Kāśyapa, Avatsara and Naidh- ruva | Kāṇva śākhā of Yajurveda | - | The land measuring hundred vaticas granted to the donee Bhimadevasarman of several plots in different villages namely Vahalagrama, Gandhagrama, Khadingagrama and Bhāmdapada. The donee Bhimadevasarman has been described as Kumara Mahapatra in the first set of the plates, and mentioned as Brihad-Kumara-Mahapatra in the second and third set of plates. The title suggests that the donee was a minister of the fore- most rank |

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