

ISSN NO : 0474-7269



Govt. of Odisha

THE ODISHA HISTORICAL RESEARCH JOURNAL

Volume LVII No. 3 & 4



Published by :

Dr. Jayanti Rath

Superintendent of Museum

**Odisha State Museum
Bhubaneswar**

2018

ISSN NO : 0474-7269



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Date of Jayadeva and Gitagovinda

Subas Pani

Date

Jayadeva does not provide any indication of his date and time or that of the composition of his *Gitagovinda*. However much has been made of a sloka in the first sarga that mentions his own name along with four other poets¹. I have discussed the authenticity of this sloka in the section on the text of *Gitagovinda* later and determined this to be an interpolation. As will be clear from that discussion, even otherwise the chronology of the poets mentioned therein does not indicate the contemporaneity amongst them or with Jayadeva and therefore it does not give us any help to determine his date. In the absence of any internal evidence within *Gitagovinda* we have to examine available literary and epigraphical evidence as well as local traditions. These have been examined in the past by scholars Kedarnath Mahapatra², Satya Narayan Rajaguru³, D C Sircar⁴, Nabin Kumar Sahu⁵, Bimal Kishore Misra⁶, Bhagabat Prasad Tripathy⁷, Brundabana Chandra Acharya⁸, Banamali Rath⁹ and Rabi Narayan Dash¹⁰, among others. A look at the original texts of the literary and inscriptional references and their proper interpretations offers some fresh insights for taking a final view.

Literary References

Prithviraj Raso

One of the earliest literary references to Jayadeva can be found in *Prithviraj Raso* by Chand Bardai or Chand Kavi. The poet was a contemporary and friend of Prithviraj and his long poem purportedly describes firsthand accounts of events in the life of Prithviraj Chauhan, the legendary king of North-Western India surrounding Rajasthan who was defeated and killed by the army of Mahammad Ghori in 1192 CE, a landmark event of Indian history. Scholars are not unanimous about the dates of its different recensions and there are inconsistencies of its accounts with historical facts. These events are, however, not of any direct concern to our discussion. In the initial invocatory portion Chand Kavi pays his respects to earlier poets like Harsha and Kalidasa. He lists Jayadeva as the eighth in this sequence and describes him as Kaviraya or an emperor/supreme among poets and sums up the poet's work as being entirely devoted to singing the glory of Govinda¹¹.

जयदेव अष्ट कवी कविराय

जिने केवल कित्ति गोविन्द गाये।

jayadeva aṣṭham kavī kabbirāya

jine kevalam kitti govinda gāye |

There can be no doubt that this is a reference to Jayadeva the poet of *Gitagovinda*. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi edited and published the shorter recension of the work containing what he determined as the original version of Chand Kavi in 1952¹². This includes the above mentioned couplet about Jayadeva. Bhagabat Prasad Tripathy has discussed this in some detail with multiple scholarly references and confirms the authenticity of the couplet. He also refers to the *Vishwakosha* (probably refers to Bangla Biswakosha) that indicates that the fame of Chand Kavi had spread all around by 1191 CE. On the basis of the mention of Jayadeva and the theme of his work in *Prithviraj Raso* we can reasonably

assume that by the end of twelfth century CE *Gitagovinda* was well known in far off North-Western India and its poet was already held in high esteem as a saint poet.

Saduktikarnamritam

We next take into account a medieval compilation of Sanskrit literature *Saduktikarnamritam* by Sridhara Dasa. From the colophon in the text of this compilation we know that this was composed in 1205 CE¹³ corresponding to the 27th regnal year of Lakshmana Sena. The compilation includes some stanzas and slokas from *Gitagovinda*. Bahgabat Prasad Tripathy provides details of these.¹⁴ However as will be clear from the section on the text of *Gitagovinda* given later, a few of these are indeed from the original while others can be clearly identified as interpolations. Scholars have a consensus on the date of *Saduktikarnamritam*. It is therefore clear that by early thirteenth century *Gitagovinda* had attained acceptance in literary circles and was quoted in compilations of texts.

Subhasita Ratnakosha

Mishra also refers to this compilation briefly but in a different context.¹⁵ He notes that an earlier collection *Subhasita Ratnakosha* of Vidyakara compiled about 1100 CE includes a single sloka of *Gitagovinda* without giving the name of the author. While Mishra does not specify the sloka or quote it, he mentions that this single sloka is also among the slokas of *Gitagovinda* quoted in *Saduktikarnamritam* wherein it is attributed to Jayadeva. Curiously enough in the very same essay Mishra in the very next paragraph says that “no sloka of the *Gitagovinda* has been quoted in Vidyakara’s anthology.”¹⁶ Mishra does not refer to the version he has used. One does not find any sloka of Jayadeva in the critical edition of *Subhasita Ratnakosha* edited by Ingalls¹⁷ that includes both the shorter and longer recensions of its text. We can therefore safely exclude the *Subhasita Ratnakosha* of Vidyakara from the scope of our discussion. Mishra also observes that Sridhara Dasa took pains to uniquely identify poets bearing the same name.¹⁸ However this is not true as Sridhara Dasa does include some slokas attributed to a poet named only as Jayadeva but these are not part of the *Gitagovinda* or its known interpolated texts.¹⁹ These are neither known to be works of Jayadeva, the author of *Gitagovinda* nor are these stylistically similar to his work.

Tikasarvasva and Subhasitavali

Tikasarvasva a commentary on *Amarakosa* by Bandighatiya Sarvanandahas also been considered for dating Jayadeva and *Gitagovinda*. As per its colophon this was compiled in 1159 CE. This refers to *Subhasitavali* a well-known anthology compiled by Ballabhadeva of Kashmir for which Mishra fixes a tentative date of 1134 CE on the basis the date of *Tikasarvasva*. According to Mishra four slokas of *Gitagovinda*²⁰ find place in *Subhasitavali*. On this basis Mishra fixes a tentative date of 1109 CE as the date by which *Gitagovinda* had been composed and 1075 CE as the approximate date for birth of Jayadeva. He postulates that it takes about twenty five years for the circulation of a literary work across India and its wider acceptance and that Jayadeva must have been twenty five when he composed *Gitagovinda* and further refers to the Lingaraja Temple Inscription dating it to 1162 CE.²¹

These assumptions are evaluated along with other available references later in this section. On the date of *Subhasitavali*, however there are two views. While Peterson and Aufrecht place him in the 15th and 16th century CE²², S K De has argued for an early date and places him in later half of twelfth century CE²³. D. C. Bhattacharyya²⁴ in a subsequent essay not only contests the contention of De but clarifies that the date CE 1160 cited in *Tikasarvasva* of Sarvananda is not his own but of a contemporary work *Ganitacudamani* by Srinivasa that was recently completed. He therefore argues that *Tikasarvasva* would have been completed a decade or two after 1160. Following this he gives detailed reference to prove that there were in fact two compilers named Vallabhadeva and Sarvananda's reference is to the earlier of the two. The work *Subhasitavali* that includes slokas of *Gitagovinda* based on adequate internal evidence is obviously of a much later date and is a compilation by the later Vallabhadeva. A more recent translation by Haksar²⁵, a Kashmiri himself also places him in the 15th century. Together the evidence of Peterson and Bhattacharya conclusively proves a much later date of *Subhasitavali* of Vallabhadeva that includes four slokas of *Gitagovinda*, i.e. the fifteenth or sixteenth century CE.

In the light of the detailed discussion above it is clear that Mishra's reliance on *Tikasarvasva* for an early date for Jayadeva and *Gitagovinda* is misplaced and hence his conclusion is fallacious. Besides, his use of the magical figure of twenty five years for all his calculations is also not based on any logic. Even by this logic he contradicts himself when he assumes the composition of *Gitagovinda* between 1100 CE and 1109 CE and Jayadeva's rise to eminence by 1100 CE, by the time the poet was twenty-five, almost instantaneously after its composition. Nevertheless he has discussed the important literary references and more close scrutiny of the dates of these helps us in arriving at some reasonable conclusion on the dates of the poet and his work.

Vaishnava Lilamrita

A later literary reference of importance for our discussion is *Vaishnava Lilamrita*, a long poem in Odia written in mid sixteenth century by Madhava Pattnayk. A critical edition of the text has been edited by Brundabana Chandra Acharya and Ghanasyam Rath based on three old palm leaf manuscripts²⁶. Based on the poet's assertion in the editors have determined that the long poem was written in 1535 CE during the reign of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva (1497 to 1538 CE). The author was a protégée and an assistant of Ramananda Pattanayak, more popularly known as Raya Ramananda, a well-known personality of medieval Odisha. He was the Governor of Rajamahendry appointed by the Ganga emperor Prataparudra Deva and later persuaded by Sri Chaitanya shifted to Puri and remained in charge of the affairs of the Puri temple. The author came under the tutelage of Raya Ramananda in his youth when he was twenty one and remained in his service till his patron's death. He was an eye witness to the historic meeting of Sri Chaitanya with Raya Ramananda at Rajamahendri and later the activities of their activities in Puri as of the five famous Vaishnava saint poets – Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa, Ananta Dasa and Jasobanta Dasa. We also know of two other works of the author *Mokshya Purana* and *Chaitanya Vilasa*. A copy of the manuscript of the

latter is available in the Odisha State Museum²⁷. The author was well known among the companions of Sri Chaitanya and was held in high esteem as a devout Vaishnava. Jiva Goswami pays his respects to him in his *Vaishnava Vandana*²⁸ thus – वन्दे परम भावेन माधवम् पट्टनायकम् (vande parama bhāvena mādadhavam paṭṭanāyakam).

Events those Madhava Pattanayak describes in *Vaishnava Lilamrita* are mostly identical to those narrated by Krishna Dasa Kaviraja in *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, the famous biography of Sri Chaitanya. Two chapters of *Vaishnava Lilamrita* are of particular significance for our discussion. The second chapter presents a brief history of the tradition of Raasa in the Jagannatha temple and its origin from the time of Chodaganga Deva and Jayadeva as well as the construction of the Puri temple and the introduction of the Devadasi tradition, the practice of temple-dancers performing before Lord Jagannatha. The third chapter gives a firsthand account of the unsuccessful attempts to restrict singing of *Gita Govinda* in the temple during the reign of Purushottama Deva and his son Prataparudra Deva.

The poet explains that rāsa refers to the dance of the Gopi maidens and then mentions its popularity in Nilachala or Puri, its performance during his own life time under the guidance of saint poet Jagannatha Dasa and recounts what he has learnt from the saints. He refers to Chodaganga Deva (1078-1147 CE), the first king of the Ganga dynasty in Odisha and describes him as a great devotee of Jagannatha and the one who in his old age decided to take up some pious activities and renovated an old temple (at Kshetrabara or Puri). He completed its sanctum (garbha grha, gumuṭi) and during the celebrations for its dedication, he declared Kamarnava (1147-1156 CE) as the yuvarāja or crown prince²⁹, provided nācuni, māhari and devadāsī or temple dancers who performed the rāsa dance singing the glory of Hari. He presents a thumbnail picture of *Gita Govinda* and Jayadeva's life. A Brahmin named Jayadeva, a resident of Kenduli village near Niali Madhava, came to Puri. A scholar, full of piety and devoted to Jagannatha composed *Gita Govinda* and his wife Padmavati danced to the beats of its songs. The nācuni (dancer-Padmavati) enacted the rāsa dance which delighted the devotees who were overcome with feelings of loving devotion. The emperor provided for the singing and dancing of *Gita Govinda* in the temple and provided Kenduli sarees (for Jagannatha). The emperor also declared that *Gita Govinda* was dear to Jagannatha. In due course the (saint) poet died at the sacred city of Puri and ascended to heaven. For the performance of *Gita Govinda* (dance) the emperor built the Nata Mandapa. It was built for enacting the rāhāsa dance. This was the glorious deed of Bhima Deva who in due course ascended to heaven after completing this great monument.

The details given above provide the very important information that the poet was contemporary to Chodaganga Deva and Kamarnava Deva. *Vaishnava Lilamrita* also indicates the close links of rāsa dance and *Gita Govinda* and implies that these two are synonymous. The introduction of *Gita Govinda* into the rituals of the temple of Jagannatha can also be linked to the last part of the reign period of Chodaganga Deva. It is evident from the sequence of presentation that the singing and performance of *Gita Govinda* began simultaneously with or immediately following the dedication of the renovated, reconstructed temple. Since the poet clearly mentions Kamarnava as the crown prince there

can be no doubt that when he refers to the king making arrangements for the performance of *Gitagovinda* in song and dance, he refers to Chodaganga Deva. The poet of *Vaishnava Lilamrita* does not name the king but from the description there is no ambiguity that this happened in the lifetime of the king. The next event the poet talks about is the construction of the Hall of Dance or Nata Mandapa and credits it to Bhima Deva. From a plain reading of the text it is clear that the poet follows a pattern in presenting historical events as distinct episodes and the description regarding Nata Mandapa is clearly a distinct and separate episode. Therefore the beginning of *Gitagovinda* performance and provision of Kenduli sarees should not be linked to Bhima Deva. From these descriptions it should be clear that at least by 1147 CE *Gitagovinda* was not only composed but also accepted and well established as an important daily activity within the temple. The editors of *Vaishnava Lilamrita* have identified Bhima Deva as Ananga Bhima Deva III (1211-1238 CE). However he is more likely to be Ananga Bhima Deva II (1190-1198 CE).

Madala Panji

We get references to *Gitagovinda* in *Madala Panji*, the traditional chronicle of the Puri temple. These were maintained by the temple officials like deula karana and tadhau karana in palm leaf manuscripts. There is reasonable ground to date the text to the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁰ The *Madala Panji* provides among other details, important accounts about different dynasties and kings of Odisha. In the early stages of modern historical accounts of Odisha *Madala Panji* played an important role and even today it continues to be used as a major source for Odisha history. After the findings of many inscriptions and literary sources the accounts of *Madala Panji* are being assessed afresh. *Madala Panji* records that the temple of Jagannatha was built by Ananga Bhima Deva.³¹ There is now a consensus among the scholars that Chodaganga Deva is the builder of the temple and he completed the Sanctum and the audience hall and that the Nata Mandapa was added by Ananga Bhima Deva III while the Bhoga Mandapa was added by Prataparudra Deva. This is also the version of *Vaishnava Lilamrita*. Dealing with Kavi Narasimha Deva *Madala Panji* states that the king “*Gitagovinda selau kale*”.³² The word *selau* (some versions give it as *selabha*) is no more in use and even the *Bhasakosha*³³ does not include it. This statement has been variously interpreted. K C Mishra interprets it to imply “Kavi Narasimhadeva gave permission for the first time in the temple of Jagannatha”³⁴ He further says “Kavi Narasimha, according to Ganga inscriptions is Narasimha II who ruled from 1278-1309 CE.” In a note on this he says “The passage ‘*Gitagovinda selau kale*’ is to be explained. The word ‘*selau*’ is decidedly borrowed from the Telugu language which means permitting. The editor of the *Madala Panji* has wrongly interpreted the word ‘*Selaukale*’ as ‘*Subha dele*’, i.e. introduced or began.” Mishra’s interpretation seems to be appropriate as the word ‘*selubu*’ in Telugu has various meanings such as leave, permission, an order, expenses, charges, expenditure. One dictionary refers to a Tamil origin or link of the word.³⁵ The use of such a word is understandable as large tracts of Telugu speaking areas were part of the Ganga empire and the Ganga dynasty had strong links with royal families of Tamil country. The editors of *Vaishnava Lilamrita* note that Ananga Bhima Deva established the singing and dance

performance of *Gitagovinda* as a specific seva or ritual in the temple and considering this as dear to Jagannatha he provided for Kenduli sarees for the ritual and since then this practice has continued. Leaving aside the name of the king this appears to be in broad conformity with the interpretation of K C Mishra and the connotations of the word “selau”. As for the identity of the king during whose times the tradition of singing and dancing of *Gitagovinda* actually began, it is clear from the wordings of Madala Panji and the sequence of events described that this predates the formal arrangements for this as a ritual or a seva. Be it noted that *Vaishnava Lilamrita* also use the word seva – “rājā e sevā bhiāilā”. So this and the statement of Madala Panji both only talk of an institutional arrangement coming into vogue through royal declaration and provision for its practice. A reasonable interpretation of the two literary references leads to a logical conclusion that the singing and performance of *Gitagovinda* as offering of song and dance was continuing in the temple for some time, possibly for some decades and this was quite popular and the royal declaration was only a formalization of this practice as a ritual service or seva.

For determining the date of Jayadeva and *Gitagovinda* a traditional account may also be considered. Jagabandhu Singh in his *Prachina Utkala*³⁶ mentions “Raja Ekavarti Kamadeva did not touch water before listening to *Gitagovinda*”.³⁷ Kamarnava, eldest son of Chodaganaga Deva was also called Ekajata Kamadeva and this tradition refers to him. This shows that by the time of Kamarnava *Gitagovinda* had already acquired the status of a sacred text and the king Kamarnava had great reverence for it and therefore before his meals he regularly heard recitation of some song or sloka from this work. So obviously *Gitagovinda* was composed before the reign period of the king i.e. 1147-1156 CE.

Punyasloka Manjari

Another important literary reference to Jayadeva with a bearing on the issue of his date has been brought to our notice by Bimal Kishore Mishra.³⁸ Mishra writes “The genealogical record of the Kamakoti Peetha of Kanchi (known as *Punyasloka Manjari*) mentions that Jayadeva was one of the renowned companions of Sri Chandrasekhara Saraswati, the 47th occupier of the seat (1097-1165 CE) in his pilgrimage tours. Other renowned companions mentioned therein are Mankha, Krishna and Suhala. Considering the time of all these persons, the period of the pilgrimage tours with all of them can be fixed between 1150 - 1160 CE. No other Jayadeva of eminence is known in this period. There is obviously a reference to Jayadeva, the author of the *Gitagovinda*. It is clear that by that period he had been an elderly person renowned as a religious teacher throughout India.” The *Punyasloka Manjari* is a traditional account that records the Guru Parampara of the Kanchi Sankaracharya Matha. It places the life of Adi Shankaracharya between 509 BCE to 477 BCE while the consensus of modern scholars places him between 788 CE and 820 CE. The 47th Acharya of the *peetha* Chandrasekhara Saraswati was head of the *matha* for 68 years. Along with Jayadeva names of three other *sateertha* or fellow pilgrims of Chandrasekhara Saraswati are mentioned. Of these Mankha is well known as the author of *Srikantha Charitam* which according to Buhler was composed between 1135 to 1145 CE. He is associated with the reign period of the Kashmiri kings Susala and Jayasimha in the twelfth century CE.³⁹ Some scholars have contested the historicity of the contents of *Punyasloka Manjari* but the believers accept these in faith. It is a compilation prepared by

Shri Sadashiva Bodhendra Sarasvati, the 56th Acharya of the *peetha*. While he has reproduced what was handed down from his predecessors he also added some of his own covering especially those who were of recent past and about whom he personally could collect some details. His own time period as head of the *peetha* was from 1512 CE to 1538 CE. He indicates the tenure of each Acharya as Peethadhipati and the date of their demise as well as details as available about their life before *sanyasi*, i.e: their original name, names of parents and *gotra*. Such information is not provided for all and for some only few details are given. It is likely that for some of his predecessors historical details as have come down to the compiler are included. Perhaps the compiler included those facts about the accuracy of which he was reasonably certain. Since he himself belongs to historical times and the persons mentioned along with the 47th *peethadhisha* are also well known historical personages, it is reasonable to believe that Jayadeva being a fellow pilgrim with him as postulated by the traditional account is based on the author's personal knowledge of historical facts as known to him. We have another reference to Jayadeva accompanying others on a sacred journey. This will be discussed below. The two references in a way complement each other and prove the veracity of both. For the time being we note that as per *Punyasthala Manjari*, Jayadeva was at an advanced age around 1160 and being already accepted as a pious saint around that time, he undertook pilgrimage to holy places.

Bhava Bibhavini

Sahu also refers to the *Bhava Bibhavini* commentary⁴⁰ of *Gitagovinda* written by Udayana Acharya. In this context he links two other inscriptions as evidences for establishing the date of the composition of *Gitagovinda*. Udayana Acharya who wrote the first commentary of *Gitagovinda* is known to have composed the inscriptions of Sobhaneswar temple at Niali and of the Megheswar temple at Bhubaneswar during the reign period of Rajaraja II whose reign period was between 1170 CE and 1194 CE. Sahu assumes that the *Bhava Bibhavini* was probably written during this time. Udayana was the younger brother of Govardhana Acharya, the famous author of *Arya Saptasati*. He also considers *Alamkara Sekhara* of Keshava Mishra which quotes a sloka of Govardhanacharya that mentions Jayadeva. We will deal with this sloka in another context later. Sahu assumes that Jayadeva was living earlier than Govardhana. He infers that *Bhava Bibhavini* was written by about 1170 CE and on this basis he concludes that *Gitagovinda* was written about 1150 CE.⁴¹ Since we only have a broad range of 1170 CE to 1194 CE as the dates when Udayanacharya appears to have been active we can assume 1170 only as a possible early limit for his tika on *Gitagovinda*.

Epigraphical Evidence

Gujarat Inscription of Saranga Deva

Karuna Sagar Behera notes that an inscription of Saranga Deva from Gujarat dated Vikram Samvat 1348 or 1291⁴² CE has a quotation from *Gitagovinda* with a minor variant reading of the sloka that follows the *Dashavatara Stotra* in its the first canto. This uses the phrase सेतुम् बंधयते, setum bāndhayate in place of the original पौलस्त्यम् जयते, paulastyam jayate to describe the Rama avatara. Behera notes this as an indication of the great popularity of

Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* in Gujarat. Inclusion of this sloka in the *mangalacharana* or auspicious beginning of the inscription points to the royal and religious acceptance of *Gita Govinda* in this region by late thirteenth century CE.

Varadapande in his *History of Indian Theatre* also refers to this inscription⁴³, He notes that a temple dedicated to Krishna existed much before the reign of Sarangadeva and that the inscription records gifts for worship, offerings and theatricals presented before Lord Krishna.

This is significant on account of the whole new approach of Jayadeva in presenting Krishna as *avatari* or the creator of avatars or incarnations. For our purposes of fixing the date of Jayadeva this inscription only provides us indirect evidence. However we note here two important features that will help us in making a final assessment about Jayadeva's date. Firstly *Gita Govinda* is accepted in the far Western end of India as a sacred text and Jayadeva as a saint to warrant inclusion of the above mentioned sloka in the initial auspicious beginning of the inscription. This is understood when we consider the sacred geography of the surrounding areas. Secondly we note that Dwarakadheesha peetha in Gujarat is also one of the four original peethas established by Adi Shankaracharya and a Vaishnava centre. The Prabhasa Kshetra with the famous temple of Somanatha was a great centre of pilgrimage. Ruins of a twelfth century Krishna temple still exist on the Gujarat coast not far from these two temples.

Lingaraja Temple Inscription

Initial Reading by Rajaguru

Satya Narayana Rajaguru discovered two inscriptions in the Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneswar in the late 1950s, both inscribed on a single stone slab and fixed on the side of an inner wall of the temple. The first of these mentions the name Jayadeva along with the appellations "sādhupradhāna" (साधुप्रधान) and "kurmapāṭaka pravara" (कुर्मपाटक प्रवर). Rajaguru edited the inscription and published the same in *Orissa Historical Journal* in 1957⁴⁴. His rendition of the inscription is given below.

In the reign of Sri Raghava Deva and in the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kartika, Wednesday, a perpetual lamp was granted by Medama Devi in favour of the God Kirttivaseswara; and also her mother and father, named Kommi (and) Nayakan respectively granted perpetual lamps for the pleasure of Kirttivaseswara. For maintenance of these grants a village named Devadhara, renamed as Bahedakhanda, was given by purchase from a merchant (Sreshthin) of Dasapura in the presence of Sadhu Pradhana Jayadeva of Sri Kurmapataka.

After taking into account nine inscriptions of the Ganga king Raghava Deva, views of other historians and after consulting the Indian Ephemeris of Swamikannu Pillai as well as the *anka* and *srahi* system of the Ganga kings, Rajaguru has concluded that the period of the tenth *srahi* of the king is between 13-08-1163 and 31-08-1164. He also indicates the date of the second inscription as 1st February, 1162, the day corresponding to full moon and a lunar eclipse. The year of the first inscription is not clear. Since both the inscriptions were incised on one slab we can safely assume that the first one was probably incised just

before the next one and in close proximity to the date of the second if not almost simultaneously.⁴⁵ The exact dates are not as important as the broad time frame which is clearly the first half of the sixth decade of the 12th century CE.

Second Reading by Sircar

A second interpretation of the inscription was published by D C Sircar in *Epigraphica Indica* in 1958⁴⁶. Rajguru later reproduced the original epigraph in *Inscriptions of Orisa* in 1961 along with the following comment.

The name Sadhu Pradhana tempts me to link him with the great poet Jayadeva of the *Gitagovinda* fame. He was living in Kurmapataka, which was a religious centre of Vaishnavism of the Ramanuja School. The head of the temple for a long time was guru of the Ganga kings of Orissa.

He also dealt with this at length in an essay in the *Souvenir on Sri Jayadeva* in 1968⁴⁷. Although there are no major variations in the readings of the text Rajaguru and Sircar, there are significant differences in their interpretations of the word Sadhupradhana and the identification of Kurmapataka as also in fixing the date of the inscription. Sircar discusses the reign period of Raghava and the dates of the two inscriptions in some detail. He determines Raghava's reign as from 1156 till 1170 or 1171 CE. Sircar states "Inscription No I bears the date Wednesday, the 10th of a particular month in a particular year of the victorious reign of Raghavadeva" and he fixes the date as Wednesday, the 11th of December 1168 CE unambiguously. On the content of the inscription Sircar writes:

Inscription I records the grant of a perpetual lamp in favour of Kirtivasesvara (i.e. The god Krittivasa or Siva worshipped in the Lingaraja temple) by a lady named Medamadevi apparently for the merit of herself and her parents. That Medamadevi was not an uncommon female name in Orissa region is known from a Simhachalam inscription (SII, Vol VI, No 936) of Saka 1202 (1280 CE) recording certain grants of Vasudeva Pratiraja (Padiraya) of the Bhradvaja gotra, who was the son of Rayaballabha Mahasenapati and Medamadevi, otherwise called Medamamba. It is of course impossible to identify Medamadevi of the Simhachala record of her namesake of the Bhubaneswar inscription under study. It is stated in our record that Medama Devi's father, whose name was Komi-nayaka, and her mother, whose name began with a nuka, were residents of Padadhvavakhanda. It is further stated that, apparently to cover the expenses of the perpetual lamp, the lady purchased, in conjunction (samavaya) with a leading merchant (sadhu-pradhana) named Jayadeva who was resident of a locality attached to Kurmapataka, from the hands of a sresthin of Dasapura, a piece of land entitled Vahida at Devadhara-grama, and granted it in favour of the God. The name of the locality where Jayadeva lived and that of the sresthin who resided at Dasapura are broken away and lost. Kurmapataka may be the same as Kurmapada mentioned in such other inscriptions of the Ganga family as the Puri plates of Bhanu II.

Before dealing with the variations in the interpretations of the two scholars let us it is necessary to take into account the versions of N. K. Sahu and Rabi Narayana Dash who have discussed this inscription at length.

Nabin Kumar Sahu wrote a seminal essay on Jayadeva and *Gitagovinda*⁴⁸ in the *Souvenir on Jayadeva* in 1968. He has placed considerable significance on this inscription while dealing with the date and place of Jayadeva and *Gitagovinda*.

One Lingaraja temple inscription dated in the 9th regnal year of Raghava refers to a leading Sādhū (साधुप्रधान) named Jayadeva who was then being regarded as the venerable elder residing at

Kurmapataka (कुर्मपाटक प्रवर). This place is the same as Kurmapada mentioned in the Puri plates of Bhanudeva II where it has been suggested that the village was situated in Ramanga Vishaya identified with Rahanga in the Puri district. Sādhupradhāna Jayadeva, as known from the above inscription, helped one old and aristocratic lady named Medama Devi in presenting Mahadipa in the temple of Kruttivasa on Wednesday, 21st February 1163 AD. The father of this Medama Devi is known to us from two inscriptions engraved on that Mukhalingam temple which also record that he presented Dipa on two occasions in Saka 1033 or 1111 CE and Saka 1049 or 1128 CE to God Madhukeswara. The family is thus well known to be presenting Mahadipa in Siva temples from Mukhalingam to Bhuabaneswar. The Lingaraja temple inscription, noted above, is illuminating because of the fact that it speaks of one leading Sadhu and venerable person named Jayadeva who was residing near Jagannath Puri in February 1163 CE. In the light of the date of Jayadeva discussed above, this Sadhu can be no other person than the author of the Gita Govinda for which he was then so popular and respectable in Orissa. The honour shown to him in the above inscription indicates that he had completed this great work sometime before that date.

At this stage we note that Sahu agrees with Sircar's identification of Kurmapataka while he confirms Rajaguru's identification of Sadhu Pradhana. On the date of the inscription Sahu gives an unambiguous date as Wednesday, 21 February 1163 which has an obvious error as this was a Thursday. However on the year his assessment is closer to that of Rajaguru.

Account of Dash

Rabi Narayana Dash⁴⁹ writing on Sadhu Pradhan Jayadeva and contemporary society and culture in Jayadeva's time provides a comprehensive account of the family of Medama Devi, the donor of the Lingaraja inscription as well as and her husband. In a lucid and cogent summary of the facts mentioned in the inscriptions, Dash states that accompanied by great saint Jayadeva, Komi Nayaka's daughter Medama Devi visited the shrine of Kruttivasa otherwise popularly known as Lingaraja temple and offered a perpetual lamp to the presiding deity after purchasing the Bahadakhanda village from Dasapura Sresthi. He provides the genealogy and the standing of the family from two inscriptions in the Madhukeswar temple at Srimukhalingam, the capital of the Ganga kingdom in Kalinga region. One dated 1111 CE mentions Komi Nayaka, the father of Medama Devi offering a perpetual lamp to Madhukeswara and the other dated 1127 CE mentions Pasayata Komi Nayaka and his wife Nangamma. The latter describes Nangamma as a gudisani or a temple dancer or devadasi and the daughter of Minister Venam Pegada. The Visakhapatana copper plate inscription of 1118⁵⁰ records that Madhava, an official of Chodaganaga Deva and the son of Medama Devi and Aryakulasambhuta Bhima Nayaka receiving the Tamarakhandi village as a royal gift. Dash also gives examples of other inscriptions where the word Sadhu has been used as a prefix and an honorific appellation to reiterate the appropriate interpretation of the Lingaraja inscription.

Review of variant readings of the text of the inscription

After considering into account the various aforementioned views of scholars we can now arrive at an acceptable interpretation of the inscription. Copies of the original inscriptions reproduced by Rajaguru and Sircar can be seen at Annexure – 99 (?). These

are practically identical. There is a variation in transcribing the third line. Rajaguru reads it as under.

यदाद्याव [द] खण्ड [ण्डा] न्तवर्त [ति] स्य मातापितरौ कोमिनयकन् की

yadādyāva [da] khaṇḍa [ṇḍā] ntavarta [ti] sya mātāpitarau kominayakan kī

Sircar transcribes as follows.

पदाध्व खण्ड (ण्ड) य (स्य) च तस्या मातापितसे (स्यै) [को] मिनयक नुक

padādhva kharṇḍa (ṇḍa) ya (sya) ca tasyā mātāpitase (sau) (ko) minayaka nuka

The variant readings do not materially alter the substantive meaning of the line. However we may note an interesting point from the linguistic aspect. Rajaguru in his initial translation treats Kominayakan ki to mean “also her mother and father, named Kommi (and) Nayakan respectively”. This is an obvious error as it only refers to one person Kominayaka. Obviously the letter ka is actually part of Kritivaseswara. It is quite possible that if the letter na is the last part of the word Kominayaka it may be some declension of the word in Telugu like nuku or nu and not transcribed properly or an error by the original person inscribing the text on stone. The presence of the word dhila at the end of the inscription but wrongly transcribed by Sircar as dha is significant as it completes the meaning of the sentence by providing the verb. Dhila is a colloquial of dila or dela in Odia meaning gave⁵¹. The dramatis personae of the subject matter being from Telugu and Odia speaking areas this is understandable. This only highlights the fact of the deep and constant contacts between the two areas and the continuous flow of traffic between the sacred centres as already evident from the many epigraphical evidences. For our purposes the most significant lines of the inscription are the fifth and sixth and there is no difference in readings of the two scholars other than in the last word that we have already noted.

The issues of significance for a logical and acceptable reading of the inscription are the meaning of the appellation Sadhupradhana and the identity of Jayadeva, Medamma Devi and Komi Nayaka and the place Kurmapataka.

Identity of Sadhu Pradhana Jayadeva

In his readings Rajaguru translates Sadhupradhana as “leading saint” and “principal saint”⁵². Rajaguru rightly indicates that while one of the meanings of sadhu is a merchant and the word is used with that connotation in a few inscriptions, “in no inscription, known so far, the title like Sadhu pradhana did exist”. Sircar has translated “sadhupradhana” as a “leading merchant” without offering any explanation or details. Rabi Narayan Dash is not correct in saying that “Sircar dismisses this proposition indicating that he was a foremost merchant (Sircar; 1953-54).” Also in this very inscription the word sresthin is used for merchant and this makes the connotation of the appellation Sadhupradhana abundantly clear. This is because a pious act of offering a perpetual lamp would be more appropriately done in the august presence of a saintly person rather than a merchant. Dash is right in indicating that Sircar makes a similar wrong interpretation in case of a Markandeswar inscription where again the obvious

meaning of the word in expression Sadhu Bhimadeva refers to a saintly person in the context of the event described. Dash elaborates on this and gives us more examples to clear the air.⁵³ Dash concludes, “This Jayadeva is thus properly equated with the composer of the *Gitagovindam* by the Orissan scholars. This fits in well with the time of Jayadeva on whose work the first commentary ‘Bhavavibhavini’ was composed around 1170-1175 CE i.e. soon after 1162 CE” Rajaguru in his essay in 1968 gives comprehensive analysis of his reading to justify his identification of Jayadeva of the inscription with the composer of *Gitagovinda* who was highly regarded as a pious and saintly person. Such an interpretation becomes even more self-evident when we consider identity of the other personages mentioned in the inscription.

Identity of Kurmapataka

We now deal with the identification of Kurmapataka in the word Kurmapatakapravara which means an eminent person of Kurmapataka. Srikurmam is a famous Vaishnavite tirtha in the original seat of the Eastern Ganga kings at Sri Mukhalingam. A large temple there is dedicated to Sri Kurmanatha, the Kurma avatara of Visnu. Here one can find several murals in the style of those in the Puri temples, the paintings are obviously of a later date. The shrines in the sacred geography of the surrounding areas include those of Sri Mukhalingeswara dedicated to Siva, a sun temple at Arasavelli and the hill temple of Simhachalam dedicated to Nrisimha besides numerous others. Several interesting features of the temples and the religious practices in this region have a bearing on our discussion. The temple at Sri Mukhalingam has close affinity to and is a contemporary of the famous Parasurameswara temple of Bhubaneswar that belongs to the Shailodbhava period between the 7th and 8th centuries CE. Interestingly the priests here wear the lower garment known as *dhoti* in Odisha style – a long cloth wrapped around the waist with multiple folds one end tucked in the front and the other looped between the legs and tucked at the back whereas in all other temples around they wear it in the South Indian style like a *mundu*, letting the cloth fall around the waist to the feet. There are many lesser known temples around with the signature curvilinear towers of Kalinga architecture. Srikurmam was a melting pot of regional cultural heritage and here the Telugu and Odia traditions overlapped. It was patronised by major Viashnavite preceptors like Ramanuja and later Narahari Teertha and Ananda Teertha. In the hagiological biography of Ramanuja an important incident in his life links Srikuramam with Puri⁵⁴. Praparnamrita states that Ramunuja during his visit to Puri tried to influence the religious practices and mode of worship in the temple of Jagannatha but faced great resistance from the local priests. He found himself at Srikurmam when he woke from sleep one night. Some accounts state that the shrine at Srikurmam was earlier dedicated to Siva and Ramanuja converted it to a Vaishnavite one. It is believed that Ramanuja properly organized the elaborate system of worship of the deity in this temple. This probably happened in the early part of the reign of Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva and the emperor eventually adopted the Vaishnava faith. Srikurmam was also a well-known centre of music and dance in Kalinga with a number of temple dancers dedicated to the temple provided for by the Ganga kings. We will revert to these facts and events in our later discussions on Jayadeva and *Gitagovinda* on account of their significance. As we have

already noted Sircar was not sure about the identity of Kurmapataka and he only hazarded a guess by indicating the possibility of this being Kurmapada mentioned in some other inscriptions of the Ganga family. While he has not given any explanation for such a speculation, one does not find it reasonable to confuse the two names. While the first parts of the words are the same the second halves pada and pataka are not phonetically similar. Kurmapada was not a significant place name on account of religious, cultural or other grounds. More importantly there is no link of the family of the donors to Kurmapada. Sahu repeated the earlier hypothesis of Sircar without any critical analysis and referring to the same inscription of Bhanudeva he associates it with Ramanga vishaya and he identifies with modern Rahanga in Puri district although he does not provide any nexus with the donors nor does he indicate any other reason for such an assumption. Sahu has mixed up the village name and implies without any logic that Jayadeva was the residing at Rahanga which has no significance from religious or other considerations as contrasted to the eminence of Srikurmam, a Vaishnavite centre and the cultural capital of the Eastern Gangas till it shifted to Puri. Sahu, while rightly describing Jayadeva as a “leading Sadhu” has overlooked the natural connection with Srikurmam that was well-known as a place of great sanctity and pilgrimage as well as a cultural centre and besides it was a very important town in the Kalinga region of the Ganga empire. There are several inscriptions of the relevant period that mention Srikurmam.

Mahapatra K N briefly discusses the inscription in his historic book *Sri Jayadeva and Gitagovinda* and indicates that incontrovertible inscriptional evidence is available to show that Kurmapataka was famous as a Vaishnava Kshetra by early twelfth century CE.⁵⁵ As many as twenty nine inscriptions have been inscribed there by Ganga kings Chodaganaga Deva, Madhukamarnava Deva, Raghava Deva and Rajaraja Deva, all contemporaries of poet Jayadeva. Of these the earliest 1113 CE and the latest is dated 1182 CE.

Therefore it is quite clear that the Kurma Pataka mentioned in the Lingaraja temple inscription refers to Srikurmam and the inscriptional evidences in respect of Medama Devi and her family are in places in close proximity to this important town of Ganga empire. After we discuss the next connected issue, this will be even more self-evident.

Identification of Medama Devi and Komi Nayaka

We now take up the matter of the identity of Medama Devi and Komi Nayaka. Sahu’s detailed examination of inscriptional evidence relating to this family of the donor clearly establishes their association with the Kalinga country and leaves no doubt that the Kurmapataka of the Lingaraja temple inscription is a reference to Srikurmam.

Rajaguru, Sahu and Dash provide valuable information about the family of Medama Devi and it is possible to piece together their genealogy from this. Rajaguru notes: “One Medamadevi’s name is also recorded in a stone inscription at the temple of Simhachalam, who is described as the wife of Rayavallabha Mahasenapati and mother of one Vasudeva Pratiraja (Praharaja) who lived in the Saka year 1202 (CE 1280). It shows that Medamadevi belonged to a respectable family of South Orissa or Kalinga.”⁵⁶

According to Sahu, “The father of this Medama Devi is known to us from two inscriptions engraved on that Mukhalingam temple which also record that he presented Dipa on two occasions in Saka 1033 or 1111 CE and Saka 1049 or 1128 CE to God Madhukeswara.⁵⁷” Dash gives a more detailed account of the family in his later (?) essay.

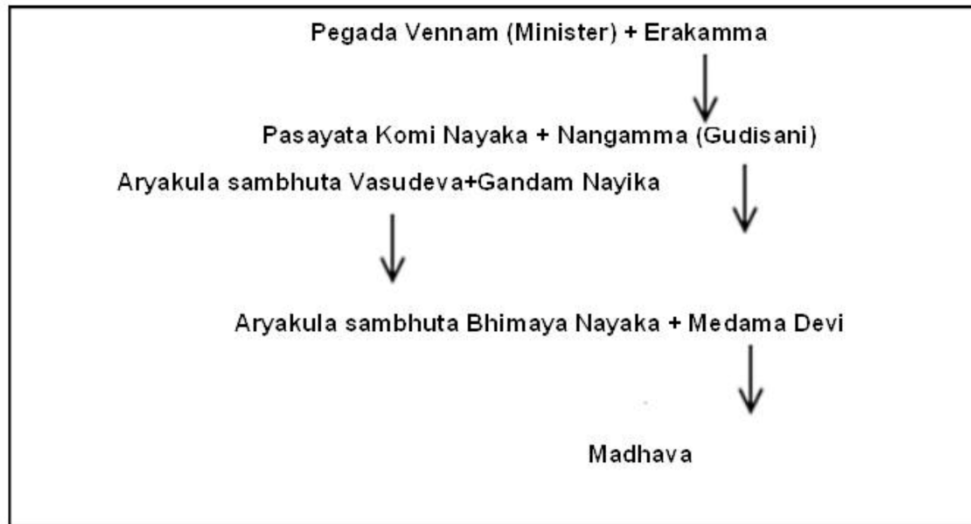
“Medama Devi with whom Jayadeva accompanied to the Lingaraja temple was the daughter of Komi Nayaka. This Komi Nayaka is identified with the Passayita Komi Nayaka from two other inscriptions in Mukhalingam dating 1111 and 1127 CE offering perpetual lamps in the temple (Mahapatra 1973: 246 and Rajguru 1960: 60, 109). Besides, we find from the Mukhalingam inscription of 1127 CE that Nangama was his wife and as such the mother of Medama Devi. She is mentioned as a *gudisani* (temple dancer) or *devadasi* and the daughter of Pegada (minister) Vennam and his wife Erakamma. Again from the Vizagapatam plates of Codagangadeva dated 1118 CE (Rajguru 1960: 80) we find that his officer (*matpadopajivine*) Madhava was the son of Bhimaya Nayaka and Medama Nayika and they belonged to Arya lineage. Thus Medama Devi can safely be identified with Medama Nayika who is no other than the daughter of Pasaita Komi Nayaka, wife of Bhimaya and the mother of Madhava who were all officers serving under Codagangadeva (1076-1147 CE) of the eastern Ganga Dynasty of Orissa.”

We also note from the Vizagpatam plates of Chodaganga that Aryokulodbhava Vasudeva Nayaka and Gandam Nayika are the parents of Bhimaya, the husband of Medama Nayika.⁵⁸

Mahapatra K N in his discussion of the inscription concludes, “Therefore it is reasonable to accept the historicity of the fact that Jayadeva who was residing here around 1162 CE accompanied a royal official to Krittivaseswara for the sacred act of offering of a perpetual lamp”

Sahu rightly points out that the “family is thus well known to be presenting Mahadipa in Siva temples from Mukhalingam to Bhuabaneswar.” Dash concludes that “the contemporaneity of Jayadeva from the ruling period of Codagangadeva (1076-1147 CE) to that of Raghavadeva (1156-1170 CE), inclusive of Kamarnavadeva (1147-1156 CE) reigning period, can safely be suggested. Further, the temple dancing Nangama’s daughter Medama might herself be a temple dancer and Jayadeva the *gandharva kala kausli* might have come in contact with her in course of their performance. Their association might have caused Madama Devi to accept Jayadeva, the Vaisnava saint, as her initiator to the Vaisnava faith and her guide to various religious shrines such as the Lingaraja temple, the Mukhalingam temple and most likely of Jagannath temple at Puri.”

We can trace the following genealogy of the family from the facts presented by Sahu and Dash.



It can be seen that the father, husband and son of Medama Devi are high officials of the Ganga dynasty. The dates of the inscriptions relating to the family fall within a period of expansion and consolidation of the Ganga empire towards North and inclusion of Odisha. Just before Chodaganga built the temple of Jagannatha at Puri the most important religious centre of the Odisha region was Bhubaneswar where the then tallest and largest temple complex of Lingaraja had been built by the Keshari kings. This Siva temple remains the largest and most famous in the entire coastal areas of Andhra and Odisha to date and even today pilgrims from Telugu speaking areas visit the temple in large numbers. It would be natural for the family of Medama Devi to visit Bhubaneswar and adjoining areas like the new capital of the Ganga empire at Choudwar Kataka and the sacred pilgrim centre of Puri in connection of official work and for performance of religious activities. The publication of the inscriptions of Narasimha Temple⁵⁹ within the complex of the main temple of Jagannatha at Puri provides several instances of the contacts between the two Vaishnavite centres in Srikurmam and Sriksheṭra, Puri during reign period of the Gangas.

Srikurmam, Medama Devi and Sadhupradhana Jayadeva

Srikurmam, was also a well-known centre of the Kalinga style of dance and music in the relevant period of the Lingaraja inscription. Several other epigraphical sources clearly establish the association of the Kalinga country with Devadasi dance. We have noted that the mother of Medama Devi, Nangamma was a temple dancer. Dash has referred to another inscription of Mukhalingam temple⁶⁰ of the time period of Chodaganaga Deva. It is recorded there in that the wife, daughter and brother of a resident of Purnakoti were

appointed as dancer, singer and musician to perform during the offering of the Trkalinga Bhoga offering. Thus it was quite common for ladies of noble families to function as temple dancers and even while they continued as housewives. Padmavati, the wife of Jayadeva who came from the south has been described as a “nacuni”, dancer. While we do not have definite information on her provenance, it is quite likely that she hailed from the sacred geography of Srikurmam. Jayadeva’s *Gitagovinda* had achieved pan-Indian popularity within years of its composition. On account of the historical circumstances described earlier Srikurmam would have been among the earliest locations to receive in the most fascinating journeys of this musical masterpiece that was composed at Puri. Considering the close association of Jayadeva with music and dance as well as his standing as a great Vaishnavite Saint poet, his association with Srikurmam was natural. Nagamma being a Devadasi and a dancer would have come in contact with Jayadeva, a devout Vaishnava, a gandharva kala visharada and pandita kavi during his sojourns to and extended stays at Srikurmam. At this stage we note another related literary reference not notice or linked to discussions on the use of the appellation Sadhu Pradhan for Jayadeva. Candradutta In an early hagiographic account on the poet - *Jayadeva Carita* writes ⁶¹:

अपरं शृणु बक्ष्यामि कवे सुचरितं महत्

जयदेवसमः साधु न भुतो न भविष्यति ॥

aparaṁ śṛṇu bakṣyāmi kave sucaritaṁ mahat
jayadevasamaḥ sādhu na bhuto na bhaviṣyati ॥

Now please give attention to what I speak of an auspicious account.

There never was nor there be another sadhu, a saintly person like Jayadeva

We may also note that the pan-Indian acceptance of *Gitagovinda* as a sacred text is also evidence by its stanzas being included in *Adi Granth*, the earlier version of Guru Granth Sahib. The former was composed in the late sixteenth century CE. This and inclusion of Jayadeva as a saint in all the Bhakata Charita hagiographic biography of saintly persons and devotees of God including the earliest, the *Bhaktamal* of Nabhaji composed in 1585 CE is proof of Jayadeva being counted among the prominent saints of India and this is a tradition that had started in his own lifetime as discussed earlier.

When we consider the plethora of interrelated evidence from multiple sources it is clear that the identification of Sadhu Pradhana Jayadeva with the poet of *Gitagovinda* as also of “Kurmataka” with Srikurmam of Kalinga as recorded in the Lingaraja temple inscription are beyond all doubts. The date of the Lingaraja Temple Inscription in the sixth decade of the 12th century CE corresponds to the reign period of Raghava Deva, the son of the great Chodaganga Deva.

Sobhaneswar and Megheswar Inscriptions

Sahu also refers to two other inscriptions as evidences for establishing the date of the composition of *Gitagovinda*. Udayana Acharya who wrote the first commentary of

Gitagovinda is known to have composed the inscriptions of Sobhaneswar temple at Niali and of the Megheswar temple at Bhubaneswar and on this basis during the reign period of Rajaraja II whose reign period was between 1170 CE and 1194 CE. Sahu assumes that the Bhavabibhavini was probably written during this time. Udayana was the younger brother of Govardhana Aharya, the famous author of Arya Saptasati. He also considers a sloka of Govardhana that mentions Jayadeva found in Alamkara Sekhara of Keshava Mishra. We will deal with this sloka in another context later. Sahu concludes that Jayadeva was living earlier than Govardhana. He then infers that Bhavabibhavini was written by about 1170 CE and on this basis concludes that *Gitagovinda* was written about 1150 CE.⁶²

Summary and Conclusions on Date

We can now summarize the evidence discussed in literary sources, epigraphs and traditional accounts above and take a view on the most likely dates of Jayadeva and *Gitagovinda*. As would have been evident from the current state of research reviewed above, it may not be possible to provide exact dates but it is very much possible to estimate the time frame within which Jayadeva lived and he composed *Gitagovinda*. As already noted Mishra's assessment of early dates - birth of Jayadeva around 1070 and composition of *Gitagovinda* around 1100 is obviously off the mark. *Bhavabhivavini* the earliest commentary of *Gitagovinda* was likely written in the seventies to nineties of the 12th century CE as its author was active in literary activities during that period. Udayana was obviously a younger contemporary of Jayadeva and he could not have written a commentary immediately after *Gitagovinda* was composed. If we account for the fact that he lived within the sacred geography of Srikshetra, Puri which was vibrating with religious, scholarly and cultural activities along with the construction of the temple of Jagannatha, he would have been a frequent visitor to the pilgrim town.⁶³ There is every possibility that he had the opportunity to get acquainted with Jayadeva and as a young acolyte of the poet he would have become fully familiar with *Gitagovinda*. Even so, writing a commentary could have likely happened after about two decades after its composition. Thus a timeframe of the mid-12th century CE appears to be a likely date for composition of *Gitagovinda*. This is the assessment of Bhagabat Prasad Tripathy though he does not rule out a slightly earlier date. From the Lingaraja Temple Inscription and *Punyaloka Manjari* we get to know that by the sixth decade of the 12th century CE Jayadeva is already attained the stature of a saint and Vaishnavite composer performing pilgrimage. He visited Srikurmam, Bhubaneswar and perhaps other pilgrim centres in India around this time. The fact that he is named as Kurmapatakapravara implies that in the heart of the Kalinga country around the sacred geography of Srikurmama and Sri Mukhalingam he commanded great reverence even though his roots and place of work was Puri. Both the areas being part of the then Ganga empire his visits there and extended stay it does not seem surprising that the temple dancers, musicians and artiste community and the people at large would have reverentially and affectionately called him Kurmapatakapravara. This could have happened only after Jayadeva was well established as a lyrical poet-composer and the *Gitagovinda* was well known and popular in that area. For the reasons cited for the timeframe in connection with Udayanacharya this could not

have taken couple of decades. So *Gitagovinda* could have been composed in the early 1140s. We thus establish a broad range of the time frame for composition of *Gitagovinda* around the middle of 12th century CE. When we take into account the account of *Vaishnava Lilamrita* and the reign period of Kamarnava between 1147 CE to 1156 CE, the assessment of this approximation is further bolstered. While the complete work was probably performed during the dedication of the Jagannatha temple in 1142 CE, we cannot discount the fact that the *Dashavatara Stotra* or the first song and other songs of *Gitagovinda* were performed, especially the *Mangala Gita* or second song, as standalone items much earlier. This might have helped in the gradual popularizing of this unique musical composition.

From the strong traditions about Jayadeva's life, we know that his marriage to Padmavati was an important trigger for his creative efflorescence. We can reasonably assume that the intimate and passionate love of the divine couple could have been best depicted by the poet after his marriage. While several previous Indian literary works have such descriptions and there were treatises on the art of love, Jayadeva's artistic transformation of this knowledge and personal experience could have happened only over a few years since his own romantic experiences with his wife. Considering this dimension, he would be at least in his early middle age by this time he could be in his early forties or mid to late thirties when he started composing the songs in the main body of *Gitagovinda*. Thus it follows that Jayadeva was born in the early part of the 12th century and most probably in its very beginning. We have noted that he entered a new phase of life as a saint performing pilgrimages around the mid-sixties of the 12th century CE. It is possible that Jayadeva achieved eminence as a saint relatively early in his age and also received pan-Indian acceptance as such, as evident from his being a co-pilgrim of the seer of the Kanchi Shankaracharya math. If he completed the *Gitagovinda* in the mid-forties of the 12th CE, he most probably entered the next phase of his life as a pilgrim saint, a pattern following the various phases of life following age old Indian traditions sometime in the mid-sixties of the century. We do not have any additional information about the poet in his later life beyond this. *Vaishnava Lilamrita* only says that in time the poet ascended heaven - "*kale se kavi swarga gala*". The last fact relating to the poet described here prior to this event is the coronation of Kamarava as crown prince. Since we know of other events posterior to this during the reign period of Raghava (1156 CE – 1170 CE) from other sources we can interpret "*kale*" as in due course and sometime beyond that. Since *Prithviraj Raso* in about 1192 already pays homage to Jayadeva as a saint poet and illustrious predecessor of its author, it will be reasonable to assume that Jayadeva had passed away at least a few years before that. This could be a couple of decades or a decade earlier than the *Prithviraj Raso*. We can therefore infer that Jayadeva lived till the second half of the seventh decade of the 12th century CE or a few years thereafter.

In conclusion it can be said that Jayadeva was born in the early part of the 12th century; he completed the *Gitagovinda* in the mid-forties of the 12th century CE, was already accepted across India as a great saint poet by the sixties of that century of the and was on pilgrimage to various places and lived till the second half of the seventh decade of

that. On the basis of the evidence available to us within the current state of research this is the best approximation we can make about the date of Jayadeva and his *Gitagovinda*.

- 1 वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरां
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुते।
शृङ्गारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयचरणैराचार्यगोवर्द्धन-
स्पृष्टीं कोऽपि न विश्रुतः श्रुतिधरो धोयी कविक्षमापतिः ॥ ४ ॥
vācaḥ pallavayatyumāpatidharaḥ sandarbhaśuddhiṁ girāṁ
jānīte jayadeva eva śaraṇaḥ ślāghyo dūrūhadhrute |
śṛṅgārottarasatprameyacaraṇairācāryagovaraddhana-
sparddhī ko'pi na viśrutaḥ śrutidharo dhoyī kavikṣmāpatīḥ ||4||
- 2 Mahapatra, K. N. 1973. Sri Jayadeva o Gitagovinda (Odia).
- 3 Rajaguru, Satya Narayana. 1968. Jayadeva, the Author of Gitagovinda. In Sahu, N. K. (Edited) *Souvenir on Sri Jayadeva*. pp 5-6. Bhubaneswar. Sri Jayadeva Saskrutika Parishad Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
- 4 Sircar, D. C. 1958. No 28. Bhubaneswar Inscriptions of Lingaraja Temple. In *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. XXX (Part III-VIII) P 158-161. Delhi. Manager Publications
- 5 Sahu, N. K. 1968. Jayadeva, the Poet of Gitagovinda, His Date and Place. In Sahu, N. K. (Edited) *Souvenir on Sri Jayadeva*. Bhubaneswar. Sri Jayadeva Saskrutika Parishad Orissa, Bhubaneswar.
- 6 Mishra, Bimal Kishore. 1991. Sri Gitagovinda and its Author. In Orissa Review, May 1991
- 7 Tripathy, Bhagabat Prasad. 1968. Sri Gitagovindakar Jayadevanka Janmasthana o Kala (Odia). Puri. In *Souvenir of the Centenary Celebrations of Sri Sadasiva Sanskruta Vidyalaya*, Puri
- 8 Acharya, Brundabana Chandra. 1984. "Kavi Jayadevanka Janmasthana o Samaya" (Odia). In *Pratibeshi*, (7, 1984). & Acharya, Brindaban Chandra. 1994. *Odishare Krushna Upasana* (Odia). Cuttack. Grantha Mandir
- 9 Rath, Banamali. Orissa, the Homeland of Jayadeva. 1972. *Proceedings of the International Sanskrit Conference. New Delhi* (Reprinted in Pathy, Dinanath et al. (Edited) *Jayadeva and Gitagovinda in the Traditions of Orissa*. 1995. New Delhi. Harman Publishing House.)
- 10 Acharya, Brindaban Chandra. Op. Cit.
- 11 Pandya, Mohanlal Vishnulal, Das Radhakrishna and Das Shyamsunder. (edited). 1906. *Mahakavi Chand Bardai krita Prithviraj Raso*. Benaras. Nagari Pracharani Sabha.
- 12 Dwivedi, Hazari Prasad. (Edited). 1952. *Prithviraj Raso* with a long introduction. Nagari Pracharini Saha. Benares. Accessed from www.archives .org. Bhagabat Prasad Tripathy Op. Cit. discusses this in some detail.
- 13 Tripathy, Bhagabat Prasad. Op Cit. He quotes the following colophon:

शकेऽत्र सप्तविंशत्यधिक-शतोपेतदशशतेशरदाम्

श्रिमल्लक्ष्मणसेनक्षितिपतिस्य रसैकविंशेऽब्दे

सवितुर्गत्या फाल्गुन विंशेषु परार्थहेतवे कुतुकात्

श्रिधरदासेनेदं सदुक्तिकर्णामृतं चक्रे।

śake'tra saptaviṁśatyadhika-śatopetadaśaśateśaradām
śrimallakṣmaṇasenakṣitipatisya rasaikaviṁśe'vde
saviturgatyā phālguna viṁśeṣu parārthahetave kutukāt
śridharadāsenedaṁ saduktikarṇāmṛtaṁ cakre|

He then quotes slokas about the dates of Adbhuta Sagara the composition of which was started by Ballala Sena and was completed by his son Lakshmana Sena. He also refers to Ballala Sena's Danasagara wherein it is mentioned that the composition of Saduktikarnamritam was started in Saka 1091 or 1169 CE. Tripathy infers that of the five parts, titled Pravahas, the first was compiled around 1178 CE while the last closer to 1205 CE. Since even the first pravaha of *Sadukti Karnamrita* includes a sloka of Gitagovinda the latter would have been compiled sufficiently before 1178.

- 14 Tripathy, Bhagabat Prasad. Op Cit.
- 15 Mishra, Bimal Kishore. Op Cit.
- 16 Probably "no" is a typographical error for "one"
- 17 Ingalls, Daniel H. H. 1965. *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry*, Vidyakara's "Subhasitaratnakosa". Cambridge, Massachusetts. Harvard University Press.
- 18 Mishra, op cit. "Be it noted that Sridhara Das was extra careful in identifying authors of the stanzas included in his anthology and in case of stanzas authored by different persons of the same name, he would always use distinguishing expressions to clearly identify each of them like Chirantana Sarana, Sarana Deva and Sarana Dutta. In this anthology some slokas from the Gitagovinda have been cited and in these cases, the author's name has been mentioned as Jayadeva. For the sloka which is common to his anthology and that of Vidyakara, he names the author also as Jayadeva."
- 19 Sharma, Ramavatar (Edited). 1912. *Sadukti Karnamritam* by Sridhara Dasa. Calcutta. Asiatic Society of Bengal
- 20 Mishra, Bimal Kishore. Op. Cit. These are listed in Ingalls' edition at serial nos 1313, 1314, 1357 & 1613. (पाणौ मा कुरु...., हृदि बिसलताहारो....भ्रूचापे निहितः....स्निग्धे यत्परुषासि, pāṇau mā kuru, bisalatāhāro, bhrūcāpe nihitaḥ,, snigdhe yatparuṣāsi)
- 21 Mishra, Bimal Kishore. Op. Cit. Mishra concludes his views on the dates of Jayadeva and Gitagovinda in the following words. "We now consider the relevant dates. Jayadeva was born near about 1070 A.D., had risen to eminence as a poet by 1100 A.D. and had composed Gitagovinda between 1100 A.D. and 1109 A.D."
- 22 Peterson, in his edition of the *Subhāṣitāvali*, wrote in 1886: "Of the compiler [of the anthology] all we can say is that he cannot have flourished before Jainollābhadra [i.e. Zain ul-'Abidin], whose date is given by Cunningham as A.D. 1417-67." Aufrecht places Vallabhadeva, the compiler of this important Sanskrit anthology, in the sixteenth century A.D., on the ground that Vallabhadeva has laid the *Sārngadhara-paddhati* under contribution in compiling his anthology. With this view Winternitz seems to agree.
- 23 De, S. K., July, 1927. On the Date of *Subhasitavali*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 9, Issue 3. London.
- 24 C. Bhattacharyya, January, 1928. *Date of the Subhasitavali*. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland. Vol. 60, Issue 1. Pp 135-137. London.
- 25 Haksar, A N D: *Subhashitavali: An Anthology of Comic, Erotic and Other Verse*, Penguin India, New Delhi 2007
- 26 Rath, Ghanasyam and Acharya, Bundabana Chandra. (Edited). 1986. *Vaishnavaleelamrita, Kavi Madhava Pattanayaka Birachita*. Sambalpur. Pradeep Publications.
- 27 Ibid. Introduction. P4.
- 28 As quoted in *Vaishnava Lilamrita*, (op cit) Introduction p3. It is noted that this Vandana is included by Majumdar, Bipin Behari, "Sri Chaitanya Chariter Upadan"
- 29 This happened in the year 1142 CE and Kamarnava became king after death of his father and his regular coronation probably took place in Chaudwara Kataka the then imperial capital of the Gangas the empirical capital and the normal venue for such an event. Later it shifted to Varanasi Kataka or modern day Cuttack.
- 30 Behera, K S and Parida, A N. *Madala Panji: the Chronicle of Jaganannath Temple (Rajabhoga Itihasa)*, Bhubaneswar Amedeus Press 2009
- 31 *Madala Panji (Odia)*, Prachi Edition. 1946. Utkal University. Cuttack.
- 32 Ibid. 1940 P37
- 33 Praharaja, Gopala Chandra, Compiled, 1931-1940., *Purna Chandra Odia Bhashakosha (Odia)*. The Utkal Sahitya Press. Cuttack

- 34 Mishra, Kahnu Charan. 1971. *The Cult of Jagannatha*. Calcutta. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya. P57 and Endnote 115 at P 69
- 35 <http://www.andhrabharati.com/dictionary>
- 36 Singh, Jagabandhu. 1982. *Prachina Utkala* (Odia) Part I, Third edition. Odisha Sahitya Akademy. Bhubaneswar.
- 37 Ibid. Singh also mentions that this has been stated by Rasikmohan Chakravarti in his biography of Raya Ramananda.
- 38 Mishra, Bimal Kisore. Op. Cit.
- 39 <http://www.koausa.org/Glimpses/Mankha.html> (accessed 12 July, 2018) The facts are as given in an essay titled Mankha and Srikantha Charitam by Kaushalya Wali
- 40 Kielhorn, Dr F. *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in the Central Provinces*. 1874. Nagpur.

Kavya

No: 42

Name of the MS: Bhava-vibhavini-Gita Govinda tika

Author: Udayanacharya,

No of Leaves 100.

No of lines on each page 10.

No of slokas 1000.

Age of the MS 150.

Where deposited and in whose possession: S. Lakshmana

Remarks:

It may be noted that this manuscript is yet to be published.

- 41 Sahu, N. K. op. Cit. He discusses this in the following words.
The earliest known commentary entitled Bhava Bibhaviini was written by Udayana who is well known to students of Orissan history. He was the composer of inscriptions of Sobhaneswar temple at Niali and of the Megheswar temple at Bhubaneswar. The temple of Megheswara was caused to be built by Swapneswaradeva, the brother-in-law of the Ganga king Rajaraja II who ruled from 1170 to 1194 A.D. So Acharya Udayana very likely wrote his Bhava Vibhavini during that time. The Gitagovinda must have taken time to give rise to the need of writing a commentary on it and as such, it was composed sometime before 1170 A.D. This becomes all the more clear when we examine the relative chronology of Acharya Udayana. Acharya Govardhana and poet Jayadeva. Govardhana in his Arya Saptasati states that his work was revised by Balabhadra and Udayana both of whom were his brothers and disciples. So Govardhana Acharya being the elder brother and Guru of Udayana was without doubt an older contemporary of him
Kesava Misra in his Alankara Sekhara, in order to illustrate the Virodhabhasha Alankara quotes a verse which he states to have been composed by Acharya Govardhana. In this verse Govardhana pays high tributes to Jayadeva and describes him as a poet and scholar of Utkala. He reveals the fact that although the learned scholars in the court of the king of Utkala were much inferior to the great poet Jayadeva, the latter did not get due honour from the king. The verse is quoted below

Prak pratyak pruthivibhrutoh parishadi prakshyatasamkhyabata

Mahnayatadnhutatarkakarkasataya vichhidya vidyamandam

Yekepiutkala bhupateh tabasabhasambhabitah panditah

Patam Sreejayadeva pandita kavi stanmurdhni vinyasysyati

This clearly proves that Jayadeva was living earlier than Govardhana Acharya who was an elder contemporary of Acharya Udayana who wrote a commentary on the Gita Govinda about 1170 A.D. In the light of this, the Gita Govinda may be taken to have been written about 1150 A. D.

- 42 Behera, Karuna Sagar. 1992. In *Utkalara Kavi Jayadeva*. Odisha Book Store, for Sarala Sahitya Sansad. Cuttack. Page 36, 45
- 43 Varadapande, M. L. 1987. *History of Indian Theatre*, Vol. I. Abhinav, Delhi. He writes as under.

The *Bhagavaa Purana* further enjoins devotees to construct Krishna temples and donat land, income from markets, villages and cities to meet the expenditure of various rituals, which naturally include theatrical entertainment (11.27.50). In this context the stone inscription of King Sarangadeva dated Saka 1348 is worth mentioning.

The inscription, which was found at Anavada or Anahilapataka, a few miles from Patan, opens with a stanza from the *Dashavatar Ashtapadi* of Jayadeva's *Geeta Govinda*. At that time Shri Sarangadeva of Vaghela dynasty ruled Anahilapataka. A Krishna temple stood there long before the reign of Sarangadeva. The inscription makes a record of the gifts for worship, offerings and theatricals presented before Lord Krishna. The seventh line says donation was for –

(Shri) (Kri)shnapadanam
(Pu)ja Naivedya
Prekshanaka nimitta

Prekshanaka means drama. It is clear from the inscription that Krishna plays were enacted at the temple of Anihilapataka and *Geeta Govinda* ws probably also performed.

- 44 Rajaguru, Satya Narayana Orissa Historical Journal Vol. V, pp 178-182, 1957
- 45 Ibid.

The 9th Srahi of Raghava Deva commenced from the 23rd August, 1162 AD, as per list given at the end of theis paper. But the grant No 2 was made in the month of Kumbha and the day of the full-moon, Thursday. Its corresponding date is 1st February, 1162 AD, Thursday. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephimeries*, Vol III, P 326, there occurred a lunar eclipse on the above date. Therefore the occasion of this grant is quite auspicious and benefitting.

- 46 Sircar, D. C. Op. Cit.
- 47 Rajaguru, Satya Narayana. 1968. Jayadeva, the Author of Gitagovinda. Op. Cit.
- 48 Sahu, Nabin Kumar. 1968. Jayadeva, the Author of Gitagovinda-His Date and Place in *Souvenir on Sri Jayadeva*, Sri Jayadeva Saskrutika Parishad Orissa. Bhubaneswar.
- 49 Dash, Rabi Narayana. 1986. *Gitagovindare Samaja O Sanskruti*. (Odiya) in Mishra, Kahnu Charan et al. (Edited). *Odissara Kavi Jayadeva*. Odissa Sanskruti Parishad. Bhubaneswar.
- 50 Dash, Rabi Narayana. Op. Cit.
- 51 Sircar in fact points out "Their language is only seemingly Sanskrit. Often the bibhaktis are omitted as in some of the early Oriya inscriptions. The orthography is greatly influenced by local pronunciation"
- 52 Rajaguru, Satya Narayana, *Souvenir*, P5,P6
- 53 Dash, Rabi Narayana. *Sadhu Pradhan Jayadeva*:

In considering the epithet 'Sadhu Pradhan' foregoing Jayadeva we come to the conclusion that this is used as a prefix which qualifies Jayadeva and reveals his merits instead of being used as a suffix indicating his title. Sircar has also edited the Markandesvara temple stone inscription of Puri in which he has read about one Sadhu Bhimadeva and his son to have received some land for the anga-bhog of Lord Purusottamadeva and ekachhayadipadana. But Sircar states Sadhu Bhimadeva as a merchant. (Sircar 1959-60 : 185). Here also he has clarified that sadhu applied to Bhimadeva shows that he belonged to the merchantile (Sircar 1959-60 : 182) community. In both the inscriptions the word 'Sresthi' is given indicating merchants exclusively. Further in the 'Khilor inscription of Saka 1075 (Sircar 1955-56: 116) one Katama is mentioned to have offered a perpetual lamp to Khellaudesvara Siva by purchasing a piece of land from one 'Sadhu praja for its maintenance. In discussing about the same he has shown that "the word Sadhu-praja means' a merchant' seems to be suggested by the expression Sadhu-Pradhan in the Bhubaneswara inscription of Raghava". Again, in this inscription there is mention of 'tapodhana-sadhu. .. (pa)ripala niyam (yam)' which is explained by Sircar as follows.

“Lines 5-6 contain two sentences, the first of which prays for the maintenance of the gift by the tapodhanas (apparently the Saiva ascetic or ascetics in charge of the temple of Khellaudesvara) and the sadhus or merchants probably meaning the Sadhuprajas mentioned in lines 3-4”. But the expression ‘tapodhana sadhu.(pa) ripalaniyam (yam) is definitely meant that the saiva ascetic or ascetics are intended to maintain the gift for its safe keeping but not the merchants since the sadhus were enjoying confidence of the members of the royal houses, officials and the people as a whole. Thus the interpretation of Sircar is to distort the meaning with the intention that nowhere the expression of Sadhu should be construed as holy or pious lest the Bhubanesvara inscription stating Sadhupradhana by understood as a foremost sadhu and will qualify Jayadeva, the saint poet of Orissa. Hence, it appears to be more correct in identifying Sadhu Pradhana Jayadeva with the foremost pious man Jayadeva and Sadhu Bhimadeva as pious Bhimadeva. This Jayadeva is thus properly equated with the composer of the Gitagovindam by the Orissan scholars. This fits in well with the time of Jayadeva on whose work the first commentary ‘Bhavavibhavi’ was composed around 1170-1175 A.D.’ i.e. soon after 1162 A.D.

- 54 Ramakrishnananda, Swami. 1959. *Life of Ramanuja* (Translated from Bengali by Swami Budhananda). Sri Ramakrishna Math. Madras.
- 55 Mahapatra, K. N. 1973. *Sri Jayadeva o Gitagovinda* (Odia). P 243-247
- 56 Rajaguru, Satya Narayana, Jayadeva, the Author of Gitagovinda, in *Souvenir on Jayadeva and Gitagovinda*, Bhubaneswar 1968 pp 5-6. Rajaguru has indicated his source as South Indian Inscriptions, Vol VI, No 936
- 57 Sahu, N K. Op. Cit. P15
- 58 Rajaguru, Satya Narayana. 1960. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol III, Part-i. Orissa Sahitya Akademy. Bhubaneswar. P 80.
- 59 Rajaguru, Satya Narayana. 1992 & 2003. *Inscriptions of the Temples of Puri and Origin of Sri Purushottama Jagannath Vol - I & II.*, Sri Jagannatha Sanskrita Viswavidyalaya. Puri
- 60 Dash Rabi Narayan. Op. Cit. P106.
- 61 Panda, Bhagaban. 1986. *Candradatta Viracitam Kaviraja Sri Jayadeva Caritam*. Rashtrabhasha Samavaya Prakashana. Cuttack
- 62 Sahu, N. K. op. Cit. He discusses this in the following words.
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- 63 Mahapatra, K N. 1973. *Sri Jayadeva o Sri Gitagovinda*. Op Cit. P 229. Mahapatra refers here to a popular tradition and belief that Govardhana Acharya lived near the Gundicha temple of Srikshetra. We may note that it is the same area where the famous Dashavatara Matha established by Jayadeva still stands today. Thus the possibility of Udayana getting to know Jayadeva at an early age and developing some intimacy with him is very real.



THREE NINETEENTH CENTURY SALE DEEDS FROM GUNUPUR

Subrata Kumar Acharya

The inscriptions edited here were at first noticed by S. Tripathy in her *Descriptive Topographical Catalogue*.ⁱ Nothing is known about the history of discovery or provenance of the first plate (Plate I) while the other two plates (Plate II and III) were presented to the Odisha State Museum, Bhubaneswar by the Raja Saheb of Tekkali. All the three plates are now preserved in the State Museum. Since the inscriptions are not properly edited as yet, I requested B. Pal, Curator, Epigraphy Section of the Museum, to provide me photographs of the inscriptions and she was very kind to promptly mail good photographs. I edit the inscriptions from the photographs.

Gunupur Sale Deed No. I

This is a single copper plate having writings on both the sides. It measures 6.7" x 3". There are altogether sixteen lines of writing. The first two lines are found on the upper portion of the obverse side and the lower portion contains the last three lines, while the middle portion of the text (lines 3 to 13) is engraved on the reverse side of the plate. The letter *ma* in the word *paścimaku* in line 9 and the letters *vāra* after *kraya* in line 12 are engraved above the line.

The language and script of the inscription are in Oriya and they belong to the 19th century.ⁱⁱ The letter forms of *u* and *bha* are written similarly and are not easily distinguishable. The guttural *ka* in conjunction with *na* is written in two different manners as in *mahantaṅka* (l. 1) and *mahāprabhuṅka* (l. 2). It is difficult to distinguish between the vowel *r* (vide *rpe*, l. 5) and the letter *ri* (vide *nākhiri*, l. 6). The words like *lekhāi devāra* (l. 2) and *paścimaku thivāra* (l. 5) are typical to the south Odishan dialect. The boundary terms like *gaḍiyā*, *vandha*, *vāḍa*, *gāḍa*, *ḍhepa*, *nāḷa*, *sandhi*, *sīmānta*, *gacha*, *mācha*, *padara*, *paṅkāla*, *nidhi*, *nikhāta*, *daṇḍā*, *gopatha*, *pāca/pāci-bhūmi*, *tasivā/casivā-bhūmi*, *limmālaggā-bhūmi*, etc., are interesting. Similarly the words like *tayāra* (l. 3), *sadara* (l. 4) and *mayumndāra* (l. 15) are loan words used in the inscription. The actual import of the words like *punutali* (ll. 5-6), *nākhiri* (l. 6) and *lammāluga/limmāllagā bhūmi* (ll. 9-10) are not known. However, they could be terms used for the kinds of land in colloquial language of the locality in question. Among the orthographical peculiarities mention may be made of *mulva* (l. 11) written for *mulya*; *gatsa* (l. 12) written for *gacha*; *nārāeṇa* (l. 14) for *nārāyaṇa*; and so on.

The inscription is dated in the cyclic year Śobhana, on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada. The conjunct *mlām* after 12 may stand for Maṅgalavāra or Tuesday. This is a sale deed registering sale of the land by Śrī Gopāladāsa Mahanta in favour of Rāmakṛṣṇadāsa. The land in question is an endowment of the temple of the god Bālāji. Different plots of land belonging to the temple were sold. First of all the deed refers to three plots

measuring a total of 9 *gaḍisā* of land and their descriptions in lines 3-5, such as a) 5 *gaḍisā* of fertile land (*pāci bhūmi*) situated to the south of the tank constructed by Śrī Sahajarāma Mahanta on the western side of the village of Jirāgrāma; b) 2 *gaḍisā* of fertile land (*pāci bhūmi*) situated to the middle of the northern side of the said tank; and c) 2 *gaḍisā* of fertile land (*pāci bhūmi*) situated to the west of the said tank. The text in lines 5-6 suggests that some additional uncultivable/fallow land situated to the east and south of the village were also included in the deed.

This is followed by the boundary specifications (ll. 6-8) of sold land. On the east it is marked by a small tank (*gaḍiyā*), an embankment of a water body (*vandha*), a mound (*ḍhepa*) and a Tettuli (same as Tentuli or tamarind/*Tamarindus indica*) tree; on the west by a Osta (same as Asvatha/*Ficus religiosa*) tree on the top of a mound; on the south by the limits of a village named Rābhugrāma and a Jāmva (same as Jāmu or Jāmun/*Syzygium cumini*) tree; and on the north by the junction of the field of the temple priest (*yāni-vāḍa*) and a Mahula (same as Madhuka/*Madhuca indica*) tree. Another piece of fertile land measuring 3 *gaḍisā* situated near Garagaḍayā-nāḷa (stream) was also sold along with the above. It is bounded on the east by the limits of *limmāllugā-bhūmi* (?), on the west by the cultivable land (*tasivā bhūmi* or *casivā bhūmi*) of Rāmvu-satarā, on the north by the junction of the *limmālugā-bhūmi* and the Vaṭa (*Croton roxburghii*) tree, and on the south by the embankment of a small tank. Rāmvu Satarā could be the name of a person. It can be emended as Rāmu Sāntarā or Rāma Sāmantarāya.

Thus, altogether a total of 12 *gaḍisā* of land with their boundaries well defined was sold as per the current rate of 380 rupees by the seller. From this day onwards, (the purchaser) would enjoy the land together with the trees, fishes, fallow land, wet land, other land and water, hidden treasures, deposits, waste land, roads, pasture land, etc., as long as the Sun and the Moon would endure and till the destruction of the creation. This is followed by a declaration by the seller that he received the amount of the proceeds at the time of executing the deed (l. 14). The sale deed was executed in the presence of the witnesses namely Nārāyaṇa Parichā and Rāmacandra Pāṇigrāhi. With the knowledge of these two witnesses, the deed was endorsed by Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, the Mayumndāra (Majumdar) or the revenue collector/accountant of Guṇupur. The sale deed ends with a letter *gam*, a floral design and the symbol of a sword.

The date of the charter is in Jipiter's Sixty-year cycle. It is dated in the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada of the cyclic year Śobhana and the week day is mentioned as Maṅgalavāra. The date regularly corresponds to 5 September 1843, Tuesday.ⁱⁱⁱ The day is actually known in Odisha as *Suniā* from which the Oriya new year of the *aṅka* or regnal year of the king is calculated.^{iv}

The inscription refers to the personal names of a number of individuals like Śrī Gopāladāsa Mahanta, Śrī Sahajarāma Mahanta, Rāmakrisna Dāsa, Rāmu Sātarā or Rāmu Santara/Rāma

Sāmantarāya, Nārāyaṇa Parichā, Rāmacandra Pāṇigrāhi, and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa who were involved, directly or indirectly, in the preparation of the sale deed. Śrī Sahajarāma Mahanta was very likely a predecessor of Śrī Gopālādāsa Mahanta, the head of the trustee of the Balaji temple. There is a Bālāji temple in Puruna Gunupur that was built in the middle of the 19th century. Locally it is known as Sana *matha*.^v It is about four kilometers north-west from Gunupur Bus Stand. It is now a living temple. It is believed that a brahmin named Nityānanda Paṇḍā brought the image of Bālāji made of brass from Puri to Gunupur and the image was installed in a *kacha* house and worshipped. Later on the *matha* was reconstructed by Mahanta Balarāma Dās Bābāji. But the present *matha* was reportedly built by Sri Sahajarām Das Mahanta during the rule of Sri Vikrama Dev II (1825-60).^{vi} Since the year of the sale deed under consideration is 1843, the temple was apparently built sometime before this date.

Of the place names mentioned in the deed mention may be made of Jirāgrāma and Rābhugrāma which may be identified respectively with Jirāgrāma and Rāḍhu under Padmapur police station of the present Gunupur sub-division of Rayagada district of Odisha. Both of them are adjoining villages. As per the description, Rāḍhu is still situated to the south of the village Jirāgrāma. The stream named Garagaḍayā-nāḷa is located in the close neighbourhood of Jirāgrāma. Gunupur is also referred to in the inscription as a revenue division.

Regarding the land measure *gaḍisā* it may be pointed out here that this is actually a grain measure popularly used in the undivided Ganjam and Koraput districts of south Odisha and to be more precise it was current in the localities of Rayagada, Gunupur and Parlakhemundi. One *gaḍisā* is equal to 7.5 *bharaṇas* and 1 *bharaṇa* is equal to 1/5 acre or 20 decimal of land.^{vii} Therefore, one *gaḍisā* of land would be equal to 1.5 acre of land. According to this calculation, the 12 *gaḍisā* of land as stated to have been sold in the deed under consideration would be equal to 18 acres of land. Since the total cost of the 12 *gaḍisā* land was fixed at 380 rupees, cost of one *gaḍisā* of land amounted to 31.66 rupees. But this could not have been case because the landed property transacted in the sale deed varied considerably.

Text

Obverse

1. śobhanakṛta nāma saṁvatsara bhādrapada śu 12 mlām śrī Gopālādāsa mahantaṅka
2. ra | rāmakṛṣṇadāsaṅku lekhāi devāra śuddha kraya patra || śrī Bālāji mahāprabhuṅka

Reverse

3. amṛtamoṇahim jirāgrāma samvandhara bhūmi | śrī sahaja rāma mahanta tayāra ka-
4. rāivā sadara grāma paścimaku thivāra vandha dakṣiṇaku pāci bhūmi ga 5 e vandha peṭa uttaraku

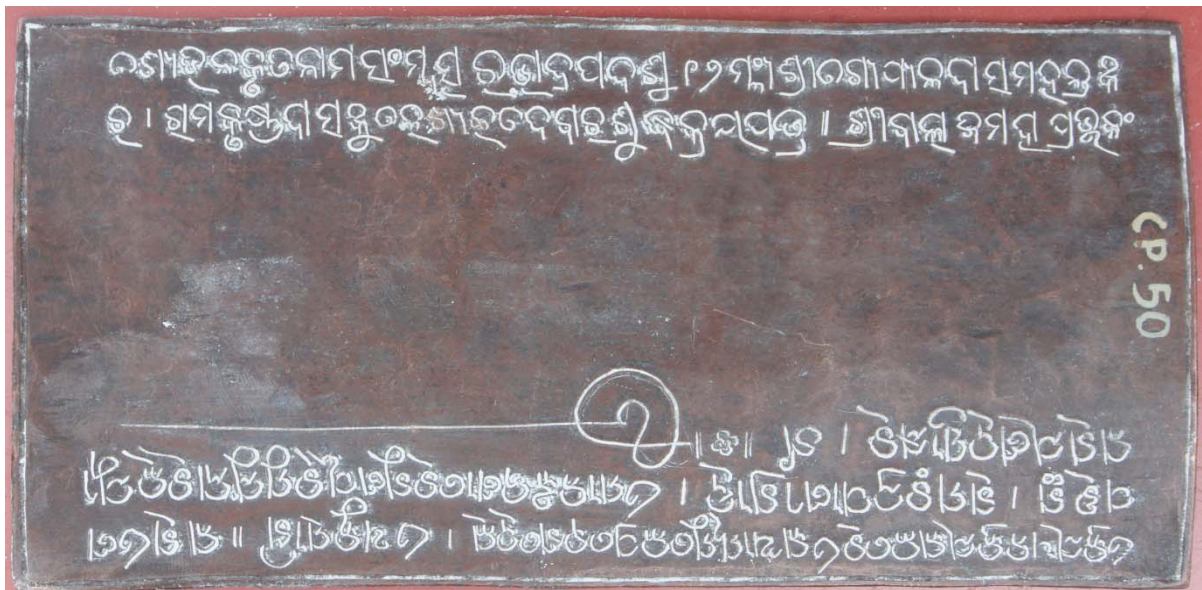


Plate I; Obverse

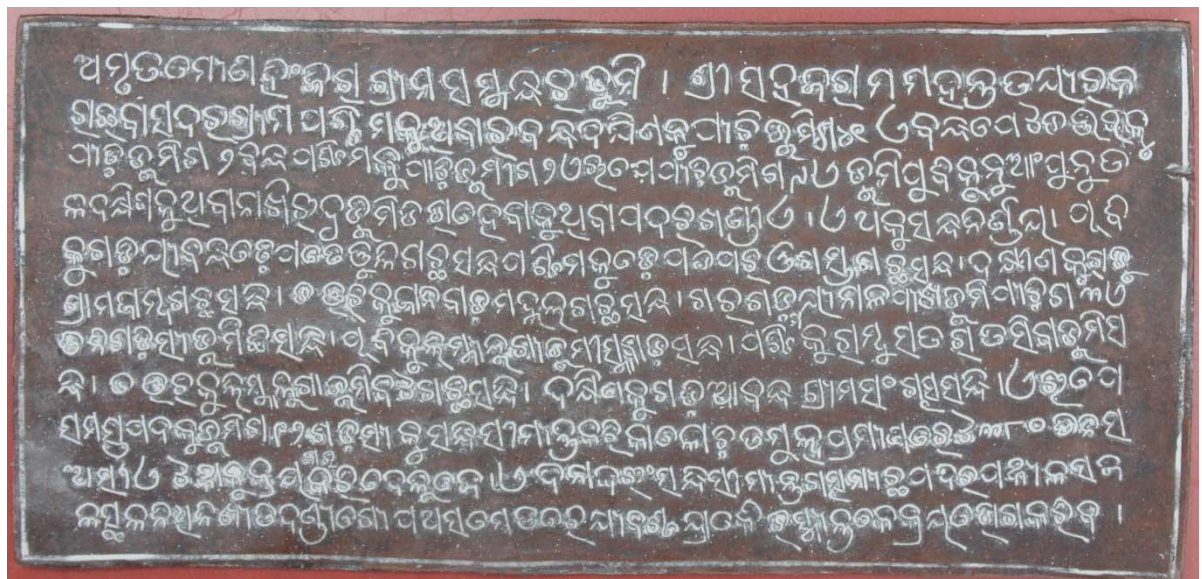


Plate I; Reverse

5. pāca bhūmi ga 2 vandha paścimaku pāci bhūmī ga 2 eṛpe pāca bhūmi ga 9 e bhūmi purvaku nuām punuta-
6. li dakṣiṇaku thivā nākhiri du bhūmi ḍarā hevāku thivā padara khaṇḍīe | ethaku sandhi nirṇaya | pūrva-
7. ku gaḍiyā vandha ḍhepa tettuli gacha sandhi paścimaku ḍhepa upara osta gacha sandhi | dakṣiṇaku rābhu

8. grāma jāmva gacha sandhi | uttaraku jānīvāḍa mahūla gacha sandha(ndhi) | garagaḍaya nāḷa pākha bhūmi pāca ga 3 e
9. tini gaḍisā bhūmi cha sandhi | pūrvaku limmāllugā bhūmī sma(sīmā) vāḍa sandhi | paścima^{viii}ku rāmvu satarā tasivā bhūmi sa-
10. ndhi | uttaraku limmāluga bhūmi vaṭa gacha sandhi | dakṣiṇaku gaḍiā vandha grāma samcāsa sandhi | e rpe
11. samasta padaku bhūmi ga 12 gaḍisāku sandhi sīmānta kari kālocita mulva pramāṇare ṭa 380 tini sa-
12. asī e ṭaṅkāku kraya vara^{ix} kari deluje | e dināddariṁ sandhi sīmānta gatsa mācha padara paṅkāla sa-ja-
13. ḷa-sṭhala nidhi nikhāta daṇḍā gopatha sametare yāvaścandrārke bhasmāntake kraya bhoga kariva |

Obverse

14. e kraya dhana kraya kāḷare ekā āmbha muḷe praveśa helā | ethaku sākhi || nārāeṇa
15. parichā | rāmacandra pāṇigrāhi | emānaṅka jaṇāre guṇapūra muyumndāra (?) lakṣmī
16. nārāyaṇa hastākṣara | gaṁ || floral design ||^x

Gunupur Sale Deed No. II

This is a single copper plate having writings on both the sides. It measures 9” x 4.8”. There are altogether eighteen lines of writing. The first five lines are found on the upper portion of the obverse side and the lower portion contains the last line, while the middle portion of the text (lines 6 to 17) is engraved on the reverse side of the plate. There is a small hole at the top left corner of the plate.

The inscription is written in Oriya language and script of the 19th century. The language of the inscription is considerably influenced by the dialect of south Odisha to be more precise that of Koraput-Rayagada. The words like *puśa* (for *pauśa*), *mlaṁvāre* (for *maṅgalavāra*), *putā* (for *pua*), *syāsana* (for *śāsana*), *dana diksa hevāra*, *lekhāi devāra*, *uttari*, *ekāhare* (*ekāthare*), *gutā*, *gaḍisā*, and so on are peculiar to the locality of the provenance of the charter. Besides, the words like *janevari* or January, *sadara*, *tālukā*, *ilākā*, *jilā*, *aṁsadāra*, *ṭaṅkā*, *hajāra*, *sāla*, *sarakāra*, *sarāi*, etc., are borrowed from different sources. The boundary terms that occur in the deed are *padara*, *paṅkāla*, *jala*, *sthala*, *nidhi*, *nikhāta*, *kāṣṭha*, *pāṣāṇa*, *chāyā*, *upachāya*, *daṇḍā*, *gopatha*, *nāḷa*, *āgala*, *gacha*, *mācha*, *vāṭa*, *goraja*, *ḍhepa*, *sikha*, *kyāri* (also spelt as *kiāri*), *gāṭu*, and so on. Of palaeographical interest mention may be made of the letter forms of *tna* in the word *Visākhapaṭṇā* (ll. 2 and 7-8), *ta* in *putā* (l. 3), *lu* in *tālukā* (ll. 2, 4, 8), *li* in *vanamāli* (l. 5), *nika* in

miśraṅka (l. 6), *ṅga* in *navaraṅgapura* (l. 8), *vdha* in *lavdha* (l. 9), *a* in *ādi* (l. 12) and *āmbhe* (l. 13), etc. The medial *ū* is written in a different manner as in *bhūmi* (l. 14), *tālūkā* (l. 8). As regards orthography, *mulya* is written as *mulva* (l. 12), *arjita* as *aryīta* (l. 9), *saḍamśa* as *sadamśa* (l. 9), *śikhara* as *sikha* (l. 17), and so on. The medial *i* and *ī* so also the sibilants are used indiscriminately; the *anusvāra* is used unnecessarily on many occasions; and the initial vowel *a* and *ā* as well as the conjunct *ṅka* are written in two different ways.

The inscription begins with the date of the execution of the sale deed as the twelfth day of the month of January 1886 in Christian era which is stated to have been equivalent to the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Pauṣa, Tuesday, in the year Pārthiva of the sixty cycle of the Jupiter (*Pārthiva nāma samvatsara*, l. 1). On this date a sale deed was executed by Harikṛṣṇa Miśra, Candraśekhara Miśra, Vanamali Miśra and Gopavandhu Miśra, the four sons of Māna Miśra, residents of Jayapura, and Jagannātha Miśra and Dinavandhu Miśra, the two sons of Kṛtivāsa Miśra, residents of Sadara-śāsana. These six persons sold four *gaḍisā* of land to a person named Gorācānda Saorā, son of Gopinātha Saorā who has been described as a brāhmaṇa belonging to Oḍra and as a resident of the village Khāsapāguḍāri in the *tālūkā* (fiscal sub-division) of Guḍāri that included in the territorial division of Nandapura under Visakhapatnam district. The land sold by six persons was situated in the village of Khāsapāguḍāri in the *tālūkā* of Guḍāri included in the area of Navaraṅgapur under the district of Visakhapatnam. The said land was purchased by their father (*āmbha piṭṛ arjita kṛeya lavdha gutā vila bhūmi*, l. 9). *Gutā vila* in the context refers to ‘lease land’. Alternatively it could be the ‘annual lease of the yield of a field’. The land in question included within it water and land (*jala-sṭhala*), treasure trove and deposits (*nidhi-nikhāta*), forest and hills (*kāṣṭha-pāṣāṇa*), shadow and reflection (*chāyā-upachāyā*), road and cattle path (*daṇḍā-gopatha*), stream and reservoir (*nāla-āgala*), trees and fishes (*gacha-mācha*), etc. The sellers sold the land after receiving the cost of the land amounting to 3000 rupees (written both in words and figures). This is followed by a direction that from this date onwards the purchaser would enjoy the land till the Sun and the Moon would endure and till the destruction of the creation; and would pay the annual revenue (*rāja-śrota*) at 4 rupees (written both in words and figures) to the government (*śrī-sarakāra*). The deed then defines the boundary of the land in lines 16-18. It is bounded on the east by road and cattle path, on the south by the banyan tree, on the west by a mound and on the north by the boundary ridge/earthen embankment of the big cultivated field of Vāhinipati possessed through gift (*dāna lavdha vaḍa kyāri gāṭu*, l. 18). The charter ends with a floral design.

From the deed it is evident that the cost of agriculture land in the locality in question in the late 19th century was 750 rupees per one *gaḍisā* of land. The annual rent was fixed at one rupee per one *gaḍisā* of land. Although the purchase was made by Gorācānda, the real intention of the deed was to re-gift the land to the venerable brāhmaṇa community living in Vicikoṭa also known as Vikramapura-śāsana situated in Gunupura *tālūkā* of the same district of Visakhapatnam. The

passage *sadara jilā guṇapuri tālukā vvicikoṭa duya nāma vikramapura syāsana mahājana dānadikṣa hevāra* in lines 3-4 cannot be interpreted otherwise. This seems to be a case of ‘gift after purchase’ and was often considered as a pious act for accruing religious merit.

It is interesting to note that Gorācānda Sāorā, the son of Gopinātha Sāorā was addressed as Oḍra brāhmaṇa. This amply testifies that he or his ancestors migrated from coastal Odisha to Gunupur-Koraput region. Vāhinipati is still current as a well known surname of the Khandayats. The first name of the person is not mentioned in the deed. As regards the place names mentioned in the deed, Viśākhapatnā (Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh), Guḍāri, Guṇupura/Guṇupuri (Gunpur), Jayapura (Jeypur) and Navaraṅgapura (Navarangpur) are known place names. Nandapura is the same as Jeypur while Vicikoṭa/Vikramapura in Guṇupur *tālukā* and Khāsapā-Guḍāri in Guḍāri *tālukā* are not traceable at present.

Text

Obverse

1. 1886 samvastara janevari tā 12 rikhaku samāna hevā pāṛthiva nāma samvatsara
2. puśa śu 7 mlaṁvāre viśākhapatnā jilā nandapura ilākā guḍāri tālukā khāsapāguḍā-
3. ri rahaṇī oḍra vrāhmaṇa gopinātha sāorāṅka putā gorācānda sāorāṅku sadara jilā guṇapu-
4. ri tālukā vvicikoṭa du[ti]ya nāma vikramapura syāsana mahājana dānadikṣa hevāra śrī jayapu-
5. ra rahaṇi māna miśraṅka pua harikṛṣṇaṁ miśre candrasekhara miśre vanamāli miśre gopava-

Reverse

6. ndhu miśre e ja 4 ṇa sadara śāsana rahaṇi du[ti]ya aṁsadāra kṛtīvāsa miśraṅka pua 1 ja-
7. ganātha miśre 2 dinavandhum miśre e ja 6 ṇa eka hare lekhāi devāra kṛya paṭā vi-
8. sākhapatya jila navaraṅgapura ilākā guḍāri tālukā khāsapāguḍāri grāmāre ā-
9. mbha piṭṛ aryīta kṛya lavdha gutā vīla bhūmi āma ja 6 ṇaṅka sadāṁsa padara paṅkāla pa-
10. rovasa sumāra^{xi} ga 4 sā akṣarāṅke cāri gaḍīsā bhūmi e bhūmira sa jala sthala nidhi nīkhā-
11. ta kāṣṭha pāsāṇa chāyo upachāyo daṇḍa gopatha nmunātirikta nāla āgala gacha mācha sa-
12. metare ādi purvadi jñāta sāmatta sarva vādhā uttāri kālocita mulvare
13. ṭa 3000 ṅkā akṣarāṅke tinihayāra taṅkā āmbhe nei tumbhaṅku kṛya karidelu je-
14. ehi dīnāddari ehi bhūmire tumbhe gacha kāṭi gacha poti e bhūmiki thivā rājaśrotra
15. ya ṭa 4 ṅkā akṣarāṅke cāri ṭaṅkā lekhāre pratisālara śrī sarakāre sarāi e

16. bhūmi yāvacandrārke bhasmāttake kreyā bhoge bhoga kariva || e bhūmiki sandhim
nirṇaya pu-

17. rvaku vāṭa goraja dakhīnaku vaṭa gacha paścimaku ḍhepa sikha utaraku vāhinapatīnka

Obverse

18. dāna lavdha vaḍa kyāri gāṭu || e āmbha ja 6 ṇa ekāhare lekhāi devāra kreyapaṭā || floral
design ||

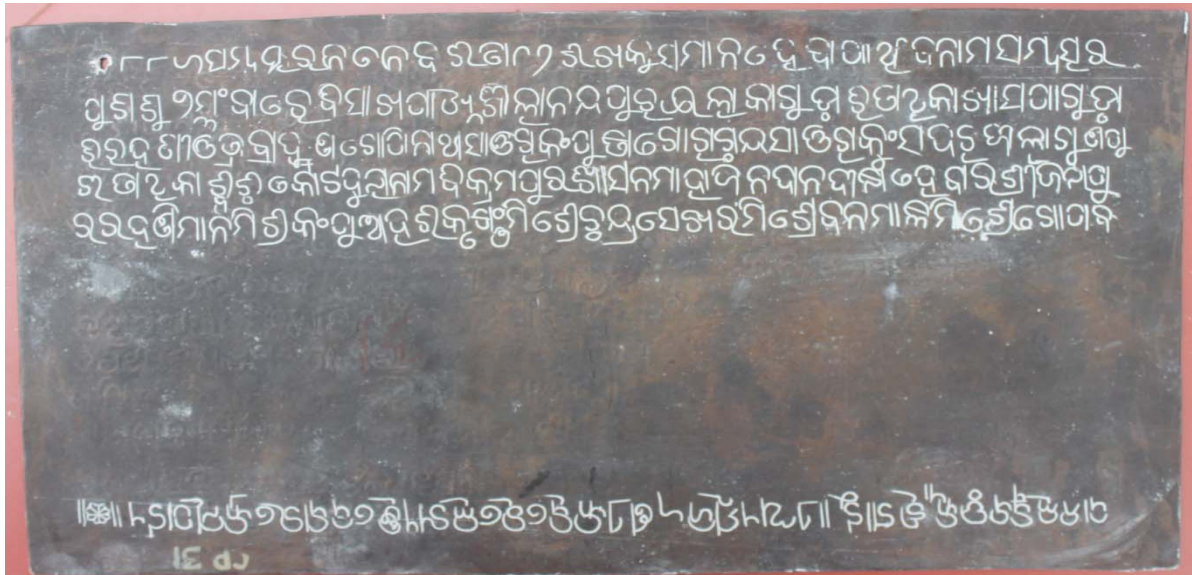


Plate II; Obverse

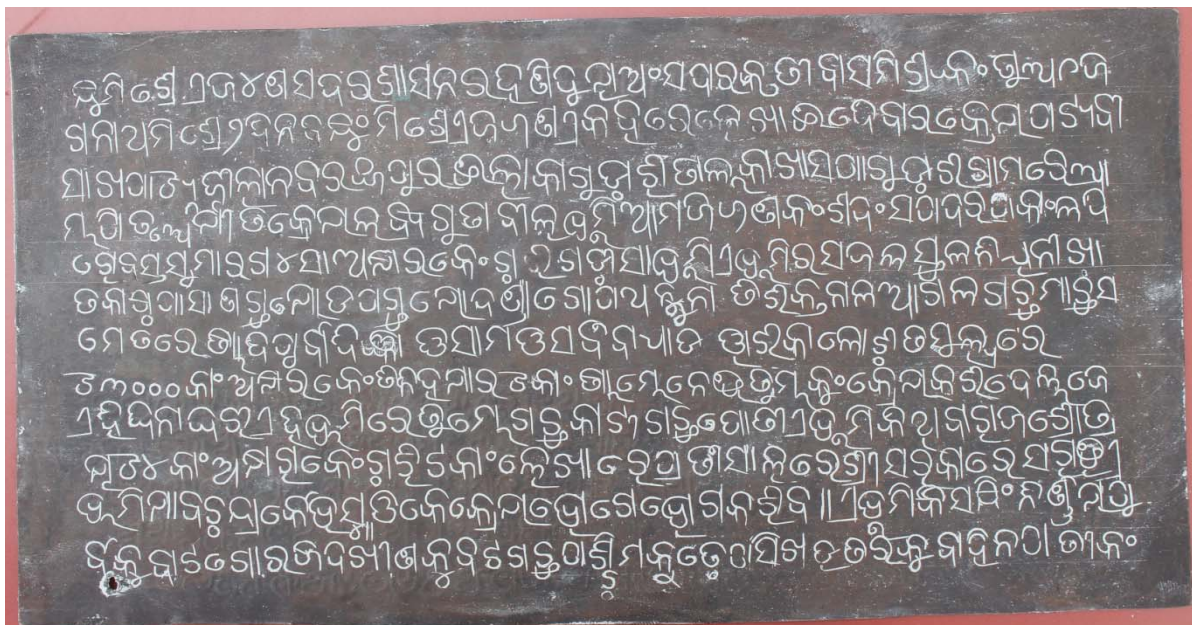


Plate II; Reverse

Gunupur Sale Deed No. III

This is a single copper plate having writings on both the sides. It measures 9” x 5”. There are altogether nineteen lines of writing. The first five lines are found on the upper portion of the obverse side and the lower portion contains the last two lines, while the middle portion of the text (lines 6 to 17) is engraved on the reverse side of the plate. There is a small hole at the top left corner of the plate.

The contents of the inscription are exactly the same as No II above. The language, script and orthography of the inscription, therefore, do not call for special remark, except that the word *sarihadu* which is a variant of Persian *sarhad* meaning boundary is used in line 11. The date of the deed is the same 12 January 1886, Tuesday. Some of the omissions and commissions in the other deed (No II) are corrected in this charter.

The reason for executing another deed with the same contents and on the same date is difficult to appreciate. But a close observation of the contents reveals that the mistakes that occurred in the sale deed registered earlier (Plate II) were noticed and necessitated for the issue of a fresh charter. The first mistake was the name of the purchaser which has been stated as Gorācānda Sāorā, the son of Gopinātha Sāorā. The surname is actually Sāntarā/Sāmantarāy and this is a gross mistake in Plate II. This was probably objected by the purchaser and the need was felt for issuing of a fresh charter. Besides, the order of drafting of the sale transaction was defective. In Plate II after the reference to the parties (seller and purchaser) and to the area of land to be sold, the privileges to be enjoyed by the purchaser, the amount to be paid and the annual rent to the government are mentioned in that order. This is followed by the boundary specifications of the sold land. But in Plate III, after the reference to the parties and the area of land, the four boundaries of the land are specified and then the privileges and the amount to be paid by the purchaser and the annual rent to be paid to the government. This is followed by the order relating to permanency of the sale deed and the declaration that all the sellers extended their consent for the transaction. This ordering of the draft seems to be as per the established practice in the revenue department of the government and it was precisely for this reason another charter was executed. But the earlier sale deed which was to be destroyed after the issuance of the second one was not done. Hence it could be construed as a ‘rectification deed’. The small holes at the top left corners of both the plates further suggest that both of them were tied and preserved together as a title deed to establish their claim over the land.

Text

Obverse

1. 1886 samvatsara janevari māsa tā 12 rikhaku samāna hevā pārthiva nāma samva-
2. tsara puśa śu 7 maṅgalavāre visākhapaṭṇa yilā nandapura ilākā guḍāri tālūkā
3. khāsapāguḍāri rahaṇi oḍra vrāhmaṇa gorācānda sāntarāṅku || sadara yilā guṇupuri
4. tālūkā vicikoṭa dutiya nāma vikramapura śāsana mahājana dānādhikṣā hevāra śrī
5. jayapūra rahaṇi māna miśraṅkara pua harikṛṣṇa miśre candrasekhara miśre | va-

Reverse

6. namāli miśre gopavandhu miśre | sadara śāsana rahaṇi dutiya amśadāra kṛtivā-
7. sa miśraṅkara pua jaganātha miśre | dinavandhu miśre ye ja 6 ṇa yekahare lekhā-
8. i devāra kreyapaṭā | sadara jila navaraṅgapura ilākā guḍāri khāsapāre thivāra
9. āmbha piṭṭ arjita kreyā lavdha gutā vila āmbha cha jaṇa sadaimśa pūrvaku vāṭa gāṭu go-
10. raja | dakhiṇaku vaṭa gacha | paścimaku ḍhepa | utaraku vāhānapatiṅka dāna lavdha
bhūmi vaḍa kyā-
11. ri gāṭu | ye sarihādu madhyare thivā bhūmi ga 4 ḍisā ye bhūmiki thivā padara paṅkāla
12. sa jala sthala nidhi nikhāta kāṣṭha pāṣāṇa chāyopachāyo daṇḍā gopatha nyunā-
13. tarikta nāla āgala gacha mācha sametare āda pūrvāda gyāti sāmatta sarva
14. vādhā uttāri kālocita mulyare ṭa 3000 ṅkā akṣarāṅke tini hajāra ṭaṅkā
15. āmbhe nei tumbhaṅku kreyā karidelu je | yehi danāddari ye bhū-
16. mire tumbhe gacha kāṭi gacha poti ye bhūmi thivā rāja śrotraya ṭa 4 ṅkā
17. akṣarāṅke cāri ṭaṅkā pratisālare śrī sarkārare sarāi ye bhūmi yāvacandrā-

Obverse

18. rke bhasmāttake kreyā bhoge bhogakariva | ye āmbha cha jaṇa yekahare lekhā
19. i devāra kreyā paṭāku sanmata ||^{xii}



Notes and References:

- i S. Tripathy, *Descriptive Topographical Catalogue of Orissan Inscriptions*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 442-444.
- ii No corrections or emendations are suggested in the body of the text. This is also maintained in the case of the Plate II and III.
- iii L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris, A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000*, Reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1994, p. 89.
- iv Tripathy, *op. cit*, p. 442, n. 1061.
- v B.K. Rath (ed.), *The Forgotten Monuments of Orissa*, vol. II, Publications Division, New Delhi, 1996, p. 259. Also see R.P. Mohapatra, *Archaeology in Orissa*, vol. I, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1986, p. 240.
- vi P.K. Panda, "Some Temple of Gunupur", in Gopinath Mohnaty, *et. al.*, (eds.), *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, vol. IX, Ryagada, Vyasakabi Fakir Mohan Smruti Sansad, Bhubaneswar, 2007, pp. 108-10. For genealogy and chronology of the kings of Jeypore see Burkhard Schnepel, *The Jungle Kings, Ethnohistorical Aspects of Politics and Ritual in Orissa*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2002, p. 301; Bhagabana Sahu, "History of Nandapura", in Gopinath Mohanty, *et. al.*, (eds.), *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, vol. XI, Koraput District, Vyasakabi Fakir Mohan Smruti Sansad, Bhubaneswar, 2008, pp. 60-76.
- vii Gopal Chandra Praharaj, *Purna Chandra Odisha Bhasakosa*, The Utkal Sahitya Press, Cuttack, 1931, pp. 2088, 6049.
- viii The letter *ma* is written above the line.
- ix The letter *vāra* are written above the line.
- x After the double *daṇḍa* there is the symbol of sword, a royal insignia of the Gajapati kings of Odisha.
- xi The passage is unintelligible.
- xii This is followed by some words which are faintly visible and they refer to the signatures of the sellers.



The Buguḍā Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañjadeva, Year 3

Dr. Bharati Pal

The set of copper plate inscription was found from the village Jhadasahi, Buguḍā P.S in Ganjam District.

The set consists of three copper plates, hinged together by means of copper ring and a royal seal. The plate measures 15cmx 8.3cm. The seal bears the emblem of lion, below it there is a legend in two lines read as 1) Sri Neṭṭabha 2) ñjadevasaya. There are altogether 40 lines of writing on the plates. The character employed in the inscription belongs to the eastern variety of northern class of alphabet of 10th /11th century A.D. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit.

The charter begins with the symbol *siddham* which is followed by the well known verse *Jayati* or *Jayatu* Kusumavā(bā)ṇa, which is found in all the Bhañja records issued from the Vañjulavaka. The charter describes that the reigning king Neṭṭabhañja *Kalāyaṇakalaśa* was the son of Raṇabhañjadeva, grandson of Satrubhañjadeva and the great grandson of Silābhañjadeva of Bhañja family. The plate states that the king was a *Paramamahesvara* (a devout worshipper of *Maheśvara*, *Śiva*). The object of the charter is to record the royal grant of the village Rorā in Komviyarā vishya to Bhaṭṭa Hara, son of Bhaṭṭa Indradeva and grandson of Sahasrakṣa. The donee belongs to *Kauṇḍinya gotra*, *Maitravaruṇa pravara*, *Vaśiṣṭha anupravara* and *Taittriya charaṇa*, who was an immigrant from the village Baghaverai in Rorātha. The writer of the document was Sandhivighrahin (minister of war and peace) Saṃgrāma and the engraver was the *Akṣaśalin* (gold smith) Durgādeva. The name also found in the Ganjam plate¹ and Pettasara grant² of Neṭṭabhañja. The charter was registered with a seal by Māmā, who seems to have been the chief queen of Neṭṭabhañja.

The grant was issued in the 3rd regnal year of the king Neṭṭabhañjadeva. The charter was issued from the city of Vanjulavaka, on the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra*.

1. EI, vol, XVIII, pp 282-300.

2. Ibid, vol, XXVII, pp.337-40.

The Buguḍā Copper Plate Grant of Neṭṭabhañjadeva

Text¹

- 1) Siddham² II* Svasti Jayatu kusumavā(bā)ṇa -prāṇa -vikshobha -daksham
sva -kira-
- 2) ṇa-parivesho -aurjitya -jirṇṇ-endu-lekham-Tribhuvana-bhavan -āntar-
dyota-bhasvat pra
- 3) dipam kanaka niksha-gauram vibhru-netram Harasya Śesh=āher -iva ye
- 4) phanāḥ pravilasanty =udbhasvar -endu -tvishah praleyāchala -śrīṅga
koṭayā
- 5) iva tvanganti ye -tyunnatāḥ (I*)nritt -āttopa -vighaṭṭita iva bhuja
- 6) rājanti ye śambhavās =te sarvv-āghu -vighāṭinaḥ³ -sura sarita-
- 7) toy -ormmayah pantuvah vijaya -Vanjulavakāt Asti jaya -śrī -nila-
- 8) yah prakata guṇa -grasta ripu-sarvva garvva(h) *Kalāyaṇakalaśa* nāmā
- 9) rājā nirdhuta -kali-kalusha(h)Bhañj-āmala -kula -tilaka -Śrī Śi-

2nd Plate 1st Side

- 10) lābhañja devasya prapautrah Śrī Śatrubhañjadevasya nāptā Śrī Ra-
- 11) ṇabhañjadevasya sunuḥ parama-maheśvaro -mātā -pitri -pād -ānu -
- 12) dhyāna -rata(h*) Śrī - Neṭṭabhañjadevah kuśali Komviyārā vishyekapa-
- 13) ti khaṇḍe rāja -rajanaka-rājaputra vishyapati -daṇḍapaśikān ya-
- 14) thā kal-ādhyasin -vyavahāriṇo Vrā (Brā)hmaṇan -karaṇa-puro
- 15) ga(n)nivāsi janapadam ś=cha yathāriham⁴ mānayati vo(bo)dhyati sa
- 16) mādiśati sarvvataḥ śivam =asmākam =anyat viditam =astu bha-
- 17) vatām etad -vishya -samva(ba)ddha⁵ -Rorā nāmā grāma chatu⁶ simā
- 18) parichehhino =smabhir -mata -pitror =atmana ś=cha puṇy abhi

2nd Plate 2nd Side

- 19) vriddhaye Rorāthattah māti Vāghaverai vāstavya Bhaṭṭa Sahasra -
- 20) kshaṣya nāptā Bhaṭṭa Indradevasya suta Bhaṭṭa Harah Taittri charaṇa

- 21) ya Kauṇḍinya gotrāya –Maitravaruṇa pravarāya Vāśishṭha anupra-
 22) varāya sa (śa)lila dhāra purasareṇa⁷ vidhinā –pratipādito smabhi-
 23) a-chandrāka –tārā yāvat -ā –chāṭa bhaṭa –pravesena sarvva vā (bā)dhā⁸
 pa-
 24) ri hareṇ=ā-karatavena bhuñjadbhir =dharmma –gauravāt nā –kenachit⁹
 25) vyaghātaniyam asmat –kula –kramam =udaharam -udahasayah=ranai-¹⁰
 26) ś=cha dānam =idam anumodaniyam lakshmyas =taḍit -salila-

3rd Plate 1st Side

- 27) vu(bu)dvu(bu)dā –chañchalāyā dānam phalaṁ para yaśah paripālana=
 28) ñ cha-utkaṇ-cha dharmma śāstre va(ba)hubhir =vvasudhā¹¹ dattā
 rājabhīḥ saga-
 29) r-ādibhiḥ yasyā yasyā yadā bhu(bhū)mi tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ Mā-
 30) bhud=ā –phala sa (śa)ñkāvaḥ para -datt-eti pāṛthivaḥ sva –dānat =pha-
 31) lam=ānatyaṁ para-datt-anupālanaṁ-sva –dattām para=dattām –vat
 32) vā-yo hareta vasundharā¹² sva (sa)viśṭhayām kṛimir =bhutvā pitribhiḥ
 33) saha pachyate śa(śa)sthi -varsha sahasrāṇi svarge modati bhu(bhū)
 34) midah I aksheptā ch=ānumantā cha sva evā naraka varjet iti ka-

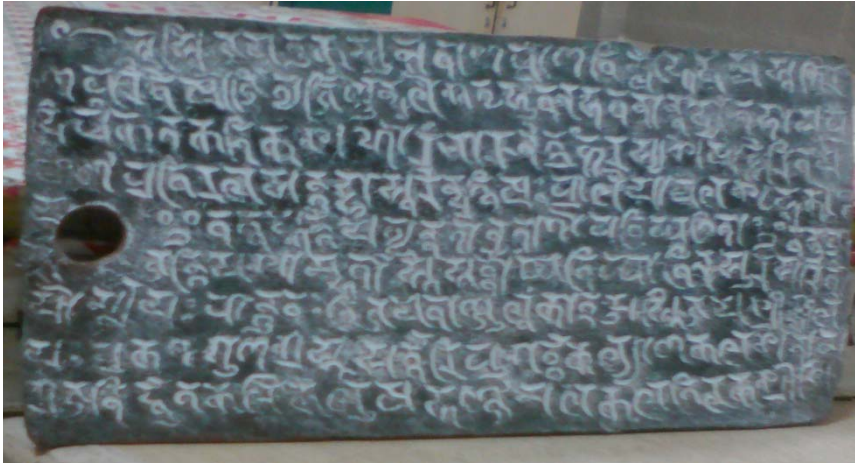
3rd plate 2nd Side

- 35) mala –dal –amvu(bu) vi(bi)ndu lolaṁ śriyam =anuchintyā manushya –ji-
 36) vitañ=cha śakalam =idam udāhṛitān=cha vu(bu)dhvā na hi puruṣa¹³
 pa-
 37) ra kirttayo –vilopyāḥ II svayam –adishṭo rajña vudutako tra-
 38) Bhaṭṭa Sri Stambhadeva likhitañ=cha Sandhivigrahin Saṁgrāma
 39) utkirṇān=cha akshaśālī Durgādevatanā (na) lañchhitam Māmā ye
 40) Samvat Chaitra sudi tritīa di sa 3

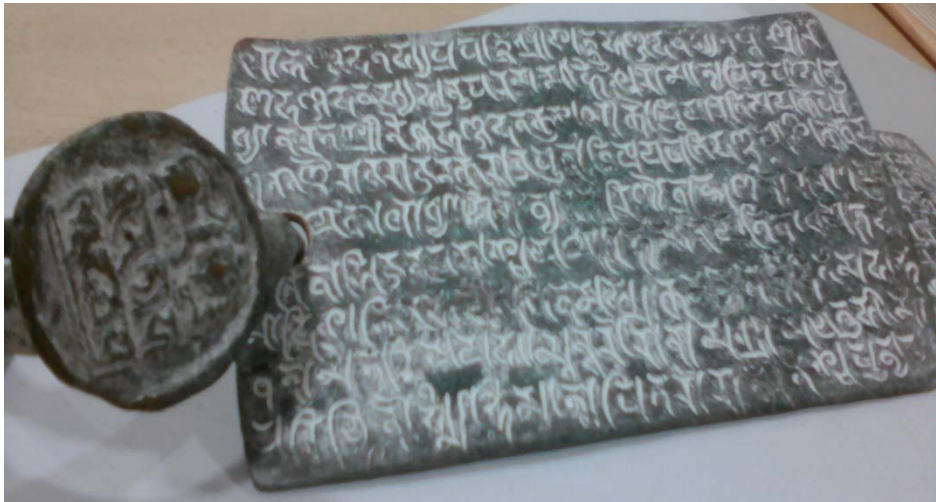
- 1- From the original plate.
- 2- Expressed by a symbol.
- 3- Read vighaṭṭita.
- 4- Read yath-arham .
- 5- Read sambaddha .
- 6- Read chatuḥ.
- 7- Read purah sareṇa .
- 8- Read budha.
- 9- Read kenachid .
- 10- Read udāharadbhir –anyais=cha.
- 11- Read vasudha.
- 12- Read vasundharam.
- 13- Read purushaih.

■ ■ ■

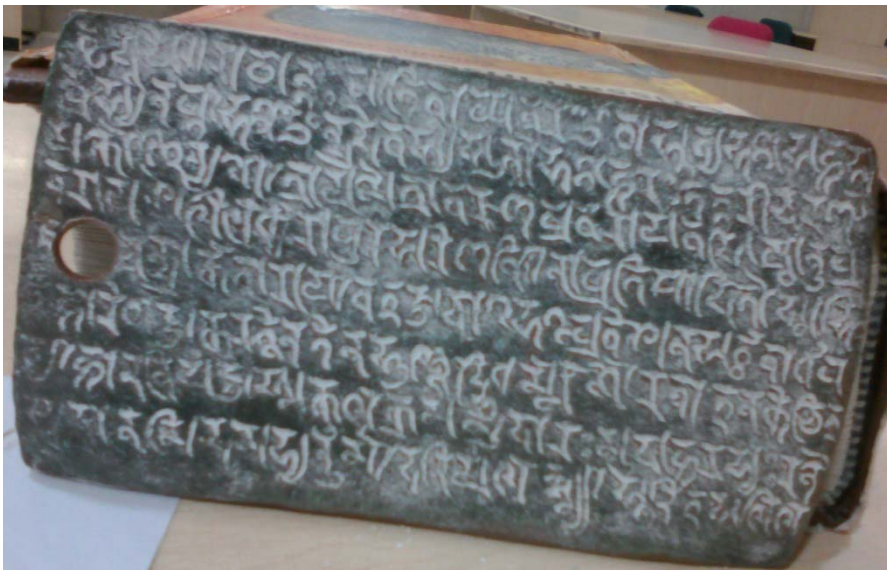
Odisha State Museum, Bhubaneswar.



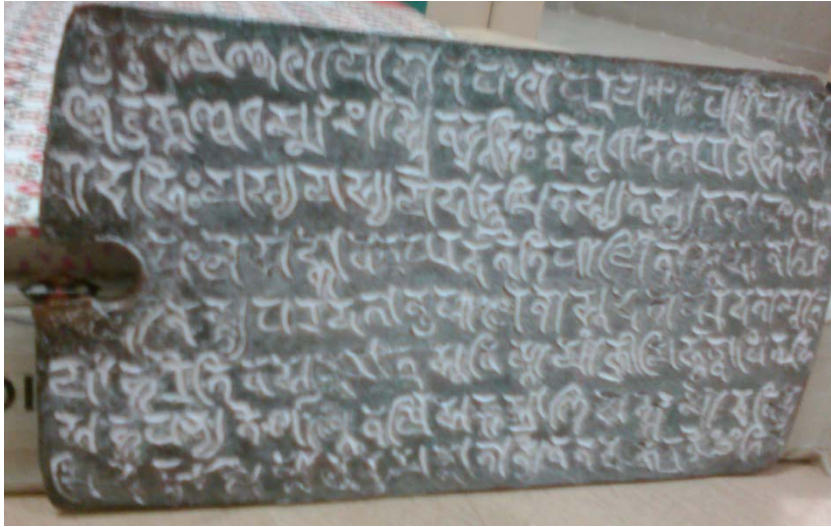
1st Plate 1st Side



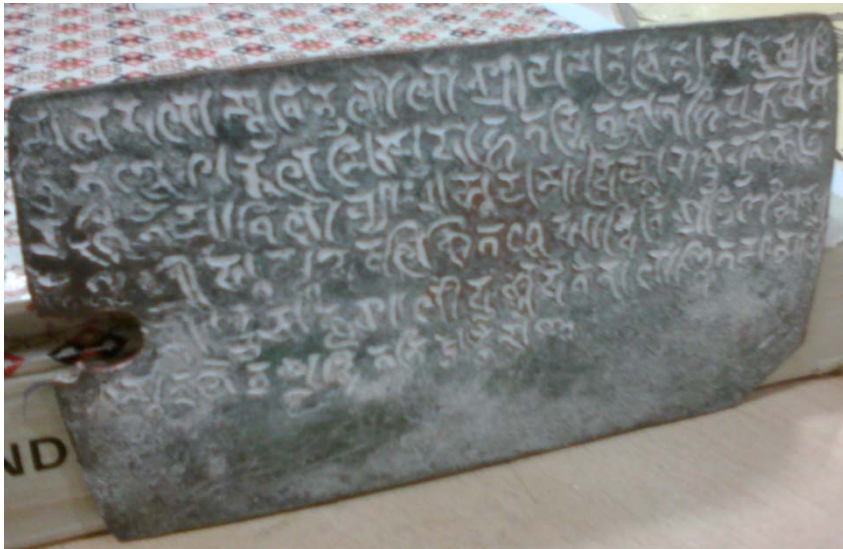
2nd Plate 1st Side



2nd Plate 2nd Side



3rd Plate 1st Side



3rd Plate 2nd Side



Royal Seal

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS IN ROCK SHELTERS OF ODISHA : A STUDY ON ITS DESIGN, TYPE AND INTERPRETATIONS

**Dr. Sanjay Acharya
Neha Sharma**

Abstract: Aboriginal people value the meaning-making function of art more than its aesthetics and cultural implications to the extent that every art containing similar symbols are read in varying ways depending on the context. A circle within a circle may mean far differently to a painting that features clustered circles. Same set of circles can mean a campfire, hill, tree or spring when the element of color is introduced. This context dependent interpretation even occurs within the same tribe. The study of the sign and symbols should be done collectively and entirely within their context and time. The signs and symbols may look similar to each other but there tradition differ from region to region, tribe to tribe which one generation passes to the next generation. Aboriginal art symbols can be classified as geometric and figurative. The former consists of particular shapes, such as circles, lines, dots, arches, and waves. Even colors have their own symbolisms, for example; spiritual meaning may be assigned to the color red, while the ancestors may be associated with the color white The present paper is about the signs and symbols represented in Rock Art of Odisha and there worldwide interpretation.

Rock art is one of the oldest material forms of human expression and is found throughout the world in caves and rock shelters. In order to understand human cognitive ability and interpretation of rock art images individually, anthropologist and archaeologist all over the world studying them according to their arrangements, identification, location, repetition of a particular image and classification of images according to their subject, design, theme and colour composition. Odisha is a state of India situated in the east coast lying between the 17°49' & 22°34'N and 81°23' & 87°29' E. having a geographical area of 155,707 Sq.km. Here we have 106 rock shelters having painting and engravings. Rock art shelters of Odisha known for its two unique features, one is for representation of large number of fauna without any hunting scene and secondly, occurrence of large number of geometric and non-geometric signs and symbols (Cirlot 1962, Ellis and Hammack 1992). Many of the geometric shape and patterns like triangles, rhombuses, curls, spirals, tripods, dots, antler, curvilinear and rectilinear motif (Ferver 1999) found in rock art of Odisha are enigmatic in nature. Both engraving and painted figures have been executed in monochrome, red and white or sometimes in combination with shades of yellow color.

In 1933 for the first time K.P.Jayaswal (Jayaswal 1933, 1935) reported the earliest evidence of rock engraving from the rock shelter of Vikramkhole in present district of Jharsuguda. Scholars like N. P. Chakravarty (1936), Charles Fabri (1936) and G. C. Mohapatra (Mohapatra 1982) have had serious debates over the engravings of Vikramkhole, whether they are script or symbols (Chakravarty 1936). Later S.N. Rajguru (1950) and J.P. Singh Deo (1976) reported two important rock art sites namely Gudahandi and Jogimath from erstwhile district of Kalahandi now in Nuapada district. Rock art at Pakhnathar near Jamada in Mayurbhanj district was reported in 1965 (IAR 1969-70). District Gazetteers of Sambalpur (Senapati 1971) and Behera and (1987 in Sambad) reported rock art sites in Sundergarh and Jharsuguda. Behera's investigation during 1987-88 resulted in the discovery of six rock shelters out of which, two were located in the Ushakothi reserved forest, one in Sukhabandh forest and three in the Chhenga Pahar reserved forest (Behera 1992). Subsequently, Behera also studied the Deluga rock shelters in Sambalpur district (Behera 2000-2001). Neumayer (1993) reported the discovery of five painted rock shelters at Chhenga Pahar in Sundergarh districts. For the first time prehistoric and early historic cultural contexts of the rock art in Odisha was revealed by P.K. Behera and E. Neumayer (Neumayer 1992, 1993). Pradhan (2001 & 2010) published a book for the first time on rock art of Odisha, which gave a general and systematic idea about the topic. He is credited to have documented 106 rock shelters in collaboration with IGNCA.

Geology and Geomorphology of Odisha in context of Rock Art

Odisha is divisible into four major physiographic regions: the Northern Plateau, the Central River Basin, the Eastern Ghats hill ranges and the Coastal Plains. The Northern plateau, covering the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Deogarh, Sundergarh and parts of Dhenkanal, Balasore and Sambalpur, is an undulating country having a general slope from north to south.

The Central River Basin occurs between the Northern Plateau and the Eastern Ghat hill ranges and covers parts of Bolangir, Sambalpur, Dhenkanal and Cuttack districts. It comprises the catchment areas of the major rivers of the state, viz., Mahanadi, Brahmani, Tel and Baitarani Rivers and their tributaries. Though largely a pen plain, the Central River Basin is occasionally marked by isolated hills, which rise abruptly from the plains.

In the south and southwestern parts of the state, the Eastern Ghats hill ranges stretch for about 400 km in a NNE-SSW direction covering the districts of Koraput, Navrangpur, Malkanagiri, Ganjam, Kalahandi, Boudh, Phulbani and parts of Puri, Khurda, Cuttack, Dhenkanal and Bolangir districts.

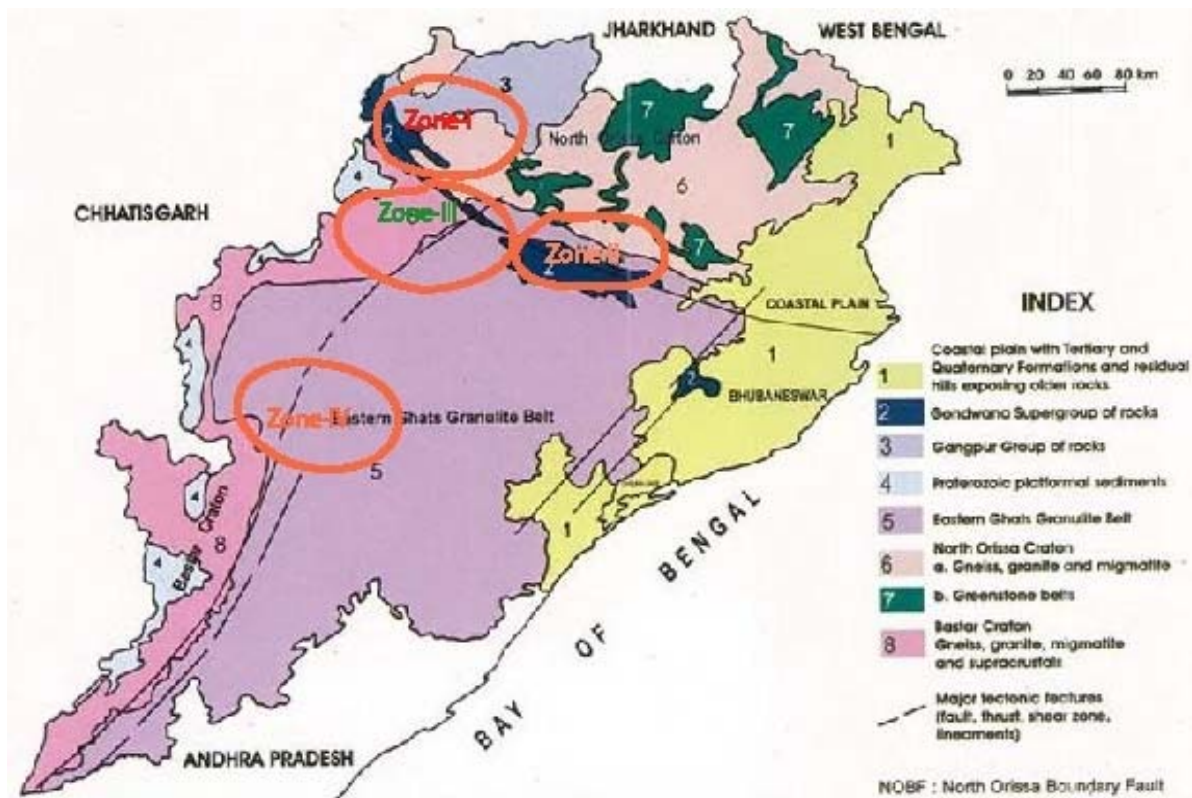
The Coastal Plains form an extensive alluvial tract lying between the Eastern Ghat hill ranges and the coast. It stretches for about 480 km and includes parts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam districts. The Chilka Lake, the widest lagoon in India, is a prominent coastal feature of Odisha.

Geographically, majority of the rock art sites in Orissa have been reported from the western part of the state. Distribution of rock art sites in this part of Orissa can be found in four sub-geographical regions, viz. i) Jharsuguda Rolling Uplands, comprising the districts of Sundargarh and Jharsuguda, ii) Bamra hills, comprising Sambalpur and Angul districts iii) Bargarh uplands, comprising parts of Bargarh and Subarnapur districts, and iv) Kalahandi-Nuaparcha Uplands (Behera, 2001).

The hills of Zone-I & II, containing almost three-fourth of the total rock art sites in Orissa, are composed of Gondwana group of rocks (King 1971) represented by medium to coarse textured ferruginous sandstone which formed thousands of natural rock shelter by erosion and weathering of soft stratum (Goldberg 2006) occupied later by pre-historic men. In the case of other two sub-regions, viz. Zone-III & IV, (Map-1) only a few rock art sites have been reported in the granitic outcrops (Singh 1971).

Signs and Symbols represented in Rock Art sites in Odisha

There are more 100 rock art sites are documented by IGNCA on which Bargarh (4), Cuttack (4), Jharsuguda (2), Kalahandi (1), Keunjhar (7), Mayurbhanj (5), Nuaparcha (1), Sambalpur (41), Sundergarh (37) and Suvarnapur (3) are mentioned in my thesis. All of the rock shelter except few contains large number of signs and symbols include both geometric and non-geometric. They are discussed below:



Bargarh

Bargarh is a most important site so far as rock art of Odisha is concerned. There are four rock art shelters in Bhatli Tehsil of Bargarh district on the right bank of Mahanadi. The rock formation is quartzite sandstone. They named as DebrigarhUshakuthi – I, Debrigarh UKT- II, Debrigarh UKT-III, and Debrigh UKT-IV. In Debrigh all the signs and symbols are represented in painted in red ochre deep to light shades. In UKT –I the subject matter are rectilinear, concentric circle (Bose 2003), palm print, triangle, oval shape, wavy line, intricate pattern, lunate shape, shield motif, many indistinct motif and obliterated forms .

Cuttack

In Cuttack are five rock shelter till discovered and all are found in sandstone hills. The rock shelter of AdhayiAkshyara near Naraz, located right bank of Mahanadi River. Here two specimens of engravings, one is wheel and other is Boat found without any pigmentation. A single specimen of conch found as engraved form. Another rock shelter named PandavaBakahara -1 in Gayalabanka tehsil. Here both engraving and painting found. The subject matters of painting are Vulva, Honeycomb, manipulable and obliterated form. Only single specimen of engravings is a rectilinear form. PandavaBakhara- II is another most important rock shelter near Pathapur where mural painting of historical period found. The subject matters are floral motifs and foot prints in red ochre.

Jharsuguda

The rock shelter of UlapgarhUshakothi is located at a distance of about 7kms north-west of the industrial town Belpahar and 2 kms east of the village Ulap in present district of Jharsuguda. Rock shelters is decorated with paintings of both geometric and non-geometric designs like rhomboids, zigzags, triangle, honey comb, broom or beaten brush marks, ladder, wheel with spokes, foot prints, and a host of intricate patterns and designs. In engraving forms in the midst of paintings are palm, triangular female genital motifs, brackets, cupules (Bednarik 2008), paws, rhomboids, honeycombs, intricate pattern, and miscellaneous. The paintings are drawn in monochrome of red, bi-chrome of red and white.

Vikramkhol is another important rock shelter in Jharsuguda district. Vikramkhol was the first discovered rock art site of Orissa by K.P. Jayaswal in 1933. At present there is a single specimen of painting of a honey comb pattern drawn in bi-chrome of dark red and white and a host of engravings. The subject matters are the usual triangles with or without a depression at the center, foot prints of animal, deer, obliterated portion of a rhombic pattern, honey comb pattern, dots, cupules, cobra hood marks, palm, Roman and Brahmi alphabetic form, oval carpet shape and floral pattern. All these engravings both figurative patterns and motifs were pigmented with ochre.

Gudahandi, Kalahandi

The rock shelter of Gudahandi is located on the summit of the hillock and situated at a distance of about 20kms from Block headquarter Koksara in Kalahandi district. The rock art shelter exhibits both monochrome and bi-chrome paintings of early historic period. It was first reported by late S.N Rajguru in 1950. The rock art panel preserves the specimen of paintings which include a stylized human figure in red, deer and a variety of geometric patterns of squares and rectangles either empty or in filled with straight and diagonal lines or with dots on the borders grid patterns, wheels with spokes, apsidal patterns, oval shapes with dots executed either in monochrome of red or in polychrome of red, blue and black.

Keonjhar

There are seven rock Shelters found in granitic hill region of Keonjhar, from which in Bhalughara, Gupta Ganga, JarasandhaHuli- II is contain large number of signs and symbols. In other shelter like JarasandhHuli- I, Sitabanjhi group and Sitaghara shelter we found much obliterate form. Former group belongs to Mesolithic period. The subject matter includes diamond motifs, linear, palm print and most important is series of seven triangles in a line. All are in painted form made out of red ochre.

Mayurbhanj

Mayurbhanj is the largest district of Odisha by area. More than 39% of total geographical area is covered with forest and hills. There are five rock shelter discovered yet in granitic hillock and signs and symbols is found abundantly, **Pakhanapathar- I, Pakhanapathar-II, Pakhanapathar-III, Pakhanapathar- IV, Pakhanapathar-V.** The signs and symbols forms are curvilinear, intersecting ovals, phytomorph, intricate pattern, pair of horizontal strokes, series of dots (Dowson 1989), foot marks and concentric circle.

Nuapara

Rock Shelter of Jogimath located near the village Risigaon, in Khariar Town, in the top of granitic hillock. It preserved paintings of pre- Historic times in an inclined surface of a boulder. The rock shelter first reported by J. P Singh Deo in 1976. The period assign to Mesolithic-Chalcolithic period. The shelter preserved painting in monochrome of dark red and bio- chrome of red and white. The subject matters are stick like human figure and cattle. The signs and symbols representations are, concentric circle curvilinear, circle like shapes drawn one open the other and *damburu* (Cattle Drum) like shapes are found.

Sambalpur

The rock art shelters of Ambjholkhhol (I,II,III,IV in number) is situated on the right bank of the Champali at a distance of 15kms west of Naktideul. It is located in the reserve forest of Landimal

in Rairakhol Tehsil of Sambalpur district. The back wall of the shelter is decorated with a wide range of pigmented engravings including a single specimen of painting. The subject matter includes vulva, foot, animal paws, palm, honey comb patterns, pear patterns, cupules, 'U' shaped grooves, diamond chain patterns and a series of geometrical motifs. The motifs are pigmented with ochre or dark grey pigments.

Babadalanashelter is another shelter in Samabalpur. The rear wall of the shelter preserves 183 specimens of engravings. The subject matter are vulvas, human foot print, paw mark, phytomorphs, moon shape, harpoon, pears, rhomboid pattern, cupules, miscellaneous and obliterated forms. In rock shelters of Belaghatiguja–(I, II), Bhimamandali-(I,II), Bholeswar, Chhatagarh, Gugusa– (I-X), Gupteswar, Khandatarwal–(I-IV), Kundapitha, Tangiri and Marichataliawe found large number of triangle pattern with depression in centre.

Deuluga (I,II) located at a distance of about 6.00kms south of the village Hitasara in Rairakhol tehsil of Sambalpur district. The rock panel in the shelter preserves 156 specimens of engravings of prehistoric period. It contains mainly faunal, Geometric / Arms weapons and other decorative motifs. It includes a wide range of the subject matters such as vulva, antler, harpoon, vertical stroke, oval shape, diamond chain, pear, butterfly, maze and miscellaneous.

The rock art shelter of Gothamundia (I,II) we found the back wall of the shelter preserves 15 specimens of engravings which include vulva (08), circle (01), and circle with crisscross lines representing Roman 'X' (01) and cupules (05). The grooves are both 'U' and 'V' shapes with dimensions of 0.5 cm to 1 cm in depth and 1 cm in breadth.

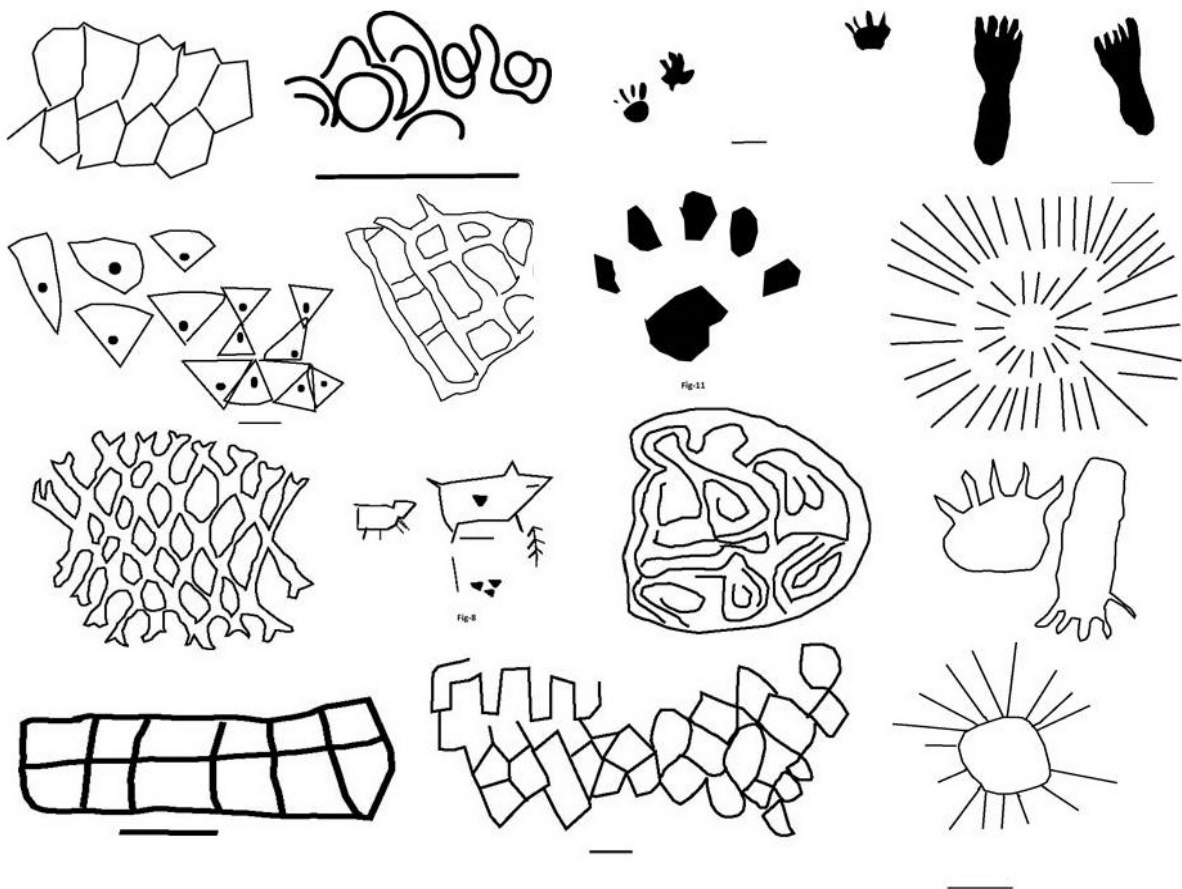
Gothaparvata-III is the largest shelter among the group of four rock art sites of the Gothaparvata of the Landimal reserve forest. The rock panel preserves 87 specimens of engraving of a wide range of subject matters like antler (03), Palm (04), foot (03), vulva (12), honeycomb pattern (04), rhomboid pattern (02), harpoon (03), cupules (52) and the grooves of the engravings are pigmented.

Sundergarh

The rock shelter of Baurikupa, Bhalupani, Chormoda, Dholamoda, Gastimoda– I-II, GanesaGumpha, Imilimoda-I-II, Jhinkamoda, Jodabilmoda, Lekhamoda-I-XIV, Manikomada, Petenmoda, RajbahalUshakuthi I-V, Rajamachan, Tongo and Ushakopacontin large number of signs and symbols. The vulvas have been drawn in three various ways viz. triangular, oval and circular. Others are honeycomb, diamond chain, sun motif, saw pattern, harpoon, roman 'U', razor blade patron and a series of cupules, footprint and curvilinear design found abundantly.

Suvarnapur

There are three rock shelters till reported in Suvarnapur district. Their name is ChandiliUshakuthi-I, Chandili UKT-II and Chandili UKT-III, all are located near Rampur village in Granitic hillock. There are twelve obliterated form with animal form but beyond recognizable. In Chandili UKT- II the Granitic boulder preserves the monochrome painting in red. The subject matters are serpentine type figure and rectilinear pattern with large number of cup marks and vulva motifs.



Conclusion

The signs and symbols may look similar to each other but there tradition differed from region to region, tribe to tribe which one generation passed to the next generation. Rock art is one of the oldest material forms of human expression and is found throughout the world. Though, Odisha is a state of India and has a large number of rock art sites containing large number of subject matter from signs and symbols to animal and human figure. But the lack of serious research and study along with neglect of the authorities and it will be lost in time.

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AN EXCLUSIVE SURVEY REPORT ON THE HISTORICAL SITES AND TEMPLES TRADITION IN NORTH ODISHA

(Goloni, Kutilinga, Pedagodi, Kendua, Baripara, Mayurbhanj)

Arabinda Bose

Mayurbhanj is located in Northern Odisha and recognized as the biggest district in the state of Odisha. As of 2011, it is considered to be the third most populous district of Odisha. It is a land locked with a geographical area of 10,418 Kms. In 2006 the Ministry of Panchayat Raj named Mayurbhanj as one of the 250 most backward districts of the country. The history of Mayurbhanj has a golden period. Many scholars have vividly described the significance of history of Mayurbhanj in their scholarly work like NagendraNathBasu's 'Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj' (1911), S.N. Sarkars 'Biography of Sriram Chandra Bhanjdeo' (1918), ShyamsundarSarangi's 'MayurbhanjItihas' (Cuttack, 1937), Ramaprasad Chand's 'Selections from official Letters and Record's of Mayurbhanj' (Baripada, 1942) and 'History of Mayurbhanj' (Kolkata, 1949), PrabhatMukherji's 'History of Orissa Vol. VI' (1964), Government of Odisha's 'Mayurbhanj District' Gazetteers (Bhubaneswar, 1967), Arjun Joshi's 'History and Culture of KhijingoKotta' (Delhi, 1993), Promod Mishra's 'Archaeology of Mayurbhanj' (Delhi, 1997) etc (Mishra).

Tradition has it that Mayurbhanj was established by the King of Raj Putna of Jaypur King Jai Singh. But there was no historical evidence to prove this tradition. According to another belief the name of Mayurbhanj was given in honour of Mayurdhwaja the King of Bamanghati (Mishra 2014, 4).

Birabhadra Alias Adibhanja is regarded as the first Bhanja King of Khijjinga Mandala. He is a legendary figure and is said to have been born from the egg of a peahen at **Kotyasrama**¹ (Pradhan 2012,51).

There are 15 copper plates of **Khijjingakota**² that were discoursed out of them three were collected by Kamakhya Prasad Bose from Pedagodi village of Kaptipada Sub-division and preserved in Baripada Museum.

In 1130 CE Purussottama's (Commander of KalachurikingRatnadeva) invasion of Khijjingakota was evident from the copper plate. In 1361 the Delhi Sultan Feroz Shah

1 Kotyasram was identified by historians as the present day Khiching.

2 Khijjingakota was identified as Mayurbhaj.

attacked and destroyed the Khijingakotta. After that Bhanjas of Khijingikotta shifted their capital to Haripur under HariharBhanja which was again destroyed by the Marathas. Then Sumitradevi, the widow queen of DamodarBhanja shifted the headquarters of the Bhanjas to Baripada and it remained as the headquarter of the Bhanjas till it was amalgamated with the states of Orissa in 1949.

Mayurbhanj has a long history of temple building tradition. According to Lieutenant Tickel there were many Shiva temples at Khiching. In 1838 he has noticed around 60 temples at Khiching. In 1874 BeglarSaheb also mentioned the evidence of many Mandapas and remains of temples. Much later, same type of description was given by N.N.Basu and Ram Prasad Chand. The conservation of ancient remains along with the reconstruction of Khiching temple credited goes to SailendraNath Bose because of whom the history of Bhanja dynasty was protected.

Goleni-

Goleni is located in Saraskana block of Mayurbhanj district. Goleni village is 42 Km away from Baripada town. A small mountain known as BansiaDangiri is also marked, along with a small stream. The Goleni areas are basically inhabited by the Gualas. According to local people a Saint known as Rasha Nanda Baba came to this village and told about the religious sanctity of the soil and established a monastery in this village. Meanwhile RashaNanda Baba dreamed that some images of gods are buried under the Aswatha Tree in the village and that area was excavated by the Rasha Nanda Baba. The excavation unearthed many Brahminical images along with many Shiva Linga. Few images were stolen. Now we can see the Brahminical images including that of Vishnu, MandiraCharini and the basement of Shiva Linga. People worshiped the Vishnu image as Kanaka Durga and with the efforts of the local people three temples were constructed near the site. There are only two example of Vishnu Shrines among the early Orissan temples. One is at Gandharadi the Nilamadhav temple and another is at Ganesvarpur. It appears that the emergence of Vishnu into general popularity is a relatively late phenomenon in Orissa (Dehejia 1979, 12). One Shiva Linga which was unearthed, was worshiped in the newly constructed temple. The local people planned to shift the Vishnu image from the present area to the newly constructed temple. We can notice many fragments of temple like **Amalakas**³ made of laterite stone, door lintel and stone slabs of the temple. Scattered in the village. This indicates the presence of many ancient shrines in the site.

3 An Amalaka is a notched stone disk that sits on the top of a hindu temple.



Fig. 1
Vishnu



Fig. 2
Door Lintel



Fig. 3
Amalakas



Fig. 4
Shiva Linga



Fig. 5
Amalakas



Fig. 6
Stone Slab



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

The Stone slab indicates its use in temple wall. The dorsal bears two deep socketing hole which must be utilized to bind the other stones by putting iron dowel

Kutilinga

Kuting is situated at about 45 Km from Baripada. The river Devnadi flows in the northern side of the village.

Which now lies buried due to the depositional work of River Deo and human vandalism.

Kutilinga was mentioned by R.P. Mohapatra in his book “Archaeology in Odisha”. According to local people many Shiva Lingas were revealed discorured from the ground accidentally while ploughing and construction activity. During my fieldwork it has been noticed one Shiva Linga which was unearthed from the ground and installed in a newly constructed small shrine with the help of the local people. According to the local people many temple fragments and old bricks were discovered in village and were buried due to the depositional work of Deo River and human vandalism. We can notice a Mahisamardini Durga kept inside the newly constructed small shrine that is worshiped as Patadevi.



Fig. 11
Mahishamardini

Pedagodi

Village Pedagodi containing rich archaeological treasures. The Kala river passes by the side of the village. In Pedagodi village we can observe many Brahmanical, Tantrick and Jain antiquities (Mohapatra 1986, 158). Apart from this, we can notice Bhimeswari, the newly constructed shrine of Maa Basuli and Jatia Suni.

Dhuni Temple-

It is located in front of Kaptipada palace and enclosed by a compound wall. It is also a modern temple which enshrines the images of Kaptipada King and Queen. On the wall of this temple we can notice many brahmanical images are embedded on the outer wall most important one is a Mahisamardini Durga. The Sakti cult was popular in Orissa from an early date. (Dehejia 1979, 12).



Fig. 12
Dhuni Temple of Pedagadi



Fig. 13

This might be the sun god, having kiritimukuta, and an ornate halo. Both hands and legs are broken but the beaded with centrally tribular ornament on neck and the ornamental line from the waist to the neck along with crossed gridal indicated the sun god.



Fig. 14

Ten handed Mahisamardini belong to the 10th CAD made up of chlorite. Left side is mostly damaged along with the face. Here the goddess is in pratyaldha pose. The demon is exeuted as emerging from the cut off body of the buffalo.



Fig. 15
Gana

JatiaSuni-

The JatiaSuni temple is situated in Korpoda field that is in the western part of the Pedagodi village. This small modern shrine enshrines the two brahmanical images and some terracotta figurines.



Fig. 16

Four handed matrika image of Indirani is in latitasan pose. Crocheting elephant is executed on pedestal. On left leg the child is found seated by testing the lower left hand of goddess Indirani while lower right is in tarjani mudra. Backslab adorned by two flying with bidyadharash. Face of the deity is damaged.

Fig. 17

Gangadhar Shiva is in tribhanga pose with four hands. Both right hands are broken whereas left hands are intact. The lower portion of the slab is decorated with two images of nandi, the bull on right side and Bhagirathi on the left.

MaaBasuli Temple-

MaaBasuli is located in the eastern part of Pedagodi village. The two shines JatiaSuni and MaaBasuli temple were worshiped by Ajay Dehuri not by the Brahman priest. The main festivals celebrated by the local people areUdaparba and ChaityaParba. The ChaityaParba is celebrated here for a one month with great pomp & show.



Fig. 18
Kartiya



Fig. 19
Parvati



Fig. 20
The torso is executed with a curved snake on the back and as per as the limbs are visible seems to be in kayotsarga pose. Hence it is a parswanath image.(12th CAD)

MaaAmbika Temple-

The Ambika temple is situated in the south of Bagasamalgada of Baripada. According to local tradition the shrine existed since time immemorial. But the present temple reflects the Goudiya type of temple constructed in modern times. In 1800 AD Maharaja Krushna Chandra Bhanja had arranged 36 rupees per annum for maintenance of the temple in order to get rid of chicken pox. The present shrine was constructed by a Gujrati contractor Waljigobindo in 1920. The natamandap and other small shrines are constructed by the local people in later period. The main festival celebrated in by these people this temple are PanaSankranti, RajoSankranti, MakarSankranti and Dusshera etc. In the car festival of Baripada the priest took the garlands and the sword of goddess Ambika and inaugurated the Pahandi rituals. During my field study it has been noticed a Baraha image which is worshiped by the people as Barahi.



Fig. 21

Face is likely to be of a boar. Right upper hand along with wheel while lower right is with mace head. Left upper hand is broken whereas the lower hand is missing. On the top right side of the stone slab, one floral decoration is visible instead of flying bidyadhar.

Kendua-

Kendua village is situated 34 Km away from Baripada close to Srimanta Engineering College. In Kendua village we can notice two door lintel of temple, one is kept in modern Shiva shrine and another lies closes to in farm field. According to local people all these temple fragments are unearthed accidentally behind the primary school of that village. The site is covered with bushes.

The sight is now hidden from view.



Fig. 22
doorlintel



Fig. 23
Doorjamb with Yamuna image

In Mayurbhanj under the patronage of Bhanjas the temple building tradition reached its climax phase. In Khiching, the temple building tradition emerged as a very distinctive style due its architectural features. Apart from Khiching many temple fragments of like amalaka, door lintel and images indicate there were enormous temples in mass. The future excavation of these sites may yield results of great archaeological interest.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my teachers & my friends for preparing the article.

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MESOLITHIC CULTURE OF JIRA RIVER VALLEY : A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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All of these sites were devoid of any other paleontological and palaeo- biological remains due to the high density of the acids in the soil. The tools collection gave a gradual development of stone tool techniques with every possible types of middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic times. The upper Palaeolithic traces were quite rare. In nutshell, it can be concluded here that the area was quite suitable for the settlement of pre- historic man because of a suitable climate, edible flora and fauna, and the available raw materials for its day to day use.

Introduction

All total of eleven sites are located and studied in the river basin of jira ranging from the village of haldipali to Khuntpali on the right bank and dang to dhanger on the left bank which are moreover 25Kms apart in either banks.⁴

In the right bank they are Haldipali(BGH-vi), Bargarh(BGH-i), telentikiralI(BGH-ii), TelentikiralII(BGH-iii), SarsaraII(BGH-x), Giri gobardhana(BGH-ix), and in the left bank are Dang and Deogaon(BGH-vii), Ruhnia(BGH-v) and Dhanger(BGH-xi).⁵

STRATIGRAPHY

The following has been presented to show the stratigraphic height sequences of different sites of river jira against the model Odishan stratigraphic sequence

7. Recent deposits
6. Upper clay
5. Upper loose gravel
4. Lower site clay
3. Lower gravel conglomerate
2. Mottled clay
1. Bed rock

Raw materials

In the Jira valley granite chert , chalcedony, Quartz, jasper and Quarzite are seen to be the principal raw materials of the region. The tool recovered are mainly of Chert, Quartz, jasper, and quartzite.⁶

TABLE-1

TO SHOW HEIGHT OF STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCES OF DIFFERENT SITES IN THE RIVER JIRA

Sequence sites	BGH-I	BGH-II	BGH-IV	BGH-V	BGH-VI	BGH-VII	BGH-VIII	BGH-X
SANDY SILT	90	290	350	60	80	80	80	30
UPPER CLAY	120	520	390	150	110	110	150	170
SILT								
SILT SAND	120	250	230	---	60	60	----	100
LOOSE GRAVEL ....	...	...	80	....	...	...	80	...
LOWER SILTY CLAY	..	...	30	...	...	...	30	...
MOTTLED CLAY	...	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
BED ROCK	...	...	...	...	...	...	....	...
TOTAL HEIGHT	330	1060	970	320	250	250	340	270

SARSARA, THE SITE

The whole of Sarsara site can be ell divided into two parts as sarsara-1 and Sarsara-II, for better understanding of the problem.

SARSARA-I

This site Sarsara-I is located in the right bank of river jira at about 6 kms away from the town of Bargarh and one and half kilometre away from the village Sarsara with beautiful gulley formations. It is a vast eroded land mass of 300x100mts. In its stretched and about 3.5mts height from the river level. This site is surrounded by paddy fields in its three other directions and one place is granite boulder exposure of (10x7)mts. An area. The sites reveals small pieces of stones of quartz, chert, quartzite etc. And kankaras in the middle zone. The zone next to the lower most zone of silty sand gives abundant reason of occurrence of microliths and other types of implements, larger flakes and cores. So in order to study in detail, several grids made and detail study of tools and typology has been made. The upper level of recent deposit reveals no implement as the next zone at Kankarised consolidated sandy silt zone is rich in microliths and other varieties of implements. The lower zones are also not rich as the middle zone for implements. This site was previously reported by Tripathy in 1972.⁶

SARSARA_II

This site is on the right bank of the river ,7 kms away from the town in south-western direction. It is divided with a break of hundred metres and with beautiful cliffs. It is just opposite

to the village Ruhnua on the right bank. There are paddy fields and perennials trees all around the sites, and different types of stones are available. It includes a Neolithic celt found near a small mound of some peculiar type of soil structure.⁷

RECENT STUDIES ON BOTH THE SIDES

At Sarsara I site attempt has been taken to study an area of 270 mts Lngth strictly from west to east on left bank of the river. The breadth has approximately 40 metres from the water level to the upper most level of the surface. The whole surface has been washed out by gully formations and, therefore the height of different places are different.

The whole area indicates the occurrence of Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic stone implements with a sequence of development from the lower stratum to the upper most stratum of the bank. The total height is approximately 3.5 mtrs. The area is divided into small grid units of 30 square metres.

In the region of south-western Odisha till now no evidences on biface and cleaver industries have been reported. In this brief study, the stone-age antiquities of the Jira valley is presented and a probable comparison may be attempted to place the stone age industries of this area with the surrounding areas in the state. The sequence of industries begins with the core-scraper industries of Middle Palaeolithic and terminates with the polished celts and crude potteries of Neolithic. On the basis of relative chronology, the valley have been properly dated but the conclusion and possibilities can only be drawn after future intensive studies in the area.

SARSARA:

The village Sarsara is situated nearly half a kilometer west of the right bank of the river Jira. It is nearly four kilometer south of the district headquarter of Bargarh. The site was discovered by Tripathy in 1971 and subsequently studied by Mishra and Seth during 1977 1995-96 respectively. A total number of 393 artefacts was collected by Seth (1995-96 : 26:30) from the eroded surface of the uppermost sandy-silty-clayey layer. The macro assemblage composition as well as the list of various tool type represented at the side is given in following tables.

ROHANIA:

The village Rohania is located about three kilometers south of Bargarh township and about less than two kilometers north-east of the left bank of the river Jira. The size was discovered by Seth in 1995-96. A detail number of 378 artefacts was collected by Seth (1995-96:31-35) from the eroded surface of the upper most sandy-silty-clayer layer. The macro assemblage composition as well as the list of various tool-type represented at the site is given in the following tables.

DHANGER :

The site Dhanger located in the left bank of the river Jira and situated about one kilometer south-west of the village Dhanger. The village is nearly five kilometers south-east of the Bargarh township and about three kilometer south-east of the village Rohania. The site was discovered by Seth during 1995-96. A total number of 1370 artefacts was collected by Seth (1995-96:37-43) from the eroded cliff surface from an area measuring 10x15m. The macro assemblage as well as the list of various tool type represented at the site is given in following table.

KHUNTAPALI :

Located on the right bank of the river Jira, the site is about one kilometer east of the village Khuntapali and about seven kilometers south of the Bargarh township. The site was discovered by Seth during 1995-96. A total number of 137 artefact was collected by Seth (1995-96 : 46-51) from the eroded cliff surface of the reddish brown sandy-silty deposits of the bank. The macro assemblage composition as well as the list of various tool type represented at the site is given following tables.

JHAMKITIKRA:

The site is situated at a distance of about six kilometers south-east of Khuntapali village and nearly eleven kilometers from the Bargarh township. The site was discovered in the left bank of the river Jira by Seth during 1995-96. A total number of 177 artefacts was collected by Seth (1995-96: 52-57) from the eroded surface. The macro assemblage composition as well as the list of various tool type represented at the site is given in following tables.

LAUNSARA :

The microlithic site of Launsara is situated on the right bank of the river Jira and located nearly 12 kilometres south-east of Bargarh township. The site was discovered by Seth during 1995-96. A total number of 155 artefacts was collected by Seth (1995-96:58-63) from the eroded surface of the uppermost brownish sandy silty deposit. The macro assemblage as well as the list of various tool type represented at the site is given following table.

BARAMKELA :

The site of Baramkela is located in the cliff surface of the left bank of the river Jira and situated nearly two kilometers south of Launsara. The site was discovered by Seth during 1995-96. A total number of 548 artefacts were collected by Seth (1995-96:64-66). The macro assemblage as well as the list of various tool type represented at the site is given following table.

RESUME OF THE MESOLITHIC INDUSTRIES OF LOWER JIRA VALLEY:

The foregoing description of Mesolithic assemblages clearly demonstrate that these are not only wide spread but also well represented in the lower Jira valley of the Bargarh uplands.

Although the discussed assemblages do not contain exactly the same characteristic features, it should be noted that they all share many common characteristic which bind them together and justify treatment as belonging to the culture complex, while the individual features of the different assemblages may be treated as intra assemblage and inter assemblage regional variation. The common feature among the discussed assemblages may be noted in the following pages.

1. All the surface scatters are associated with a brownish coloured sandy-silty-clayey deposit.
2. Although various artefacts classes of different assemblages vary considerably in size, the mean size exhibits general agreements with that of the total debitage of microlithic assemblages. It may also be noted here that inspite of the occurrence of a sizeable proportion blades, true blade cores are either absent or rare. It seems likely that other the removal of a few blades from the respective core, these might have been used subsequently for bladelet production.
3. It is clear from the study of both the core types and the blanks that the bladelets, sensulato, were primarily desired as tool blank, as in almost every assemblage the percentage utilization of bladelets is more than that of other blank form.
4. Typologically, the assemblages of the lower Jira valley are dominated by various backed tools, in which several variants of unilaterally backed points formed the majority. Besides they also contain relatively high proportion of various type of burins, denticulate and notched tools.
5. There is complete absence of pebble – cobble tool component in the discussed assemblage.
6. Among the typical microlithic form, like lunates, trapizes and triangles, high as well as low back lunates clearly predominate.

DEOGAON:

The village is located nearly half a kilometer north of the left bank of the river Jira and situated about six kilometer north-west of the district headquarter of Bargarh. The site is located on a raised gravelly mound on the bank of Jira, near the village Deogaon. The site is very rich in material remains, which include core dressing flakes, cores, finished and semi finished tools and waste chip or chunk, indicating thereby that it was a factory cum base camp site. The artefactual scatter spread over an area of about 100 sq.mtr.

BEHERAPALI:

The village, Beherapali is located some 17 kilometres north-west of Bargarh township and about 2 kilometres north of the left bank of the river Jira. The site is located on the eroded gravelly surface of a raised mound near the village. The artefactual scatter of this site spreads over an area of about 150 sq.mtr. The site is so rich that in less than an hour we could collect as many as 515 artefacts, which are made on chert and quartz group of rocks. The lithic assemblage from this site may be broadly classified as follows.

URDUNA-A:

The village Urduna is situated about one and half a kilometer north of the left bank of the river Jira and located about 22 kilometres north-west of Bargarh Township. The exact artifact bearing locality is located about two kilometers south-east of the village Urduna, on the eroded cliff surface of the left bank of the Jira. Here several clusters, indicating manufacturing spots have been found, out of which only two clusters were sampled, named Urduna-A and Urduna-B, for the present study. The artefacts collected from Urduna-A clusters which spread over an area of about 20X20 metres.

URDUNA-B:

The assemblage collected from the cluster spreads over an area of about 35X30m. and located about 100 mts. South-east of Urduna-A. The macro assemblage composition as well as the detailed type list of the finished and semi-finished tool category are indicated in the following tables.

RASALI:

The small village of Rasali is situated about half a kilometer south of the right bank of the river Jira and located about two kilometer south-east of the village Urduna. Only 112 artefacts, which include cores, flakes, blade-bladelets and chip/chunk, were collected from the eroded cliff surface of the right bank of the river Jira. The macro assemblage composition and a list of finished as well as semi-finished tool categories are indicated in the following tables.

DUANPALI:

The village Duanpali is located on the left bank of the river Jira, near the confluence of a small rivulet named Tera Nala. The exact site is located about half a kilometer south-east of Duanpali. A total of 107 artefacts, made on chert, Jesper and agate raw materials, were collected from the eroded surface at the site, which spreads over an area of about 20X20 mts.

KHARMUNDA:

The village Kharmunda is situated about half a kilometer south of the right bank of the river Jira. It is nearly 25 kilometres north-west of Bargarh town and about 3 kilometres south-

west of the village Urduna. The exact site is located on the right bank of the Jira, about one Kilometre north-west of the village. It is an extensive factory site, scattered with thousand of artefacts of various categories they are found in the form of small cluster, each of which contains blanks, cores, tools and waste chips indicating almost all the phases of lithic reduction sequence. The site spreads over an area of about 300 sq.mts. For the present purpose a total number of 3854 artefacts was collected from one of the cluster at the site. These are made up chert and other stones of the quartz group. The artefacts may be broadly classified as follows.

JAMCHHAPAR:

The site of Jamchhapar is located slightly more than one kilometers south of the right bank of the river Jira. The site is located on the eroded cliff surface of the river and covers an area of about 30x30 mts. A total of 107 artefacts were collected from the surface, which may be classified as follows.

PIPALKHUNTA:

The village Pipalkhunta is located about a Kilometre south of the right bank of the river Jira, and about three kilometers west of the village Kamchhpar. Here artefacts were collected from two different localities, located on the eroded surface of the Jira and named Pipalkhunta-A and Pipalkhunta-B. The macro assemblage composition as well as tool kits of assemblages from both the localities are given below.

The macro assemblage composition from both the localities appear to present an unusual picture. In both the cases not only flakes and blades predominate the blank group but they also maximally utilized in the tool production, while there is a marked low representation of bladelets. However, the core group is dominated by blade-bladelet cores. From the technotypological points of view, the assemblages of pipalkhunta may be compared with that of Beherapali.

AILAPALI :

The village Ailapali is located on the foot hill slope of a north-south oriented, elongated hillock, which rises to height of about 312 metres above the mean sea level. The village is situated on the eastern flank of this hillock and located some two kilometers north of the left bank of the river Jira and about 23 kilometres north-west of the district headquarters of Bargarh. During our field work we thoroughly investigated both the eastern as well as western flanks of the hillock. While we failed to locate any site on the western flank, the foot hill slope on the eastern flank has brought to light three artifact bearing localities. Accordingly they are named as Ailapali-A, Ailapali-B, Ailapali-C with view to understanding the nature of these assemblages one cluster from each of these localities was thoroughly sampled for a detailed technotypological analysis. The macro assemblage composition as well as tool kits of the above three assemblage are given in the following Tables.

RESUME OF THE MESOLITHIC INDUSTRIES OF THE UPPER JIRA VALEY:

Although the discussed industries of the upper Jira valley may be broadly considered as belonging to Mesolithic phase in view of the general presence of bladelets, typical microlithic forms in varying proportion, techno-typologically, they appear to form three broad categories among them.

The first category, represented by the Deogaon assemblage, is marked by the overwhelming presence of various categories of tools on diminutive flakes and the overall diminutive size of the various artefact categories. Although bladelets have maximally been utilized in this assemblage, there is clear under representation of typical microlithic forms and backed tool variants. In view of the above and on other counts this assemblage may be treated as a separate group.

The second group, represented by such assemblages as Beherapali, Jamchhapar, Pipalkhunta-A, Pipalkhunta-B and Duanpali, is marked by the predominance of comparatively large sized flakes and well made blades and tools made on them; and a marked low percentage in the utilization of bladelets in the tool production. Typical microlithic forms, such as lunate, triangle and trapeze are either absent in this group of assemblages or severely under represented.

The assemblages of the third group, represented by Kharmunda, Ailapali-A, Ailapali-B, Ailapali-C, Rasali, Urduna-A and Urduna-B, are not only mark by the higher percentage of utilization of bladelets in the blank production, but there is a fair representation of typical microlithic forms and backed bladelet tool variants as at Kharmunda and Ailapali-A. At the former site not only there is an overwhelming percentage of backed triangles but there are also some typical examples of micro-burins and their by products. Micro-burins are generally considered as diagnostic tool type of Mesolithic industries of West Asia (Byrd).

In view of the above it be suggested that the above categories of assemblages represent three different chronological phases of Mesolithic period or they represent three different sets of task-specific sites where different types of activity were carried out by the Mesolithic community belonging to a particular phase of occupation. In order to establish our first preposition, large scale scientific excavation and other associated follow up technique are imperative, which were beyond the means of the present researcher. Similarly for the second proposition detailed techno-typological attribute analysis of the surface as well as subterranean artefacts and site formation, structure and function analysis should be carried out, which were also beyond the purview of the present research programme. However, our future studies in the Jira Valley will take into account the aforesaid research plans to understand the post-pleistocene cultural adaptation in the area of our present study.

THE ACHEULEAN SITE OF BARPADAR:

During the course of our investigation in the upper Jira valley we came across an extensive Acheulean factory site at Barpadar. The site is located nearly one kilometer north of the small village, named Barpadar on the left bank of the Jira and situated about 16 kilometre north-west of the Bargarh Township. During our investigation we made a sizeable collection of artefacts consisting of beautiful hand axes and cleavers manufactured in advanced Acheulean technique, along with flake tools, unretouched flakes, debitage and raw materials in the form of massive flakes, all indicating that it was a manufacturing-cum-habitation site. Besides, it was also observed that the artefacts does not occur uniformly on the surface and they appear in the form of clusters at those places which have undergone erosion and are very scarcely seen on uneroded surface. This feature indicates to the possibility of an implementiferous layer below the humus. Thus, there is strong reason to be optimistic about the presence of an undisturbed habitation layer in those localities of the site which have escaped denudation in the source of time. The site covers an area of about one square kilometers. Our preliminary observation on the artefacts revealed that techno-typologically as well as stratigraphically the assemblage may be compared with the Dari Dunguri Acheulean complex of Sambalpur region (Behera, P.K., 1996). Sporadic occurrences of such artefacts have also been observed at a number of places in the upper part of the upper Jira valley.

The Mesolithic culture of the study region is immediately succeeded by the Early Historic period. There is a complete absence of copper ore in the study area and hence the Chalcolithic population most probably did not adapt to the hilly and upland area. Besides there is also scanty scope of agricultural activities in the area which discouraged the Chalcolithic population to settle down as the area was not supportive for the sustenance strategies.

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Devadasi or Mahari Traditions of the Jagannath temple, a Comparative study

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The beginning of the Devadasi traditions could be perhaps mapped out in the inscription found in temples. "The word Emperumandiyar which was used in the sense of Vaishnavas before 966 A.D. got the meaning of dancing girls, attached to Vishnu temples, in inscriptions of about 1230-1240 A.D. in the time of Raja Raya III. [Raghavacharya: I,118] In Maharashtra, they are called 'Devadasis' meaning female servants of God'. It should also be noted that in many quarters the emergence of the "devadasis" has been linked to the downfall of Buddhism in India. "That the devadasis were Buddhist nuns can be deduced from many evidences. They are unknown to ancient India. Jaatakas, Kautillya or Vatsayana do not mention them, but later Puranas found them useful. The system started only after the fall of Buddhism and records of them start appearing around 1000 A.D." [bharatiasanskritikosh, IV, 448]. It is viewed that the "devadasis" are the Buddhist nuns who were degraded to the level of prostitutes after the temples were taken over by the Brahmins during the times of their resurgence after the fall of Buddhism.

The Devadasi system was set up, according to a Times of India report (10-11-1987) as a result of a conspiracy between the feudal class and the priests (Brahmins). The latter, with their ideological and religious hold over the peasants and craftsmen, devised a means that gave prostitution their religious sanction. Poor, low-caste girls, initially sold at private auctions, were later dedicated to the temples. They were then initiated into prostitution.

Devadasi system is a religious practice in parts of southern India, including Andhra Pradesh, whereby parents marry a daughter to a deity or a temple. The marriage usually occurs before the girl reaches puberty and requires the girl to become a prostitute for upper-caste community members. Such girls are known as jogini. They are forbidden to enter into a real marriage.

This rich traditions explained in a condemned manner in South India .How could we considered an innocent girl who dedicated her life to the God, in form of marriage to Him, even before her puberty ?Devadasi is a group of women who danced in the temple premises. The term Devadasi literally means slave (dasi) of God (deva). She is dedicated to a divine husband who can never die. Marriage with a God exempted a woman from the uncomfortable state of widowhood. In Orissa, Devadasi is known as Mahari means "those great women who can control natural human impulses, their five senses and can submit themselves completely to God". In another version Mahari means "Mohan Nari" that is the woman belonging to God. Sri Chaitanayadev had defined Devadasis as 'Sebaets' who served God through dance and music. Pankaj Charan Das, the oldest Guru of Odissi, who belongs to a Mahari family, explains Mahari as "Maha-Ripu -Ari (one who conquers the five main ripus or enemies).

Devasharma, a Brahmin devotee of Lord Jagannath, was also living in Kendubilwa. He was childless who prayed Lord to grant one child so that he will offer the same to Lord. A daughter was born. He offered her to Lord. But Lord told him in dream and to priests of Lord Jagannath to offer her to Jayadeva who was a saint poet, engaged in meditation and living a sacred life. She was Padmabati by name. Accordingly, the marriage was performed through the intervention of Lord Jagannath. Both wife and husband were devoted to Lord and had a religious life. He composed Gitagovinda and sang the same with his wife before Lord Jagannath and danced while singing losing worldly consciousness. It deals with divine play of Sri Krishna with Radha and their conversation while playing both in spring being affected by cupid. While composing the Gitagovinda one line of conversation of Sri Krishna to Radha could not be filled up with appropriate words. He went for bath keeping his pen and book. While away for bath, Lord came in his form and wrote the incomplete verse "Smar-garala-Khandanam, mama sirasimandanamdehipada-pallavamudaram" (10th canto of Gitagovinda) "Sri Krishna was approaching Radha to be gracious to remove the poison of separation by placing her feet liberally like a lotus on his head." Not only Lord filled up the appropriate words, but took meal in guise of Jayadeva, being served by Padmabati

The life of Maharis is a saga of devotion, they not allowed marrying. They lived in a close-knit community, and to propagate the system they adopted daughters. They were usually trained from a very early age, and have very little control over her life. After completion of the training, the adolescent girl had to go through a ritual in the temple. In front of the king, the priests and other important people they were dedicated to Lord Jagannath. A piece of cloth, taken from Lord Jagannath was tied on the girl's head, as a part of the ceremony. This ritual is called the 'Sari Bandha' or 'SamarpanCermony'. The foster mother had to give a part of her wealth to the dance Guru (sometimes to the temple priests), as a price for acquiring the right to serve the Lord.

Looking into historical facts; the first reference to a Devdasi is found in the mention of Queen Kolavati of Keshari dynasty (6th century A.D.) having constructed the Brahmeswar temple and dedicated many Devadasis to it. In the same period references are found to the Meghaswar and Sovaneswar temple also having Devadasis. When King Chodagangadev completed the construction of the Jagannath temple, he regularized the temple administration completely. He created 36 categories of workers to serve Lord Jagannath. The Devadasis were one of them. He allotted land for their living (till date known as 'Chudangasahi' provided them with regular maintenance, and disciplined their lives with various rules and regulations. The detailed accounts of the rules are written in 'MadalaPanji'. From the beginning, the Maharis were treated with great respect and compared to none other than Goddess Lakshmi; the wife of Lord Vishnu.

Decline of devadasis system was followed by Sultan Shah's attack on Jagannath temple in 1360 A.D. They were exploited and for the first time the Purdah system appeared, ostensibly to guard the women-folk. After the death of King Bhanudeva IV, his minister KapileswaraRoutray seized the throne and initiated the Surya dynasty. This dynasty ruled for 105 years, and Orissa reached its height of glory. Once again, the Devadasis were also given a lot of power and importance. But the gradual degeneration of the Devadasi tradition, which had started since the attack of Sultan Shah in 1360 A.D. continued. This was because the social, cultural & political scene was changing rapidly and women, in general, were losing their independence and power. Sri Chaitanyadeva and his disciple Ray Ramananda Patnaik tried to reconstruct much of the cultural activities of the temple, specially the lives of the Devadasis. The Devadasis were ordered only to sing from the epic poem, the Geetgovinda. Attempts were made to make their ritualistic dances more spiritual and aesthetically pleasing. The temple was treated like a huge cultural and religious center. During Sri Chaitanyadeva's regime, another sect of boy performers called Gotipua came into existence. Young boys, dressed as girls, began to perform in the village clubs. All these above factors, also indirectly caused the decline of the Devadasi tradition.

In 1510 A.D Sultan Hussain Shah attacked Orissa and in the year 1568 A.D Orissa lost her independence to the Afghans. This period was marked by another spell of mass destruction followed by extensive political and social turmoil. All the temple services were stopped. The Devadasis naturally lost all financial and social support from the temple and the king. The Afghan rule ended at the hands of Todermaal and by this time, the Devadasis in order to survive had started dancing in the courts of the smaller kings and petty chiefs known as Zamindars. Because of their different life-style, the Devadasis could not blend with the mainstream population and their decline continued. King Ramachandradev ascended the throne in this period, and resumed the temple activities at the main Jagannath temple. Some of the services of the Devadasis were also resumed but by then the Devadasis had already lost their previous social status and position.

From 17th Century and 18th Century A.D the Jagannath temple was looted several times. In the middle of the 18th Century, the Marathas came to Orissa and once again, the temple services were resumed. But the Devadasis now had very restricted access to the temple. During the British rule, the number of Devadasis dwindled further.

The Orissa Gazette of 1956 lists 9 Devadasis and 11 temple musicians. By 1980, only 4 Devadasis were left – Harapriya, Kokilprabha, Paroshmoni and Shashimoni. Now only Shashimoni and Paroshmoni are alive. The daily ritualistic dance had stopped long ago. Now this two some serve in a few of the yearly temple rituals like Nabakalebar, Nanda Utsav and DuarPaka during BahuraJatra.

The worship of Lord Jagannath involved with a number of daily rituals. The rituals of worshipping the Lords are characterized by a royal manner. As a king is meticulously served by his servants daily from morning to night, so also Lord Jagannath is served in the like manner. Hence, there is a dancing ritual in the temple of Lord Jagannath at the time of the Lord's retirement to sleep. There are special Sevakas (servants) employed for this purpose. They are known as "Mahari or Devadasi" and their dance is known as "MahariNrutya" or "Devadasi Nrutya".

Mahari performance is aesthetically and ideologically linked to Odissi classical dance. For many, the mahari tradition is the source of an authentic Odissi, and the culture of the Jagannath temple and its presiding deity are equally prominent in the dance's history.² To understand the formation of contemporary Odissi, then, we need to analyse its relationship to mahari ritual dance (among other forms).

Mahari dance is nearly a millennium old with dance having been an integral part of the daily rituals at the Jagannath temple of Puri since the time of Ganga rulers of Utkal. In the twelfth century, Chodaganga Deva gave the dance a legal status, establishing new localities for the maharis to stay and introduced new ceremonies for the deity.¹ The classical dance form of Odissi has its roots in the Mahari dance while the Gotipua dance originated as an offshoot of the Mahari tradition when it went into decline in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Gotipua and the Mahari dances were patronized by Ramachandra, the Raja of Khurda and it is from his time that the devadasis who until then were attached only to temples came to be patronized by royal courts. With the abolition of the devadasi system in independent India, Mahari dance entered a period of steady decline. Its revival and adaptation for stage performances are credited to the late Odissi doyen Guru Pankaj Charan Das.^[1] The Odissi dancer Rupashri Mohapatra, a disciple of Pankaj Das, has also played a notable role in reviving Mahari.^[6] The dance was once taught exclusively to the maharis of the Jagannath Temple. The last of the professional maharis was Sashimani Devi.

The Madala Panji or Chronicles of the Jagannath Temple states that gods and other celestial beings attended the ceremony of the *pratistha* or installation of the deity at the Jagannath temple in Puri. The celestial party included *gandharvas* and *apsaras*, singers and dancers of paradise. The ravishing damsels Rambha and Menaka danced on the occasion, accompanied by the music of their celestial companions Ha-Ha and Hu-Hu. Rambha and Menaka, on the basis of this legend, are considered the first *devadasi* to have danced for Jagannath, the Lord of the Universe. The tradition of conducting *seva* or services of music and dance as part of the ritual worship of Jagannath, is perhaps as old as this legend. *Nachuni* or dancing girls have been part of the team of *sewayats* performing these services from the very beginning, as also are the *mardalika* or percussion players and *kanatalika* or cymbal players.

Describing the dance performed during *sakala dhupa* Dr. M.Mansinha has said in his book 'The saga of the land of Jagannath': "...the dancer this writer saw as a school boy in the very temple of Jagannath... about four decades back was supremely beautiful. She was fully Aryan in complexion with the lovely tan of the Puri climate. She danced in absolute silence for about half an hour to the simple but exciting rhythm of a small *pakhawaj* played on by perhaps her Guru, an elderly man. The whole performance was a real piece of aesthetic dedication to the Lord... And after the dance was over, this writer was amazed to witness many devotees, young and old, men and women, rolling over the very ground that the young *devadasi* had danced on...". Though the Mahari traditions are almost in declining stage, but glorious history and traditions related to them are still praiseworthy. In my opinion, who served the Lord of Universe are not ordinary instead the most prestigious women.

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A Note on Kosala Janapada Types of Coins Found From Odisha : A Review.

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In the primitive stages, the needs of human beings were simple and were supplied mostly by nature the trees and plants provided fruits and roots and the animals, meat, to feed them; the leaves and barks of trees and animal skins covered their bodies; the natural caves gave them shelter from weather and enemies. But as man settled down and society came into existence, occupations became specialized. What man could not himself produce, he had to obtain from others. This gave birth to the barter system. Barter system requires a double coincidence. Of the two persons participating in the transaction, what one person requires must be in excess with the second person, and the latter must be desirous of the commodity that is in excess with the former. Also, it was always not easy to determine the relative value of the various commodities. To do away with these difficulties, a certain commodity was adopted as medium of exchange. In Vedic India, cow was accepted to serve this purpose. Ten cows are mentioned as the cost of an (image of) Indra. The wealth of a person has been calculated in cows. It was overcome by the introduction of metal as medium of exchange. Dividing a piece of metal does not adversely affect its intrinsic value. Each transaction required the use of scales to weigh the metal and also the testing of the purity of metal. Gradually, to get rid of these problems metallic pieces of definite weight and more or less definite shape and size came to be issued by recognized authorities each piece bearing a device or a legend or both testifying to the metallic purity and weight of perhaps manufactured by the Lydian or the Greek settlers of Asia around 700 BC. These were of electrum, a natural alloy of gold and silver, which was later replaced by gold¹.

In the Rig Veda refers to Rudra as wearing a *nishka* which is *visvarupa* a form. This *Visvarupa* form is understood the mean that probably the *nishka* had numerous symbols upon it. It has been suggested that in the context *nishka* was a gold coin bearing symbols, and was occasionally used as an ornament either singly or several strewn in a necklace. It may be mentioned that scholars have pointed out that *Visvarupa* is also used a various contexts for a chariot, cattle, plant, etc².

In Vedic literature, *nishka* is always mentioned in connection with charity or as prize. It is to be noted that the typical ornaments like *khadi* and *rukma* are never mentioned in the context of charity. This would show that *nishka* in that period was not just an ordinary ornament. It was a piece of well-defined weight and had some purchasing value, but not probably a regular coin as its multiples and sub-multiples do not find mention in the Vedic literature³.

Another gold piece, round in shape, was the Satamana mentioned in later Vedic literature. There is a reference to two *Satamanas* attached to the wheels of the royal chariot being offered as *dakshina* to the officiating priest at the time of the *rajasuya yajna*.

The *suvarna* was, in later times, a gold coin of 80 *rattis*. It is difficult to say if it was a coin of a piece of gold weighing 80 *rattis* in the period of the *Brahmanas* as well as.

In the *Brihadaranyaka* Upanishad, it is told at the time of the *bahudakshina yajna*. Janaka organized a philosophical debate and declared that the winner was to receive a thousand cows with ten *padas* attached to the horns of each cow. This *pada* could be a coin or a metallic (gold) piece equal to a quarter of some standard coin- a *nishka*, a *suvarna*, or a *satamana*⁴.

In later Vedic literature, *nishka*, *satamana*, *suvarna*, and *pada* are mentioned always in connection with the fee paid to the priests on auspicious occasions, and never as ornaments. It is not mentioned whether or not they bore any mark or device on their surface. It has been suggested that they might have been used as currency, but as things were very cheap, to occasions when transactions were made with the help of gold currency were probably very rare, and usually barter was in vogue. Silver and copper currency, which would have been required for smaller transactions, are nowhere mentioned in the literature of that period.

While earlier literature referred to gold pieces only in the context of generous gifts, the literature of the period from about the sixth century BC refers to coins in connection with ordinary commercial transaction. Thus, the Ashtadhyay-I articles are worth ones, two, and three *nishka(s)* are called *naishkikam*, *dvinaishkikam*, and *trinaishkikam*, respectively, while terms like *naishka-satika*, and *naishka-sahasrika* denoted persons worth a hundred and a thousand *nishkas*, respectively. The term *nishka* also occurs in Jataka literature. Thus, in Bhuridatta Jataka, the Bodhisattva earns a hundred *nishkas* a day, and in the Kuhaka a person misappropriates a deposit of a hundred *nishkas* placed with him. Quarter or *pada-nishka* is referred to by Patanjali.

The Sanskrit term *janapada* is Tatpuruṣa compound term, composed of two words: *janas* and *pada*. *Jana* means "people" or "subject". The word *pada* means "foot" from its earliest attestation, the word has had a double meaning of "realm, territory" and "subject population". Literary *janapada* denotes the geographical area, where people are living and adopting pastoral economy and not using any type of vehicle for movements. The people were not imposed any type of tax to the king. Literary evidence suggests that the *janapadas* flourished between 1500 BCE to 500 BCE. The earliest mention of the term "*janapada*" occurs in the Aitareya, Shatapatha and Brahmanatexts⁵.

In the Vedic *Samiti*, the term *Janapada* denotes a tribe, whose members believed in a shared ancestry. The *janas* were headed by a king. The *samiti* was a common assembly of the *jana* members, and had the power to elect or dethrone the king.

The janas were originally semi-nomadic communities, pastoral but gradually came to be associated with specific territories as they became less mobile. Various *kulas* (clans) developed within the *jana*, each with its own chief. Gradually, the necessities of defence and warfare prompted the *janas* to form military groupings headed by *janapadini*. This model ultimately evolved into the establishment of political units known as the *janapadas*. While some of the *janas* evolved into their own *janapadas*, others appear to have mixed together to form a common *Janapada*. *Janapadas* were gradually dissolved around 700 BCE. Their disestablishment can be attributed to the rise of imperial powers within India⁶,

The *Janapada* were highest political unit in Ancient India during 600 B.C. period; these polities were usually monarchical (though some followed a form of republicanism) and succession was hereditary. The head of a kingdom was called a (rajan) or king. A chief (purohita) or priest and a (senani) or commander of the army who would assist the king.

The 'Punch-marked' coins are the earliest coinage which constitutes the most extensive monetary system of Ancient India. It was so extensive & wide spread that numerous hoards & stray finds of these coins have been discovered throughout the length and breadth of the country. Although the coins known as 'Punch-Marked' are rude and ugly, bear no legends, can not be precisely dated, & as a rule are not assignable to any particular state or localities, they possess very special claims on the interest of the scientific numismatist, as documents in the early history of coinage⁷. It is also as authoritative records of the symbolism being religious, mythological, & astronomical current through out India for many years. These coins denote the peculiar technique of manufacturing in ancient period. The symbols are punched on the coins separately and not by die-striking and hence the name. First the flat sheets of metals were cut in to the strips of varying breadth & then those strips were cut in to required shape with approximate weight, Later on various symbols were punched on those Black Pieces and for adjusting the actual weight these pieces were clipped off on the edges. This technique of punching coins is unique to India. So these coins are known amongst numismatist and historians as "Punch-Marked" coins⁸.

The adoption of coinage would have greatly facilitated commercial transactions, and might have initially been introduced by merchant community and might. Later on, the state saw the advantages of the coinage system, and gradually took over the function of issuing coins. But as has been remarked by several scholars, the right to issue coins was never zealously guarded by the state in ancient India⁹.

Innumerable coins bearing names and titles or simply names, of the kings have been found from all over the sub-continent. But apart from the king, we have coins issued in the names of sub-kings, commander-in-chief of the imperial forces, feudatories, and others. Sometimes, coins were issued conjointly by a king and his subordinate ruler(s) or officer(s), and even by two or more subordinate rulers.

Among the republication states, coins were issued both in the name of the gana (republic), as well as that of its head (*gana-pramukha*) who at times as referred to as raja (king) or maharaja (great king). Thus we have Arjunatana coins bearing the legend Arjunayanana, '(coin) of the Arjunayanas', and Malava coins bearing the legend Malavaganasya, (Coin) of the Malava gana', showing that these coins were issued in the name of the republic¹⁰.

In certain instances, we have republication coins bearing legends mentioning both the king and the republic. Thus the legend *Rajnah Kunindasa Amoghabhuta Maharajasa* could mean both, '(coin) of king Amoghabhuti, Great king of the Knuindas' and (coin) of king, K.P. Jayaswa; concludes from this that these coins were 'struck in the name of the king and the political community'.

Sometimes, coins were also issued by Janapadas, as is clear from the legends and find-spot. Of these we have some examples in the coins bearing the legend Majhamikaya-Sibi-Janapadasa showing that they were issued in the name of the country (or Nation) of the Sibis of Madhyamika, and the coins with the legend Rajana-janapadasa, of the country of the Rajanaya tribe¹¹.

Ancient Geographical Boundary of Kalinga

The State Odisha associated with various names in ancient period. The names are Kalinga, Odra, Toshali, Kongoda, Utkala and Kosala. During the ancient periods the present boundary is far exceeded in geographical and political limit. The *Vana-parva* of the Mahabharata is an important source which provides information about the geographical limit of Kalinga that "This is the Country of the Kalingas where flows the river Vaitarani."¹² The Greek writers indicate the extent of the territory of Kalinga from the Ganges mouth in the north to the mouth of the Godavari in the south. The *Puranas* describe the Amarkantak hill as situated in the west of Kalinga. The Nanda King Mahapadmananda is the 4th Century B.C. conquered not only the whole of Kalinga but also the Kingdom of Asmaka which was located to the southwest of Kalinga beyond the river Godavari¹³.

The Rock-Edit of Ashoka at Dhauili near Bhubaneswar and Jaugarh close to Purusottampur in Ganjam district proves that Kalinga in his time included the entire region now known as Odisha. The Hati Gumpha inscription at Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar describes the mighty Kharavela as Kalingadhipati. In his reign he expanded Kalinga into an Empire. The greatest poet Kalidasa in (4th / 5th Century A.D.) mentions the king of Kalinga as the Lord of Mahendra and according to him the occupation of the Mahendra hill by Raghu signified his victory over Kalinga¹⁴.

The present State Odisha has been derived the name Odra or Udra or Udraka. The Muslim geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. mention it as Urshin. The Simahachalam votiv inscription (1352 A.D.) mentions the name Odyadesa. The Gajapati king Kapilesvardeva

declared in his proclamations of 1436 A.D. inscribed on the Jagannath temple at Puri and Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar, that the territory over which he was ruling was named Odra Rajya. Oriya Mahabharata of Saraladasa refers to the Kingdom of Kapilesvaradeva as Odra Rastra or Odisha Rastra¹⁵.

Utkal is another ancient name of present State Odisha. The Mahabharata refers at Utkal consists of Odras, Makalas, Kalingas and Andhras. The Ramayana and the early Buddhist literature like Vinaya Pitaka and the Jatakas refers the Utkala Janapada was outside the limits of the Majjhimadesa. Pargitar suggests that Utkala comprised the southern portion of modern Chotanagpur region. In the Asanapat inscription of Satrubhanja (Post-Gupt period) mention Utkal as Ubhaya Toshalis. Raghuvamsa of Kalidas (600 A. D.) describes at Utkal territory lies in the close proximity of the Kalinga country¹⁶.

Kosala, the ancient Odisha's name Kosala mentions in the *Mahabharata*, as *Dakshina* Kosala. The Allahabad Prasasti of Gupta king Samudragupta (350 A.D.) describes Kosala along with the territories of *Dakshinapatha*. The Chinese Pilgrim Yuan Chawng visited in 639 A.D. and in this time the Kosala compressed of present state of Bilaspur and Raipur of Chatisgharh together with the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Balangir in Odisha. The Somavamsi king Yayati-II succeeded in unifying Kosala and Utkala under one political banner (11th Century A. D.) The Gangas of Utkala (1112 A. D.) defeated the Kalachuris and occupied territory falling within the districts of modern Sambalpur and Balangir districts. The glory of Kosala revived under the Chauhana rule and in the 16th Century A. D. the Political gravity shifted from Patnagarh to Sambalpur¹⁷.

In Odisha the distribution of punch-marked coins, both imperial and Kosala types have been reported from different places. These coins are found either in a hoards or as stray finding. The finding places and distribution of these coins are considered as representing trade centres and routes, respectively. From these findings it is clear that besides circulating Imperial or Mauryan variety of coins, the site located in Odisha especially in the western part were circulating with local symbols known as 'Kosala' type. A hoard of 539 Nos¹⁸ of imperial variety of coins from the old ruins of 'Asurgarh' in Kalahandi district, 10 No's of coins from 'Jharapara' near Bhubaneswar, 49 coins from 'Jagamara' hoard in Puri district, 379 coins from Salipur hoard in Cuttack District, 334 coins from 'Pandia' hoard near the Rock Edict of Asoka at Jaugada in Ganjam District and a hoard containing 360 coins from Samantarapur near the ruins of Sisupalagarh are noticed. Same type of the coins have also been reported from the excavations at Sisupalagarh and Udayagiri hills in 1962-63. From Dundu hoards near Bahalda in Mayurbhanj district was found 192 no's of coins, at the time of excavation at Manamunda-Asurgarh in Boudh district found 01 no. of coin; 162 no's of Kosala or Janapada type coins¹⁹ from Sonpur hoard in the district of Suvarnapur, 19 stray find coins from middle Mahanadi valley in Bolangir district,

01 unidentified coin from "Kharligarh" in Kalahandi district and other 4 coins from "Budhigarh" in the Same district have been recovered. A hoard of Ghumalain Mayurbhanj district 25 coins were found²⁰. The Kosala type local punch-marked coins were found during excavation at Sisupalgarh at a level attributed to 2nd century A.D. besides the find of "universal" type at the same level²¹. The discovery of the terracotta coin-moulds for preparing punch-marked coins have been found from the excavation of Sisupalgarh at the level attributed to about 4th century A.D.

Distribution of Imperial as well as Kosala or Janapada type of punch-marked coins in Odisha:

Find Place	District	No. of Coins	Typology	Nature of Find
Narla-Asurgarh	Kalahandi	539	Imperial Type	Hoard
Bahalda	Mayurbhanj	192	Imperial Type	Hoard
Jaugada	Ganjam	1	Imperial Type	Excavation-1956-57
Jharapada	Puri	10	Imperial Type	Hoard
Jagamara	Puri	49	Imperial Type	Hoard
Pandia (Near Jaugada)	Ganjam	334	Imperial Type	Hoard
Manamunda-Asurgarh	Boudh	1	Imperial Type	Excavation-1982
Sisupalgarh	Khurdha	1	Imperial Type	Excavation 1948
Khandarigi	Khurda	5	Imperial Type	Exploration
Samantarapur	Khurdha	360	Imperial Type	Hoard
Salipur	Cuttack	379	Imperial Type	Hoard
Sonepur	Suvarnapur	162	Kosala or Janapada Type	Hoard
Middle Mahanadi Valley	Bolangir	19	Imperial Type	Stray Finds
Kharligarh	Kalahandi	1	Unidentified	Surface Survey
Budhigarh	Kalahandi	4	Unidentified	Surface Survey

The distribution of punch-marked coins in Odisha of both imperial and Kosala types suggests that Odisha was in a sway of Early Historic trade connections and communication patterns. These coins are found either in hoards or as stray findings²². The excavations at Manamunda-Asurgarh yielded in layer 3 a silver punch-marked coin with four symbols datable

to the 3rd century B.C. Similar discoveries have been found from the excavations at Sisupalgarh²³ and Jaugada. The find place and distribution of these coins have been considered as representing trade centres and routes respectively. From the findings it is clear that besides circulating imperial variety or Mauryan types of coins, the sites located in Odisha, especially in the western part, were also circulating coins with local symbols known as Kosala type. It indicates that most probably some sort of autonomy was provided to the sites located in hinterland Odisha due to their importance in terms of either resources or dissimilarities with other localities.

From the distribution of punch-marked coins shown above it is clear that during the pre-Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods, Odisha was also a part and parcel to the early city/state formation as also trade mechanism. The evidence of large number of imperial variety coins directs towards trans-regional trade activity. The finding of Kosala or Janapada type of coins from Sonepur (one and half km from Manamunda-Asurgarh) is really important in terms of the activity and role of the centre. It may also be presumed that some sort of local autonomy was granted to the centre in terms of circulation of its own coinage. Unfortunately, several hoards of punch-marked coins were/are being smelted and smuggled by the treasure-hunters which even continue today²⁴.

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Early Temple Endowments In Odisha from 6th to 9th Century CE

Rudrangi Pattanaik

Introduction:-

The temple in Odisha originated as a place of worship or a cult centre in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era. Gradually it was systematically built up as an institution, an eminent focus of multifarious human-activities-social, economic and cultural. The institutionalization of temple began with the donation of gifts to temples, which ultimately integrated a diverse section of people with the temple. It shows temple was not meant for one period of time. To continue to enliven its reputation of drawing allegiance from people constantly, it required a shift and alteration in the temple plans and elevations. Temples as centres of worship formed a part of the daily life of the early medieval Odishan society. The construction of temples was considered to be a very significant and pious social service in the traditional society. At the same time temples also a medium of spreading and consolidating royal influence³. Towards the 7th century CE the construction of temples had already been evolved in Odisha consisting of a *Sanctum* and the chamber i.e. the *Vimana* and *Jagamohana*⁴. According to *Silpasastra* temples are divided into three categories, *Nagara*, *Dravida* and *Vasara*. Odisha temples however do not fall in any of the mentioned categories. This shows that the architects of Odisha had won themselves separate recognition among the then contemporary architects of India and in all the regional developments of temple architecture, the *Kalinga* style is most remarkable because the fundamental characteristics of both *Nagara* and *Dravida* styles can be observed in the temple architecture of Odisha⁵. The main development in the temples of Odisha was the addition of *Natamandapa* and the *Bhogamandapa*. Besides there are a number of distinct features like pavement, platform upon which temple is erected, cube, pyramidal tower, *bekt*, *amalasila*, *kalasa* and *chakra*⁶. The increase in the number of temples from 6th century onwards is correspondingly indicative of a substantially important both as an institution with constituencies and organizational capacities and as a symbolic centre in which the growth of puja was responsible for transmitting new cultural and mythological formulations to a larger group.

Temple building activities:

The Sailodbhava period marked the beginning of temple building activities. The temples of early group at Bhubaneswar like Laxmaneswar, Bharateswar, Satrughneswar and Parasurameswar and the temple of Badagaon near Belguntha in the district of Ganjam dedicated

to Siva represent the high watermark of art and architectures of the Sailodbhavas. The temple of Parasurameswar in good state of preservation is one of the best specimens of early temples in India illustrating the artistic imagery of the Odishan craftsman.

The Odishan temple architecture evolved in three phases. The temples like Satruganesvara, Lakhmanesvara, Bharatesvara and Parasuramesvara assigned to the Sailodbhava period belonged to the early phase⁵. During this phase the temples were of small size rising to a height of not more than 50 feet. Some of them are without porches or *mukhasalas* and some had rectangular porches with flat roof looking like low *mandapa* with pillars in the hall. In a Siva temple the *Parsvadevatas* are always Siva's consort Parvati and their two sons Ganesa and Kartikeya. In a Visnu temple we find three incarnations of Visnu and in a Devi temple three forms of the goddess. There is no uniform disposition of doors and windows and the joint between the shrine and *mukhasala* was of a rudimentary type⁶.

The temples like Vaital, Sisireswar etc. assigned to the Bhaumakara period form the second phase or the transitional phase in the process of the development of temple architecture in Odisha. Some of the decorative motifs of the early phase fade into insignificance and now the doorways and windows are flanked with serpent which are unknown earlier⁷. In this phase the walls of the shrine and the *mukhasala* are decorated in the smaller fashion, showing improvement and maturity of technique.

The development of temple architecture in Odisha reached its zenith during the Somavamsi period. The temples of the Somavamsi period and the Imperial Ganga period marked the third and the final phase of Odishan temple architecture.

From the existing monuments, and the finds of the innumerable architectural and sculptural fragments it appears that the region of Bhubaneswar was an important centre of art in Odisha in the past. Here we find hundreds of temples, big and small⁸ in different stages of preservation and belonging to different stages of the evolution of the temple-architecture. This is the only place where one can study the entire history of the evolution of the Odishan temple-architecture. This is also the place where all three categories of temples - *Rekha*, *Pidha* and *Khakhara* are found. From all accounts it appears that the place was a great centre of temple building activity in the past.

The Satrugnesvara group of temples represent the earliest extant temples of Odisha. These temples three in number, are situated in a row inside a compound and from north to south they are locally called the Laksmaneswar, the Bharatesvara and the Satrugnesvara. All these temples were in complete ruins and have been restored by the State Archaeology Department. Of these the Laksmanesvara is now without its facing, stones and the crowning members. The core of the middle one, Bharatesvara has been covered by the plain blocks of stone at the time of restoration. The southernmost one, the Satrugnesvara is comparatively in good state of

preservation and this helps us in getting an idea about the architectural peculiarities of this group of temples. The Parasuramesvara is the best preserved of all the temples that belong to earlier part of our period. On the evidence of the palaeography of inscribed labels on the *astagraha* slab the temple can be placed in the seventh century CE⁹. Like all the early temples the Parasuramesvara is of moderate height¹⁰. The *Vimana* possesses a squattish heavy set *gandi*¹¹, The *badais triratna* in plan and has three divisions. The Svarnajalesvara temple is situated in the close vicinity of the Parasuramesvara temple.

This temple was completely buried underground and has been partially unearthed recently at the time of digging a drain. Because of its close proximity to the Bhavani-Sankar temple situated in the southern side of the Vindusarovara tank, not far from the Lingaraja the temple is now called New Bhavani-Sankar temple. Opposite the wall of the temple are inscribed in two rows about twenty-seven letters, some of which have been mutilated beyond recognition, It seems that some mere letters have been completely wiped out with the peeling off the wall surface, The script of the inscription belongs to the 7th- 8th century CE. On the basis of the palaeography of the inscription the temple can be assigned to the seventh century CE. The temple appears to be posterior to the Parasuramesvara¹².

There are some temples of little importance. These temples bear characteristics similar to those of the temples discussed above. These temples are the Mohini, the Uttaresvara, the Talesvara, the Paschimesvara (now destroyed), a ruined temple to the north of the Sisiresvara, a half- hurried temple in the midst of bazar (near the Lingaraja) and a tiny half-hurried temple inside the Yamesvara compound.

The Mohini temple is situated on the southern bank of the Vindusarovara tank, the presiding deity is a fierce-looking ten-armed dancing chamunda. There is no reason to suppose that the temple was built by Mohini Devi, the queen of Sivakara II of the Bhauma-karadynasty, as has been done by some scholars¹³. Its rectangular *mukhashalla* was completely damaged and has been restored with the plain blocks of stone.

Another temple is the Uttaresvara, situated on the northern bank of the Vindusarovara tank. The next is a much ruined temple called Talesvara situated at a short distance from the Parasuramesvara temple.

The Vaital is situated very close to the Sisiresvara and both are enclosed by common compound walls. It is the earliest specimen of the *Khakharadeula* in Orissa. The temple bears two inscriptions. One of them is in the Proto-Oriya script and hence it belongs to a much later period, i.e. the thirteenth or fourteenth century CE.¹⁴ The palaeography of the inscription, as suggested by Dr Panigrahi, belongs to the later half of the eighth century CE.¹⁵

Jajpur, situated on the bank of the Vaitarani in Cuttack district was an important centre of art. From the architectural and sculptural fragments lying scattered all over the area it can be presumed that there were temples belonging to the early period. Some of the fragments represent images exactly similar to their counterparts depicted on the temples of Bhubaneswar belonging to the seventh-eighth century CE¹⁶. The present image of Viraja(two-armed *Mahisamardini*) closely resembles with the same image at Bhuma¹⁷ and hence it can be assigned to an early date.

The original temple of Viraja, which is pointed out at a place in the village of Kalaspur in the vicinity of Jajpur town, must have belonged to the earliest phase of the Odishan temples. It was not unlikely that this temple belonged to the seventh or eighth century CE. Since all the early temples of Jajpur have been destroyed it is not possible to give descriptions of them.

The Durga temple at Baidesvar, on the bank of Mahanadi near Banki in Cuttack district is a small *Khakhar* temple. The presiding deity of the temple is *Mahisamardini* in all respects the temple is similar to the Vaital temple of Bhubaneswar. The ground plan of the temple is rectangular. The temple is datable to the 8th century CE and later than the Vaital temple.

The Bhrngesvara temple, is situated at Bajrakotin Dhenkanal district. The temple shares many features of the Parasuramesvar temple and at the same time some of features of the Bhauma-kara epoch are noticed on it. So the temple can be placed towards the close of the 8th century CE. The temple is definitely earlier to the Simhanatha temple.

The Svapnesvar temple is situated at Kualo, a place near Talcher in Dhenkanal district, It is a *Pancharatan* temple, After considering all the features we would like to suggest that the temple belongs to the end of the 8th century CE and thus a contemporary of the Bhrngesvara.

Role of Temple in early Odisha:-

The importance of the temple for the Indian milieu cannot be exaggerated. The medieval temple is a State within a State with its own administration, finances employees and traditions. Next to the State itself it was the biggest employer, the greatest patron of art, culture and learning, it was a centre of higher education which attracted the best talent, both among the teachers and the taught, it was the greatest centre of refined entertainment for the common man and diverted him with the best that music, dance, drama, painting and sculpture¹⁸. It could provide and thus elevated his aesthetic taste; it is the foremost national gallery of painting and sculpture, the greatest centre of theatrical arts which encouraged the painter and the sculptor, the singer and the actor to come out with the best of creativity in them. It was the bank which went to the help of the people in times of need and distress. As has been observed elsewhere, "In India temples are the treasure-house of the arts". They are the abodes of living gods. A temple is not the fortress of a priest or the monastery of an ascetic. It is the physical core as well as the soul of the community. It is meant to be visited by every man and woman every boy and girl as often as

possible and at least once in a day. It is meant to instruct man in the greatness of his race and elevate his soul in the pursuit of God. Every temple in India is a definite architectural piece. It is full of exquisite sculpture or paintings that depict scenes from the story of the race. They are meant to instruct man in the duties of this world just as in the presence of the image of God in the *sanctum sanctorum*. He is forget everything in the contemplation of the supreme¹⁹. To put in the words of AnandCoomaraswamy the indian temple is “the statement of a racial experience and serves the purpose of life like daily bread”²⁰“

Patrons of the Temple:-

The inscriptional evidence shows that the king took active interest in the temple patronage. The king repaired the temple. The king is found associated with the temple by making grants to the deity. Kings also patronize for the ritual of the deity. The epigraphs as well as the literary references point out that the king was involved in the construction of the temple. The king himself seen as the embodiment of the State and was seen as the ultimate owner of all types of property of the State including the temple. Temple encompassed varied segments of the society through construction, repair and rituals. They include kings, queens, family members of royalty, officers, generals, Acaryas, Brahmans, temple dancers, common women and men etc, which refers to the community patronage, instead of elite one and community ownership of temple instead of State ownership. Though private individuals were found building temples, but temple was not seen as private property.

The paucity of the information in the records about the temple patrons, severely limits discussion of the socio-economic and religious background of the donors and driving force behind their donations. The patrons were derived from a wide range of social strata and religious attachments: King, kiths and kins of king (family members, queens), officers, Acarya, merchant association and common populace.

Temples grew and sustained as autonomous religious institutions with participants role from the community. To approach the deity we need the help of a medium called rituals. Ritual in the temple refers to verbal or physical acts singly or jointly performed before and or for the deity, by the priest or the worshiper. It includes cultic acts of all kinds: ritual drama, prayer, dancing, ecstatic speech, veneration of objects, sermons, silent meditation, sacred music, songs, secret rites, mantras, tantric etc.

Endowments to the temples-

Donation of land to the temples was made by the members of the royal families, ministers, merchants and officers. Sometimes kings donated land to the temples and appointed priests as the trustee of the land. The most common and popular gift was the donation of lamps to the temples. The temple endowments were not confined to the royal family alone, but were made by

the royal officers, and rich merchants too. The purpose was mainly for the attainment of religious merit and to absolve the donor from the worldly sins²¹.

Making a gift to a temple or more correctly to the god of the temple was seen as a meritorious act in which all could participate according to their means. Temples also accumulated important fixed assets such as jewels, bullion and miscellaneous paraphernalia including image frames, thrones, parasols, crowns and vestment for deity. Temple property could also include ritual implements such as bells, lamps, censers and palanquins or temple carts for parading the divinity on festival days .

The most common and popular gift was the donation of lands and lamps to the temples. The donors made provisions for oil supply to the perpetual lamp. The desire to keep one's good name alive on earth was an important motive that associated the patrons to the temple. Almost next to immortality the underlying belief was that a person lives in heaven as long as his/her name is remembered on earth. The king donated varied items to the temple as well as to the deity were necessary for daily and other rituals of the temple. The accumulation of donated lands by the temples might have led to the formation of a class of landed magnates like early medieval South Indian temples²². As the owner of the vast landed property a large number of agricultural labourers might have been employed for cultivation. The lands were under the supervision of temple priests. The temples might have taken active interest for agricultural development of the area. But details are not available to establish the role of temples for extension of cultivation as could be found in case of the South Indian temples.²³

Some of the items were donated to the temple for utilization at first place as and when donated like food, clothes, etc and most of the items like land or villages generated revenues for carrying out the specified services and thus utilized at a secondary stage. In the next category of the donor females from the royal household dominated the donations to the temple/deity. This category varies in range from daughter-in-law of the king to queen mother.

In the Indian museum plates of Indravarman, Sri Ila the daughter in law of the king built the temple for Sri Madhava and SwayambhuSekhara. In Pattaliplates queen mother Lokamahadevi donated a village to the shrine of *KancipottiBhattarika* for rituals. In Baud plates queen Tribhubanamahadevi donated villages to *UmamahesvaraBhattaraka* in Naneswar temple, at the request of a woman Sasilekha, who built the temple. In the Chamunda Image inscription queen *Vastadevi* installed the image. In the Madhavesvara temple inscription queen mother Kolavati built the temple and dedicated few women for temple rituals. Even when the kings were involved the driving forces behind the temple endowments were other people around in the family and outside also. In the Terundia plates though the queen did make the grants she was instrumental in it. The king donated villages for the upkeep of the *mathas* and *mandapas* at the request of his queen. Apart from queens other members of the royalty were also involved in the

donations. In the Visakhapatnam plates who requested the king to make the donation of a village to the shrine of *DharmeswarBhattaraka*. It shows many queens, queen mother and other members of royalty also patronized the temple.

Two of the Nala inscriptions record the erection of temples. The *Podagarh stone inscription* of the Nala king Skandavarman records the setting up of a sanctuary of Visnu. The Rajim stone inscription of Vilasatunga records the construction of a temple dedicated to Hari (Visnu). The introductory stanzas of the inscription refer to Visnu's churning of the milk ocean and to his dwarf incarnation. The king apparently had the temple built for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased son. The inscription is incised on a stone slab built into a wall of the *mandapa* of a temple dedicated to Visnu as *Rajivalocana* (the lotus eyed one).

The Terundia plate of Subhakaradeva II records a grant made by this king at the request of a queen in favour of six Brahmanas who belonged to the Bharadvajagotra, were students of the Kanavasakha of the Vajasaneyacarana and residents of Taramandapagrama. The grant is specifically stated to be for the purpose of the upkeep of *mathas* and mandapas. The endowment consisted of the Lavagandagrama attached to *Sulantarakurbhavisaya*.

The Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva records a royal grant made at the request of a person named Pulindasena the income from which was to be divided in the following manner: half the income of the land was for *snapana* (ablution), *gandha* (sandal paste), *puspa* (flowers), *dipa* (lamps), *dhupa* (incense), *naivedya* (food offering) *bali* (offering to all creatures) and *puja* (worship) for the god *VaidyanathaBhattaraka* enshrined in the temple of Pulindesvara, for clothes and food for the servants and repairs. The other half of the income of the land was for providing the Saivaacarya, tapasvinis with meals, garments, and medicines and for the maintenance of the family of the danapati everyday with six *adhkas* of husked rice at the cost of four *hiranyapanas*. Two of the Bhaumakara inscriptions – the two sets of Baud plates of Tribhubanamahadevi records endowments to a certain Saiva temple establishment.

The Camunda image inscription of Vastadeva records the installation of an image of the goddess Camunda apparently in a temple in Jajpur, by the queen *Vatsadevi* is not known from any other source she was probably the wife of one of the early Bhaumakara kings.

The Hamsesvara temple inscription of Madhavidevi probably a wife of Subhakara I records the building by the queen of a temple of the god Bhava (siva) under the name *Madhavesvara*. Verse 4 of the inscription compares the temples with Siva's abode on mount *Kailasa* and refer to the appointment of a *Saivaacarya* for conducting the worship of the god. Verse 5 refers to a *vapi* (tank) that must have been excavated near the temple. Verse 6 speaks of a *hatta* (market or fair) that seems to have been established or organized in the locality it is possible that the income from it was assigned to the temple.

Cuttack Museum Copper Plate Of Madhavavarman Sainyabhita II Year 50, The charter was issued from the residence at Madhavapura by Madhavavarman Sainyabhita (II) of the Sailodbhava family. The object of the charter is to record the grant of a plot of land measuring twenty-three *timpiras* situated in the village of Tamatada under *Vyaghrapura-bhukti* of Jayapuravisaya in favour of a number of Brahmanas.

Ganesagumpha Inscription of the time of Santikaradeva records that during the reign of Santikaradeva, the physician named Bhimata made a vow to donate one *prastha* measure of paddy every year apparently for feeding the mendicants and for the worship of lord Ganesa.

In the early period of our study particularly in the 6th century the deity directly received donations. In the Narasimhapalli charter of Hastivarman the king granted six *halas* of land and four cottages to the deity Narayana. On similar lines, the Santabommali plates of Indravarman record the donation of three *halas* of land to the temple of Rameswar Bhattaraka whereas in the Podagarh inscription the village was donated for establishing *sattr*a for the Brahmanas. In Pattali plates of queen mother Lokamahadevi which record grant of a village to the shrine of Kancipotti Bhattarika in 811 CE.

By the end of the 6th century CE as evident from the Kanas and Olasing plates Brahmanas were for the first time mentioned along with the deity in the same land grants. In the Kanas plates of Lokavighraha the grant has been stated to provide *bali*, *caru*, *sattr*a at the matha of deity Maninageswar Bhattaraka of Ekambaka and the maintenance of the brahmanas of different gotras, who were students of Maitreyaneka school, associated with the said *matha*.

By 8th century CE The Visakhapatanam plates of Devendravarman record donation of a village to the deity Dharmeswar Bhattaraka when the *Sthanadhikar* was Vipra Somacarya. The Gallavi plates of Manujendravarman in 9th century CE where the village was granted to the deity Gundisvar of Kunduka area, and was received by a brahman. In Chicacole plates of Satyavarman along with granting the land to the deity.

One of the salient aspects of the cultural life of early medieval period is the growth of Brahmanical cults, centred around monastic complexes consisting of a temple residential structures for priestly people and their students along with the provisions for the settlement of diverse professional group catering to its material needs. Such institutions are called *mathas* that specifically nurtured the idea of secluded dwelling, earlier widely popular among Buddhists and Jains.

From the Asanpat inscription of Maharaja Satrubhanja of about 6th century CE the king made gifts of lakhs of *hiranya* and made grants at various *mathas*.

The Dhauli cave inscription of Santikara records that a physician Bhimata constructed *Arghyaka Bharati* monastery in the Dhauli hill.

The Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahadevi indirectly refer to the establishment of *matha* attached to the temple of Nanneswar where grant was provided for various provisions like *sattra*, garments, medicines to monks, for food and clothing to Brahmanas, to Padamulas and Tapasvins also.

Charters of the Bhaumakara rulers throw interesting light on the maintenance of the temples as is seen from the details given in the Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva. In this charter the ruler gifts the village of Noddilo with its rivers, ferries, forests and hamlets and also the right of collecting taxes from the weavers, cowherds, and others. This gift is made to the god Vaidyanath enshrined in the temple of Pulindesar, built by Pulindaraja and the grant is made at the request of this Pulindaraja who was apparently a vassal chief of the Kara rulers Subhakar II. One half of the income from the village was to be used for actual worship to the god. The other half of the income was to be used for the requirements of the saiva ascetics - for their clothes, food, and medicines.

The inscriptions as well as literatures are silent about the system of temple management and number of officers attached to it. But it may be presumed that the temples of Odisha did not possess an elaborate machinery of officers like those of South Indian temples²⁴.

Conclusion:-

Temples as centres of worship formed a part of the daily life of the medieval Odishan society. Yet they seem to have had a wide social relevance. Temples catered to the socio-religious needs of a larger section of the people and at the same time functioned as a link between the king, the founder of the temple, and the rest population. The construction of temples was considered to be a very significant and pious social service in the traditional society. At the same time temples represented the wealth and social power of the founder and were also a medium of spreading and consolidating royal influence²⁵.

From the middle of the 6th century CE. to the middle of the 8th century CE. the Sailodbhava dynasty ruled over the southern portion of Odisha. From the political point of view the Sailodbhava rule cannot be considered to be much importance. They were feudatories ruling over a small territory and asserted their independence at opportune moments. The Sailodbhava period was an age of creativity in Odishan art and architecture. A number of temples of Bhubaneswar such as Parasuramesvara, Satruganesvar, Bharatesvar, Svarnajalesvar and Lakshanesvar can be assigned to the Sailodbhava period. The Sailodbhava rulers were great patrons of Saivism. The early Bhauma rulers followed the Buddhist sect. The later Bhauma kings inclined towards the non-buddhist sects like Saivism, Vaisnavism, Tantricism and Shakti cult. Madhava Devi, the wife of Subhakaradeva I built a Siva temple, Subhakaradeva III donated a village for the maintenance of the Siva temple of Pulindesar. The Siva temples of Sisiresvara, Markandesvara and Talesvara in Bhubaneswar belong to the Bhauma era.

Tribhubanamahadevi I, Subhakaradeva IV, PrithviMahadevi, Santikaradeva II appear to be devotees of Visnu. The Bhauma period also saw the growth of sakti cult in Orissa. The Vaital and Mohini temples of Bhubaneswar enshrining Chamunda were built during this period. The grant of endowments to the temples was a feature which started in Odisha during the Bhaumakaras and the Somavamsis and increased during the period of the Gangas and Gajapatis. One important feature of the land grants during this period is that there was the gradual decline in endowment granted in favour of Buddhist and Jaina establishments. This reveals that Brahmanical religion was getting constant support from the ruling family. Donations were made to the temples in order to attain religious merit.

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CRAFT SPECIALISATION AND URBANIZATION IN EARLY HISTORIC ODISHA

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Urbanisation forms an important branch of historical studies in recent times. Urban centres have always been considered the nucleus of human civilization and culture. It is an important index of socio-economic structure of nation as towns and cities have special role to play in its multifaceted development. It is the most important feature of the human evolution. But now-a-days urbanisation has become a universal phenomenon and is considered as a symbol of development. Urbanisation is a physical growth of a particular area under diverse circumstances and due to specific causes, where the political, economical, social and religious factors play an important role in the growth and sustenance of the same¹.

V. Gordon Childe has suggested in his “Urban Revolution theory” that the rise of new technology motivates the forces of urbanization (Childe 1950: 3-17). Childe opines that the development of technology creates a condition for making surplus which in turn leads to the emergence of urban centre. He has listed the following criteria for defining Urbanisation². They are (1) Size (2) Specialised classes of skilled workers (3) Centralization of surplus (4) Monumental architecture (5) A ruling class (6) Knowledge of writing (7) Sophisticated art style (8) Long distance trade (9) Exact and predictive sciences regulating the cycle of agricultural operation (10) Social organization based on residence rather than kinship.

Urbanisation during the early historic period ranging from 600 BCE to 500 CE was remarkable for the growth of cities, towns or urban centres, trade centres and craft villages in the Mahanadi valley of Odisha. A large number of settlements started growing on the banks of main rivers and their tributaries and Chilika lake. The banks of the tributary rivers were highly occupied. The source materials such as epigraph, numismatic, art, architecture, excavations and literature of religious and secular nature and archaeological excavations throws light on the development of urbanisation in ancient Odisha.

Craft specialisation

The urban economy has its two main constituents; trade and craft specialisation. Even for a developed system of trade, handicraft production was a necessity. From a theoretical point of view there emerge two important aspects of urban economy- specialisation of crafts and commodity production on one hand and trade on the other. The following craft industries that were flourished during early Historical period are discussed below:

Glass making

Glass beads and bangles of various shapes, sizes and colour have been reported from all the excavated and explored sites. They are globular, semi-circular, cylindrical, oval and hexagonal in shapes. Some Chemical analysis on them has been carried out to understand the nature and composition of Odisha glass during Early Historic period. Indo-pacific glass beads have been reported from Narla-Asurgarh. Recently an interesting evidence of on site glass manufacturing evidence has come to light from Kurumpadar. Kurumpadar is situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi in the district of Boudh. Excavation carried out at the site in 2001 by Sambalpur University has brought to light on site glass making evidence in the early historical level (Period-III) of the site³.

From a depth of 35cm in trench KMP-I, were recovered 35kg of slags, several blue coloured glass ingots, drawn tubes, several fragments of semi-finished glass bangles, broken parts of burnt tuyeres and one each of monochrome (blue) and bi-chrome (blue and deep orange) glass bangle fragments. The evidence clearly suggests large-scale manufacturing of glass objects, mainly bangles. It appears that by this time glass industry as a special craft emerged in the middle Mahanadi Valley of Orissa⁴.

Stone Bead Making

Urban and rural settlements of Early Historic period unfolds various types of beads made of semi-precious stones like chert, agate, chalcedony, jasper, garnet, quartz, sapphire, amethyst, onyx, coral, opal, crystal quartz, ruby, tourmaline, steatite etc. Lal for the first time has reported one hundred and eighty beads found during the exactions at Sisupalgarh in 1948 made of stone, glass and terracotta. The stone beads of Sisupalgarh were made of carnelian (etched in one case), onyx, agate, chalcedony and amethyst⁵. Narla-Asurgarh has yielded a good deal of semi-precious stone beads (89 numbers) at different strategic levels. Based on their colour Sahu has made classification these beads by studying their gravity, hardness, weight etc^{6,7}.

On the basis of shape, the varieties of beads found from these Early Historic sites can be classified into globular, cylindrical, disc, short and long barrel, flat, square, diamond shape, heart shape, hexagonal, octagonal, biconical, pentagonal, spherical, drum, triangle and leaf shape. Huge amount and variety of stone beads of different materials are found from all the urban and semi-urban of Western Odisha than coastal Odisha. Because Western Odisha considered as the resource zone for these materials. Recently Mishra has brought to light large number of beads made of semi-precious stones during the survey in the Tel river valley⁸. Stone mould or polisher used for manufacture of beads is obtained from Kharligarh, Narla-Asurgarh and Budigarh. The minerals of the Tel valley were successfully exploited by local artisans for making beads and pendants. Badmal-Asurgarh, Narla-Asurgarh and Narisho were the important bead manufacturing centre during Early Historical period.

Badmal was an important stone bead manufacturing centre of Middle Mahanadi Valley region of Odisha. Excavations at the site revealed huge amount of raw materials, finished and unfinished bead debitage and wastes⁹. For manufacturing beads, the craftsmen of this period not only exploited the locally available beryl of greenish blue, golden yellow, and pale-blue to sea-green colour, aquamarine, smoky quartz, amethyst, corundum, and tourmaline, but also imported materials such as banded-hematite-red jasper, agate, chalcedony and amygdaloidal basalt, obtained from regional and extra-regional contexts by way of trade or exchange. In addition, beads and pendants of coral and onyx, which were directly imported from outside the region, have also been found.

Similarly recent excavations conducted at Narisho in 2009 and 2012 revealed so many varieties of semi-precious stone beads mainly made of chert, agate, green and red jasper, chalcedony, carnelian and smoky quartz along with raw materials¹⁰. Both finished, semi-finished, broken or fragments types of beads were found. Findings of all types semi-precious stone raw materials, bead polisher and number of pointed iron nails or drill bits suggesting on site manufacture of stone beads. Because no sites of Coastal Odisha has revealed the evidence of huge amount of raw material along with finished and unfinished beads from same stratigraphic level. These raw materials have brought to the site by means of trade.

Ivory

Ivory was found from the excavation of Sisupalgarh, Budigarh and Narisho. Ivory comb reported from Budhigarh and bangle from Sisupalgarh and bead from Narisho were significant discovery. Odisha was famous for its elephants. The Periplus of Erythrean Sea referred to Dosarne which was famous for ivory products¹¹. Dosarne is identified with Odisha. The Arthasastra referred to Kalinga as one of the regions which produced best types of silk (*Karpasika*) and the home of best elephants.

Metal making

The knowledge of metallurgy of iron, copper, silver, tin, gold and bronze have been emerged into specific crafts mastered by local metal smiths during Early Historical period because of their socio-psychic-religious inquisitiveness. The growth of metallurgy was one of the causative factors for urbanisation. A survey of archaeological reports reveal the genesis of a well-defined material culture in the given context, initiated in the Chalcolithic – Iron Age, reaching a certain maturity in the Early Historic period. The metals are used in daily life as ornaments, craft tools, objects of defence and also as a medium of trade. Copper and iron are the most used metals together with the use of silver and gold. In this period metal smelting and manufacture of tools had its grandiose growth.

Iron

Excavations at Sisupalgarh yielded verities of iron artefacts comprising knife-blades, sickles, nails, spikes, ferrules, caltrops, daggers, arrow-heads, spear-heads and caltrop. Caltrop, a military weapon of Roman period of 1st century CE was reported for the first time from Odisha. Similarly archaeological excavations carried out by different sites like Jaugada, Radhanagar, Viaratgarh, Narla, Manamunda, Nuagarh, Kharligarh, Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, Badamal, Budhigarh, Kurumpadar, Kumersingha, Narisho and Talapada revealed different types of iron artefacts.

Apart from iron artefacts, iron slags, ore, bloom, charcoal, tuyeres are reported from some sites like Kumersingha, Badmal, Kharligarh, Sisupalgarh and Narisho demonstrate various metallurgical process involved in iron making. No evidence of iron making furnace has been reported from any sites. Iron objects along with slags and charcoal were found at Narisho. These iron artefacts might have manufactured by local smiths on site after procuring iron bloom or wrought iron from other source areas through trade. The remarkable point of Kharligarh iron artefacts is that some iron nails retrieved from the excavation are totally non-rusted¹². The knowledge making of rusted free iron objects is treated as significant contribution of iron making process. Iron artefacts reported from Dumerbahal (Gupti), Terasingha and Budigarh speaks volume on the luxuriant use of iron items in the early historic perspective of Tel valley¹³.

The development and spread of iron technology in the various regions of Odisha during early Historic period was marked by a tremendous growth in the use of iron objects. Some analytical studies have been made on the iron artefacts found from Badmal –Asurgarh and Kumersinghsa. PIXE analysis conducted on iron artefacts of Badmal shows that the local smiths could bring iron ore having vanadium and chromium mineral deposits from Mayubhanj-Sundergarh region, located 140-200km from the present site for making iron objects. This indicated their knowledge for selection of suitable ores and mining. Similarly Atomic Absorption Analysis on iron objects from Kumersingha suggesting advance techniques of iron extraction from ore¹⁴.

Copper

The copper objects are basically of three types, (1) ornaments (2) utensils and household goods and (3) implements. Beads, bangles, ring, amulets, hair pin etc, belong to ornaments type. These ornaments have been found from Sisupalgarh, Manamunda, Nuagarh, Talapada, Narla-Asurgarh, Budigarh, Khameswaripali, Terasingha and Narisho. Utensils and house hold objects comprising antimony rod, pin miniature blow pipe, copper wire, lamp and ritual pot were reported from Sisupalgarh, Narisho and Terasingha. Implements like rod, hook, pipe also recovered from many site. Nehena has yielded copper lid with peacock figurine on its top is an intricate design and aesthetically it is enchanting. Most of the early historic sites have yielded Puri-Kushana copper coins.

Ten Kushana copper coins (3rd-4th century CE) from the Odisha State Museum, Bhubaneswar have been analysed by using External Proton induced X-ray emission (PIXE) technique¹⁵. The abundant finds of Kushana copper coins from several parts of Odisha i.e. Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Balasore implies that these might have continuous trade relation of imperial Kushanas of Northern India with ancient Odisha. The possibility of the Kushana copper coins being treated as currency (tentatively from 3rd to 4th century CE) of this region may not be ruled out. Study revealed the variations in the concentrations of metals in the coins are as follows: The concentration of copper varied from 80.54 to 95.84 %, the concentration of zinc varied from 0.30 to 6.99 %, the concentration of iron varied from 0.85 to 9.50 %, the concentration of lead varied from 0.56 to 13.39 %. The analysis also reveals the presence of other metals such as titanium (0.09-0.65 %), nickel (0.12- 0.88 %) and bismuth (0.11-0.76 %). High percentage of copper noticed in all the artefacts¹⁶. The modes and process employed for manufacture of copper objects were hammering, riveting and shouldering together.

Silver and Gold

Silver punch marked coins are found from Sisupalgarh, Radhanagar, jaugada, Manamunda, Narla- Asurgarh, Budhigarhand Kurumpadar. Silver slags and casket reported from Lalitagiri, umbrella from Narla and unidentified artefact from Radhanagar.

Kushana gold coin and decorated ornaments were reported from Sisupalgarh. This gold coin belong to the reign of king Huviska. Gold ring, foil and casket are found from the site, Lalitagiri. Other gold artefacts also made their presence at Radhanagar, Narisho and Budhigarh. Gold coins dated 5th-6th century CE of Sarbhapuriya king Prasannamatra came out from Nehena. Budhigarh has revealed another repouse gold coin of Mahendraditya. The finding of gupta gold coin at Nehena is also recorded. The Nala dynasty of Podagada issued a number of gold coins. The discovery of dozens of gold coins of the Nala dynasty convincingly portends the growing activity related to gold in the Tel valley (Mishra 2011). Horse-ride type of gold coins of Kumargupta of Gupta dynasty recently discovered from Balasore¹⁷. These two Gold Coins of Kumara Gupta have been reported for the first time in Odisha. This discovery of coins indicates that Odisha was part of Gupta empire in 5th/6th Century CE.

Analysis of coins can give valuable information on different aspect of life, politics, society, religion, art, culture, economy and metallurgy of minting time. External Proton induced X-ray emission (PIXE) is a common scientific method for non-destructive analysis of coins preserved in museum. A hoard of silver punch-marked coins were recovered from the Suktel river valley from Sakma area of Bolangir District, Odisha which is identified with the ancient site of '*Suktimati-pura*', the ancient capital city of Chedi dynasty to which ancestors of Kharavela belonged. The site is datable to 2nd century BCE. PIXE analysis was carried on some of the punch-marked silver coins found from above sites.

Intensiveness of Resource Exploitation

The role of minerals in material development of cultures cannot be overemphasised. Human endeavour has been defined by the levels such as Stone age, Copper-Bronze age, Iron age and so on. There is hardly an activity of day- to -day life, which does not involve utilisation of minerals in one way or another. The economic prosperity attained at a particular stage of civilisational growth may easily be assessed by the types and quantity of minerals consumed at that point of time.

Archaeological findings show during early Historical period verities of minerals like iron, copper, silver, bronze, lead, silver and gold were utilised in Odisha. It is well known that the coastal alluvial plains are devoid of mineral deposits where as the high land and rolling upland regions are the main source of these minerals. Some minerals were procured through long distance trade. Intensive use of resources for making artefacts shows economic prosperity in the Early Historic period. People used to make ornaments and other artefacts of daily use out of minerals and gemstones. Iron and semi-precious stones were widely used during the period under review.

In Early Historic period use of both these metals are known as small ornaments and coins. The gold casket found from Lalitagiri excavation was meant to keep charred bones belongs to either Buddha or chief disciples of Buddha. Similarly People during said period used lead and bronze but in a limited scale. Ear ornaments and coins made of lead were found from Sisupalgarh and Talapada. Artefacts made of Zinc and Aluminium has been reported from Narisho. A bronze coin has recovered from Narla-Asurgarh.

The materials remains connected with metal crafts have shown the early historic urban growth. Iron was the predominant metal during the period followed by copper and silver. Large numbers of artefacts were made of iron. Iron was locally manufactured from vanadiferous magnetite, limonite and laterite. Iron deposits situated in Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar district was major source for mining. Metal crafts played most important role for growth of urbanisation during early Historic period. The material remains as encountered in various sites suggest the existence of specialised workers engaged in various arts and crafts.

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ROCK ART IN MAYURBHANJ DISTRICT

Dr. Maitri Janani Ambuj

All types of artistic expressions noticed on the rock surfaces of caves, rock shelters and boulders is termed as rock art. The earliest artistic expressions on the prehistoric men are found executed on bare rock faces in the naturally formed caves and on rock surface using paints and brushing. Rock art is found all over the world and it dates back to as early as 30,000 BP and has been reported from more than 150 countries and regions across the world, if put together, would number over a million. Art is the genuine reflection of human mind, inner thoughts and beliefs and are of great help to us in determining the contemporary environment, means of subsistence and the mode of man-nature relationship of primitive people. Further we do not get any authentic records other than the artifacts, so these rock art comes handy and provides us clues about their society, customs religion, rituals, implements, technology, contemporary flora, fauna, dress etc.

Rock art is divided into two categories viz. Pictographs and petroglyphs¹. Pictographs are done with pigments on rock surface, the pigments are made out of minerals of different hues like ochre, white etc. Pictographs are otherwise also called as rock paintings. Petroglyphs are made by engraving, scooping on the rock surface. As the the pre-historic man was primarily a hunter, his paintings depict the scenes of hunting. Scholars have different views over the probable purpose and function of these arts. Some believe that the function was magical; it was the fear of the animal, religious, for some it was purely aesthetic and for personal delight where others attribute to the early paintings some mystic, religious beliefs, because of the representation of certain animals and the absence of human figures in them.

Rock art is a global phenomenon. The beginning of the human ability to produce abstractions of reality is not just interest to the art historian or the archaeologist. It gives ideas of cultural precedence have been most effective in shaping racial, ethnic and national value judgement or fantasies. For instance, the notion that art began in the caves of Western Europe has significantly helped to shape and perpetuate myths of European cultural precedence, and during the last phase of European colonization it has helped provide convenient ideological justification for the subjugation of other peoples. The origins of art are thought to be intimately intertwined with the emergence of several other distinctively human facilities: the ability to form abstract concepts, to symbolise, to communicate at an advanced level, to develop a notion of the self. Apart from prehistoric art we have no tangible evidence from which the evolutionary progress of these capacities can be inferred. It is therefore the only consistent record left of the developing human mind, and ultimately the only evidence we have of how pre-humans became human.

The earliest art forms in human history do reflect an ancient ability to form abstract concepts and to symbolize, and these concepts must have had to do with the creation of constructs of reality². The discovery and study of Rock Art is a global phenomenon since they are reported from all over the world barring a few countries in Europe, having a wide distribution and lasting for a long period. The discovery of magnificent painted Bison in the caverns of Altamira, on the North coast of Spain has ushered a new era in the Stone Age painting studies and researches. Every continent claimed to have vestiges of pre-historic paintings in global context except Antarctica. The devotion and talents of scholars have brought to light Stone Age engraving, carving, modelling and painting from Europe, Northern and Eastern Asia, North, Central and South America, East and South Africa and Australia.

Rock Art in Global Perspective.

The paintings, engravings and brushings on the ceilings of the caves and rock shelters of Europe came to light from the late 1870s. Sautuola was the first man to discover Stone age paintings in 1879 from the caves of Altamira in Spain. The European Palaeolithic rock art sites have been located in three main areas: the valley of Dordogne in France, in the Pyrenees, and in the Cantabrian mountains. Other isolated groups are known from Silicy, Southern Russia and Eastern Siberia. A majority of post-Pleistocene rock art sites are known from Levant area of Spain. The post-Pleistocene rock art of Europe mainly consists of open engraving sites. The well-known areas for such art are Scandivia, Swiss/ Italian Alps and Spanish Levant. The common themes of this art are game animals, birds, warfare, dance, daily life, non-figurative motifs like spirals, triangles, mazes, and sometimes agriculture and pastoralism³. The Palaeolithic cave paintings mostly include animals like bison, bull, mammoth, rhinoceros, horse, ibex, reindeer and boar and characterised by a naturalism and dynamism, whereas the human figures are depicted only in a symbolic style, using only few lines. The Mesolithic paintings, dominated by hunting scenes, are smaller than the Upper Palaeolithic ones.

Rock art of Africa was carried out by Flamand in 1921. Paintings and engravings are known from the mountainous region of Sahara in North Africa, Tassili, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania, Lesotho and in South Africa. The early art forms are characterised by a large number of animals including eland, antelope, elephant, rhino, hippopotamus, buffalo and also human figures. Geometric designs and hand-prints also occur in some areas. The South African rock shelters are open, the sunrays often directly reaching the paintings. The earliest phase of rock art in this area is represented by painted stones found from excavations of different shelters. Their date goes back to 26,000 B.P. The human figures are generally absent from this phase, but appear in the second phase. The third phase contains most of the shaded polychrome paintings of antelopes. The human figures are also drawn with equal skill. These paintings are associated with the San (Bushman) hunter-gatherers. In the last phase,

human figures are depicted with their rifles, hats, garments and horses. Throughout these four phases, the eland has been increasingly depicted which suggests continuity of a single developing tradition of art⁴.

Rock art from Australia, an enormously diverse and rich heritage of rock art is known, covering a period from 20,000 years B.P to the present. A number of rock painting sites were reported from North Australia, W. Amhem Land, the Kimberley, the Pilbara, south-east Cape York, the Central Queensland highland and around Sydney have a vast concentration of rock art sites. The Koonalda cave, on the arid Nullabor Plain, contains finger markings and incised lines on the soft parietal deposits, is the oldest well dated site. The pecked circles, dots, connecting lines and the bird tracks represent the early phase of Australian rock art. Rosenfeld have postulated that the engravings in Australia had begun prior to 13,000 BP.

Rock Art in India

An India rank 3rd in the world, next only to Australia and South Africa as per the rock art is concerned. India played the role of pioneer as far as rock art research is concerned, as the first rock bruising work (Petroglyphs) of pre-historic man was reported by Henwood from Almora in India in 1856. In 1867-68 first prehistoric rock paintings were found at Sohagighat, Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh by Carlleyle. He was the first man in the world to associate these paintings with prehistoric stone-chippers whose cultural remains he had excavated in the floors of these shelters. Carlleyle had discovered painted rock shelters in India 12 years before the discovery of Altamira. However, the first scientific article on Indian rock painting was published by Cockburn in 1883.

In 1883 Cockburn found fossilised bones of rhinoceros in the valley of river Ken and Roberts Ganj in Mirzapur district. Carlleyle established the prehistoricity of these rock paintings. Cockburn published an account of all his discoveries and compared the paintings of India with Australia, South Africa, North America and South America. Fawcett reported rock carvings from Edakal cave, in Kerala. In 1907 Silberrad discovered rock paintings in Banda district and in 1918 Anderson discovered a painted shelter at Singanpur in Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh. In the history of Indian art, prehistoric rock art was included for the first time by Brown in 1917. These attempts were followed by the works of M.N. Ghosh, who brought to light the paintings of Adamgarh near Hoshangabad in 1922. After that notable work was done by Gorden for discovering the paintings of Panchmarhi region.

In 1964 R.K. Varma studied the paintings of Mirzapur. In 1967 J. Gupta published a comprehensive study of rock paintings and engravings. Thereafter many scholars took interest and the report of exploration and research started coming from different parts of our sub-continent like Tiwary in 1975 brought to notice the largest painted rock shelters in India and many sites around Bhopal. In Ladakh a number of petroglyphs have been reported from

Neolithic levels. Wakankar did the most notable work in Indian rock art. He discovered several hundred painted rock shelters in central India. He attempted a broad survey of the rock art of the whole country and produced a chronology of paintings based on the style, context and superimposition⁵.

It is seen that due to the efforts of the scholars brought to light over a thousand rock shelters with paintings. Today we have more than 500 rock art sites. Central India is the richest zone of rock art in the country. The thickly forested area were ecologically ideal for mans habitation during the prehistoric times. Extensive excavations are done in the central Indian caves, from which it is established that right from the Lower Palaeolithic to Historic period man lived in the caves and it helped to correlate the paintings with archaeological evidence.

The central India sites are situated in the Vindhya, Mahadeo and Kaimur quartzite and sandstone hills. Here in an area spread over 40,000 sq. miles are found 457 painted rock shelters with paintings within a cluster of 542 rock shelters at Bhimbetka⁶. The Mesolithic Paintings are generally dominated by game animals, hunting scenes and other cultural activities. The paintings of post-Mesolithic or later period show domestic animals, chariots and bullock-carts, domesticated animals and fighting scenes. Now the painted areas have been found to extend from the Himalayas to Kerala and from Assam to Gujarat. In the north, rock art is reported from altitudes as high as 4000 m. in Kargil and Leh, Ladhak region. From this area mostly petroglyphs have been reported. In the Himalayan region both pictographs and petroglyphs are reported from the stratified belts of sandstone, limestone, shale, granite and schist.

Peninsular India is too rich in rock art, which are found on the granite hillocks. They are found and are well distributed in all the 4 south Indian states i.e. Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. South Indian rock art is mainly known for its petroglyphs, though paintings are also found but insignificant numbers⁷.

Besides this rock art is found fairly distributed in the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra in the West Bengal, Bihar and Odisha in the east and also from the Northeast in the states of Assam and Manipur.

Rock Art in Odisha

The study of rock art in Odisha started in 1933 with the discovery of rock engraving at Vikramkhola in Jharsuguda District by K.P. Jayaswal in 1935. Then S. N. Rajguru in 1950 and J.P. Singh Deo reported two important rock art sites namely Gudahandi and Jogimatha in the districts of Kalahandi and Nuapara respectively. Further evidence of rock art was discovered from Ulap in Jharsuguda district, Ushakuthi and Manikmoda in Sundergarh district⁸. Rock Art at Pakhna Pathar near Jamda in Mayurbhanj district was reported in 1975. Behera and Neymayer in 1992 and 1993 discovered five painted rock-shelters in Chhienapahad in Sundergarh district.

In Odishan context, detail survey and documentation work of rock art sites was carried out by S. Pradhan. He has made a tremendous contribution in rock art studies of Odisha. In the line of Wakarnkar who has done a pioneering work on Indian rock art, S. Pradhan gives a new life to Odishan rock art. Pradhan has discovered 40 new rock art sites and re-documented the earlier 15 sites thus gave a new dimension to the rock-art research in Odisha. According to Pradhan there are 2241 specimens of paintings and 3534 specimens of engraving reported from 55 rock shelters. Among these 31 rock shelters have only engravings, 9 have engravings and painting and 15 have only paintings (Pradhan 2001). It is surprising to note that all the rock art sites in Odisha are reported from the western part of the state comprising of the district of Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Sambalpur, Sundergarh and Suvernapur. Out of these the largest concentration of sites is seen in the districts of Sambalpur and Sundergarh. This is due to the favourable geomorphological situation, for being part of the Vindhyan sandstone formations and being extension of Chotanagpur plateau and the Chhattisgarh basin.

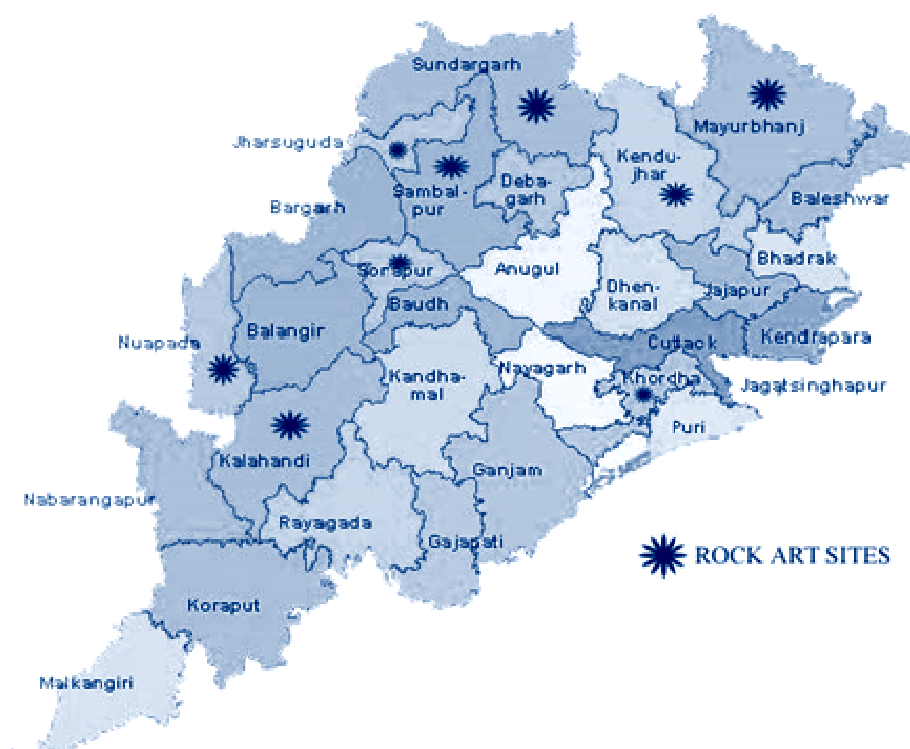
Here the rock system is represented by the sedimentaries of fossiliferous purple, ferruginous sandstone, siltstone, shales and grits. In the fringes and cliffs of these rock formations that nature has created caves and rock-shelters hidden under thick foliage, giving a strategic location for keeping watch on the movement of wild animals and games. So were chosen by the prehistoric hunter-gathers as places to reside and for ages they were in use by different hunting-gathering groups. In course of these stays, the people have left behind their imprints in the form of artifacts and other refuges lying embedded on the floors of the shelters and paintings engravings on the walls and roofs of the rock shelters. Though a large number of rock shelters exist in the geological formations but rock art is found in only a few of them.

An interesting aspects of the rock art is that, they are locally known either as 'Lekhamoda' meaning rock shelter with writing (Lekha-writing, Moda-shelter), or 'Ushakuthi' meaning worship hall (Usha-worship, Kuthi-hall), or 'Ushakupa' meaning ritual cavity. Many of these are even associated with characters in the epics i.e. Rama, Sita and Bhima. So they are known as Sitakunda, Bhimamandoli etc. (Pradhan 1999). Lekhamoda and Ushakuthi are the two most frequently used terms for shelters irrespective of their locations and subject matter of depiction. So to identify one Ushakothi or Lekhamoda from the other, the hills in which they are located is identified and named accordingly, i.e. Deulluga Ushakuthi or Ulapgarh Ushakuthi. Even some of the reserve forests are named after the rock shelter located in them, like the reserve forest of Vikramkhole in Jharsuguda, reserve forest of Ushakothi near Rajbahal in Sundergarh etc. Scholars for convenience of documentation and for its easy identification and to avoid confusion to identify one rock shelter from the other located on the same hill.

Rock shelters in Odisha are situated inside the deep forest located many kilometres away from the present habitation. Both paintings and engravings are executed in the cliffs and ceilings

of rock surface. The paintings are mainly geometric and non-geometric pattern and forms with a host of wavy, zigzag, criss-cross and parallel lines randomly executed all over the surface of the wall. The unique feature of the Odishan rock art is the complete absence of hunting and chasing scenes, restricted depiction of human and animal forms. The popular motives are female genitals, rhombic patterns, palm, foot, brackets and cobra hood marks with dots. In Odisha we found both engravings and paintings are co-existed.

Map showing major rock art sites of Odisha.



Rock Art sites in Mayurbhanj

Like other parts of Odisha Mayurbhanj has also preserves remains of rock art. Due to less scholarly effort, a few rock art sites have been discovered and documented in the district. The rock art site of Mayurbhanj mainly belongs to Mesolithic period. A detail description about rock art sites are discussed below.

PAKHANA PATHAR

The site is situated in the Bahalda Tehshil of Mayurbhanj district. The site was discovered in 1975 by the Archaeological Survey of India. Pakhna Pathar is located at a distance of 2.5kms north of Kaionpur village and 13 kms west of Rairangpur of Mayurbhanj district. It is a granite hillock of rock shelters. Among the rock shelters five shelters preserves series of paintings and

microliths. On the basis of availability of the microliths in the shelters, the paintings are dated to Mesolithic period.

Shelter-I

This rock shelter is located Long $86^{\circ}05'19''$ E, Lat $21^{\circ}16'57''$ N at an elevation of 1145ft. It lies on the summit of the hillock, the shelter is oriented east-west and facing towards north-east, north and north-west of 2.10mtrs \times 2.30mtrs. The rock painting has monochromatic ochre in colour. The pictures include curvilinear intersecting ovals, phytomorph, intricate pattern, pairs of horizontal strokes and a series of dots. The entire composition looks like a crown or an enigmatic writing. The paintings are at an unusual height of more than 7.26mtr. Microliths are found around the shelter.

Shelter-II

It is situated 300mts south of Pakhna Pathar Shelter-I in the same hillock. Paintings are noticed on the marginal ceiling and back wall of the shelter. The rock art panel sizes 2mtr \times 1.37mtr and the shelter 8.2mtr \times 3.30mtr \times 2.70mtr. The shelter oriented east-west and facing towards south and south-west. The paintings consist of lizard, intricate pattern and obliterated forms of ochre colour. The rock shelter floor has yielded microliths. The local people use this shelter as a place of worship.

Shelter-III

It is located an elevation of 938ft, 250mtrs west of Pakhna Pathar Shelter-II in the same hillock. The shelter is oriented east-west and facing towards south. The size of the shelter is 300mtr \times 250mtr. The shelter has two specimens of manipulable paintings. Paintings are done in monochrome of red. Microliths are found in and around the shelter.

Shelter-IV

It is located an elevation of 938ft, 100mtrs south-west of Pakhna Pathar Shelter-I in the same hillock. Microlithic are found in and around the shelter. Four specimens of manipulables and two concentric circles in monochrome of red are seen.

Shelter-V

The present shelter is located at an elevation of 1142ft, lies 50mtrs north-east of Pakhna Pathar Shelter-I in the same granite hillock. The shelter is oriented south-west and north-east. The shelter is facing towards south-west and south. The size of the shelter is 5mtr \times 2mtr. There are 19 specimens of paintings in monochrome of dark red. The subject matter is foot marks, curvilinear, pairs of horizontal stocks, concentric circle, intricate pattern and series of dots.

KUMBHIRA HUDI

The site falls under Kaptipada subdivision, 37 kms South of Baripada town and 5km from Kanhei *bandh*. The site is covered with rocky outcrops and has groups of rock shelters. Microliths are found in and around the shelters. At the top of the hill the rocky outcrops looks like a mouth of a crocodile from distance, so it is named as Kumbhira Hudi. According to a local belief, one day sea will rise and touch to the hillock and at the same time the rocky crocodile will go back to the sea and from that day Satya Yuga will be starts. In the month of January during the *Makara Sankranti* one festival and fair of fifteen days are observed in every year at this place.

The paintings and engravings are done on the ceilings of rock shelters, which are located at the top of the hill. The rock shelters are inter-connected, from outside it is very difficult to go inside but the inner side of the shelter is spacious for 3 to 4 person. One of the rock shelters at the ceiling two paintings are seen one is rat and another one is running deer in white colour. Another shelter shows a honey comb painting in ochre colour. Some shelters contain human figures in white colour which are mostly eroded due to the weathering and action of other geological agents. Engravings are found on the surface of rock boulder.

GHANTASILA

It lies in between $86^{\circ}39'41.31''$ E Long and $21^{\circ}43'39.57''$ N Lat in altitude of 55mtr. It is located 26kms south of Baripada town in Khunta Block. The area is covered with the rocky outcrops of Similipal formation. The site is full with microlithic artefacts. Microlithic are seen spreading all over the site and 3km radius of the site. The survey of 500sq.mtrs area shows microlithic are found in large number in various clusters. The site has also natural caves. We also came across good number of caves in and around the site which may have used by Mesolithic people.

The site is important for the study of Mesolithic human behavioural pattern and site catchment analysis. The quartz veins are found in this site which sparked out from the rocks and in 500 sq. mtrs vast chert veins which was exploited for tool making. The present site Ghantasila is a massive hillock surrounded by cultivation lands probably during the prehistoric period animals came to the place for their food and Mesolithic people hunted them. Raw materials are easily available in nearby the areas, Dhudhua. The river Gangahara also flows close to it which also helps them for river foods. Also the site yields natural caves which gives shelter to them in rainy season. Ghantasila is the production area and Dhudhua is the resource area. The survey of 500mtr \times 100mtr in this area resulted the collection of 208 numbers of artefacts consisting of blade, triangle, Bladelets, point, scraper, lunate etc. The remains of microliths in clusters show that this was a factory site and many people must have employed for the making of microliths. It was probably the production area of microliths from here finished tools must have distributed to another parts of Mayurbhanj.

At the slope of the hill, one large rock boulder of 6ft height shows the artistic works of the Mesolithic people. The boulder carries cupules marks on all over the surface. In the boulder nearly 100 cup marks are seen. They were engraved not in a line but dug all over the boulder surface. They are 5 c.m. wide and 3 c.m. deep. Local people termed it as the *Khuda Putali* of Bhima of Mahabharata period. These marks they believe were done by Bhim in angry mood.

In front of Ghantasila, there is another site known as Dhudhua. This place is also located in the same geological landmass where Ghantasila is located. Only a village road bifurcated both the site. Dhudhua is a famous picnic spot and pilgrim use to come this place to take a dip in the Dhudhua gorge. When waters of Gangahara fall into a deep cavity of rocks, it bursts with a high sound, that's why the place is so named.

A chert vein having 6ft in wide and 100ft in length got exposed on the left side of the site. Chert deposits are seen excavated from the top. According to a local belief it is the blood of a cow. These chert veins were used as important raw materials for making microlithic artefacts. Both Ghantasila and Dhudhua have yielded large numbers of debitage, flakes, finished and unfinished tools made on chert from the surface and both the sites are located very close to each other. It led us to believe that the exposed chert band at Dhudhua must have been used as raw materials for making microliths during Mesolithic period.

¹ S. Pradhan, *Rock Art in Orissa*, New Dehli, 2001.

² R.G. Bednarik, Palaeolithic Art in India. *Man and Environment* 18(2), 1993, P34.

³ A. Beltran, *The Imprint of Man: Rock Art of the Spanish Levant* (trans. M. Brown and ed. E. Anati), London, Cambridge University Press. 1982

⁴ J.D. Lewis Williams, The Economic and Social Context of Southern San Rock Art. *Current Anthropology* 23 (4), 1982, P434.

⁵ V. S. Wakankar, Bhimbetka, the Prehistoric Paradise. *Prachya Pratibha*, 3(2) 1975, P17.

⁶ Y. Mathpal, *Prehistoric Rock Paintings of Bhimbetka*, Delhi, 1984, P18.

⁷ S. Pradhan, *ibid*, 2001, P127.

⁸ N. Senapati, *Odisha District Gazetteers, Mayurbhanj*, Odisha Government Press, Cuttack, 1972, P28.

THE THREE TERASINGHA (KALAHANDI) COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

Dr Dadhibaban Mishra & Puspita Rani Behera

Three sets of copper plate inscriptions have been discovered from the village Terasingha situated on the right bank of the river Tel in Kalahandi district. The first set was edited by S.N.Rajguru¹, the second set by one S.N.Agrawal² and the third by B.Mishra³ in 2003. The present scholar has no idea about the whereabouts of the first set. One of the other two sets is in the Government District Museum of Bhawanipatna. The third was shown to Baba Mishra who took a photograph and edited it. Each set has three plates tied together with a seal. On palaeographic consideration, the first set is assigned to 5th -6th century A.D. and the other two sets to 8th -9th century A.D.

Tustikara's Inscription

The issuer of the first set was one Maharāja Tuṣṭikara. There is mention of two places of issue, viz., Parvatadvāraka and Tārābhramaraka- the former is found on the outer side of the first plate and the latter on the first side of the second plate. S.N.Rajguru⁴ editor of the inscription has observed :

Palaeographically the inscription belongs to 5th century A.D. The scripts, used on the obverse of the first plate differ from those of the reverse and also from the subsequent plates. The former characters seem to be earlier than second type of writing, although both refer to one and same grant including the name of the donee.

In fact, the inscription is a peculiar one. Against the usual practice of inscribing four sides- the inner sides of the first and third and both sides of the middle- both the sides of all the three plates are inscribed.

Secondly, only one line containing the name of the place of issue and the deity (L.21) is found on the outer side of the third plate. The very same line is on the obverse of the first plate (L.1)

Thirdly, unlike the other two sets, it is free from spelling, grammatical and orthographical errors to a great extent. About the inscription, S.N. Rajguru has said :

We have neither any account at our disposal to trace the royal family to which he (Tuṣṭikara) belonged, nor the period when he ruled although palaeographically he may assigned to the 5th -6th century A.D. Further, it is not known whether he was a king of Mahākāntāra which

name occurred only in the Allahabad Praśasti. It might or might not be that Mahārāja Tuṣṭikara belonged to the family of Vyāghrarāja, but his capitals were at Parvatadvāraka and Tārābhramaraka. The latter is identified with the modern village Talabhamarā, near the ancient site of Belkhandi (Rajapadar). A large number of monuments of about the 7th century A.D. have been discovered from there. A place named Amāthagaḍa is situated very close to Belkhandi where No.16 (i.e. Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikārā) was discovered. (Of late, some lithic inscriptions of 5th -6th centuries A.D. have also been discovered and now preserved in Manikya Museum of Bhawanipatana⁵). It is, therefore, plausible that Belkhandi and Amāthagaḍa possessed of antiquarian value pointing to as far back as the 5th -6th century A.D. These places are located on the banks of the Tel river, a tributary of the Mahānadī

In fact, it is a unique inscription in so far as it records two donations in character. The record of the first donation is on the first side of the first plate and the second donation is on the second side of the same first plate, both with similar beginning (*Svasti*). The place of issue was Parvatadvāraka in the case of first donation. Then the sectarian epithet *Stambhesvaryā-pāda-bhakta* (of the king Tuṣṭikara) is written. It is followed by the mention of Śrī Śobhinī, the Queen-mother's *dāha-jvara* (burning-fever) (for the recovery of which) Debhoga kṣetra is donated to Brāhmaṇa Droṇasvāmi of *Kāśyapa gotra* for as long as the moon and the sun endure (*ā-candr-ārka kālāya*).

Tārābhramaraka was the place of issue in the case of second donation which is recorded on the reverse side of the first plate. Here the donor-king was described as *Stambheśvari Pādabhakta* (devotee at the feet of Stambheśvari) *mātā-pitr pādānudhyāta* (devotee at the feet of parents) Śrī Mahārāja Tuṣṭikārā in the second side. He addressed the assembled family-holders, the natives of the gift village Prastaravāṭaka about the establishment (or conversion) of the village into rent free village (*pratiṣṭha-agrahāra kṛtvā*) and its donation to the same Brāhmaṇa Droṇasvāmi for the increase of his religious merit, longevity and fame.

The specification of gift is followed by some imprecatory and benedictory verses said to have been quoted from the Vyāsa-Gītā. The charter was written by Saṅgrāma. The name of another official Rāhasika Subandhu also occurs.

Of course, this is an exception to the general rule of the draft-text. The format had not taken a set form probably by that time. It appears that since the same Brāhmaṇa was the donee in both the cases of donation, no necessity was felt to record each case in one separate charter. It was found convenient to record the two in one set of plates.

Consolidation of State set-up

The name of the dynasty to which Tuṣṭikara belonged to or the circumstances leading to establishment of his kingdom, genealogy of his family or any other allusion of historical importance is not found in the inscription. Historians say that he was a member of *Parvatadvārakā* dyanasty, after the name of the place of issue of the charter. There was a big time gap between Mahendra and Vyāghrarāja (cir.350 A.D.) of the Allahabad Praśasti on the one hand and Tuṣṭikara (5th -6th century A.D.) on the other. Parvatadvārakā of Tuṣṭikara's inscription has been identified with Kabatadwar of present Kalahandi near the bank of the Tel river. The identification of the gift village Debhogaka kṣetra with Debhoga of present Raipur district (Chhatisgarh) if we accept identification, then it shows that it was a fairly extensive kingdom. It does not appear to be so, no village resembling the toponym is found in the locality. The names of only two officials *Rāhasika* (Confidential Secretary) Subandhu and the writer of the plates Sangrāma are mentioned. The former post continued in Nala time (cir.A.D. 350-500) as *Rahasya-adhikṛta* or *Rahasi-niyukta* (IO,I(ii),No.17&18)

Tuṣṭikara's kingdom appears to have been confined to the Tel river Valley comprising present M. Rampur and Narla P.S. areas of Kalahandi district whereas his predecessors'-Mahendra's and Vyāghrarāja's (of Allahabad praśasti) were quite extensive. Mahendra's dominion had spread in modern Chhatisgarh and West Odisha, which was known as Kośala from very early time whereas the latter's extended over Bastar district of Chhatisgarh and undivided Koraput-Kalahandi areas of West Odisha. It appears that small kingdoms rose over the ruins of the Nala Empire (Cir.350-500 A.D.). One such was that of Tuṣṭikara in the Tel velley of Kalahandi.

Significantly, the gift-village was converted into an *agrahāra* (rent-free land), according procedure established earlier (*Pūrv-ocita-maryād-opasthāna*), before its donation to Brāhmaṇa Drona Svāmi. It shows the practice of land donation according to procedure had already been in vogue in the area in the time of Tuṣṭikara

Seven benedictory and imprecatory verses have been inscribed for the present as well as the future kings to maintain the grant.

Socio-Cultural Changes :

Ṣṭambheśvarī was the titular deity of Tuṣṭikara. Ṣṭambheśvarī which is a conjunction of two words, viz., Stambha (pillar) and Iśvarī (goddess) indicates the co-mingling of two strands of religions- the Aryan or Brahmanic and the tribal or aboriginal. Thereafter kings of other dynasties of West as wall as Central and South Odisha also described themselves as the devotees of the deity (*Ṣṭambheśvarī-pādā-bhakta* or *Ṣṭambheśvarī-labdha-prasāda*) during 8th -11th

centuries⁶. Those were the Śulki, Bhañja, Tuṅga and Rāṣṭrakūṭa etc. Till date, the goddess has been worshipped in different parts of West Odisha like Sonapur, Baudh, and Athamallik and in Dhenkanal and Ganjam districts.

The original pillar-worship of the tribal has been there since time unknown. The influx of Aryan or Brahmanic rituals in later times has influenced and transformed it sometime in the early part of the Christian century. The deity is worshipped in the form one or two wooden posts, under open sky, of Rohen (soymidia febrifuga) or mahuā (basia latifolia) tree. Sometimes, anthropomorphic form is imposed by incision of eye, lips, ears on the top part of the pillar. In present days, no Brahmin is known to be a worshipper, a caste called Dumal do the same. The worship is performed, despite the Brahminisation, not by the Brahmans but by the Dumals who appear to be an accultured caste i.e. transformed from aboriginals into caste Hindu *varna* system in the course of time. In fact, the process of acculturation has been going on in Odisha and, particularly in West Odisha since the beginning of Christian Era. In course of time, the followers of such faiths were taken in to Brahmanic ‘model’ of society. The royal dynasties of the period under review as well as subsequent times grew out of the aboriginal tribes. The Nalas, Śarabhapuriyas and the members of Tuṣṭikara’s family are the examples.

The other two sets

The other two sets of Terasingha copper plate inscriptions appear to have been issued by one ruler who is known as Dhakkarisāredeva in one (RY7) and Dakkarisāra alias Bhānudeva in the other (RY25). ‘Wrong spelling’, omission of letters and words are found in the copper plate (RY25).

Both the inscriptions begin with *Siddham Svasti* in *maṅgalācaraṇam*, followed by the place of issue *Udayapura*, identified with present village Udepur near Titilagarh of Bolangir district. It is a place of some archaeological antiquities of 8th -9th century A.D. Then in the description of the king, such epithets as *Parama-Maheśvara*, *Pitru-māṭṛ-pādānudhyāta* have been used. But while *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Vaṁśudbhava-kula-tilaka* has been used in the inscription of R.Y.7, it is conspicuous by its absence of mention in the other (R.Y.25). Probably it was due to inadvertence of the composer/incisor of the grant.

In the inscription (R.Y.7) it is stated that Mātāśrī (the Queen mother) Śrī Valliṇi Mahādevī has donated a place known as Goṣṭhapāṭaka which is mentioned twice in line 3 and the last line (L.25) of the inscription. The proclamation was made with an address to the Brāhmaṇas, *Samahati* (*Samāharṭṛ*), *Sannidhātti* (*Sannidhāṭṛ*), royal employees (*Rājapuruṣa*), *karāṇa* (scribe) etc. in both the inscriptions. The gift recorded in the inscription of RY25 was two villages, viz, Tilaśṛṅgavāṭaka and Kaniyāralla. The first may be identified with Terasingha, the find spot of the

inscription while the latter has not been identified. Similarly, Goṣṭhapāṭaka (RY25) has remained unidentified. No administrative unit's name is given in the two inscriptions.

The donee is one and the same for both the grants, viz., Nārāyaṇa Deva, son Smagana of *Kauṣika gotra* and *Vājasaneyā śākhā*. The inscription (RY7) refers to the privileges, transferred to donee, *grāmapaṭhi* and *mārgaṇapaṭṭi*. The former probably refers to obligatory dues of a village⁷ and the latter a levy or a kind of cess or tax benevolence of a general character⁸. The other (RY25) contains the names usual taxes mentioned in contemporary and also inscriptions of later times, such as, *Nidhi*, *Upanidhi*, *dāś-āparādha*, *sarva-piḍā-vivarjita*, *ā-cāṭa-bhāṭa praveśa (niṣiddha)* etc.

Both the inscriptions (RY7&25) state that such a copper plate charter has been executed for the enjoyment of the donee “for as long as the Moon and the Sun” (*tāmra-śāsanena-ā=candrārka-sama-kala-bhog=ārtha-pratipāditah*). The date of the record of Year 7 was given as *Saptamī* of the month of *Māgha* di (day) 20.2. That of the record of the Year 25 was written as (the month of) *Vaiśākha* 20.4. The expression of date in numeral shows that counting of the day is made in decimal system. No mention of fortnight is made. *Amānta* or *Pūrnimānta* (month ending in newmoon or fullmoon day respectively) had not been in vogue till that time in the part of Odisha.

Both the charters' seals contain the effigy of *Garuḍa* (bird-vehicle of Lord Viṣṇu) and one line legend below –Śrī Valliṇi in one (RY7) and Dhāḁkanisaradeva in the other.

Historical Purport

The three Terasingha copper plate inscriptions are significant for history of West Odisha. Those shed light on a comparatively obscure period and a hinterland which help us to delineate historical developments from the earliest known historical time of 350 A.D. to about the early part of 9th century A.D. when the Somavaṁṣi emerged from Tri-Kaliṅga and spread their dominion over the entire area of West Odisha. Importantly, the process of Royal State formation which had begun from the time of the Nalas (cir.A.D. 350-500) continued unabated in several areas of the erstwhile Nala territory after their decline.

First of all, when the Śarabhapuriyas established an extensive kingdom comprising eastern part of Chhatisgarh and Nuapada and part of Kalahandi of West Odisha in 7th century A.D., Tuṣṭikara seized a part of Kalahandi (M.Rampur-Narla) in about the same time on the right bank of the Tel. We do not know how long did his dynasty's rule continued and what happened to his kingdom after him. His rule was a sort of interregnum.

Similarly, the two inscriptions of Dhakkarisārsdeva indicate that he established a kingdom in Titilagarh area Balangir district in 8th -9th century A.D. His lineage, attainment and extent of kingdom etc. are not revealed. He is known to have ruled at least twenty-five years, the date of one of the inscriptions. Of course, the name of his dynasty is mentioned as *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* which is of some historical value.

Among the corpus of West Odishan inscriptions, we get 4 nos of those belonging to members of *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* dynasty. Those are the Degaon inscription of Mugdha Gondala Deva⁹ and Sambalpur University Museum¹⁰ (RY23) inscription of Devapya of the time of Somavarṁśi king Janamejaya I (Cir.A.D. 850-900) and Kamlpur inscription¹¹ (RY4), assignable to the early part of 12th century A.D., of the time of he Somavarṁśi king Karṇṇa. All the three rulers have been described as feudatories (*māṇḍalika*) ruling over small, autonomous states, under the paramountcy of the rules of Somavarṁśa. Whereas Mugdhagondaladeva ruled over *Parakkala-Maṇḍala*, the other two ruled over *Kolleḍa-maṇḍala*.

Besides, a copper plate inscription of a king named Paracakrasailya of *Vāgharakoṭa* is discovered from Bargarh¹². He also belonged to *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* family. Like the Somavarṁśi feudatories he was also a feudatory (*Rāṇaka*). He was described as the son of Dhamśaka and grandson of *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Cāmaravigraha. The inscription is dated Samvat 56, i.e. his Regnal Year 56. *Vāgharakoṭa* has been identified with Bargarh. And the time 11th century A.D. is assigned to the inscription on palaeographic consideration.

On the basis of the four inscriptions under scrutiny at present, it may be said *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* members ruled at different pockets of West Odisha between 8th -9th century A.D. Some of them, like Mugdhagondala Deva, Jayārṇṇama, Paracakrasailya have given the names of their fathers and grandfathers. Devapya has given the name of his father only. However, no clue is available to us to establish any relationship between those ruling branches or, even between the two rulers of *Kolleḍa*. Whatever be that, a few *Rāṣṭrakūṭa maṇḍalas* continued to survive between 9th -11th century A.D.

As far as the two Terasingha inscriptions of Dhakkarisāradeva are concerned, those do not contain the name of their overlord nor any feudatory title for the ruler. Probably he ruled independently over the kingdom whose capital was Udayapura. It may be pointed out in the context the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* of the Deccn carried on incessant invasions against North India and Bengal through Kośala in the second half of 8th century A.D. In the Sanjan copper plate¹³ of Amoghavarṣa, it is stated that Govinda III (A.D. 793-841) occupied the country of Mālava along with Kośala, Kalinga, Vaṅga (Veṅgi) Dāhala, and Oḍraka. Govinda III very likely appointed scions of his dynasty as administrators in different kingdoms of West Odisha to maintain the

Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony. One such might be Ḍhakkariśāra. After the death of Govinda III, there was no able ruler to maintain his vast empire or hold over distance places. In such a situation, Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories became independent for sometime. But when the Somavaṃśi established their kingdom, the erstwhile feudatories of Rāṣṭrakūṭas acknowledged the suzerainty of the Somavaṃśis and continued to rule as semi-independent rulers.

Footnotes and References:

1. J.K.H.R.S, II, pp.107-10ff,*IO*,I(ii),No.16,pp.81-85
2. Two copper plate inscriptions of Western Odisha, Menda, 2001
3. Journal of Bengal Art,vol.8,2003,117-24
4. *IO*,I,(II),84
5. Mishra,D.B: West Orissan Lithic Inscription: An Exploration (Final Report : ICHR, F.No. 6-82/2006/SAF/Unit III)
6. Shastri, A.M: *ISPS*,II,IV: Suppl I, 343-47; *ibid*,VI:Suppl V; 362-66 ; *IO*, VI,Nos.13-22
7. Sircar D.C.: IEG,12
8. *Ibid*,199
9. Shastri,A.M.: *op.cit*,IV:Suppl II
10. *Ibid*, IV : Suppl I
11. *Ibid*, IV : Suppl V
12. Sircar, D.C. (ed): *ELXXX*, p.135ff
13. *EL*, XVII, pp.235 f

Terasinga Plates of Tushṭikara "

1st Plate; 1st Side.

- १ ॐ स्वस्ति[॥]पर्वतद्वारकाद्भवत्या स्तम्भेनि(स्व)र्याः[॥]पादभक्तः।
 २ श्री सो(शो)भिनी राजजनन्या^१ वस्तुभस्य^२ दायज्वरो[॥]त्का
 ३ देभोगक्षेत्र[॥]^३ काश्यपस्य गोत् व(वा)द्मण दो(द्रो)गस्वा[मि]
 ४ तस्य^४ आचन्द्रावर्क कालाय दत्तमिति ॥^५

1st plate; 2nd Side.

- ५ स्वस्ति तरभ्रमरकात् स्तम्भेश्वरि(री) पादभवनः मातापितृ पादानुध्यातः श्री[म]-
 ६ हाराज तुष्टिकारः प्रस्तरवाटक वासिनः सर्वसमवेतान् कृतुम्विनः स[मा]-
 ७ जापयति[॥] अस्त्येष वाटकोरुमाभिः पुण्यायुर्वैलयशोभिवृद्धये^६
 ८ आचन्द्रतारकाकं प्रतिष्टमप्र^७ हारं कृत्वा काश्यपस गोत्त्राय आर्यद्रोण-

2nd plate; 1st Side.

- ९ शम्भोणे संप्रदत्तः[॥] तदेवं ज्ञात्वा भवद्भिः पूर्वोचित मध्यदिपस्थानकत्त(त्)इ[म][॥]
 १० अपिचात्र दयासगीताः श्लोकाभवन्ति ॥ भविष्यतश्च राजो विजापयति[॥] यस्य-
 ११ यस्य(यस्य)यदाभूमिरुत्स्य[तस्य]नदाफलम्[॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तांवा यस्त(त्ता)द्र-
 १२ क्ष युधिष्ठिर । मही[॥]महिम्तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन[म][॥] वष्टिस्वष्ट(वै)

2nd Plate; 2nd Side.

- १३ सहस्राणि स्वर्ग^९ वसति[भूमिदः] आच्छे(क्ष)त्ता(प्ता) चानुमन्ता च ताम्येव नरके वसेत्
 [॥]वद
 १४ ता[॥]परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेन वसुधरा[म][॥]स विष्ठायां कृमिभू(भू)त्वा पितृभिरु-
 १५ ह पच्यते[॥]बहुभिर्ब्रह्मैवमुधा दत्ता राजाभिस्सगरादिभिः[॥] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
 १६ तस्य तस्य नदाफल'(लम्)[॥] अग्निष्टोमो(मो)स्त्रिभिर्य(यै)जः बहुभिर्ब्रह्मैवमुल दक्षणः

3rd Plate; 1st Side.

- १७ ये ऽप्येष्टो^{१३} भवति राजेन्द्रः य(यो)ददाति वसुधराम्[॥] आदिस्वा(स्यो)वसवोर द्राः
 १८ पुरोगमा^{१४}[॥]गूलपाणिश्च भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदम्[॥]राहसि-
 १९ क सुवन्धोर्व्वेदितं सङ्काङ्का(मकेन)^{१४} लिखितमिति ॥ सुग्याधे(ये)द्वे^{१५}
 २० प्रस्तरक्षेत्र प्रमुखं

3rd plate; 2nd Side

- २१ [ॐ स्वस्ति[॥]पर्वत द्वारिकाद्भवतीस्तम्भेस्वीय्या

As deciphered by S.N.Rajguru, I.O, Vol-I (ii) No.16

Terasingha Copper plate Inscription of Dhakkarisaradeva

RY-7

First Plate

- १-सिद्धम^१ [१*] स्वस्ति उदयपुरात् [१*] परममाहेश्वरो [मातापितृपादानु-]^२
 २-ध्यातः राष्ट्र कूट वन्शोद्भव^३ कुलतिलकः श्रीढ करिसारदेव कुशली [१*]
 ३-गोष्ठ पाट कवाट के ब्राह्मणै सप्रधानोयथाकालाध्या-
 ४-सिन [:*] समाहति^४ सन्निधात्ती * प्रभृतिनकचिये(दे)ना राजपुरुषा स
 ५-करणानत्याश्चे (न्याश्च) समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथारयं
 ६-ग्रामोपट्टि कस्थित्यार्द्ध करादान मार्गणिपट्टि का च करमुक्त ब्राह्म-
 ७-ण वाजसेनायाय कौषिकगोत्राय भट्ट सामणगायसुत भट्ट

Second plate - First side

- ८-२ ' नारायणदेवाय द्यसित रथसप्तम्यामुदकपूर्व श्री ढ करिसार-
 ९-देवस्यानुमत्या माताश्री वल्लिणिमहादेव्या मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चपुन्या(ण्या)भि
 १०-वृद्धयो (ये) ताम्ब्र^५ शासनेनाचन्द्रार्क समकालोपभोगार्थ प्रतिपादितः इत्या-
 ११-वगत्या समाविधेय भूत्वा समुचित भोगभागादि कमुपन-
 १२-यथः(द्धि) भवद्भि [:*] सुखे [न*] प्रतिवास्तव्यति^६ [१*] भाविभिश्च भूमिपालै धर्म गौरवा
 १३-च दस्मदनुरोधादस्मदत्ति प्रतिपालनीया [१*] तथाचोक्तं [धर्मशास्त्रे *] बहुर्भियसुधा^७

Second plate - Second side

- १४-३^८ दत्ता राजाभिः^९ सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य त-
 १५-स्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥ १ *] मा भूदफलशङ्का व [:*] परदत्तेति पार्थिवा [: १*] स्व-
 १६-दाना [त*] फलमानत्यं परदत्तानुपाले (पालने) [॥ २ *] षष्टि (ष्टि) वर्ष सह-
 १७-स्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति (ति) भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेता^{१०} चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
 १८-नरके वसेत् [॥ ३ *] स्वदत्ता (त्तां) दरदत्ताम्बा (तां वा) यो हरेतिवसुन्धारं^{११} [१*] स

Third plate

- १९-४^{१२} विष्टाया (यां) कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः [:*] सह [:*] पच्यते । [१*४] इति कमलदलाम्बु
 २०-न्दुलोला (लां) श्रियमुपचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितश्च (तं च) [१*] सकलमिदमुदाह -
 २१-तश्च बुध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयेयो^{१३} लुप्या^{१४} [॥ ५ *] इतिः परमेश्व-
 २२-र श्रीढ करिसारस्य विजयराज्ये साम्बत्सरे^{१५} सप्त-
 २३-मे माघ दि २० २ [१*] लिखितमिदं^{१६} भोय्यालोक सिंघदेवन^{१७} +^{१८}
 २४-नाण्ण(ण्ण)देवपुत्र वासुदेवे [न *] लिखितः ताम्ब्रशासनेनः^{१९}
 २५-गोष्ठ पाट केन + + + + परिवर्त्तिनः ॥

As deciphered by S.N.Agrawal, Two Copper Plate Inscription of Western Orissa,
Menda -2001

Terrasingha Copper Plate of Bhanudev alias Dakarisvara Deva of Orissa (Year 25)**

First plate:

1. *Śiddham¹ Swāsti (I*) Udayapurāt (I*)*
Paramamāheśvaro Mātāpitrūpādā—
2. *nudhyātā (:*) ŚrīMā(ma) hārājā(jaḥ)*
Bhānudeva(:) Kuśali(I*) Tilaśṅgavātake*
kaṇi—
3. *Yārallā² śaṅkṛbrahmaṇā(n) śampujya*
pratinivasina śmā—
4. *hartti³ śarṇidhāttri⁴ prabhūtin ye kechidasma*
padopajivinā rā—
5. *japuruṣānanyā(0*) ścha Rājapuruṣā(n*)*
śakaraṇādaya śa—
6. *mājñāpayati viditamaṣtu bhavattām*
(tam) yatā smabhiḥ⁵ raaya Smgrāmo (Mḥ) brā—
7. *hmaṇaḥ bājasenāya Kauśikagotrāya⁶*
Nārāyaṇadevāya śūni (ni)

Second plate, (1st side),

8. *2⁷ dhi śopanidhi śaḍaśāparādha śame (ta*)*
śrvapīḍā vivarḍhita a
9. *Chāṭa Bhaṭṭa praveśā⁸ adya vaiśākha māṣa*
viśakhaṣita⁹ daśamāyā
10. *Śaṅkrāntyā mudaka pūrva mātāpitrā(tro)*
rāma(n) ścha pūṇyā (ṇya) bhivṛudha-
11. *Ye tambra (mra) śaṣanenamudaka pūrva*
āchandrīkka śamakālopa-bhogāṭṭha prati
12. *ardha karādāne¹⁰ pāditaḥ ityāvagatyāṣya—*
viyorbhutwā śamuchitabho-
13. *gābhādadika mupanayathaḥ bhavadbhiḥ śukhe*
(na) pṛati vāṣṭavyeti" (prativaṣṭavyamiti)"¹¹ (I*) bhā-*
14. *vibhiścha ṛbhūmipāla dbharmma gauravāchada*
śma danuṛodhādaśmadatti

Second plate, (2nd side),

15. *3¹² Pratipālani (nī) yāḥ¹³ (I*) tathāchoktam*
*(dharamaśastrel *) rajā(ja) bhiḥ sagarādibhi*
(hI)¹⁴ yaṣya yaṣya*
16. *Yadā bhūmi (h*) taṣya taṣya tadā phala*
(m II) mā bhūḥ phala¹⁵ sankāva(h)*
paradatteti
17. *pārthivā (hI*) swadānāṭphalamanantyaṁ*
paradattānupāle (pālāne) (II) śasti-¹⁶*
18. *varsī¹⁷ śaṣaṣraṇi śwarge modatti bhūmidā*
(daḥ) (I) achhetā¹⁸ chānu—*
19. *manī cha tānyeva narakam¹⁹ vaṣeti(II*)*
śwadattām paradattamvā²⁰
20. *Yo hareti (t) vasundharām (m) (I*)*
śavisthāyām kṛumirbhutwā pīṭrubhi (h) śaha*
21. *Pachyate (II*)*

Third plate:

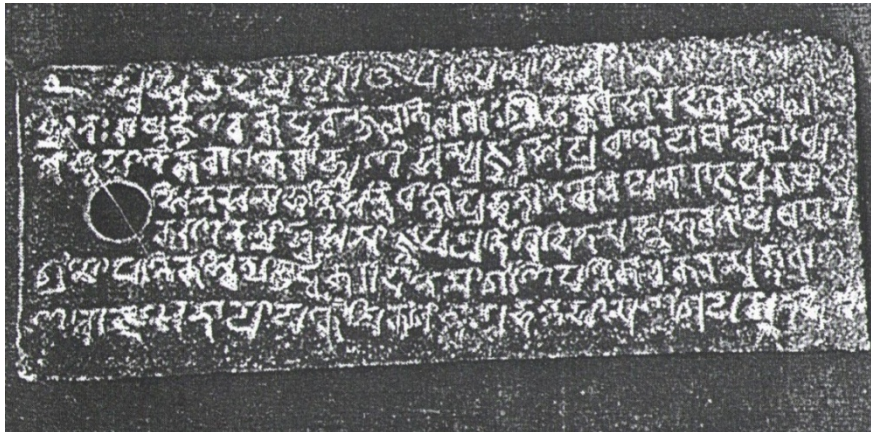
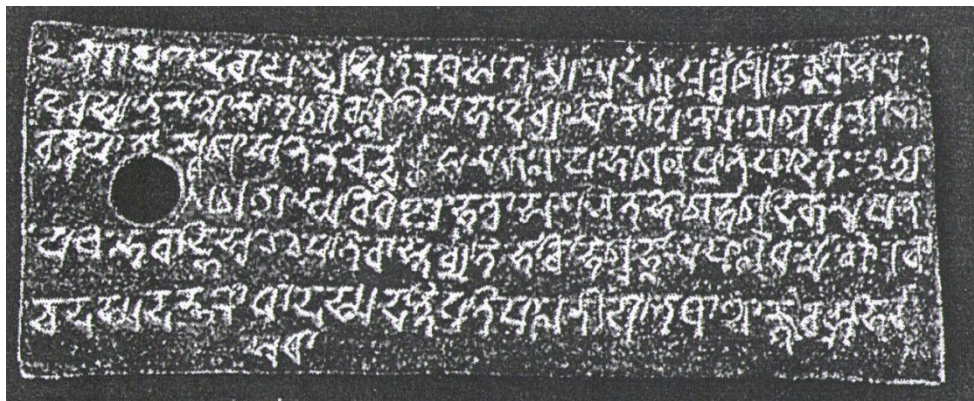
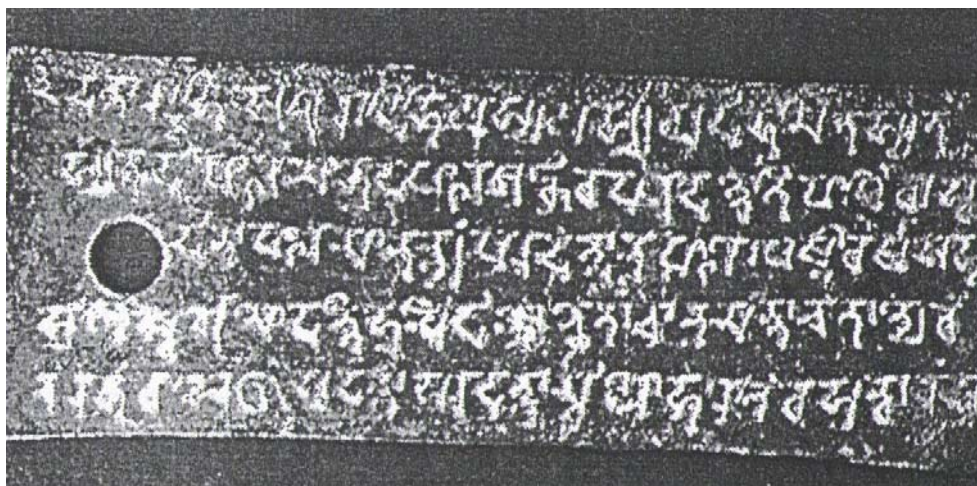
22. *Itikkamaladalambhu vindulolā śhriyamanuchintya*
manusya
23. *jivitañcha(I*) śakalamidamudāhrutañcha²¹*
vubhwanahi puruṣai (h) pa—*
24. *rakirttiyā vilupyā²² (II*) iti(I*) paramēśwara śhri*
Māhārājā²³
25. *Bhānudeva (śya*) vijayarājye śamvatṣare*
pañchaviṁśame²⁴ śa
26. *mudhādi(?) 20 20²⁵ vaiṣa (śā) kha di 20 4*
likhitamidam śāsana²⁶ bhojyālaka
27. *siṅgha²⁷ devenaḥ II nārṇe devaputra vāsudevena*
28. *likhita śaṣana.²⁸*

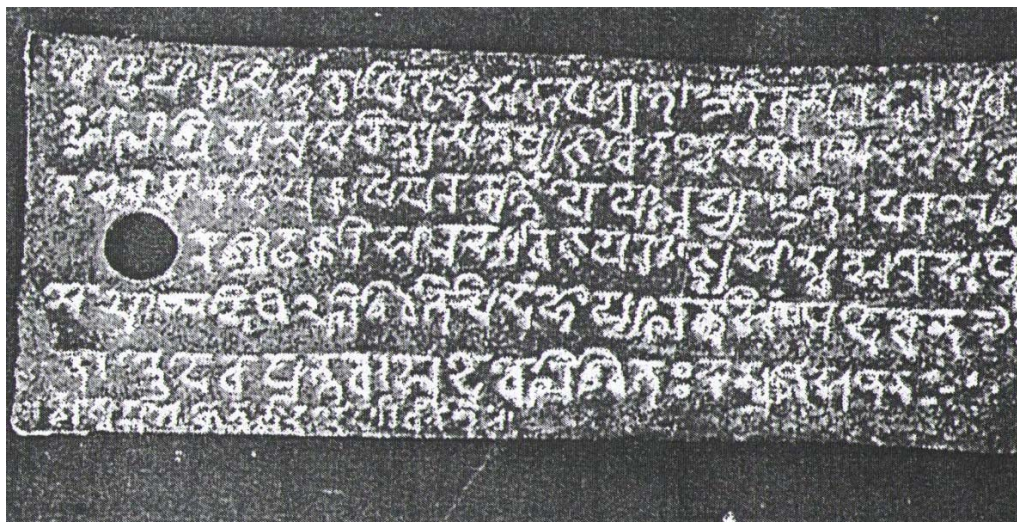
As deciphered by B.Mishra & D. Acharya, Journal of Bengal Art, Vol(8), 2003, 117-124

आ इ उ क क ख ग घ घ च च ज ट
 क्ष ङ उ क क ङ ङ ङ ङ ङ ङ ङ
 ट ण न त थ थ थ थ न प फ ब
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 रु य य य य य य य य य य
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 क ल द य य य कु सु सु ती ती श्वे
 जै गो मो कौ गौ य्य क्का ध्या ज्ञा
 लै ठा बा के ठो च क श ह
 वृ प्र म्पू न्द्रा श्री कर्क स्म धा
 वृ प्र म्पू न्द्रा श्री कर्क स्म धा
 SNA

COURTESY: S.N.AGRawal, TWO COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN ORISSA

Manikyapuri (Kalahandi District) Museum of Dhakarisaradeva (Year-7)

1st plate2nd plate 1st side2nd plate 2nd side

3rd plate

TERĀŚINGHA COPPER PLATE OF BHĀNUDEVA ALIAS DĀKARĪŚVARA DEVA OF ORISSA

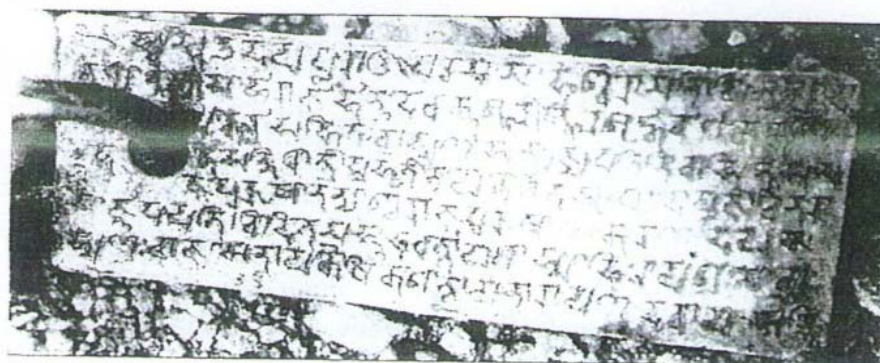


Plate 8.1 Copper plate no. I.

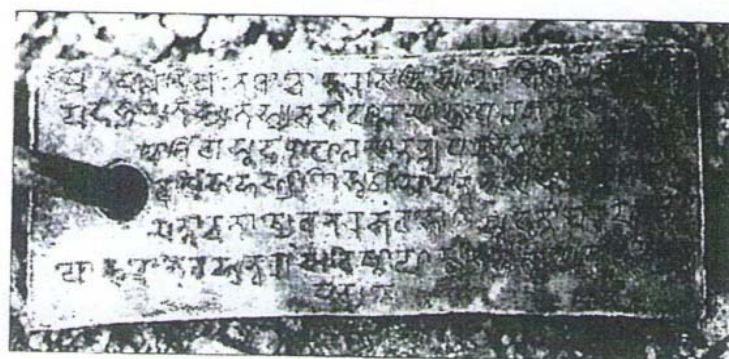


Plate 8.2 Copper plate no. II (1st side).

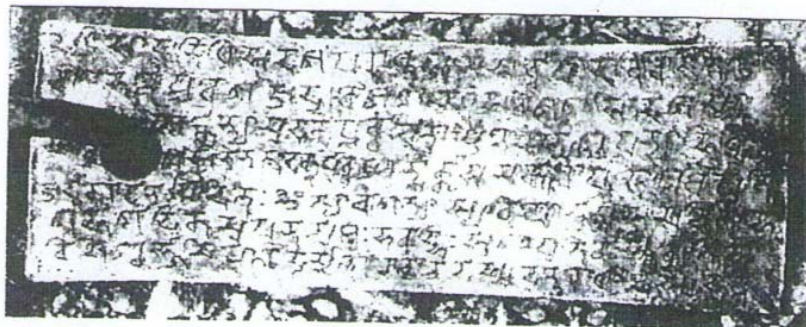


Plate 8.3 Copper plate no. II (2nd side).

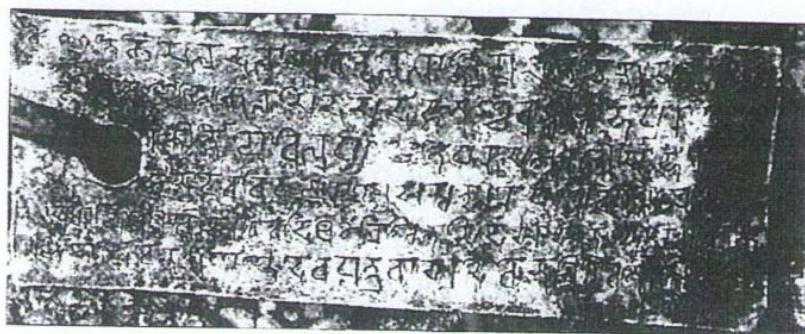


Plate 8.4 Copper plate no. III.



Plate 8.5 Seal with Garuda figure.

COURTESY: B.MISHRA, JOURNAL OF BENGAL ART, VOL. 8, 2003

‘Vagisvari’, Lane R/3, J.M Colony
Budharaja-768004
Sambalpur (Odisha)

■ ■ ■

VEER SURENDRA SAI

“ Ask not what your country can do for you;
Ask what you can do for your country”

- John F. Kennedy

Dr. Antaryami Behera

Introduction

Amidst the tens and thousands of the names of considers against the British imperialism that crowded the columns of history, the name of Surendra Sai shines almost alone as a star. Veer Surendra Sai, the first freedom fighter of Sambalpur, had fought for his right against British imperialism during the middle part of the 19th century when British empire was at the height of its glory.

Surendra Sai was the child of the historic revolution of 1857, as Napoleon was the child of the French Revolution of 1789. The heroic achievement of Surendra Sai and his uncommon sacrifice for the cause of his people have few parallels in history. He had neither modern weapons nor organized soldiers to fight against the mighty administration but only his strong determination, when elites of India did not even dream of going against the foreign rule.

His childhood

Surendra Sai was born on 23rd January 1809 on full moon day of Pausa in the Chauhan family of Raipur, Khinda.¹ His father Dharam Singh was a descendant of Anirudha Sai, son of Madhukar Sai. The Chauhan Raja of Sambalpur. According to Siva Prasad Das, Surendra Sai was born in his maternal uncle's place at Bargaon located in the police station Dhama in Sambalpur district.² This is the opinion of a large section of people which Sri Das accepted. But the mother of Surrender Sai whose name was Revatidevi belongs to Bargaon near Sareikela in Singhbhum district of Jharkhand not Bargaon or near Dhama in Sambalpur district of Odisha.³ The people of Khinda village quite reasonably claim that Surendra Sai was born in that village. The birth ceremony of Surendra Sai is known to have been celebrated in festive mood for three days by the tribal people of Khinda and

its neighborhood. Surendra Sai had six brother and a sister namely Udant, Druba, Uajjala, Chhabila, Jajjala, Medini and sister Anjana.⁴

The education of Surendra Sai and his brothers was not neglected and all the brothers could read and write well both in Odia and Hindi. The brothers were trained more particularly in physical cultured and technique of guerilla war fare from his uncle Balaram Sai.⁵

Rebel in early phase (1827-1840)

In the year 1803, odisha came under British role. In many parts of Odisha opposed then vehemently. They strongly refused to accept their authority. It took a violent turn in Sambalpur when Surendra Sai took part and headed movement. In 1827, Maharaja Sai the ruler of Sambalpur passed away leaving behind two daughter.⁶ He had no male heir to inherit the Sambalpur Rajgadee. Mohan Kumari the widow of Maharaja Sai ascended on the throne. Infact, Britishers were behind her. Through Mohan Kumari was the first lady to succeed the throne in the known history of Sambalpur, People believed that it was an abuse of practice and violation of tradition, Prettifying the throne with a widow was not acceptable to the people of Sambalpur. Apparently and allegedly the Britishers also ignored the successive family chain "Doctrine of lapse" also did not arise at that moment.⁷

Surendra Sai who represented the next line of succession claimed his legal right to the throne but his right claim was thrown down the princess Mohan Kumari of neighboring Bamanda State, was seated on the throne and made nominal head of the State of Sambalpur.

The real power passed into the hand of British authorities Surendra by them a young and energetic man of nineteen got enthusiastic support from the enlightened people of Sambalpur and revolted against to him, Because of the wide sap caddiscontentment, Mohan Kumari was opposed and Narayan Singh an Illegitimate scion of the Chauhan Zamidar of Barpali, was ascended to the throne the plot of the British Administrators of total ignorance to the claims of Raipur, Khinda family infuriated Surendra and his family members and they took it as a challenge and broke into rebellion.⁸

One way or another, Surendra Sai's clam gained momentum in his favour in fact this popular thrust and drive was the origin of the movement against British Raj led by Surendra Sai. It was fundamentally a tribal movement, For the reason that the different groups and registrant fighters mostly belonged to the Gond and Binjhal tribes Gauntias and Zamidars mostly belonging to Goud and Binjhal tribes of Sambalpur states extended their support moreover by and large tribal people were behind this movement It was Surprised by the Britishers with firm hands.⁹

The Sai brothers trashed throughout the rook and corner of a Sambalpur kingdom enlisting the support of the Zamidars and Gauntias. On one occasion when Surendra was at Debrigarh with Balaram Dev, the Goud Zamidar of Lakhanpur, he was attacked by the sepoy of Raja Narayan Singh. Although Surendra miraculously escaped Balabhadra was killed on the spot, the death of Balabhadra Deo charged the Gonds and they supported Surendra wholeheartedly against Narayan Singh.

The only Zamidar of Sambalpur who was then actively supporting the Raja was Durjaya Singh of Rampur near Jharsuguda. This estates had been created by Raja Chhatra Sai at the cost of the Gonds and its Zamidars who belonged to a Rajput clan was not liked by the tribal people Surendra attacked Rampur, demolished the fort and killed the old father and son zamindar, Durjaya Singh who fled for life to Himagiri".¹⁰

By this Surendra avenged the death of Balabradha Deo and satisfied the ego of his tribal followers. In 18th Century the British Government after that acted promptly and arrested Surendra Sai along with his uncle Balaram and brother Udanta, they were sent to the Hazaribagh jail as prisoners for life. At the time none of the tribal Zamindar had to the capacity of giving leadership to their people. The first tribal rising of Sambalpur was thus hipped in the bud Balaram Sai was a friend, Philosopher and guide of the rebels died in the prison shortly after his confinement

2nd phase(1857-1864)

With the imprisonment of Surendra Sai the British administration was left without any opposition for which there appeared stringent laws and regulation to cow down the disgruntled people of Sambalpur. The revenue was at once raised by one-fourth indiscriminately without reference to the capabilities of the villages and the whole of the tenure. By 1854, a second statement was made as equally indiscriminate principles which raised the amount from Rs.8800/- to 74,000. Above these unwarranted increased in revenue share and stringent exactions were made on the public by the royal households in the form of nazarana and unpaid labour, But in spite of this burdensome and pitiable economic life of the people with prevailing state of confusion bounding anarchy there was least attempt by the elite of Sambalpur to redress the general grievances of the populace.¹¹ It appears probably that they were watching for someone to lead them to get out of the deteriorating situation. It was during such a critical juncture Surendra Sai reappeared on the soil of Sambalpur.

Through the circumstances which led Surendra Sai First, to appeal the British authority for remission of the rest of the life sentence on him and his brother and then suddenly to reopen the hostility with vigour and well organised manner were confusing. One can postulate, that he was offered help and assistance even by the disgraced high ups of the society of Sambalpur. He was made to realise that his cause was the common cause by the people of Sambalpur against the British authority.¹²

When the mutiny of 1857 broke out the troop stationed at Sambalpur consisted of a detachment (150 foot and 12 Horse) of the Ramgarh battalion on the loyalty of which little reliance was placed as it was believed to depend on the fidelity of the troops at Dinapore. These apprehensions were justified in the case of the detachment at Hazaribagh which on hearing of the rising Dinapore on July 30, 1857 mutinies plundered the treasury broke open the jail, and released the prisoners among whom were Surendra Sai, the claimant of the Sambalpur Raj, and his brother Udanta Sai. All remained quiet however at Sambalpur and the detachment remained perfectly staunch as indeed it did through the whole course

of the rebellion. Before the end of August rumours of insurrectionary movements had begun to spread though no actual outbreak occurred. For some times and early in September two companies of Madras troops were ordered up from Cuttack to Sambalpur by G.F. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Odisha.¹³

Soon after their release from the Jail, Surendra Sai and Udanta Sai entered the district and a number of followers quickly collected round them by the middle of September they entered into the town of Sambalpur with a force of 1400 or 1600 men and established themselves within the precincts of the old fort. (14) Surendra Sai soon established contact with Captain R.T. Leigh Senior Assistant Commissioner of Sambalpur and assured him that he had no intention of aspiring to the Raj and that his only object was to induce the Government to cancel the remaining portion of his and his brothers imprisonment.¹⁴

Captain Leigh promised to represent the matter to the Government, and in the meantime Surendra Sai agreed to disperse his followers and remain in Sambalpur while Udanta Sai was permitted to reside in the village of Khinda a little distance from Captain T.E. Dalton. The Commissioner of Chhotnagpur recommended to the Government of Bengal for commuting the sentence of Surendra Sai and his brother on the condition that they should reside either at Cuttack or at Ranchi while brother on the condition that they should reside either at Cuttack or at Ranchi while G.F. Cockburn insisted on taking strong measures like deportation Surendra Sai was treated like political prisoner and his residence was closely guarded naturally he G.F. Cockburn insisted on taking strong measures like deportation Surendra Sai was treated like political prisoner and his residence was closely guarded naturally he wanted to escape and on October 31, 1857 he fled to Khinda where his brother had collected more than a thousand rebels.¹⁵

In the meanwhile further reinforcement of two companies of the 40th Madras native infantry had been despatched under Captain Klocker from Cuttack. Besides lieutenant Hadow of the Madras Artillery who arrived at Cuttack with some light mountain guns was also asked to reach Sambalpur by forced marches and to take part in an expedition which Captain Klocker made against Khinda and Kolabira, in the latter place which he reached on November 5, 1857 he destroyed

the house of the Gountia. But he failed to capture Surendra Sai and his brother at Khinda though he found their houses loopholed and prepared for defense in only one place he could find a large gathering of armed men concealed by the jungle.

Matters had now taken a serious turn many of the Principal Zamindars were collecting their Paiks for the purpose of resisting the Government and the whole country in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur was temporarily in the hands of the insurgents who were posted in strength at a distance of not more than three or four miles from the place and fired on the British pickets. Dr. Moore of the Madras Army who had been ordered to proceed with Hanson to afford medical aid to the troops at Sambalpur was murdered at Jujomora while on the March. Hanson however escaped and wandered in the forest without food until rescued by a party of sebundis sent out by Captain Leigh himself marched out with a considerable body of the Madras Corps to support the sebundis but was attacked by the rebels under cover of dense jungle and lost several of his men without being able to retaliate by the beginning of December the Dak road to Bombay was obstructed two of the Dak stations had been burnt down while large bodies were collecting in various directions and committing excess of all sorts the prestige of British Government was at its Nadir.¹⁶

G.F.Cockburn, the Commissioner of Odisha, had despatched to Sambalpur the remainder of the 40th Madras native infantry under command of Major Bat's and with him the guns and artillery manstation at Cuttack meanwhile the Lieutenant Governor authorised the formation of two companies for services in the district of Sambalpur under Captain Bird of the 40th Madras native infantry. He made a strong representation to the Government of India to take immediate measures for strengthening Sambalpur.

KUDOPALI REBELLION

In the meantime Captain Wood had arrived at Sambalpur from Nagpur on irregular horse. On December 30, 1857. Wood surprised the rebel in a grove of trees at Kudopali. It was most ghastly battle that took place in Kudopali and a memorable episode not only in the history of the Sambalpur but also in the history of the freedom movement in India.¹⁷

The Kudopali hill situated by the side of old Sambalpur Ranchi road is about one and half kilometer away from Sindurpank chowk on the Bombay Calcutta N.H.6. It is about eight kilometers away from Sambalpur town. This hill was a mute spectator to the historic Kudopali battle fought between the British force, led by his fourth brother Chhabila Sai. This hill was covered by dense forest with wild beasts. Chhabila Sai was in charge of the troop. As they were stationed on the hill it was not convenient for the British force to attack. So Captain Wood pretended to retreat so that they were retreating. The revolutionaries started chasing them in the open field by descending from the hill. The situation helped Capt. Wood and there was a fierce battle. The well-equipped and trained soldiers of Capt. Wood defeated Chhabila Sai. The revolutionaries suffered heavy loss, fifty three (53) were found dead on the battle field and eleven were taken as prisoners. Many British soldiers were also killed and injured, Capt. Wood was also injured but the great loss to Surendra Sai was the death of Chhabila Sai. He was moving through the street of Kudopali village where he was shot at the back and died.¹⁸ The event became a part of folklore forever.

Uliuliuliuli
Chhabila Sai DihenBajilaGuli
KudopaliMajhaKhuli
Baulire, KudopaliMajhaKhulire

The Kudopali hill is a witness to the heroism of the great fighter.

Note:- Facts and the figures taken from his book “Veer Surendra Sai” Bhubaneswar, 1985 by Dr. N.K.Sahu who has identified Kudopali to be the village Papanga hill in present Bargarh district. But the popular belief is that the Kudopali village in Sambalpur and the KudopaliDungiri(Hill) on old Sambalpur-Ranchi road are the sites of the Kudopali battle.¹⁹

This onslaught with involve a prestigious loss to the rebels was promptly dealt with at Paharsirgida where the rebels beheaded Capt. Wood and he fled and drove away the rank and files helter shelter. As a sequel to the proactive role of KharsalZamindarDayalSingh in the battle of Paharsirgida, he was hanged on 04-

03-1858.²⁰ The zamindar of Bheden was killed in the battle of 1858. During this historical period of fighting against the Britishers. Some were also acting as informers on behalf of Britishers for example with the help of Sarangarh Raja Sangram Singh Britishers could capture Kamal Singh.

Major Impay became the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur in April 1861. He suggested some peace proposals on 22-06-1861. He suggested some peace proposals on 22-06-1861 including granting of pardon to the revolutionaries who would surrender return the seized property and lead a normal life. Commissioner of Cuttack issued a Proclamation on 24.09.1861 to free the rebels confined in the jails of Sambalpur and Cuttack. As a matter of good will gesture, prisoners were released. He also declared a package of pension to the members of the royal family including Surendra Sai. However, some revolutionaries namely Udanta Sai, Dhurba Sai (Brother of Surendra Sai) surrendered on 07-01-1862 subsequently, Surendra Sai and some of his strong rebels colleagues namely Gajaraj Singh, Khageswar Deo, Fate Singh and Kunjel Singh surrendered on 16.05.1862 on guarantee of life liberally and free pardon.²¹ But after the death of Major Impay in December 1863 things changed rapidly.

The submission of Surendra Sai either discontinued or brought the unrest to an end in Sambalpur. British rulers found him to be a strong centre of problem even after his surrender. At last with the help of one Dayanidhi Meher, he was arrested in a treacherous way on his birthday i.e. 23-01-1864 and also the full moon day of Pausa an important day of festivities of Western Odisha the treacherous work of Dayanidhi Meher, he had received rupees eight and revenue of village of Tabla. There was no fight, There was no opposition as well.²² There was no bloodshed too. His arrest was due to conspiracy. Immediately after two days on 26-01-1864, he was sent with his close associates to Asurgarh Jail after 24 years, he passed away in that dungeon on 28-02-1884.

On official record he spent 39 years in jail in two spells. In the history of freedom struggle in India no one has been put into the confinement for so many years, perhaps no political prisoners in the known history of the world has ever spent such a length of 39 years in jail.²³

While Surendra Sai is remembered for his unwavering spirit to resist infamy and injustice by one and all, he is hailed as the primary factor for a synthetic cultures. In Western Odisha in which there is a fine blending of tribal and upper class culture. There arose a “Free for all” situation in Sambalpur region, at a time when untouchability and detestation of lower castes were social custom and facilitated social economic upliftment of the lower status of the society.²⁴

Even today, the heroic spirit of Surendra is an unfailing source of inspiration to the young of the country. His courageous spirit of advantage and patriotism are examples to one and all.

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PREHISTORIC STONE TOOL MECHANISM IN ODISHA: OBSERVATION ON THE TECHNO-MORPHOLOGIC DISTINCTION

Dr. Soumya Ranjan Sahoo

Abstract:

*Though the first tool in Odisha discovered by V. Ball in 1875 but the recommendable works done by G. C Mahapatra, K.C. Tripathy, S. Pradhan, P.K. Behera, S.C. Nanda, R.N. Dash, S.B. Ota, D. Sahoo, M.K Chouley, T. Pradhan and others in the field of prehistoric studies in Odisha, which are merely the reporting of sites. As far as the techno-morphological ground of prehistoric tool is concerned only R.N. Dash has made a significant attempt to classify the Neolithic tools found in Odisha. I have attempted to give a systematic data about the **prehistoric technomorphologic distinction of Odisha** by following some books which have already gained popularity in the scholars mind and the stored antiquities in Odisha State Museum as well as some newly explored industry sites with proper scientific study and observation of tools under microscope. So with the broad background about the prehistoric researches in Odisha and its prehistory, I have started writing the theme of study.*

Introduction:

In 1875 Valentine Ball had picked up the first stone implements from four different places in Odisha are Dhenkanal, Kudabaga (Sambalpur), Harichandanpur and Kaliakata (Chauley 2008). From there after the prehistoric studies started as a new Horizon in Odisha. As far as India is concerned the raw materials used to manufacture the stone artefacts during lower Palaeolithic were basically quartzite, for which cause the primitive man of this period is called as the quartzite man. But later on that has been changed to semi-precious stones during Mesolithic period, dolerite, diorite, basalt and bones in Neolithic phase and at last the copper along with dolerite like stones were inhabited during Chalcolithic phase.

After the interesting discovery of V. Ball, a dozen of scholars have undertaken serious attempt to define, classify and highlight the Stone Age cultures of Odisha; as R.D. Banerjee, P. Acharya, Worman, N.K. Bose, D. Sen, G.C. Mohapatra*, B.K. Thapar, K.C. Tripathy, R.N. Dash etc. Now a day K.K. Basa, P.K. Behera, M. Chaule, T. Pradhan and few others are working in this field. Their explorations, field surveys and excavations yielded tremendous archaeological materials and are quite helpful in reconstructing the activities of prehistoric man in Odisha.

* G.C. Mohapatra after V.Ball, who showed that Palaeolithic culture was distributed in a much larger region of Orissa, beyond the district of Mayurbhanj.

The results drawn out of the study of Prehistoric tools permit some general conclusion about the regularity of their development through ages. This is an attempt to work out the fundamental tendencies of the observation of the stone implements, fabrication and the evolution of mechanism during the early stages of human history.

Gradual Development of Tool:

If our attention is on the stone tool industry then we can notice the gradual development of the tools from the simple but heavy core tools to flake and blade tools during the Palaeolithic period (Basa 2000: 80). In Mesolithic period further development had taken place which was one step forward in application of technology as well as selection of new kind of raw materials. The changes in the choice of raw materials took place due to the nature of fracturing and durability of different kind of stones, which often depended upon the mineral structures. As a result the microlithic industry, the characteristic feature of Mesolithic period, developed with the utilisation of the crypto-crystalline rocks due to its conchoidal nature of fracturing (Andrefsky 2005:24). But again during Neolithic phase further development took place which can be detected easily by the use of ground and polished implements. Again one group of tools of a particular phase further divided into some sub-groups according to their size and applied technologies, as in lower Palaeolithic period handaxes are divided into many types as Abbevillian, Acheulian, Micoquian, Almond shaped, Ovoid etc, during the middle Palaeolithic period the scrapers divided at least 21 types as side scraper, end scraper, keel scraper, thumbnail scraper etc. and so on (Bhattacharya 2011: 49). And in all these cases different technological skills were applied to make out the tools used for different working purposes.

With a new technological application always man discards the older one, but in the case of primitive man it was never taken place suddenly. The older variety of tool and technology were in use for a longer period. As even during the Mesolithic period, which is characterised by the small tool industry, in Odisha the heavy tools also reported along with them from various sites (Ota 1986:47-56). The earlier belief about the sudden change of culture is actually in vague. The theory provided by Childe is not always appropriate. When we notice in Odisha there are so many Neolithic sites which reveal the polished tools along with the heavy pebbles. Human being always used the technology to facilitate himself in various works within a small time span. Perhaps during Neolithic phase the tool trading has been already started for which the tools and technologies were being transported and expanded one place to another in a certain time limit.

The working with different kinds of tools made of various semiprecious stones passed through a number of stages of development. From the original pebble or nodule with shattering stroked by different objects to get a sharp edge. Finally the strokes on specific stones made

human able to prepare a finer variety of tool like handaxe or similar like tool. The number of blows in making these tools increased which gives a typical shape like Acheulian variety found all over the world. The transition stage in this case means the number of blows increases day by day, but the manner is smaller than the earlier flakes. It was essential to make such fine shaped tools by providing light and frequent blows in a regular way to remove small parts of the surface of the tool being made (Reddy 1987: 77). Consequently percussion retouch is one of the methods of secondary working of stone with a striker stone, a more developed kind of dressing. Flake retouch only can be applied to the fine quality of stones like agate, chert etc and on only one edge, while pecking the advanced one was employed predominantly for secondary work on granular rocks. The pecking also differs in the direction of the blows which fall at right-angles to the worked surface. In the case of flake retouch the striker stone will fall on the designed stone at different angles ranging from 0^0 to 90^0 , but always on the lateral edge of the stone[†].

The retouch mechanism is very early and can be traced back to lower Palaeolithic phase. During Acheulian times this retouching has reached its mature stage by removing very minute and beautifully arranged flakes from the surface to make the tool more efficient. Retouching method on stone tools was extensively used in the later phases of the Stone Age, as it was the simple way to treat the rough surface of the stone before grinding or blunting the sharp edge. But in later period retouching was not done with single striker but with an intermediary as stone, though sometimes might have been utilised the bone like organic material too. It neither has one advantage over the simple retouching as a blow over the desired stone is not even always nor can be controlled easily. Sometimes large flakes were removing out of the raw material which was not desired at all. An intermediary object (either stone or any hard organic material) with a narrow point reduced this possibility of removal of large flakes rather than a small one. But this method must not be widely distributed, because by using the organic intermediary to remove a flake from the stones is not so easy. One direct percussion on the raw material or pebble/nodule can do work with the stone compatibly, whereas the organic material cannot do the same. It needs lots of mastery over the mechanism and it is also time consuming.

The most important thing in prehistoric technology is that all over the world as far as stone tool is concerned technologies applied behind it are almost same (Chouley 2008: 46). No much variation is there. The type of tool technology that has been reported from Europe, Africa is also found from Asia, though the time phase sometimes makes the difference. So the given nomenclature should not be changed in any stage of research work. The basic observation regarding the suitable techniques employed by the primitive man throughout Odisha is quite interesting and the fundamental principles are going to be discussed as below;

[†] During palaeolithic period the angle may enhance by applying retouching which varies from 20 to 30 degrees.

Special observation on Palaeolithic tool assemblage:

During lower Palaeolithic period it has been evidenced that the transformation of raw material from one material to another took place due to the repeated experiment on stones by the primitive man. Though earlier primitive man was trying with the quartzite stones but later shifted and experimented with the chert variety of stones. Use of meta-quartzite was very common in all the cases in Odisha. It is very important to note that during lower Palaeolithic period in Odisha we are getting the evidences of **ortho-quartzite** used prominently in Mayurbhanj-Keonjhar-Jajpur belt only (Fig.1). In other part of Odisha though both meta-quartzite and ortho-quartzite were being utilised to prepare the stone tools but the earlier outnumbered the later. In Mayurbhanj-Keonjhar-Jajpur belt the availability of **meta-quartzite** is not less, but primitive man used to prepare his tools out of this is very rare.



Fig.1: Ortho-quartzite tools from Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Jajpur

During the middle Palaeolithic period the flake tools became prominent. The angle of the sharp edge changed from a thick and relatively undulated edge to a sharper and regular working end. The angle reduced up to 25° in few cases during middle Palaeolithic stage. Retouching mechanism came into existence. In this phase as far as the raw material is concerned nowhere the evidence regarding the use of the ortho-quartzite to prepare the flake tool has been found. Most probably the knowledge of the primitive man regarding the stone quality had been improved. Therefore the use of ortho-quartzite is seen no more in this middle Palaeolithic period whereas meta-quartzite took the place instead of the earlier variety.

Though upper Palaeolithic tools are very scanty in Odisha, but not absent at all. Sometimes from surface finding it is very difficult to denote the character of the upper Palaeolithic tools. From no site in Odisha upper Palaeolithic tools have been reported in stratigraphical context, which has to be established yet by archaeologists. This period is marked with a great technological achievement. The new technique adopted in this period is marked by the prismatic core. The removed fine elongated blade flakes are much sharper than the earlier tool varieties. The angle of the edge reduced below 20° whereas the dimension varies from 5 cms to 12 cms and this made the technological revolution during primitive stage.

In general the Acheulian tool industry in Odisha comprises handaxes, cleavers, scrapers, cores, giant cores, polyhedrons, pointed flakes, irregularly flaked pebbles, and a variety of hammer stones. Handaxes repeatedly outnumbered the tools types in the collections made by the investigations by various scholars. Juxtaposing to this the cleaver variety is strikingly few and scrapers are mainly found profusely but in miniature forms.

The lithic assemblages from different sites found near major and minor water resources as rivers and rivulets are characterized by the use of pebbles and cobbles for the production of Acheulian artefacts, while the sites away from rivers show dominance of tools based on the use of large flakes. Hard-hammer technique is the most commonly used method for flaking, as shown by the occurrence of a variety of meta-quartzite hammer stones and the presence of deep flake scars on the artefacts. Soft hammer technique is observed on a limited number of bifacial artefacts. River pebbles were initially used as hammer stones, but later on some of these pebbles served as cores for flake removal.

Observation on Mesolithic tool assemblage:

A well-developed blade technology is the characteristic feature of the microlithic assemblages all over world. This microlith industry is evident in blades, flakes, and nodules of various sizes. The flakes and blades of different shapes and sizes have been struck off from a variety of cores. A few cores, especially the prismatic ones, indicate that the blades have been removed in several ways i.e; in one direction, in two directions either from proximal end and side or from both proximal and distal ends, in three directions, or sometimes in multiple directions. The fluted cores and removed flakes generally show irregular scars on it. The blades and flakes have been removed by a soft hammer of bone or wood, by the punch, or by pressure technique. Mostly the microliths below 2cms with a shallow flake scar are the byproducts of pressure flaking mechanism. The punching mechanism evidenced with the deep scar on the striking platform and ribbed undulations on the flake and the core both (Fig. 2). The size of these tools varies from 1 cm to 4 cms mostly. A few small cores are roughly round in shape and have centrally directed scars as an indication that they were probably prepared before removing the flakes.



Fig.2: Marks on Mesolithic tool surface (with a zoom of 60 X) due to punching mechanism (left) and Pressure flaking mechanism (right) found from Naliajhar, Jajpur

It is evident that during the Mesolithic period most of the used tools did not produce by the pressure flaking mechanism. The tool head (proximal end) mostly bears the proof of it. Both the surface exploration conducted by myself and the observation at Odisha State Museum the conclusion is that the microlithics were mostly produced by using the punching mechanism. Though the use of pressure flaking mechanism is found in few specimens but the number is very less. In pressure flaking mechanism the pressure being found constantly in touch with the core, the bulb of percussion never been pronounced. Usually this positive bulb of percussion is as tiny as a pin-head. The platforms in these blades are not thick as the point of impact and direction of the force is under control. Finally the blades found in Museum and other places produced out of pressure flaking is characterized by the numerous ripples and fissures along the scar of detachment.

The most important is the use of quartz materials along with other cryptocrystalline rocks to produce the microliths in Odisha, which was believed as the typically confined to the peninsular India. Technologically no difference could be noticed in Odishan microliths from the rest part of the Mesolithic India.

Special Neolithic character:

Odisha is divided into two distinct Neolithic cultural distinct units by the river Mahanadi. The northern part of Odisha is rich with the evidences of bigger and flatter axes, and chisels of both smaller and elongated varieties, whereas the southern part of Mahanadi yielded more of smaller tools. In this period the most important technology were employed to produce the chopping tools as the axes, adzes, chisels had a large sharp edge with large angle between 45° - 50° . Further variation in distribution pattern of the Neolithic implement can be noticed at micro level. Mayurbhanj region is dominated by the heavier axes with broad cutting edges along with a small amount of smaller celts. In Dhenkanal district and parts of Keonjhar bar-chisels along with smaller chisels reported are different from the main tool type. But to the south of the river Mahanadi the tools are mostly small and lighter. In the districts of Koraput, Rayagada and Ganjam along with smaller tools, cylindrical heavy axes have been reported, which is believed to be south Indian influence on Odisha. Even ring-stones are found in large number from the southern districts of Mahanadi as Sonpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi, Rayagada etc.

As far as Neolithic ring stones are concerned, southern Odisha reveals the large variety, whereas in northern Odisha its finding is seldom. This feature is indicating two separate cultural units prevailed during Neolithic stage in Odisha. But the availability of ring stones from Naliagarh region in Jajpur district, which is located on the northern part of Odisha, indicates the special place of the site in the Neolithic history of Odisha as well as in eastern part of India. Because ring stone appears along with a special category of celts in a region, earlier no such combination ever been reported all over Odisha.



Fig. 3: Grooving line on the tool to make it detached easily

As far as the applied technology is concerned the Neolithic implements are varied from each other. There were four steps followed to prepare the Neolithic tools in Odisha. They are flaking, chipping, grinding and polishing. But in Odisha another technique has been appeared, that is the **grooving mechanism** (Fig. 3). In this context the most important site is Naliajhar, in Jajpur district, from where we can notice the Neolithic technology differs from rest part of Odisha (Sahoo 2013). Here the grooving technique has been implied to make out the Neolithic tools whereas at other places we are getting the evidence of chipping with hard hammer. From various places in Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, the same grooved Neolithic implements have been come to our notice, but not from the context nor in a successive order too. But the typical linear grooving pattern is peculiar to the adjoining regions of Dhenkanal, Mayurbhanj and Jajpur districts[‡] (Fig. 4). After choosing the suitable block of dolerite stone the manufacturer make linear grooves by envisaging the suitable size and shape of the tool with the help of a sharp chert or quartz flake. This new mechanism helped the primitive man to obtain the fine shaped tool without doing much harm to the raw material. It is such a site where we can get the evidences of both traditional and advanced technology applied for Neolithic implements. This site also challenges the view of T.C. Sharma and A. H. Dani (1960). Though both of them made their view regarding the shoulder celt making process but here the grooving found on plain celts without any projection.

[‡] Very few specimens from Dhenkanal and Sundargarh also came to notice produced by linear grooving mechanism, which are likely to be transferred from the core regions.



Fig. 4: linear grooving marks on the tools from Jajpur, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar

Neolithic stone tool available in Odisha can be classified into 12 (twelve) types as far as **tool typology** is concerned, what is against the earlier believed 14 types (Dash 1987:88). They are axes, chisels, adzes, shouldered axes, bar celts, ring stones, muller, hammer, flakes, corn crusher, point and rejects. Axe is the most dominant type of Neolithic tool in Odisha, roughly followed by chisels. The shouldered celt is perhaps the later addition to the Neolithic culture in Odisha.

Conclusion:

The typical features noticed during the research work actually providing a special place for the pre-historic Odisha. Though most of the technologies were being utilised here are same with the other regions but still it having few mechanical contributions to the prehistoric cultures of South-Asia. At some places due to the *cul di sac* (seclusion) the cultural progress got stagnant and as a result it could not interact with other the then societies. As a result technological progress hampered. The Mayurbhanj district reveals a huge amount of Palaeolithic implements and due to seclusion, the technological aspect was neglected. It has been evidenced from the crude variety of handaxes that the use of **ortho-quartzite** as raw material during lower Palaeolithic period was prominent in this part of Odisha. But later on the primitive man interacted with other communities and as a result the evidences from middle to upper Palaeolithic we get no regional specification. But during Mesolithic period the technological advancement could not reach as pressure flaking mechanism played a vital role to produce microliths. In Odisha this pressure flaking could not get popularity and as a result the earlier punching mechanism was in continuation to produce bladelets. Again during Neolithic stage the confined interaction come to our notice when the evidence of grooved mechanism have been reported from parts of northern Odisha (Mayurbhanj-Keonjhar-Jajpur belt) to prepare celts, is quite different from the shoulder celt mechanism followed in Eastern-India. Hence the conclusion can be drawn that the due to the geographical location a few places in prehistoric Odisha during particular time phase were quite different from rest part of the region as well as of India.

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Representation of Power, Authority and Sovereign Rule of the Early Medieval North Indian Kings: An Inscriptional Analysis

Pankaj Bahot

Introduction

Early medieval northern Indian polity is marked by the arrival of regional and dynastic states, which confined the loyalty of the peoples to a ruling house. In this period, we observed the rise of petty chieftains, who were able to lead some army force and had carved out petty principalities to themselves. The local chieftain accepted the sovereignty of bigger monarchies, whose structure of polity was built on the foundation of these smaller feudal states. Sovereignty meant during this period, suzerainty over some locality chiefs or rulers.

After the overthrow of the Pratīhāras in the first quarter of the 11th Century C.E., kings of the Paramāra, Candella, Caulūkyā, Kalacūri and Gāhaḍavāla dynasties obtained the overlordship of north India in a qualified form. Among these dynasties, I have chosen to analyse specifically the epigraphical records of Candellas, Paramāras and Gāhaḍavālas to understand the depiction of early medieval north Indian Power and Authority. They provide us with ample information about the nature of political authority, the military aspects, territorial control and extent of power of these dynasties. The aim of the present paper is, to locate the nature of Political power and authority of early medieval north Indian kings, and the extent of sovereignty exercised by them on the basis of the Candella, Paramāra and Gāhaḍavāla epigraphical records. Attempt will also be to see what kinds of political institutions existed through which the king could exercise his power and authority.

Political Background

Before embarking on the analysis of the political power exercised by the three dynasties, it is essential for us to first know the background against which these dynasties are seen to have emerged.

Candella Dynasty

The rise Candella power to the south of the river Yamuna was one of the important contributory causes that hastened the downfall of the Gujara-Pratīhāra Empire in northern India. The earliest inscription of the Candella dynasty is the Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Dhaṅga,¹ where we find reference Nanauka as the first important ruler of the family. H.C. Ray suggests that in 10th Century C.E., Gujara-Pratīhāras were at the zenith of their power, so it is not possible that at this time Candellas were able to drive them out of Khajuraho.² N.S. Bose took forward Ray's idea and adding to it that at this time (10th c.), minor branches of the Pratīhāras

had settled in different parts of India. Hence, it is quite possible that the Candellas overthrew a minor branch of the Pratīhāras ruling in Mahoba and other nearby place.³

In the Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Dhaṅga issued in 1001-02 A.D., Nannuka is described as a “Touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the face of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame; (and) of whom, inasmuch as his enemies without exception bowed down at the progress of his unexampled valour, princes, confounded through fear carried his command on their heads, like a garland”.⁴ In the same record, Nannuka is depicted as the “*nṛipa*” or headman on earth, which indicates that at that time the Candella dynasty had not gained full independence. It appears that the Candellas started their reign as the subordinates of the Gujara-Pratīhāra powers, but as H.C. Ray suggests we cannot assume that Nannuka enjoyed an independent status, and that he was no more than a powerful vassal of the Pratīhāras.⁵

The term “*bhukti*” means a province, or part of a kingdom; and since the two brothers, Jayaśakti and Vijayśakti, from the Candella family, ruled over a *bhukti*, it is clear that they were also feudatory chieftains like their predecessors.⁶ So we can say that the Candellas started their political career as the vassal of the Gujara-Pratīhāra power and around C. 893-907 A.D. asserted their independence. At this time, Gujara-Pratīhāra power was challenged by various feudal lords and their political position was gradually falling. The situation gradually reached its climax, when Rāṣṭrakūṭas, undertook an expedition against the Pratīhāras. During the time of Dhaṅga I, Candellas gained full sovereignty over their kingdom.

Paramāra Dynasty

In the first half of the 8th Century A.D., the three imperial dynasties of the Pālas, the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas played important role in early medieval Indian history. The “tripartite struggle” that began between these powers from time to time, continued through generations. In this struggle, the region of Malwa played a major role because of its economic and strategic importance. In this struggle between the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Malwa's position was that of a buffer state which had to bear the brunt of the fighting, whenever these two imperial powers clashed with each other. We do not have any idea or clue as to which clan ruled over Malwa during the 9th C. A.D, but a consideration of various facts leads one to conclude that it was at about this time that Upendra Paramāra first established his kingdom in Malwa. He probably managed to leave behind a small kingdom, which expanded and increased in power under his successors.

The Paramāras of Malwa may have at some point of time settled near Abu. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the struggle between the Pratīhāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, they occupied Malwa. The information of early Paramāra rulers from Upendra to Vairismha is scanty; there are no records, and they are known to us only through later records.⁷ By the time of King

Sīyaka II (C. 945-72 A.D), they had become powerful enough to contend for imperial power themselves. In C. 985 A.D., the Paramāras were trying to have their imperial status recognised in both the Deccan and northern India.

Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty

In the beginning of the 11th C. A.D., the Gaṅga-Yamunā Doab was under the rule of the Pratīhāras, but Turkish raids contributed to their decline. Various local rulers and chiefs, one by one, declared their independence. After Rājyapala (1088 A.D.), as we know from various sources, the Gujra-Pratīhāra dynasty could not survive long. The vast territory over which they ruled was gradually captured by the new rising powers in the region.⁸ Soon after the disappearance of the Pratīhāras, we hear from various sources that the Haihaya of Dāhala ruled for some time over the Kanauj Empire. But the territory ruled over by them was captured very soon by the suddenly emerging dynasty of the Gāhaḍavālas under Candradeva.

Power and Sovereignty

The nature of power and authority can be understood in many ways through the inscriptions. The first and foremost expression is in terms of the claims to power and sovereignty in the various records, indicating control over territory and subjects, and having the ability to maintain an administrative structure. The second way in which this can be understood through records is in the description of these rulers and his qualities and power seen through the epithets used for him.

The Nanyaura Copper Plate Inscription of Devavarmadeva and Madanavarmadeva of the Candella dynasty states: - **“You (people of kingdom) being ready to obey (our) commands,** shall make over to him every kind of income, fixed or not fixed, the share of produce, taxes, money-rent, fines, and so forth. And he may (donee) enjoy, or permit to enjoy, or give to another, sell, plough, or cause to be ploughed.....**no future king obstruct him.”** The Rahan copper plate⁹ grant issued by the Gāhaḍavāl ruler Govindacandra states that **“nobody shall cause any obstruction in rights of donee,** and we also found the line that **“no future kings stop this grant and donee’s rights”**. This kind of order that no future king can stop this grant, gives a clear picture of the king's authority not only in the external sphere but also internally, within his own lineage.

The head of the state in every principality was invariably the king, who was the supreme executive. Ancient authors describe the seven constituents of the ancient Indian state as *svāmi* (king), *amātya* (ministers), *janapada* (territory), *durga* (fort), *kośa* (treasury), *bala* (army), *mitra* (allies). Various Indian thinkers accept these constituents as the seven limbs (*aṅga*) of the politic body. We have noticed some kind of continuity in these limbs in our time period also. They more or less existed during our period in every state, whether it was possessed by the sovereign rulers or locality lords. The various Candella inscriptions indicate that they had the same conception of

the state, and that their kingdom was managed on this principle. Mau stone Inscription¹⁰ states that the Candella king Kirtivarman defeated the host of enemies, together with all six internal enemies, and day by day rendered more prosperous the seven constituent parts of the kingdom together with virtue.

Royal Epithets

In the Candella, Paramāra and Gāhaḍavāla kingdoms, the king was considered the head of the state and administration. We find their records replete with epithets for the kings. These epithets reflect the authority of the kings and also his unique vis-a-vis other kings. Further, there is a noticeable variation of the usage of these epithets in same royal house. The earlier epigraphical records of the Candella mentioned kings as holding only simple kinds of titles - Nanyaura Copper plate inscription of Dhaṅgadeva¹¹ (c. 998 A.D.) refers to *mahārāja* or great king, *nṛpa* or headman on earth, *bhūpāla* or protector of earth, and some other decorative titles like *maṇḍaleśvara* or lord of a province, and *sāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi* or crest jewel amongst the *sāmantas*.¹² During the reign of king Dhaṅga, we have noticed new kinds of epithets in various inscriptions like Augasi copper plate,¹³ Bharat Kala Bhawan plate,¹⁴ viz. *parambhaṭṭāraka-mahārādhirāja-parameśvara* or supreme honourable (worshipful), great king over kings, paramount lord. This epithet indicates political authority of the king and sovereignty over the territory. These epithets also show us that in the reign of king Dhaṅga, the Candella kingdom gained full sovereignty and independence over the Kanyakubj. N.S. Bose mentioned in his work that from the period of king Trailokyavarman, we find a new title included with the earlier epithets, viz. *paramamāheśvara* or supreme paramount lord, which indicates higher authority and sovereignty. However, it may be noted that this epithet was not introduced for the first time in the reign of king Trailokyavarman, because in the earlier record of king Paramardīdeva also we find this epithet.

In the case of Paramāra epigraphical records, viz. Harsola Copper Plate Grant of Sīyaka (c. 949 A.D.),¹⁵ the same kind of picture as the Candellas' initial records is found. These contained simple royal titles, viz. *nṛpa*,¹⁶ *bhūpa*,¹⁷ *mahārāja*¹⁸ but from the reign of Vakapati II onwards the Paramāras, especially the Malwa house assumed imperial titles *parambhaṭṭāraka*¹⁹ - *mahārājādhirāja*²⁰ - *Parameśvara*.²¹ The epithets used by the first king of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty were *parambhaṭṭāraka-mahārādhirāja-parameśvara*, which indicates the expression of independent rule established by this dynasty at the start of their reign. We also found in the records of king Govindacandra, epithets like *aśvapati-gajapati-narapati*, indicating other aspects of the ruler's power and authority.

In the period C.954-1008 A.D., we found full imperial titles but some later records, especially from the reign of the Gāhaḍavāla king Trailokyavarman, and others we do not find any imperial titles, which show that there was a perceptible reign of these change in kingship during the reign of these kings. In one inscription of the Paramāra king Bhoja, Ajaygadh rock

inscription,²² no titles are mentioned. In the case of Candella and Gāhaḍavala inscriptions we also find the same kind of situation. Some rulers gained a higher position and began to use epithet *paramamāheśavara*, which indicates zenith of their power and also were great worshipper of god Śiva.

King as a Warrior: Depiction of Various Victories

In the battle his sword, applied by him to the broad frontal
Globes, covered with red lead,by his enemies seen
Moving rapidly to their own destruction, like Rāhu, coming
In contact with the new sun.²³

The representations of the king as a great warrior and threat for the enemies were usual in early medieval north Indian epigraphs. So, I will try to explore the nature of such depictions in inscriptions. The authority of the king was supreme. Besides the administrative head of the state, the king was the military leader of the kingdom and led continuous dynastic struggles for supremacy, and sometimes even for existence; thus the leadership of the king was of great importance. Depiction of various successful wars in the epigraphical records, demonstrates a very clever method used by the *praśastikāras* to represent the king as a great warrior. To understand this representation, we need to analyze all important conquests of the Candella, Paramāra and Gāhaḍavala kings.

From the various records of the period, the picture that emerges is of the king being the protector of his subjects; someone who is valorous, restrained and powerful; and who is the punisher of the wicked. He had been created to be the protector of the classes and orders of society. One of the important Candella inscriptions tells us that Vakapati defeated his enemies in battle and made the Vindhya his *krīḍa-giri* or pleasure mount.²⁴

Mahoba inscription tells us that Jayaśakti gave his name to Jejakabhukti, the Candella principality, just as Prithu did to Prithivi.²⁵ The Khajuraho inscription of the Candella king Dhaṅga states that “by the unmeasured powers of him and his younger brother, adversaries were destroyed, as wood is burnt by a blazing fire” and Another Khajuraho inscription of the same king refers to Vijayaśakti as Rāma, who on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India. These two brothers Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti are mentioned as conquering heroes in every inscription.

Khajuraho Stone Inscription of king Dhaṅga²⁶ tells us that the most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend Dharma, and that acceptance of king's authority is also a part of Dharma. Royal *praśastikāras* mentioned in this inscription: “Thinking of king Rāhila, the enemies enjoy little sleep at night. Who never tired at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging

of the bow-string was the exclamation of *vaṣat*, (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priest, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns), sacrificed like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger.” This quote shows how the court writer, in a decorative way, described the warrior aspects of king Rāhila. Some other records of the Candella dynasty mentioned king Rāhila as someone favoured his friends and punished the enemies. Another Khajuraho Stone Inscription of king Dhaṅga,²⁷ dated 954 A.D., mentioned that king Yaśovarman easily conquered the mountain of Kalanjara.²⁸ Another Khajuraho inscription shows the victorious camps of the Candella king Yaśovarman.²⁹ The writers mentioned that the king “was a sword to cut down the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure creepers.....who was to the Kurus what a storm is to tree. This reference show Yaśovarman's victory over the Palas, Khasas, Kośalas, Kashmiras, Mithilas, Malvas and the Kurus powers. This is a very important record from the point of view of the conquest by the Candella king, and shows victory over a vast territory. These verses also present a picture in which it seems that Yaśovarman dominated the whole region, from the Himalayas to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal. H.C. Ray rightly pointed out that much of this no doubt is merely following the format of the *praśasti* and can be considered as poetic exaggeration. We are told that king Danṅa “playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms as far as Kalanjara and as far as Bhasvat, situated (?) on the bank of the river of Malwa.”³⁰ The same record mentioned that “while the illustrious Vināyakapāldēva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated.” H.C. Ray suggests that after this record, we do not find Gujra-Pratīhāra rulers mentioned in Candellas records, which shows that from the reign of Dhaṅgadēva, the Candella kingdom acquired fully fledged sovereign rule in the region. A Khajuraho epigraph mentions that the wives of the kings of Kā chi, Andhra, Rāḍha and Aṅga lingered in Dhaṅga's prisons. This kind of reference may indicate the authority of the ruler over the defeated king's wife.³¹ So we see a number of instances of warfare are mentioned in the Candellas inscriptions projecting the great warrior lineage of the rulers.

The Udaipur *praśasti*³² mentions the defeat of the Kerala, Cāla and Karnāta rulers by the Paramāra king Muja. In the records we are told that Muja (Vākapatī) tried to attain supremacy by fighting against the Cedis, the Candellas, the Cāulukyas of Gujarat, the Guhilas of Mewar, the Hūṇas³³ and the Cauhans of Nādol.³⁴ Vākapatī was depicted as a great warrior here. Bijāpur. Two important land grants, Banwada Copper Plate grant³⁵ of 1020 A.D (January) and Betma Copper Plate grant³⁶ of 1020 A.D. (September), belongs to the Paramāra king Bhojadeva. Banwada copper plate grant was issued on the occasion of Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parva, and Betma copper plate grant was issued on the occasion of Koṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-parva.³⁷ The first indicates Bhoja's conquest of Koṅkaṇa, and the second of the king occupying it to the full extent. There are important inscriptions for us because they provide us information about king Bhojadeva's invasion against the Koṅkana territory. Kiradu Stone Inscription of Someśvara,³⁸ mentioned the

king in glorious terms.³⁹ He is said to have vanquished the king of Jajjāka and captured from him the fort of Taṇuk ṭṭa and Navasara, along with Ādya, and fined him seventeen hundred hordes, besides some other possession of his; and pleasing Jajjāka in his own kingdom.

In most of the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, king Candradēva is mentioned as the conqueror of Kanauj. The contemporary Tomar chief, either Anaṅgapala or one of his successors, accepted the suzerainty of the Gāhaḍavālas and was allowed to continue as a feudatory.⁴⁰ These facts provide a clear picture of the military power of the dynasty, which became a threat for the Tomars and they accepted the sovereignty of the Gāhaḍavālas. The most important achievement of Candradēva was the conquest of Kanauj. In the Candravati grant of Benares,⁴¹ king Candradēva is mentioned as an independent ruler who occupied the region between modern Delhi and Kāsi (*Paramabhṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara- Paramāheśvaranija-bhujopārīta-śrī-kānyakubj-ādhipatya-śrī-candra-deva*), which was known as Kanyakubja.

The various records of the dynasty show that in the reign of king Govindacandra, his arms probably reached the foot of the Himalayas and in the south penetrated beyond the Yamunā into the Kalacūri reign.⁴² The Benares Copper Plate grant⁴³ and other sources also reveal that king Govindacandra held the title of *aśvapati-narapati-gajapati-rājatrāyādhipati*, Roma Niyogi states that these were the Kalacūri imperial titles and usage of these titles by Govindacandra and his successors reflect their victory over Kalacūris. But if we analyse the meanings of these titles, *aśvapati* means lord of horses, *narapati* means lord of human beings, and *gajapati* means lord of elephants. The point to be noted here is that these three powers, horse power, human power and elephant power, are the main elements of the army, so I believe that this title reflects clearly the military right and supremacy of the ruler. Epithets like Kalanjarājādhīpatī and Kānyakubjpatī also give some kind of notion of sovereignty over the ruling area and peoples, which the king gained through various battles.

So, largely we have seen the king's role as a great warrior reflected in the epigraphs of the three dynasties. All dynastic records seem very eager to show their rulers as the greatest of warriors. In all of the three dynasties, other stories of expeditions against enemies are narrated by the court and king and his ancestors, but the motive was common to present the current king as the superior warrior and as a threat for the enemies. But one thing that comes to mind constantly is that why only cherished and positive moments are depicted in the inscriptions, why we do not have stories of their own failure or sufferings? The inscriptions seem very decorative and it appears that, the main motive for keeping records of successes in battles was to present the king as the military hero and supreme political power.

Overlordship of King

Inscriptions reveal terms designating hierarchical political status such as *sāmanta* or *mahāsāmanta*, *maṇḍalika*, *maṇḍalādhipati*, or also *maṇḍaleśvara*. B. D. Chattopadhyaya,⁴⁴

quoting various scholars, states that the actual meanings of the term *sāmanta* were 'being on all sides', 'neighbouring', 'boarding' and so on. He holds the view that in seventh century and later records these were the terms which were translated as 'feudal baron'. He mentioned that in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, the word *sāmanta* can be understood as “a class of subordinate rulers, but virtually a class of privileged nobles enjoying landed properties”.⁴⁵ These kinds of references show different meanings as well as changes in the terms reflecting differences in political forms and exercise of power.

The notion of paramount overlordship maybe largely represented as the integration of local political structures into wider regional and pan-Indian political networks.⁴⁶ This expanding political order took the form neither of a single centralised imperial state, nor an excess of fragmented regional kingdoms, but instead, sought to relate themselves, in diverse ways, to ever more integrated political hierarchies, which had as their ideal the notion of an imperial polity ruled over by a single supreme overlord, a king over kings.⁴⁷ This kind of overlordship status of kings of our period was gained by their own warfare and political strategies. I believe that acceptance of overlordship of any king depended on some key factors: First, threat by armies and conquests of other kings, and second, the advantages from befriending of enemies.

CONCLUSION:-

As seen from the discussion on the king's power and authority as reflected by various epigraphical records of the period, we can argue that various aspects related to kingship can be understood such as the self-image through the use of titles, the military exploits etc. The royal titles suggest that there were many tiers of political authority, and these can be understood in terms of the exercise of control over resources and territory at the local sub-regional and regional level. The Candellas were dominant in the Kanyakubj area, the Paramāras ruled over the Malwa (and other), and the Gāhaḍavālas had their epicenter in Benares. They were able to exercise their authority by integrating various locality chiefs and claimants to political power, creating the political hierarchy seen in the use of titles like *rāja*, *nṛipa*, *mahārāja*, *mahārājadhirāja* etc. These three dynasties themselves emerge within localities and gradually are able to establish their sovereignty over other localities, resulting in the integrative polity identified as the basis of state by B.D. Chattopadhyaya for the early medieval period.

While rulers asserted their military conquests, thereby physically and ideologically establishing their claim to power, other means were also used to stake political power. Hence, king's historical ancestors are also given a place in records whereby his claim over a locality and region is legitimized. Thus, the inscriptions which are issued by rulers to preserve their orders and donations provide us with a rich insight into the representations of power, authority and sovereignty of the king.

Endnotes (References)

- 1 EI, Vol. I, pp. 122-135.
- 2 H.C. Ray, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 667.
- 3 N.S. Bose, *History of the Candellas of Jejakabhukti*, K.L. Mukhopadhyay Publishers, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 16-17.
- 4 EI, Vol. I, p. 125 ff.
- 5 Ray, p.668.
- 6 Bose, 1956, p. 20-21.
- 7 Pratipal Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1970, p.18
- 8 Roma Niyogi, *The History of The Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, COBA, Calcutta, 1958, p. 4.
- 9 JBAS, Vol. XLV, pp. 131-135.
- 10 EI, Vol. I, p. 198 ff.
- 11 IA, Vol. XVI, p. 205-207.
- 12 Because by the Gupta period, it was standard for small chieftains and subordinate rulers to call themselves, *mahārājas* or great king, maybe this title implied acknowledgement of some superior power to the paramount ruler.
- 13 IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-03.
- 14 EI, Vol. XXXII, pp. 119-20
- 15 EI, Vol. XIX, p.236.
- 16 Protector of human.
- 17 Protector of the earth.
- 18 Great king.
- 19 Supreme master.
- 20 Great king over kings.
- 21 Overlord.
- 22 EI., Vol. XXVIII, pp.102-04
- 23 EI, Vol. I, 207 ff.
- 24 EI, p. 125.
- 25 EI, Vol I, p. 221.
- 26 EI, Vol. I, p. 131.
- 27 Ibid, p.122.
- 28 This place in the inscription, mentioned as the dwelling place of god Śiva.
- 29 Ibid, p. 126.

- 30 EI, Vol. I, p.129.
- 31 Ibid, p. 145.
- 32 EI, Vol. I, p.234.
- 33 Their locality is not mentioned and is difficult to identify.
- 34 Pratipal Bhatia, *The Paramāras: c. 800-1305 A.D.*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 10-25.
- 35 EI, Vol. XI, pp. 181-83
- 36 EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 320-25.
- 37 There is a huge debate about the real motives behind these grants, D.R. Bhandarkar believes these grants to have been made respectively on the occasion of first anniversary of the Konkana conquest and then again on the occasion of when Bhojadeva conquered full Konkana. Pratipal Bhatia hold the view that first the occasion was anniversary and second was again conquered the territory. D. Sharma translated as the first occasion on the day when king stated expedition and second was conquered in full extent.
- 38 This was the subordinate ruling house of Malwa kingdom, belonging to Kiradu, Rajasthan.
- 39 HIG., Vol. III, pp. 149 and 175 ff.
- 40 Niyogi, 1970, pp.15-50.
- 41 EI, Vol. IX, pp. 302-05.
- 42 JBAS, Vol. XLV, pp. 131-35.
- 43 IA, Vol. XVIII, pp.129-30.
- 44 B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *State and Economy in North India: Fourth to Twelfth C. A.D.*, ed. Romila Thapar, in, *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, pp. 317-20.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, OUP, Delhi, 1994, P. 202-11.
- 47 Daud Ali, *Courtly and Political Life in Early Medieval India*, CUP, New Delhi, 2006, p.35.

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